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Propaganda and Stereotypes about Finns in
Soviet Karelian Newspapers from 1925 to 1939

Master's thesis
Vaasa 2016

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Master's Thesis:

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Degree:

Master of Arts

Date:

2016

Supervisor:Daniel Rellstab

ABSTRACT

People are often exposed to propaganda. However, propaganda provides prejudiced and subjective data, which aims at spreading points of view, arguments and facts to mold public opinion. As research on propaganda has shown, political leaders often spread inimical images of states with other political aspirations through propaganda. As a consequence, people construct stereotypes. Stereotypes represent a fixed pattern of perceiving and interpreting information; an established attitude towards events, actions, behavior. Historical examples prove that stereotypes about other ethnicities are transmitted from generation to generation and appear to be very viable. In this regard, Finland and Soviet Karelia represent a special case for analysis because of their interconnected and interdependent historical and cultural background.

The main aim of the research is to examine propaganda in the Soviet Karelian newspapers in the 1920s and 1930s, and what stereotypes about Finns were spread at that period. The current research is qualitative. After discussing theories on propaganda and stereotypes and elucidating the historical background of Karelia, framing analysis is used for analyzing articles in the Soviet Karelian newspapers.

The findings show what images of the Finns were constructed and spread in the region by the Soviet Karelian newspapers. The newspapers emphasized the difference between the red and the white Finns, provided argumentation and thus, created stereotypes about the neighbors. No opposing points of view in the press which made the stereotypes more vital were offered. As the research shows, the constructed stereotypes were in fact an important part of Soviet propaganda.

KEYWORDS: propaganda, stereotypes, Soviet Karelian newspapers, Finns, Karelians, Soviet Karelia.

1 INTRODUCTION

People are frequently exposed to propaganda through media. Mass media influences public opinion by means of spreading certain views, facts, rumors, and lies. Its aim is to form or alter views of people towards a certain position. Therefore, to make the provided information convincing, it takes a selective and partial form. As a result, people construct stereotypes about certain events, types of behavior, actions, and other people. Finland and Soviet Karelia represent a special case for analysis due to their interconnected historical and cultural background. The current research aims at examining propaganda and stereotypes about Finns in the Soviet Karelian newspapers from 1925 to 1939.

1.1 Background

Traditionally, the image of the neighboring ethnos was based on personal impressions of travellers or inhabitants of the frontier territories that were spread either verbally or in a written form. The opportunity for the inhabitants of a country to get acquainted with the neighboring countries equally well appears extremely seldom. It becomes possible, for instance, when one nation gets under the reign of another. In this case, the perceptions of the former nation are negative a priori. And on the contrary, in case when one nation helps another, the perceptions are positive a priori. However, in both cases the contacts are made on the level of political executives, military officials and so on. During wars and conflicts nations see each other through the lens of propaganda. In this regard, the approaches employed by the Soviet Karelian newspapers to portray Finland and Finns between 1920s and 1930s may provide valuable data for research. Historical examples prove that this perception will be relevant to the following generations as well if the propaganda is effective and if there is no radical change of the political agenda. (Solomeshch 2004: 143-144.)

Before the war of 1939 – 1940, the official Soviet propaganda imposed the image of a bourgeois Finland as an inimical neighbor. People from remote areas of the Soviet

Union had lack of information and had to rely on what the official propaganda offered. Nonetheless, within the territory of Karelia this image of Finns could be taken differently compared to the rest of the country. The inhabitants of Karelia had the possibility to read articles about Finns in the Karelian press as well as to meet Finns personally and consequently, they would get an opportunity to form their own point of view about the neighbors.

However, the local Karelian mass media continuously and persistently tried to influence the minds of the inhabitants of Karelia. Thus, conducting a research on propaganda and stereotypes is of crucial importance as it shows how people's attitudes were formed and what approaches were employed by officials to achieve the ultimate goals. Sometimes stereotypes serve the current political goals and at other times they produce a positive impact on the social psychology of the people. Not only is the images of the other nation among some specific group of people worth researching but also the studies of the people who acquire the promoted images of the other nation deserve thorough analysis.

There is a considerable amount of research devoted to propaganda and stereotypes, for instance, Lasswell (1965), Jowett & O'Donnell (2012); Lippmann (1965), Pickering (2001). The current research is based on these theories and aims to explore propaganda and stereotypes about Finns in Soviet Karelian newspapers from 1925 to 1939. This topic is of special interest due to the fact that there has been no research that would assess how Finns were presented in the Soviet Karelian newspapers in the times of the intense political propaganda in the Soviet Union. It is important to reveal how the then political propaganda created stereotypes.

1.2 Objective of the Study and Research Questions

The current work sets the objective to study how Finns are presented in Soviet Karelian newspapers, what role stereotypes play in these representations and how these representations can be linked with the propaganda machinery that was in place during

this time. Hence, the work intends to provide answers to the following research questions:

Q1: How were Finns and Karelians presented in the Soviet Karelian newspapers within the time-frame from 1925 to 1939?

Q2: What role do stereotypes play in these representations?

Q3: How can these representations be linked with the machinery of propaganda which was in place during this time?

1.3 Material and Methodology

The current study applies a qualitative research method, namely, framing analysis. Framing analysis is used to describe, analyze, and explain the data, which consists of Soviet Karelian newspapers published from 1925 to 1939. The newspapers that were taken for the analysis are called *The Red Karelia* and *The Belomorsk Tribune*. *The Red Karelia* was published from 1917 till 2011 in Petrozavodsk. It represented the official source of information which belonged to the regional Karelian Committee for the Communist Party of the USSR. *The Belomorsk Tribune* was first published in October 1930 in Belomorsk. It is still published weekly and distributed within the Belomorsk municipality of Karelia. The texts that are chosen for analysis concern Finnish-Russian relations in 1920s and 1930s; the role of the Soviet rule in Karelia; the history of Karelia and the role that Finns played in it; the inhabitants of Karelia. The material was collected from the National Library of the Republic of Karelia. All in all, 47 article excerpts from 11 articles are analyzed. Article excerpts taken from these newspapers are analyzed using framing analysis according to D'Angelo and Kuypers (2004). The focus of the analysis is on the content; however, attention is also paid to the structure of the excerpts. The results of the framing analysis are then interpreted on the background of propaganda theory in order to assess the propagandistic character of the texts.

All the texts are originally in Russian and translation from Russian into English is done by me. The original versions of the article excerpts are included in the appendix.

1.4 Organization of the Study

The current research contains seven main chapters. The introduction presents a brief overview of the research topic and the research question. The historical background provides information about people who inhabited Karelia, what Karelia was like at that period, and the place that Finns took in the everyday life of the region. This constitutes the basis for further analysis of the data. The theoretical part of the research concentrates on theories on propaganda and stereotyping. The fifth chapter is devoted to methodology and describes the approach applied in the current study. The next chapter presents the analysis of the article excerpts and connects it to the theoretical framework. Finally, conclusions and suggestions for future research constitute the seventh chapter of the current work.

2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: SOVIET KARELIA

The period of 1920s and 1930s was a time of radical political, economic, social changes in the history of Russia. It was the time of fierce military opposition between the representatives of the internal forces of the counterrevolution and the foreign intervention. It was also the time of the creation of the national Karelian autonomy inside the USSR.

At the same period of time the desire to build the first socialist state attracted a lot of immigrants from America who moved to Soviet Karelia. All of them had Finnish roots and this was an inspiring fact for them to start a new life somewhere where the overwhelming majority shares the same socialist aspirations and also has a similar ethnic and linguistic background. Both the immigrants and the inhabitants of Karelia learned how to build a new life together. More than that, the example of devotion to socialism from the newcomers served as an example of the Red Finns supported by the Soviet press. Thus, the period of 1920s and 1930s in Karelia was connected to American Finns, who helped to implement the plans of industrialization, modernization, cultivation of virgin lands.

Golubev et al. (2014: xiii) claim that Soviet Karelia took a special place in Soviet regional politics due to its location as a border region with a large proportion of non-Russian population and disputed by a foreign state. Furthermore, it was a sociocultural area that was not unified by the general Communist ideology. Golubev et al. (2014: xv) state that even though the Communist influence was strong, it was rather challenging for the USSR to make attempts to unify local ethnicities, customs, cultures, and practices.

2.1 The ethnic composition of the Soviet Karelian Republic in the 1920s and 1930s

Historically the territory of Karelia has been inhabited by Karelians, Russians, Finns and Vepsians. Russians lived mainly in the eastern part of the region, Karelians

inhabited the western and the south-eastern parts, Vepsians lived along the western part of the Onego lake.

According to Golubev et al. (2014: 22), when the Karelian Workers' Commune was founded in 1920, Karelians represented an ethnic majority and constituted 60% of all the population of the territory. However, from 1922 to 1924, when the Soviet Karelia was enlarged by means of joining the neighboring territories where the population was Russian, the ethnic makeup of Karelia changed. The population census of 1926 in Karelia showed the following ratio of ethnic groups on the territory of Karelia (see Table 1):

Table 1. Population census of 1926 in Karelia (Native Peoples of Karelia 2015)

	Population census 1926
Russians	153 967 (57,2 %)
Karelians	100 781 (37,4 %)
Vepsians	8587 (3,2 %)
Finns	2544 (0,9 %)
Ukrainians	708 (0,3 %)
Belorussians	555 (0,2 %)
Others	2558 (0,8 %)

In the 1920s – 1930s the population of Karelia was mainly Russian and Karelian. The peculiarity of the ethnic and political situation in the region at that time was that the leaders of the republic were a small group of the Red Finns. Those were the political immigrants whose responsibility was to develop Karelia. (Takala 2009: 111) According to Irina Takala, the implementation of the policy offered by the Red Finns could be possible only on condition of the total approval by the Central Soviet Government.

Takala (2009: 111) maintains that the so-called Finnish period in Soviet Karelia lasted from 1923 till 1935. It was the period when Edvard Gylling was the Chairman of Soviet Karelia. Being a Finn, he strongly believed that the implementation of his political inspirations would be accomplished by the Red Finns better than by any other ethnic group. Gylling claimed that the Red Finns understood the core of the Karelian issue that consisted in the preservation of the Eastern Karelia within the borders of Soviet Russia and the creation of the Karelian autonomy. Soviet Karelia was supposed to become a model society at the Finnish border and prepare the grounds for the Finnish Revolution.

2.2 Formation of the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic

The Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic received its autonomous status in 1923. The official name of Karelia before 1923 was Karelian Workers' Commune. The main reason to change the official name of the territory was the fact that Finland contested the status of Soviet Karelia in the League of Nations. The main argument that Finland voiced was that the Karelian people were deprived of the right of self-determination. Thus, the Soviet government had to repel the claims of Finland and provide a significant counter-argument. The argument was that Karelian ethnic autonomy was a freely chosen type of self-determination for Karelians residing in the USSR. (Golubev et al. 2014: 10)

When the Russian Civil War was moving towards its end by 1920, the new Bolshevik government faced a number of problems. One of the key challenges was to organize administration of the vast territories of the former Russian Empire. All the key positions in administration, in cultural, economic, and educational spheres were taken by Communists, that guaranteed control over all the country, and that the majority of citizens were skeptical of. (Golubev et al. 2014: 11)

The new Soviet way of living, the new Soviet ideas and aspirations were supposed to be spread all over the vast territory of the USSR. The new Soviet people were supposed to be shaped from those who inhabited the country as well as from those who came from

abroad, according to Golubev et al. (2014: 11). Thus, the Finnish Communist immigrants became the new people in Soviet Karelia. The Red Finns were appointed to govern the region that had acquired the autonomous status shortly before that.

By means of appointing Red Finns to the administrative positions in Karelia, the Soviet government aimed at solving problematic issues, namely, to eliminate the Finnish claims concerning eastern Karelia, and to satisfy ethnic ambitions of Karelians. Therefore, Edvard Gylling and a group of Red Finns were considered to be the most suitable candidates to govern Soviet Karelia, as they possessed expert knowledge about the local problems and were expected to implement the ideas successfully. (Golubev et al. 2014: 12)

The Red Finnish government in Soviet Karelia achieved significant results in convincing the leaders of the USSR that the revival of the declining economy of the region demanded economic autonomy. Due to diplomatic experience and connections among the Soviet authorities, Gylling managed to provide a privileged position for Soviet Karelia. Soviet Karelian economy was revitalized and reconstructed. Soviet Karelia enjoyed the privilege to set its budget independently, to be free from national taxes, and to get big loans to satisfy the needs of the region. Moreover, 25 percent of income received from timber export could be used inside Soviet Karelia. (Golubev et al. 2014: 19)

The actions taken for reviving the economy in Soviet Karelia proved effective and the situation improved, as Golubev et al. (2014: 19) claim. The forest industry contributed to the fast growth of economy. The timber industry was monopolized and stayed under the local Soviet Karelian government. It earned money for the local regional budget and became a source of additional income for Karelian peasants who could not survive only by farming.

According to Golubev et al. (2014: 19), the introduction of new industries and the rapid growth of timber industry contributed to the increase of the GDP of the region. In 1923

it constituted 7 percent and in 1929 it reached 62 percent. All in all, Soviet Karelian economic growth reached 10 percent annually in 1920s.

In 1920s special attention was paid to the development of Karelian border territories. Soviet Karelian officials represented by Red Finns believed that the ethnic factor played a crucial role in securing a special place for the region in politics both on the Soviet and international levels. The border territories that were populated mostly by ethnic Karelians received privileges. The benefits included building new factories for timber-processing, development of the mining sphere, development of forestry, electrification, state assistance of crafts. This policy was expanded to all the territories with ethnic Karelian population. (Golubev et al. 2014: 20)

The Red Finnish government of Soviet Karelia was convinced that careful use of natural resources and thoughtful planning would enhance the economic situation in the region. Initially, the state loans were expected to provide the funding for the implementation of the policy and later on the economy of Karelia was supposed to become self-supporting. The example of the successful development of neighboring Finland motivated and inspired Soviet Karelian officials, though it was never mentioned out loud. (Golubev et al. 2014: 20)

All in all, 1920s and 1930s were the years of drastic changes achieved through hard work of the inhabitants of Karelia. Both workers and peasants of Soviet Karelia as well as the Red Finns who governed the republic worked with devotion and commitment. As a result, Soviet Karelia became an example of new ideas that originated from diplomatic negotiations, nationalist aspirations, and revolutionary rhetoric (Golubev et al. 2014: 11).

2.3 Finnish-American immigration to Soviet Karelia

As soon as the World War I ended, both Finland and Karelia became interested in the Finnish diaspora in North America. Each side competed with the other for the demographic weight of Finnish immigrants. (Koivukangas 2002: 173)

The efforts that were made and the arguments offered by both interested parties were strong and convincing. However, there was an additional factor that favoured the USSR in the process of the so-called competition, namely, between the 1920s and 1930s there appeared a notion of “Karelian fever” among the American Finns who aimed at moving to Soviet Karelia.

Karelia [...] needs strong workers who know how to chop trees and dig ore and build houses and grow food. Isn't that what we Finns have been doing in the United States for the past thirty years? And wouldn't it be wonderful to do that same work in a country that needs you, a country where there is no ruling class, no rich industrialists or kings or czars to tell you what to do? Just workers toiling together for the common good.

Oscar Corgan (quoted in Weidenhamer 2015)

The speeches of the recruiters were frequently the source of “Karelian fever” among the people. The numbers of Finnish-Americans that moved to Karelia between 1920s and 1930s mentioned varies, but the approximate and widely accepted figure is around 6.000 people. The main wave of immigration took place in 1931 and 1932. It was the time when the vast majority of American Finns arrived to Soviet Karelia. (Weidenhamer 2015)

What were the reasons that made those people go to the Soviet Union? One of the factors of immigration was the Great Depression in the United States in 1929 as Weidenhamer claims. A number of people who could not find any work commensurate with their qualifications in the United States, found employers in the Soviet Union. During the period of eight months in 1931 “Amtorg”, the Soviet trade mission in New York, got 100.000 requests for immigration. The overwhelming majority of requests

were not confirmed, but approximately 11.000 Americans received the approvals from the Soviet Union and started working in 1932. (Weidenhamer 2015)

Some of the American Finns viewed immigration as a chance to obtain material benefits. Sylvi Hokkanen (quoted in Weidenhamer 2015), who spent seven years of her life in Karelia, wrote: “Of course we didn’t expect to find wealth and material comforts in the Soviet Union, but we did feel that there would be an opportunity to work for a better life with a good chance of success.”

Other Finnish-American immigrants were attracted by the opportunity of a free education both for themselves and their children, like Eino Tuomi. As Weidenhamer (2015) claims, Tuomi proudly stated that he had “managed to give all three of our daughters an education of their own choice.” (Weidenhamer 2015)

However, most of the Finnish-American immigrants were not lured by economic reasons. The financial situation of the majority of immigrants was stable. Most of the immigrants owned homes, cars, farm equipment. They immigrated with their whole families. And the main reason for immigration was based on political grounds. (Weidenhamer 2015)

Most of the Finnish-American immigrants to Soviet Karelia came from the Lake Superior region. According to Koivukangas (2002: 68), the fact that the immigrants came out of the community that was influenced by the socialist ideology contributes to understanding of the phenomenon of the “Karelian fever”. Matti Tenhunen and Oscar Corgan were two of the three directors of Karelian Technical Aid that was responsible for recruiting American Finns. They had been leaders of the cooperative movement and had worked for the Socialist newspaper *Työmies* which had a daily circulation of 15-18,000 in the US. The readers of the newspaper knew them. They also attended the Finn Halls and the cooperatives spread in the region. People heard of Karelia through the halls, the cooperatives, and the newspapers. The manner of speech that the recruiters used was supportive of the Soviet Union and sympathetic towards international socialism. Clear political reasons arouse the “Karelian fever”. (Koivukangas 2002: 68)

More than that, during the Finnish Civil War, the country was divided into two parts. Many Red side supporters from Finland moved to the Soviet Union, among others also Edvard Gylling. Gylling and the circle of Finnish expatriates aimed at implementing a policy to ensure the Karelo-Finnish character of Karelia. (Koivukangas 2002: 172)

In 1929 the Karelian government launched a programme of recruitment among North American Finns. The main goals were to maintain the ethnic identity of Karelia and to launch economic development with the help of better trained work force from abroad. (Koivukangas 2002: 173.)

The Soviet Karelian leaders, Edvard Gylling and Kustaa Rovio, understood that they had a competition with Finland. They knew that the wealth and demographic power of the North American immigrants who were erstwhile countrymen and descendants from Finland, were attractive to the Finnish government. Hence, they adopted a new policy in order to recruit the American Finns for Karelia. (Koivukangas 2002: 167)

A Special Group was organized that designed the policy to soften the harsh aspects of the Soviet life. For instance, food, clothing, shelter were risen up to Western standards. Koivukangas (2002: 167) maintains that Gylling, on behalf of the Special Group, signed a number of Top Secret Protocols in 1931 when recruitment started. According to those protocols the deficiencies had to be ameliorated.

Koivukangas (2002: 69) claims that the decisive factor in the recruitment of North-American Finns to Karelia was the Finnish ethnicity of American Finns. Hence, the main motive for emigration for the Finnish-Americans was culture, language, ethnic fellow-feeling, and political grounds. More than that, the inhabitants of Soviet Karelia would get a possibility to see that not all the Finns supported “bourgeois” ideas, on the contrary, there were many Finns who shared the aspirations of Soviet people.

2.4 Interaction between the immigrants and the local community in the Soviet Karelia

Admittedly, the relationships between the immigrants and the local people throughout the Finnish period of the Karelian history developed with difficulty. Berry et al. (quoted in Takala 2009: 136) believes the adaptation of immigrants to a new environment is a gradual assimilation, which is either fast or slow depending on the individual peculiarities of the newcomers. The strategies of behavior of the groups and individuals in the conditions of the new cultural environment can vary – from fast and total assimilation to separatism and marginalization. The perception of the immigrants by the local community can vary significantly as well. Presumably, at the beginning of the 1930s the willingness of the local people and the immigrants to fully understand and accept the cultures of each other was rather weak. The problem of mutual adaptation turned out to be one of the most acute for both sides, and in most cases during the first years they chose the strategy of separatism. (Takala 2009: 136.)

In Karelia in 1920s and 1930s the local people perceived the American-Finnish immigrants not as a unified ethnic group but rather as several different waves of alien incomers. The local population viewed them as those who threatened their lives and well-being. The inhabitants of the frontier area in Karelia, who participated in the Civil War of 1918-1920 suffered significantly from the military campaigns of the Finnish volunteer troops. Therefore, they could treat the information of the bolshevist newspapers about the “Finnish threat” compassionately and feel enmity towards the “White Finnish bandits”. (Takala 2009: 136)

However, Takala (2009: 136-137) believes that the closer to the border, the harder it was to persuade the people that their main enemies were the neighbouring Finns. People were rather likely to blame the new authorities for famine, unemployment and devastation. The anti-Soviet propaganda of the Finnish authorities turned out to be stronger and more effective than the agitation of the Bolsheviks at that time.

The new Soviet authorities set the goal “to take the attention of Karelians away from Finland”. As soon as the military operations stopped, in summer 1922, directions to

strengthen the anti-Finnish propaganda among the inhabitants of the frontier territories appear in the documents of the security department. In many places this “confrontation” was led by party members who were Finns by ethnicity. The Gylling’s government sent Red Finns to the national Karelian districts to set the Soviet rule, which was expected to be rather efficient as the population of those districts could hardly speak Russian. However, the majority of those who were responsible for the implementation of the task were common workers with revolutionary enthusiasm, minimal education and a lack of knowledge of the local peasant life peculiarities. It all created extra problems in the process of communication. The political immigrants enthusiastically blamed the “Finnish White-Guard regime”, but they were not always capable of dealing with starvation and unemployment successfully. And due to the fact that there was absence of roads leading to the remote areas of Karelia, bread could be delivered only from Finland, which also disrupted the work of the political immigrants. (Takala 2009: 137)

As a result, the local people started to view the Red Finns as the culprits of all the troubles that Karelians faced. As Takala (2009: 137) states, in the documents of the Karelian State Political Administration in the 1920s there are numerous examples of opposition between the local inhabitants and the political immigrants. The summaries were full of statements like: “There are incomers-Finns here, they cause all the troubles”, “Why would all the Finns occupy the posts and not Karelians”, “Finns live like in paradise – all principals and sirs. Karelia has perished” (quoted in Takala 2009: 137).

One of the most significant reasons that made the processes of integration of American Finns complicated and that provoked conflicts was the language barrier, according to Takala (2009: 143). She states that absence of desire to learn Russian, which was typical of many immigrants and especially women immigrants, was conditioned not only by the spread of the Finnish language in the Republic of Karelia in the beginning of 1930s. It was also the evidence of the fact that Karelia did not become homeland for the first generation of immigrants and they constantly felt as if they were only temporary guests there. Their total unacceptance of the reality they faced in Karelia formed the negative attitude towards the Russian language and made them refuse from

learning more about the local culture. “As soon as my mother saw the Russian alphabet, she started feeling dizzy”, recalls Mayme Sevander (2004: 57). In many cases the only linking element with the Russian-speaking surrounding were the children, who adapted much faster in the new conditions, as Takala (2009: 143) claims.

As the situation was gradually changing (cancellation of the foreign provision norms, equalization of the rights, re-emigration of the most dissatisfied, joint labour activity, improvement of the living conditions and so on), the local people were changing their attitude towards the immigrants. In the new situation, when the “fight with the Finnish bourgeois nationalism” gained momentum in Karelia, the local inhabitants began to understand gradually how much harder for the incomers it was than for themselves who were used to the different life conditions. From the end of 1933 hardly any evidences of the conflicts between the natives and the immigrants appeared in the archival documents. (Takala 2009: 143)

Vice versa, in the archival materials of the mid and the second part of the 1930s as well as in the memoirs of the Finns, it is possible to find evidences of sympathy to the American Finns and examples of numerous cases of mutual help. The locals tried to support the immigrants in critical situations. As one immigrant recalls: “It was exactly the time when we felt that we started to understand each other little by little. Although, we did not know the language well then, we managed to agree somehow, discuss some things. We – the children – often translated for our parents what Russians said.” (quoted in Takala 2009: 144-145.)

3 PROPAGANDA AND ITS IMPACT

Where the lion's skin will not reach, you must patch it out with the fox's.
(Plutarch)

Jowett et al. define propaganda as follows: "Propaganda is the deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist." (Jowett et al. 2012:4)

Yet there are numerous definitions of propaganda, and scholars have not agreed on one exact definition. According to Jowett and O'Donnell (2012), propaganda is viewed as a form of communication, which may effectively change public opinion and behavior.

Propaganda has been researched by various disciplines such as history, psychology, political science and sociology. Propaganda research from a historical perspective examines practices of propagandists as events and the following events as probable effects of propaganda. Political science examines propaganda by analyzing the ideologies of the practitioners as well as distribution and influence on public opinion. Sociology approaches propaganda by looking at social movements and the counterpropaganda of the opposition. Psychological investigation of propaganda tries to assess its effects on people. Currently most of these joint fields study propaganda as a producer of ideology, and thus, research on how prevailing ideologies are constructed within mass media. (Jowett et al. 2012: 1)

Propaganda is perceived in connection with control and is regarded as an intentional attempt to change or maintain stability of power that is favorable to the propagandist as Jowett et al. (2012: 2) claim. This deliberate effort is bound to a clear institutional ideology and aim. The purpose of propaganda is to spread an ideology and objective. It can be a government aiming to instill a great wave of patriotism in a country to support a war attempt, a military leader aiming to frighten the enemy by exaggerating the capacities or a corporation aiming to promote its image as to maintain its legitimacy. There is a thoroughly detailed and predetermined agenda of prefabricated manipulation

to communicate to an audience in order to reach the goal. The goal that is sought demands the audience to reinforce or change attitudes and behavior. (Jowett et al. 2012: 3)

The fact is that all governments are involved to a certain extent in propaganda and it represents a part of their regular peace-time functions, as Lasswell (1971: 14) claims. He maintains that they resort to propaganda on behalf of diplomatic mates or against diplomatic opponents, and this is inevitable.

Sometimes there is a special case of propaganda. According to Lasswell (1965: 56), one of the well-known tools of propaganda among the governments is terror. In terror, which can be compared to the terror in assassination, the goals of propaganda are crucial importance, and the overt actions are timed to produce the utmost possible psychological impact. Terror must be merciless and fast. Secrecy is of significant importance, and it may take the form of night arrests and withholding of information to relatives and friends for weeks or months. Terror was successfully used by the authorities in the Soviet Union after the attempt on the life of Lenin in 1918, and later, after the assassination of Kirov in 1934. (Lasswell 1965:56)

Jacques Ellul (1965: 7) maintains that almost all biased reports in society are propagandistic, even in those cases when the biases are unpremeditated. A special emphasis is placed on the power and pervasiveness of propaganda. Propaganda has immediate results. Moreover, it destroys a sense of historical perception and rejects critical reflection, according to Ellul.

Leo Bogart (1976: 195) defines propaganda as an art that requires certain talent. Propagandistic work is not mechanical, it is rather scientific. Experience is an indispensable part in influencing attitudes, sphere of knowledge, as well as instinctive “judgement of what is the best argument for the audience.” There exists no manual that would guide the propagandist. As Bogart put it: “He must have a good mind, genius, sensitivity, and knowledge of how that audience thinks and reacts.” (Bogart 1976: 195)

All in all, propaganda underlies an explicit dissemination of attitudes, arguments, facts, information with the aim to shape peoples' perceptions, manipulate cognitions and direct behavior. The ultimate goal of a propagandist is to control, to change or to maintain the stability of opinions and power.

3.1 Propaganda as communication

Jowett et al. (2012: 3) place propaganda within the studies of communication and investigate the context, intent, message, sender, audience, channel, and response of propaganda. According to Jowett (2012: 8) propaganda may have many forms; however, in the overwhelming majority of cases it takes the form of ideology. They suggest that depending on the purpose, there are agitative and integrative types of propaganda. Agitative propaganda presupposes an attempt to achieve significant changes by means of arousing an audience; whereas integrative propaganda aims at an accepting, passive and non-challenging audience. (Jowett et al. 2012: 8)

Moreover, they introduce the notion of "subpropaganda" which is a dimension of propaganda. The task of "subpropaganda" is to spread unfamiliar information, which needs considerable length of time to frame the mind of the audience and to make it accept the required doctrine. Various stimuli help the agents who arbitrate communication to attract and keep attention of the audience, and thus, the target favor is gained. (Jowett et al. 2012: 16)

Additionally, propaganda does not only make use of one channel of communication. Local modes of communication, for instance, village gossip, are likely to coexist with rather sophisticated networks which are controlled by governmental authorities reaching remote areas by documents issued to subordinate local authorities. (Speier 1989: 139)

Most frequently facilitative communication is implemented by means of books, films, radio newscasts, cultural programmes, pamphlets, press releases, periodicals, exhibits, seminars, reference services, language classes and personal social contacts. A friendly

atmosphere which is created by means of these prearranged efforts helps to attract those who may be needed after a certain period of time. (Jowett et al. 2012: 16)

Admittedly, the success of propaganda depends on conventional prejudices and the changing level of people's irritability. Regardless of how skillful and talented a propagandist may be in organizing his staff, selecting proposals, and exploiting instruments of communication, his skills of manipulation will go for nought if there is no appropriate juxtaposition of social forces to assist him. (Lasswell 1971: 192)

The interest of a propagandist is to take advantage of an audience's beliefs, group norms or values in order to reinforce prejudice or self-interest. If the recipients have no objection there occurs mutual understanding as both parties' needs are fulfilled. The fact that is worth special attention is that the needs of the audience, namely the reinforcement of prejudicial or self-serving attitudes, are satisfied, whereas – the needs of the persuader, such as the achievement of the ambitious aims through the compliance of the audience, are satisfied but not spoken. There is no audience that would tolerate statements of them being manipulated and used to reach someone's selfish goals. This is one of the reasons why the propagandist cannot reveal the real intention of his message. (Jowett et al. 2012: 26)

Speier (1989: 189) states that the aim of communication is not necessarily to inform and attain understanding. Knowledge may be concealed from a given ignoramus and ignorance may be maintained; not to profess feelings but to disguise or simulate them; to lead astray the perplexed; avoid giving the best advice but provide the next best; not to enlighten but to dim, to slant, to explain vaguely, to oversimplify, to tell only certain amount of the truth, to popularize, to mask it, or simply to lie, as Speier states.

However, propaganda may play an informative role in communication and contribute to the process of sharing of ideas, of explanations of something or of instructing. When communicating information, propagandists may introduce it in indisputable and wholly factual form. The main objective of the propagandist is not to create mutual understanding, but rather to promote his or her own goals. Consequently, the

propagandist aims at controlling the flow of the information. Moreover, he or she strives to manage public opinion and shape perceptions, thus in order to implement that, the propagandist applies specific strategies of informative communication. (Jowett et al. 2012: 31)

According to Jowett et al. (2012: 32), sometimes it is required from the propagandist to conceal his or her identity in order to achieve the goals and objectives once set. The tasks of the propagandist consist of managing public opinion, controlling the flow of information and manipulating behavior of the recipients. In case the true intent is revealed or the original source is known then these objectives may not be achieved. (Jowett 2012: 32)

Jowett et al. (2012: 32) insist that there are many forms of controlling the information flow, such as releasing information at predetermined times, withholding information, manufacturing information, releasing information that is in opposition with other information and that may influence public perception, communicating information to certain audiences and distorting information. The information flow is controlled by the propagandist mainly in two manners. Firstly, the propagandist controls media as a source of information and secondly, he or she presents distorted information from the source that is believed to be credible. Distorted information can easily be presented by employing journalists to infiltrate the media and spread disinformation. (Jowett 2012: 32)

3.2 Propaganda in the realm of public opinion

Nowadays propaganda is frequently associated with the realm of public opinion. Walter Lippmann (1965) claims that people interested in public affairs form public opinion. He maintains that the efficiency of public opinion depends mostly on those individuals who are active participants of public affairs. (Lippmann 1965: 155)

Eventually, propaganda seeks external public opinion and aims to manipulate behavioral patterns. Jowett et al. (2012: 34) believe that joining organizations, voting, selecting entertainment, fighting for a cause, buying products, displaying symbols, and other forms of active responses are expected from the audiences when the persuader or the propagandist addresses them. Such types of behavior are expected for both verbal and non-verbal responses, according to Jowett et al.

From historical perspective, propaganda has existed since people realized what benefits it provides to manage public opinion, to control the information flow and to manipulate behavior. Already in ancient times people understood that rather significant effects can be achieved by means of specific techniques as Jowett et al. (2012: 36) maintain. They remind us that there are numerous artifacts from the earliest civilizations that prove the attempts of the ancient people to create something similar to the modern propaganda techniques. They were already concerned with how to communicate the majesty and extraordinary abilities of priests and rulers. Early propagandists conveyed to the audience a specific image of power and superiority through monuments, glaring clothes, and insignia. (Jowett 2012: 36)

Propaganda was especially active and expanded significantly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The use and effectiveness of propaganda increased with the growth of mass media and development of transportation. Every single branch of mass media – radio, print, the movies and television – made a considerable contribution to new techniques of propaganda. (Jowett et al. 2012: 82)

Traditionally, a number of specialized techniques have been used to influence public opinion and behavior. Zimbardo (1970) contrasts it with education, in which there is also an effort to change behavior and attitudes but through information, facts, evidence, and logical reasoning. The attempt of the propagandist to bias what people think, see, and feel differs from the educators' endeavor. The propagandist intentionally tries to impose his attitude on the audience. (Zimbardo 1970: 96)

The obvious aim of the Bolshevik party programme was to spread the ideas of communism all over the world. Thus, in the interwar period a so-called “world Revolution”, in other words Soviet propaganda was carried out actively worldwide. The Communist Parties that sprang up in various countries set the goal of establishing the international solidarity of the working class. It was taking place under the direct control of the Soviet Union during the period that preceded Stalin’s purges of the mid-1930s. (Jowett et al. 2012: 177)

The most relevant conclusion that can be drawn is that peculiar differences and contexts define the character of effects. Additionally, it is important to study the historical and cultural contexts in which persuasion and propaganda occur. Apart from that, it is of special importance to admit that, while being exposed to propaganda, people may construct various meanings which are based on their social experiences. (Jowett et al. 2012: 153)

3.3 Generalizations on propaganda and persuasion

There are a number of generalizations made regarding propaganda and persuasion. First and foremost, it is safe to say that the message produces the greatest communication effects if it is in line with existing opinions, standpoints of the receivers, and their beliefs as Jowett et al. (2012: 153) maintain. Previously existing interests and behavioral patterns of the recipients guide the interpretation of the message. Hence, the overwhelming majority of propagandistic messages are supportive of existing views and their objective is to take the form of reinforcement rather than change, according to Jowett et al.

Secondly, Jowett et al. (2012: 153) claim that the occurrence of change is predetermined by a wide range of factors such as group interactions, mass media, the influence of opinion leaders, socially contextual conditions, and the credibility of the source of the message. Furthermore, topics that are expected to produce maximum impact should not be bound to recipients’ standpoint. Vice versa, such topics should be unfamiliar, deal

with peripheral issues and they should not matter much. Obviously, ideas that are based on values and long-term behavior patterns are not likely to change. Issues that refer to race, political loyalty, and religion are hard to influence and they tend to be stable over time, according to Jowett et al. (2012).

Ellul (1965: 4) argues that greater impact of messages may be achieved when they are in agreement with the existing beliefs, dispositions, and opinions. The techniques of the propagandist are built on the knowledge of the man, his desires, his tendencies, his needs, his conditioning, and his psychic mechanisms. In order to create a belief the propagandist uses the existing belief and reinforces the predisposition of the audience. Consequently, the propagandistic ideology is reinforced and new attitudes as well as new behaviors are created. The propagandist does not try to change religious and racial attitudes, political aspirations, and other deeply-rooted beliefs. He rather concentrates on the propagandee's sentiments about these aspects. (Ellul 1965: 4)

Paradoxically, sometimes people can accept a viewpoint publically, but not privately. A system of rewards and punishments can guide behavior, but it does not automatically imply attitude change. The influence of the monopoly of the communication source on recipients is significant. The impact of the message is more effective if the ideas are supported by repetitive, coherent, and unchallenged message. (Jowett et al. 2012: 154)

According to Walter Lippmann (1965: 16), people base their behavior not on direct and definite knowledge, but rather on the pictures and images formed by themselves or given to them. When the atlas claims that this world is flat, a person will not sail near the area where the edge of the planet is supposed to be, as there will be a fear of falling off. The actions of men will always be determined by the way in which they imagine the world. However, it cannot predetermine what the men will achieve. Lippmann (1965: 16) believes that people's feelings, effort, and hopes are determined by the way in which they percept the world, but their results and accomplishments are not.

3.4 Approaches to analyzing propaganda

Jowett et al. (2012: 214) believe that it is necessary to assess both visual and verbal representations while analyzing propaganda. They may show the dynamics of developments of past events and situations, the system of values, and aims and objectives for the future. Such an assessment of past and present situations can help understand how to improve future objectives of the propagandist and make him profit more, as Jowett et al. claim.

The propagandist, as Jowett et al. (2012: 214) believe, may aim at making people adopt the standpoint similar to his own or else make them perform a certain pattern of behavior, expecting them to join groups, donate money, participate in demonstrations etc. Moreover, the legitimacy of the institution's or organization's activities may be ensured and maintained by propaganda. Additionally, the positions and interests of officials, sponsoring and sanctioning propaganda messages, are maintained by integration propaganda. At the same time, agitation propaganda sets the goal of stimulating people to participate in and support a cause. Jowett et al. (2012) emphasize that it strives to stimulate people by giving them manageable actions to carry out.

Zimbardo (1970: 97) states that while analyzing psychological warfare, there is a task of drawing an analogy of the hidden purpose of a communication and its apparent manifestation (the organized use of propaganda, or non-violent persuasion against a military enemy). The aims of such propaganda, according to Zimbardo (1970), are:

- Conversionary, to impair or change the emotional, behavioral, or ideological, fidelity of individuals to their group (nation, unit, army, village);
- Divisive, to distort the component subgroups of the enemy to diminish their combined efficiency;
- Consolidating, to guarantee compliance of civilians;
- Counteracting, to disprove an effective subject matter in the propaganda of the enemy.

For the most part, the aim of propaganda is to make people accept the propagandist's ideology. Joseph Goebbels believed that there was no fundamental method and there was only one purpose: to conquest the masses. (Jowett et al. 2012: 214)

Jowett et al. (2012) maintain that if one needs to analyze the times and events, he or she should understand how the seeds can grow and spread, analyze the soil. In other words, successful propaganda depends on the prevailing mood of the times; thus, it is crucial to analyze and understand the needs of the times. And in order for the propaganda analyst to draw correct conclusions, there is a necessity to be aware of the events made by the propagandist. (Jowett et al. 2012: 215)

Important effects are also reached by content and structure of the message according to Lowery (1983: 172). Emotional tension can be aroused by threatening materials and thus, can initiate opinion change. However, it has to be used in certain amounts. Propaganda agents are always concerned with the amount of fear that they use in the process of communication. Excess feeling of fear leads to unnecessary anxiety which can interfere with the individual's perception of communication as Lowery (1983) claims. Furthermore, he maintains that the structure of the communication should be carefully framed and lead to explicit conclusions. Exceptions can be made only in terms of a sophisticated and intelligent audience. Additionally, both sides of an issue should be presented in case there is a risk of subsequent counter-propaganda, according to Lowery (1983: 172).

While analyzing propaganda, it can be helpful to assess all possible visual images presented through symbols, pictures, colors, books, newspapers, films, and graphics. It is important to analyze verbal techniques such as slogans and emotional appeals. The analysis of the ways that are applied for sending the message to the audience should be scrutinized. A French fable states "Man is like a rabbit. You catch him by his ears." (Jowett et al. 2012: 220)

The change in people's perception can be influenced by the credibility of the source. Authoritative figures are looked up to for direction and knowledge. The legitimacy of change is established through expert opinion and tightly bound to information control. The reliability of the source plays a crucial role in the acceptance of it. (Jowett et al. 2012: 222)

However, Lasswell (1971: 209) states that there is a large element of false information in actual propaganda. He states that it may vary from a false date line on a dispatch, to unconfirmed rumors, the printing of denials with the aim to convey an insinuation, to the "staging" of events.

Power is subdivided and diffused, and it is possible to achieve more by illusion rather than by coercion. There is all the prestige of the new and it provokes all the hostility of the baffled. Once the mechanisms of propaganda are illuminated it implies revealing the secret springs of social action, and exposure to the most searching criticism of our dogmas of sovereignty, of honesty of democracy, and of the holiness of individual opinion. The obscure is brought into light by the study of propaganda. (Lasswell 1971: 222)

4 STEREOTYPES

Each of us lives and works on a small part of the earth's surface, moves in a small circle, and of these acquaintances knows only a few intimately. Of any public event that has wide effect we see at best only a phase and an aspect. This is as true of the environment insiders who draft treaties, make laws, and issue orders, as it is of those who have treaties framed for them, laws promulgated to them, orders given to them. Inevitably our opinions cover a bigger space, a longer reach of time, a greater number of things, than we can directly observe. They have, therefore, to be pieced together out of what others have reported and what we can imagine.

(Lippmann 1965: 53)

The term "stereotype" was initially taken as a metaphor from the trade vocabulary of printing and typography. It was used to refer to the text cast into rough form with the aim of multiple applications. This perspective is still vital; however, the main meaning of the term as it has developed from the late-nineteenth century is still complicated and problematic. (Pickering 2001: 9)

The theory of stereotypes that was first introduced by Walter Lippmann (1922) contains the major concepts and represents the model approach to understanding the phenomenon. Lippmann's speculations on stereotypes and propaganda remain relevant and influential because it has served as the basis for further research in the field for decades (McClay quoted in Lippmann 2011: xv).

4.1 Theoretical approach to stereotypes

A stereotype is an array of beliefs about the representatives of a social group, and those beliefs refer to personal traits, motives, and behavior patterns. Additionally, stereotypes are believed to be overgeneralized judgments of people from social groups. (Blaine 2007: 27)

Stereotypes create and maintain the most pervasive influence. People get to know the world from the stories before even seeing it. We imagine things instead of experiencing

them. The whole process of perception is governed by preconceptions. The division between the familiar and the strange is rather sharp – the things that are barely known are taken as very familiar, and the objects that are slightly strange are viewed as totally alien. The tendency to economize the attention is inevitable, thus, all the stereotypes are there to complement the human experience. (Lippmann 1956: 60.)

While analyzing the images of events that we form, it becomes evident that those are not the objective events, but rather interpretations of events. Lippmann (1965: 54) claims that most facts of our consciousness are made and only few are given. He also believes that the facts that we see are connected to the place where we are and the habits of our eye.

According to Lippmann's theory, things acquire meanings and then we form the habits of comprehension by introducing a) distinction and definiteness and b) stability and consistency of meaning of what is initially vague. The process of perception usually has a fixed order – we define first and then we see. Our culture has already defined for us the things that we eventually choose. It implies that we opt for the things that have already been stereotyped by our culture. (Lippmann 1965: 55)

Lippmann (1965: 79) insists that the initial form of all the facts is neutral. We refer to our canons to define what we shall perceive and how. Firstly, taste, form and emphasize the underlying points of view. Secondly, we adjust ourselves to certain codes to which we adjust the facts that we see. Every moral code contains a picture of human nature, a map of the world, and a variant of history. The rules of the code apply to all of the constituent parts. However, the diversity of facts of men, of the environment, and of memory does not always allow applying them successfully. Thus, all the morale codes have to adapt to psychology, traditions, and the material world. (Lippmann 1965: 80)

The theory by Lippmann (1922) proposes that a public opinion is a moralized and codified version of the facts. It is stated that there are codes in the center of stereotypes which determine what facts we will see and how we will see them. This is a possible explanation why the news policy of a newspaper supports the editorial policy; why

socialist sees a certain set of facts, while his capitalist opponent sees some other facts; and why they do not find mutual understanding. That difference between the two opposing groups lays in the difference of stereotypes. (Lippmann 1965: 82)

While analyzing stereotypes it becomes evident that the most significant issues are the character of stereotypes and the credulity in the process of application of those stereotypes. These factors depend on the patterns that constitute our life philosophy. More than that, every attempt of ours to describe the world will inevitably be linked to the images we created in our heads. And if we believe that the world is codified, we will explain it through the codes we possess. And on the contrary, if we are convinced that an ordinary human being is capable of grasping only a small part of the outer world and that his mental abilities let him catch only a phase in the whole network of ideas, then every time when we apply stereotypes we realize that those are only stereotypes and thus, we are likely to be more careful and modify stereotypes gladly. (Lippmann 1965: 60.)

4.2 Benefits of stereotypical thinking

The stereotypes that are spread in the world do not merely come from painting, sculpture, or literature, but they come from the moral codes of ours, social philosophies, and political agitation, according to Lippmann (1965: 56). Stereotypes are necessary in order to make sense of the world. The economy of effort is a reason to refer to stereotypical thinking instead of following a disinterested path. An attempt to see and analyze all the details of the outer world is exhausting and even impossible. That is why generalities and typification are favorable. However, when the topic concerns relations with close associates, friends, or competitors it is necessary to approach it individually, namely we do not refer to stereotypes. The people that we admire do not let us organize them into some form of classification that they might possibly fit. The reason is that all the classifications have purposes, but in interpersonal relation both people see each other as complete and ultimate beings. Any contact between two individuals is supposed to affirm the personal inviolability of both. (Lippmann 1965: 59.)

However, the modern world sets us in the conditions of haste and diversity, according to Lippmann (1965: 59). People who communicate on a regular basis are very often separated by distance. At times there is no opportunity for them to get acquainted in reality. It is claimed that we tend to notice a certain trait that would mark a well-known type and we fill in the rest of the picture with the help of the stereotypes that are already present in our heads.

By means of stereotypes we might try to defend our own position in society and maintain our personal tradition (Lippmann 1965: 63). Stereotypes help us build our self-esteem, self-respect and assist us in finding our place in the world with a certain set of rules and values. Our hopes, capacities, and tastes have adjusted themselves to the more or less consistent picture of the world. The picture of the world does not necessarily have to be complete, but it is the image that we are adapted to. Such an imaginary picture provides certain place for things and people. More than that, we have definite expectations from them. The organization of the image makes us feel rather comfortable where everything and everybody fits in. In addition, the fact that we are accustomed to the certain way things and people are in our world, we see the charm of the predictable, the dependable, and the familiar. (Lippmann 1965: 63)

According to Pickering (2001: 19), stereotypical perception of social reality is inevitable, because it stems from the attempt to make sense and order out of confusion. On the other hand, stereotypes can be criticized, and consequently, broken. As Pickering believes, stereotypes and prejudice about certain categories are rationalized as the images of them that are created in our heads and they are reductive.

4.3 Limitations of stereotypical perception

Stereotyping spreads the homogenized images that give a sense of fixity, according to Pickering (2001: 5). He believes it aims at creating an ascribed feature as natural. In case a social group is described as stupid, childish, lazy or unreliable, the characteristics

mark it as deviant and marginal in terms of the moral code, according to Pickering (2001: 5).

Pickering (2001: 4) claims that stereotypes are viewed as inaccurate due to the fact that they show a social group as homogeneous. It is emphasized that particular forms of attitude and behavior are taken out of context and attributed to every member of the group. As a result, a particular feature starts being associated with all the representatives of it. The images created by stereotypical perception are stiff, erroneous, simplified, discriminatory and harmful to personal and social identities of individuals, according to Pickering (2001: 10). He also maintains that groups and individuals are perceived in a distorted way. More than that, stereotypes provoke negative and inimical judgments, unfair treatment, or justification for offensive behavior, as Pickering believes.

A human's conscious functions so that our attention is called to the stimuli that support the stereotypes, and it ignores those that contradict it. Lippmann (1965: 78) believes that unknown facts will be rejected and vice versa, the ones that fit our philosophy will leave a long-lasting impression. As a consequence, the stereotypes are connected to desire, fears, pride, hope, wishes, preferences, dislikes. Lippmann (1965) maintains that it inevitably involves judgment of the source that invokes the stereotype. Detection and refinement of prejudice is possible but men are influenced by society and taught how to deal with a vast civilization. It obliges them to carry pictures of it with them all the time and have prejudices. The outcome of the prejudiced world-vision depends on the quality of thinking, namely, whether others are taken friendly, whether their ideas are understood, whether the feeling of love is evoked rather than hatred. (Lippmann 1965:79)

In Lippmann's (1965: 61) view, we may be liable to serious confusion in case we tend to speak of groups of people, unifying them, for instance, of the Bolshevik mind, the French mind, the militarist mind. However, as soon as we separate the objective perception from the stereotypes we may avoid confusion. According to Lippmann, the fact that has been proved is that stereotypes have a tendency to spread from generation to generation and it makes them almost a biological fact.

There are situations when the experience and the stereotype contradict each other, as Lippmann (1965: 66) believes. In case the person is not flexible to rearrange his stereotypes or if there is a certain interest that interferes with the flexibility of perception, he discredits a witness, finds a drawback in the situation, and manages to forget it. On the other hand, if the person is rather open-minded, he will accept the novelty and alter the picture. Occasionally, the situation may appear to become striking enough, and the person may feel general discomfort that will lead him to distrust all the former ways of looking at life, and expectation that in reality a thing will not be what it is supposed to be. (Lippmann 1965: 66)

4.4 Stereotypes and prejudice

The word *prejudice* originated from the Latin word *praejudicium*. The term implies a judgment before consideration and examination of the facts, and presupposes emotional involvement. “A feeling favorable or unfavorable, toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on, actual experience.” (Murray quoted in Stangor 2000: 22) The definition of prejudice offered by Stangor (2000: 22) is “an aversive or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore, presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group.” Thus, people base their judgments on limited and at times imaginary probabilities, according to Stangor.

Social categorization is the reason for stereotypes and prejudice to appear. It takes place when we perceive another person not as a unique individual but rather as a member of a group according to their physical characteristics or other categories. Thoughts and feelings are rapidly activated as soon as we categorize the person. (Stangor 2000: 2)

Social categorization is an indispensable part of human nature. Stangor (2000: 2) claims that people tend to characterize other people without conscious endeavor. However, categorization of other people that leads to stereotypes does not necessarily imply that

we construct prejudice. Prejudice involves negative attitudes and feelings to the representatives of a certain group. Unlike stereotypes that involve beliefs about the group, prejudice employs emotions as well. Such negative feelings as anger, disgust, dislikes, fear, or hatred are connected to prejudice (Stangor 2000: 8). To put it differently, stereotypes and prejudice are different phenomena; however, they frequently occur together (Blaine 2007: 63).

The unifying characteristic of stereotypes and prejudice is that they can both occur unintentionally. Prejudice can originate from the socialization processes which are also employed in the acquisition of stereotypes. (Blaine 2007: 63)

According to Stangor (2000: 8), there is a tendency to believe that everybody is prejudiced, including those who are convinced that they are not. It is explained by the fact that they favor their own group and disfavor the others. Moreover, the negative behavior towards the representatives of the outside groups is believed to be the possible consequence of the prejudiced opinion and as a consequence, it may lead to discrimination against the representatives of the group (Mackie et al. 1993: 300). Furthermore, prejudice is believed to remain constant in various situations and contexts.

We use social categories and stereotypes to form social difference around us. Our personal emotional needs actively participate in the process of formation of our social worlds. Our emotional needs include protection of our self-esteem, minimization of fear, and desire to be perceived by the others as fair-minded. Therefore, we tend to draw lines between “us” and “them”, developing stereotypes and prejudice that form our social reality. (Blaine 2007: 76)

5 FRAMING

“Opposing rooters at a football game do not experience the “same” game”.

(Goffman 1986:9)

A frame, as Brewer and Gross (D’Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 159) believe, represents the main organizing concept that gives meaning to the described events, providing connection between them. More than that, the frame is considered to clarify what the controversy is about and what the essence of the narrative is. Reese (2010: 142) defines frames as organizing principles that are socially accepted and that continue in time, that provide symbols and meaning to the social world.

Frames possess the power that can induce us to sort our perceptions of the outside world in certain ways, as Kuypers and D’Angelo (2010: 300) claim. Frames are tightly connected to stereotypes because they both are cognitive means and they manifest themselves linguistically in texts. In other words, frames accentuate some aspects of reality and dim the other aspects similarly to stereotypes. Our attention is selective and thus, we do not frequently pay attention to this process, he states. On the contrary, we rely on easily accessible information, in whatever form. (D’Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 300)

According to Gamson (1989: 157), a frame is the key idea for making sense of events and cueing on what is at issue. He emphasizes that facts acquire their meaning by being inserted into a frame which organizes them and makes them coherent. As Entman (1993: 53) puts it, some features of reality are highlighted while others are omitted. Thus, framing constructs a certain point of view that supports the facts of a definite situation to be perceived in a particular way, with certain facts made more salient than others (D’Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 300).

Interpretation of a situation by an individual depends on the way the situation is framed, as Nisbet (D’Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 46-47) maintains. He states that it is influenced by the visual setup of the message or the terminology employed to describe the issue.

D'Angelo & Kuypers (2010: xiii) claim that the concept of “framing” can be applied to number of topics and in different contexts. They state that a political interest group as well as any group having an agenda resorts to the strategy of framing important issues in order to advance their own agenda. News companies, according to D'Angelo & Kuypers (2010: xiii), decide how to present their stories in comprehensible ways, so as to introduce their own perspectives and apply the frames that their sources use.

5.1 Framing Political Issues

Much of framing research concentrates on methods that politicians employ to use journalists in order to transmit a preferred point of view on issues and events. The information flow can be manipulated in order to make the information palatable and attractive to journalists. Thereafter, journalists communicate it to masses. Obviously, journalists add or even impose extra frames of their own in the process. (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 1)

There is a frequently asked question in the literature on framing public and political affairs, according to Lawrence. Namely, how much of the personal influence is exerted by the media in the process of framing events and issues. (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 265)

Regina G. Lawrence states that media's independence in framing news differs depending on the political context. She provides a comparison of journalists to dogs in relation to public affairs. When presenting political news, journalists act like attack dogs, while presenting a policy monopoly, they become lapdogs, according to Lawrence. In other words, political news is presented critically, whereas policy monopoly is presented neutrally or even positively. (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 267)

Lawrence believes that in the contexts of national security and foreign policy, there is less independence in how events and issues are framed by the mainstream media. It is

claimed that there is more emphasis on governmental news framing. However, there is more independence in framing domestic policy contexts. (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 267)

According to de Vreese, news organizations and journalists are active participants in the process of frame-building. In order to look favorable and achieve strategic aims civil society actors and politicians refer to frames. Framing can be implemented through emphasizing particular aspects of a topic while minimizing other aspects, as de Vreese states. News media uses frames so as to shape public opinion. In other words, the shaping of individuals' attitudes, thoughts and opinions is the crucial objective of journalistic production. (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 187)

The mass media offers more than "just facts" while covering political issues, according to Brewer and Gross (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 159). Certain controversies in political coverage can be understood with the help of frames, they state.

Brewer and Gross (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 161) maintain that it might seem so that the participation of the citizens in frames perception is passive and automatic, conditioned by psychological processes. Thus, it may create an image that public opinion concerning political issues is manipulated by news media and authorities, as they believe. Brewer and Gross continue that this perspective can be used to interpret evidence of framing effects as highlighting the notion that people can influence and even guide policymaking.

Authorities and political elite are concerned with what people think as they want them to act in particular ways, supporting elite's activities, according to Entman (2004: 337). He believes that due to time limitations, reasonableness, attention, making people think and act in a desired way demands careful analysis of what to tell them about. All these features of framing connect it to propaganda, according to Entman.

More than that, it is necessary to cue people on how this information interlocks with their own schemas. Entman (2004: 9) believes that the brief definition of power, which

is the capability to make others do what one wants, is accurate. He insists that it is through framing that authorities and elite representatives mold the texts that influence the considerations that people have.

Entman (2004: 10) offered a “cascading scheme” to illustrate the coherence and interaction between the participants of the news presentation process. There is a clear interdependence between all the levels. The following scheme shows where the constituent parts of the process are located and how they influence each other.

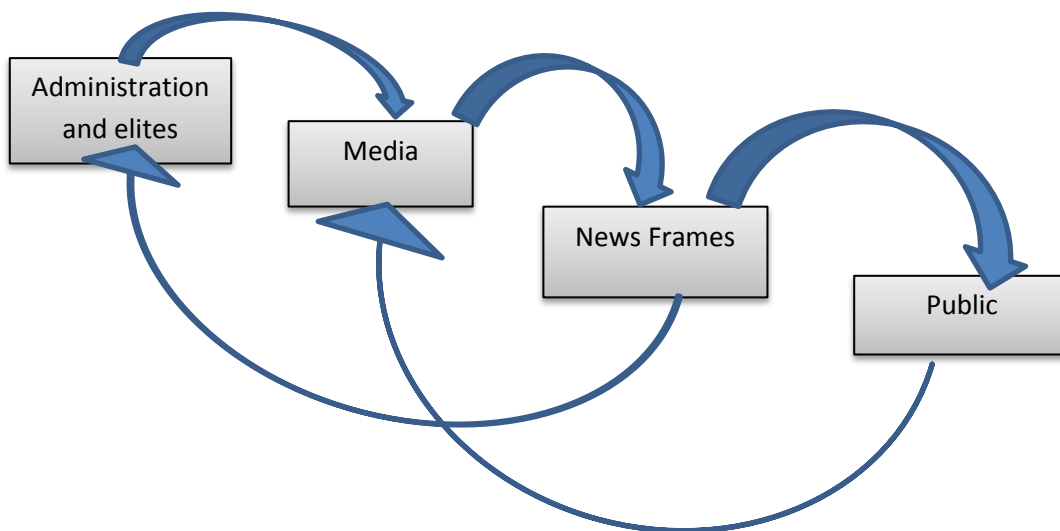


Figure 1. Cascading Network Activation (Entman 2004: 10)

The cascading model offered by Entman explains the feelings and thoughts that accompany a frame spread down from the “Administration and elites” through the system. More than that, it shows who eventually gains the upper hand in political terms and wins the contest of framing, according to Entman (2004: 9). Figure 1 depicts the cascading nature of the flow influencing each level of the system: the administration and elites, news corporations, the narratives they create, and the public. The cascading model presupposes that there are parallels in an individual’s mind concerning the ideas that shift along interpersonal networks and how framing spreads images and words through different media. (Entman 2004: 9)

Entman (2004: 9) claims that some constituent parts have more power than others to promote ideas and push them forward to the news and eventually to the public. He believes that the leaders of the countries and top executives possess the most independency in terms of decision-making. There is a high probability that their ideas become widely circulated and take the form of general assumptions. Backbenchers, according to Entman, do not enjoy as much influence and autonomy though.

5.2 Approaches to framing

D'Angelo & Kuypers (2010: 302) state that while emphasizing certain aspects of reality and omitting others, frames aim at outlining problems, naming reasons, making ethical judgments, and suggesting remedies. As a matter of fact, they can be found in the text, in the receiver, in the communicator, and in the culture itself. According to D'Angelo & Kuypers, frames constitute the natural interaction flow. They claim that people need techniques to handle the immense quantity of information.

From a psychological perspective, the influence of news framing is efficient only if it is applicable to an existing interpretative model that is acquired via social learning, according to Nisbet (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 47). In other words, if media frames resonate with the public's perception then they are most influential. Nisbet claims that frames arouse strong feelings about different issues and make them relevant; the most frequently used spheres are ideologies, politics, and religions.

A "constructionist" approach in news framing complements psychological perspectives. According to Nisbet (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 48), people tend to use frames from media coverage as resources to make sense of political events. Nisbet believes that media frames can help set the debates in the society but they seldom define public opinion. He states that popular culture or events might resonate with a definite interpretative approach and thus, add extra influence to it.

Furthermore, there is such an approach to frames as cultural phenomena. Van Gorp (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 88) makes a remark that it does not necessarily imply that all cultural conceptions automatically become frames. It is only in case someone applies cultural conceptions in order to gain power and capacity they become frames. According to Goffman (1981: 63), there are a finite number of common frames in every culture and subculture that are institutionalized.

Van Gorp (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 89) believes that frames in the news cannot be analyzed independent of the person who interprets them. He states that individuals are required to serve as linking elements between a text and the cultural content of frames. However, frames are not completely individual as they are part of a culture. Consequently, the cultural content of frames is among people, as culture is constructed in the process of communication and it is delivered through the mass media and in the discourse, as Van Gorp claims.

Van Gorp (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 90) suggests that perception of culture from the extraindividual stance gives culture more power compared to the internalized conception. The important point is that by means of using frames individuals can mediate frames' power, namely, the themes become reconfigured in the process of formulating cultural issues in social interaction, according to Van Gorp.

There is always an underlying sense that can be seen independently from the main subject under interpretation, as Van Gorp writes (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010: 90). It is significant to turn to content analysis to reveal the implicit ideas. However, in case the structuralist approach is not used for discovering the hidden sense of the narrative, it is necessary to regard personal interpretations. Van Gorp emphasizes that reading "between lines" in the process of analyzing the content is crucial in revealing what journalists say.

In conclusion it can be stated that even if individual interpretations of events stem from beliefs and interactions with others, there is still an enormous influence from framing. Entman (2004: 124) insists that when it comes to foreign affairs, only few people

possess direct data. Mostly the information flow comes from mass media which introduces events in a framed way. Frames mold public opinion, although, it does not necessarily imply that all people react to the frames in the same manner.

5.3 Doing Framing Analysis

According to Hertog et al. (Reese 2010: 149), framing analysis begins with identification of key conceptions that constitute frames. A basic conflict is a general feature of frames. However, if there is no conflict then the frame is undermined. A marker of the conflict may be the choice of characters introducing ideas, points of view, and information. It implies that the chosen actors always structure the narrative, according to Hertog et al.

The next step in framing analysis is master narrative, as Hertog et al. (Reese et al. 2010: 149-150) claim. Narratives can organize significant amounts of contrasting ideas and disparate information, and the majority of frames usually have ideal narratives. Frames differ by vocabulary. The repetition of adverbs, nouns, adjectives, tenses might be less helpful to identify frames in texts. However, they may help to induce frames in texts. As Hertog et al. claim, terms are not very important to frames, but the repetitive pattern of usage of the terms can assist the researcher to find frames and identify the relationships between frames.

A researcher is expected to design a list of concepts, categories, language, symbols to be assessed in the content. This list can also be used to work out measures for text analysis (Reese et al. 2014: 153). In addition, it may be helpful to develop hypothesis about frames, ideology, narrative structures, and intercultural relations to guide the analysis. If a researcher makes an attempt to calculate guesses based on the preliminary data review, it becomes possible to construct the text analysis to ensure that the major text concepts are measured and critical relationships are evaluated. At the same time, data collection can be adjusted where appropriate. (Reese et al. 2014: 153)

The researcher identifies the adequate research methods depending on the goals of the investigation, according to Hertog et al. (Reese et al. 2014: 153). Texts can be analyzed by means of different approaches. It is stated that potential frames of the topic help to choose the method that is best suited for analyzing the given symbolic content. The preliminary review of frames helps to define the research method, according to Hertog et al.

Quantitative analysis is usually referred to when there is a necessity to count how many times particular categories, concepts, and terms are used. However, the shortcoming of quantitative analysis is that a lot of concepts that play a big role in narratives do not need to be used repetitively to exert the desired impact. A large amount of content may contain a couple of references. Thus, the objectivity may be questioned. (Reese et al. 2014: 154)

Qualitative analysis is believed to be inevitable, according to Hertog et al. (Reese et al. 2014: 154). It demands cultural competence from the researcher to activate the meaning of the text. The assessment of the narrative is important to convey what is present in the content and what is not. Qualitative analysis discloses the new insights into the coding mechanisms. Nonetheless, Hertog et al. emphasize that frame models are reference points, and a deep analysis should not be limited by them.

In all qualitative studies, framing analysis is open to different interpretations of the data. Several analyses that employ several methods are necessary in case there is no standard content, concepts abound, when there is lack of agreement and various interpretations of the data appear. (Reese et al. 2014: 155)

Hertog et al. (Reese et al. 2014: 160) maintain that frames structure connotations that comprise key concepts, metaphors, conflicts, narratives, and myths. The main societal institutions are reflected and supported by frames. More than that, frames form social understanding and construct the discussions concerning social policy and social problems.

In conclusion, it can be claimed that propaganda, stereotypes and framing are interlinked. They represent a coherent and logical combination that aims at achieving the goal of molding public opinion. The aim of propaganda is to shape public views so that there can appear stereotypes and it is implemented with the help of framing. Framing provides a possibility to present the information in a way that elucidates the favorable facts and omits the unfavorable. Thus, stereotypes appear and the aim of the propagandist is achieved.

6 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of the data collected, namely articles from the Soviet Karelian newspapers. All the article excerpts are exposed to framing analysis. The newspaper fragments are described and analyzed one by one. More than that, the article excerpts are divided according to the following frames: the history of Karelia, Karelians, the enemies of Karelia, the friends of Karelia. The analysis employs the theoretical conceptions discussed in the theory part of the thesis. Finally, the findings are summarized.

The articles for analysis are taken from the newspapers called *The Red Karelia* and *The Belomorsk Tribune*. *The Red Karelia* was published from 1917 till 2011 in Petrozavodsk and during the USSR period it was the official print agency of the regional Karelian committee for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. *The Belomorsk Tribune* was first published in October 1930 and it is still published in Belomorsk weekly.

The analysis reveals how the journalists incorporate and use the “frames”. More than that, the analysis makes an attempt to evaluate the frames in the light of the theory of propaganda.

6.1 The History of Karelia

The topic of the history of Karelia was chosen for the Soviet Karelian newspaper articles from time to time. Due to the geographical and ethnic closeness of Karelia and Finland, the historical aspect has always been of interest and, therefore, often present in the press.

However, throughout the Soviet times the attitude towards the Finnish neighbors changed dramatically and this was reflected in the articles. The period of the 1920s — 1930s can be characterized as a time of political and ideological frictions between the

Soviet Union and Finland. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Karelian articles provided the descriptions of the state of affairs and presented the historical events accordingly. In the articles the authors expressed very specific point of view. However, they often strived to present their opinion as well-known facts.

The article excerpt provided below is devoted to the description of the historical events that took place in Karelia, namely the attempts of White Finland to capture Karelia and its natural resources, or as the author put it “countless natural riches”.

- (1) Karelia with its countless natural riches attracted White Finland. That is why Finland decided to organize the comedy of the “people’s rebellion”. For this purpose armed troops were sent under the command of Finnish officers and the old leaders of the bandit movement of 1919 from Finland. The first of these troops, consisting of 60 people, under the command of Finnish officer Takonen crossed the border in the Rebolsky area in the beginning of October. After it, other gangs crossed the border in different frontier areas and spread in the forests making raids against villages and countryside, devastating fishery and forestry, eliminating food supplies and setting the soviet institutions on fire. (Banditry in Karelia, 1925)

The author describes the historical events that contribute to the formation of a negative image of the neighboring country. Many readers learned about the history of Karelia from the newspaper and understood that White Finland was eager to rob Karelians of what belonged to them. The author insists that the manner in which the “bandits” act is cunning, namely he claims that “Finland attempted to organize the comedy of people’s rebellion” in Karelia. Additionally, it is stated that White Finnish “troops crossed the border of Karelia in different frontier areas” and hid “in the forests”. In order to provide the examples that would not leave the readers indifferent, the author maintains that the “troops” performed destructive acts such as “made raids against the villages and countryside”, “devastated fishery and forestry”, “eliminated food supplies” and “set the soviet institutions on fire”. However, from the very first lines of the excerpt it is made clear that the attempts of the White Finns to undermine the unity of Soviet Russia were doomed. By means of using the phrase “organize the comedy” the author displays his attitude towards the actions of White Finland and implies that Karelian people would not believe it.

Some articles looked back to the past adopting a perspective that would underline the achievements of the Karelian people. For instance, the following excerpt emphasizes what the Karelian people overcame and how the author positions the region.

- (2) Karelia is an example of severe and heroic fight, an example of a way out from the oppression and exploitation straight to the broad road of success and victory (Rovio, 1932).

Kustaa Rovio, who was the first secretary of the Karelian regional Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, resorts to the feeling of heroism and attributes it to Karelians in order to create a spirit of unity. The unifying idea for all of those living in Karelia might have been the fact that the inhabitants of the region overcame hardships such as “oppression and exploitation” and managed to lead their land to “success and victory”. The metaphors that Rovio uses such as “the broad road of success and victory” are meant to show how significant and stable the development and prosperity are. More than that, such a lexical choice arouses a strong feeling of belonging to the land and the community that fought heroically and won. It is well illustrated by the following statement too.

- (3) Being under the czar rule, Karelia was the object of oppression and exploitation, double oppression – capitalistic and nationalistic (Rovio, 1932).

Rovio attempts to show the difference between the attitudes towards Karelians in the czar times and the Soviet era. He repeatedly resorts to the words “oppression and exploitation” in order to create the image of hard times for Karelians then and that of better times now. Thus, it contributes to the creation of stereotypical perception of the past era. He puts an emphasis on “capitalistic and nationalistic oppression” so that Karelians would recognize their rights to self-identification, restore their national identity under the Soviet government and think of how different the capitalistic approach is.

- (4) Throughout the centuries the czar government oppressed the working people of Karelia and kept them in darkness and forcefully tried to russify them (Rovio, 1932).

Here the author of the article aims at drawing a clear line between the inhabitants of Karelia and the rest of the country by means of resorting to the historical conditions – the czar government. This is achieved through the attempt to arouse the feeling of antagonism. The author opposes Karelians to Russians by means of using the word “russification” and underlines that it was a “forceful” attempt. In addition, Rovio provides a visual image of “keeping them (Karelians) in the darkness” and “oppressing the working people of Karelia”. In order to intensify the feeling of unity in Karelians, Rovio emphasizes that their self-identification was suppressed “throughout the centuries” and only now they can identify themselves as a unity, an ethnic group. More than that, the author develops the stereotype that monarchy is a negative phenomenon that deprives the working people and peasants of their rights, whereas, the Soviet rule gives them all the power.

- (5) But finally it was the year 1917. The Great October Socialist Revolution broke out and the workers of Karelia shook off the oppression of the previous centuries, realized their national equality among other nationalities and began to establish and strengthen the institutions of the Soviet rule, institutions of the proletarian dictatorship. They faced the mission of using the abundant wealth of the nature for the workers’ good and raise the culture of the masses walking hand in hand with other nations of former Russia. (Rovio, 1932)

The intention of the author of the article in this passage is to transmit the idea that the Soviet rule right after The Great October Revolution helped Karelians to “realize their national equality among other nationalities”. The peculiarity of the phrase consists in the attempt to show Karelians that they have their own distinguishing features; however, they are part of the country where they are equal to those with other national identities. Rovio states that “the workers of Karelia shook off the oppression of the previous centuries” and it can be another factor that would unite them as soon as they realize its significance. At the same time there is a great common mission for all of the Soviet

peoples namely, “establishing and strengthening the institutions of the Soviet rule, institutions of the proletarian dictatorship”.

Rovio reminds Karelians about “the abundant wealth of the nature” that they possess and that they should use it “for the workers’ good” thus, contributing to the development of the region. He believes that it will bring Karelians in line with other nations of the union, as Rovio puts it, they will “walk hand in hand”. The idea of being unique and yet equal to other nations inside the Soviet Union is meant to produce the spirit of patriotism, the spirit of common goals and to become a serious motivation for the working people of Karelia.

Moreover, the manner of presentation of the events leaves the impression as if changes in the society and in the political sphere happened without any external influence. For instance, “The Great October Socialist Revolution broke out” can be interpreted by the readers as an event that occurred by itself without participation of any social actors. At the same time, the workers are presented so as if they seized the opportunity and “shook off the oppression”, “realized their national equality”, “began to establish and strengthen the institutions of the Soviet rule”. All the actions are described so as if it was exclusively their initiative and they managed to organize the abovementioned activities independently, all by themselves.

- (6) However, the workers of Soviet Karelia had to fight in the bloody and long-lasting battle from 1918 to 1922 for these opportunities to transition to building socialism (Rovio, 1932).

This statement aims at underlining how devoted Karelians can be. Rovio shows that the workers of Soviet Karelia are ready to “fight in the bloody and long-lasting battles” in order to have a chance to build socialism. The choice of words intentionally tries to support the motivation in people to continue the work that was started and to believe that severe times can be overcome. “Building socialism” is used as an inspiring factor for the working class.

As it can be seen in the following passage, framing historical events connected to the-then Finland remained the same throughout the decade. The author of the article continues to maintain that the inhabitants of Karelia experienced unfriendly acts from the representatives of White Finland several times in the Soviet history of Karelia.

- (7) And if the Finnish rulers hypocritically claim now that they have always only wanted to protect the “sovereignty” and “neutrality” of Finland, then it is necessary to reply to these hypocrites that they will not go any further with this lie. It has been revealed completely by the well-known facts:

The first fact was the campaign in Olonets organized by the Finnish White Guards in spring 1919 in cooperation with the imperialists of England and France.

The second fact: The campaign of the Finnish White Guards’ gang in Ingermanlandia in order to organize a rebellion there in autumn 1919, under the command of Yudenich, while the torturer of all the Finnish workers Mannerheim was publicly demanding to send the Finnish army to “conquer” Petersburg.

The third fact: The new campaign in Karelia organized in 1921—1922 under the command of the officers of the Finnish army with the support of the English imperialists. (Appeal to the working people of Finland, 1939)

The historical facts are presented in the manner that provokes strict judgment of the deeds of the neighbors who represented the white movement. In order to emphasize the importance and the harmful influence of every unfriendly act from the White Finnish side, the author resorts to splitting the mentioned facts and presenting them separately.

In order to set the tone of presentation of the historic events the author makes a short introduction to blame the government of the neighboring country for “hypocrisy” and “lie”. As a matter of fact, the author states that the Finnish White Guards “organized the campaign” in Olonets, a town in the south of Karelia. More than that, it is maintained that they received assistance from England and France, “the imperialists” from the mentioned countries. It predetermines the further descriptions and leads the reader towards the fixed conclusions. The author intentionally creates the stereotype of the “hypocrites” which he attributes to the representatives of the White Movement in Finland.

Two more campaigns organized by the Finnish White Guards are mentioned, namely in Ingermanlandia and again in Karelia. In order to provide more facts of unfriendly behavior of the neighbors in the past, the author resorts to personalities who participated in those campaigns – Yudenich and Mannerheim. Mannerheim is referred to as “the torturer of all the Finnish workers”, which negatively describes the Finnish military leader to the working class in Karelia. Additionally, the author blames him for his ambitions to “conquer Petersburg”. It all creates an image of an evil authority who threatens the Soviet people in general and Karelians in particular.

- (8) The fourth fact, which is also the characteristic of “neutrality” of the Finnish government: The reorganization of the armed forces of Finland in 1921-1923 assisted by the delegation of officers invited from England under the command of general Kirke, the one that visited Finland again in summer 1939 in order to check the military preparations for the Karelian Isthmus.

The fifth fact: The never-ending slanderous hounding against the Soviet Union and the chauvinistic agitation for the “great Finland” together with the madcap rave about the conquests “up to Ural”. (The appeal to the working people of Finland, 1939)

The White Finnish government is claimed to cover its plans concerning the expansion of the Finnish territory by stating that it protects the “sovereignty and neutrality of the country”. At the same time, the readers are informed that there were significant military preparations from the Finnish side with the aim to conquer the Karelian Isthmus. To show the seriousness of the Finnish approach to the issue, the author claims that a prominent English general — general Kirke — was invited. At the same time, to make the readers analyze the current state of affairs and to make the connection between the past situation of 1921—1923 and the present, the author tells that Kirke returned to Finland in summer 1939. It obviously leaves the readers alerted concerning the possible frictions with Finland in the nearest future.

The perception of the information provided by the article is intensified by the facts that there exist “chauvinistic” ideas in the White Finnish society about a “great Finland” which would have its border somewhere in the Ural region. Furthermore, it is

maintained in the article that there is “never-ending slanderous hounding” against the USSR and so, the readers expect only a negative opinion from the average Finnish neighbors who tend to support the ideas of the White. Thus, the readers of the article are supposed to compare the past experience mentioned in the article and form a strictly negative opinion about the government of White Finland.

6.2 Karelians

Karelians constitute the ethnic group that inhabits the territory of Karelia, Leningrad and Tver regions of Russia as well as the eastern part of Finland. They belong to the Finno-Ugric peoples. However, according to the illustrations that the Soviet Karelian press made, workers and peasants of Karelia of different origin were often unified by the same name and called Karelians.

The inhabitants of Karelia were represented as hardworking, responsible, goal-oriented people, who were striving for better life through building socialism. However, as the article below claims, the intrusion of external parties violated the regular state of affairs in Soviet Karelia and brought banditry into the region. It insists that this phenomenon is alien to Karelians and aims at creating division among the local people.

- (9) The banditry in Karelia represented an alien phenomenon. It was tightly bound to all that vile and provocative policy that was held against us by the neighboring petty bourgeois states and the powerful Antanta standing behind their backs.
The bourgeois parties of Finland intensively spread the gossip through their newspapers as if the Karelian people themselves wanted to secede from the USSR and join Finland. (Banditry in Karelia, 1925)

The author of the article draws the readers’ attention to a negative phenomenon that took place in Karelia, namely banditry. He claims that it is “alien” to Karelians and that it was introduced from abroad by “neighboring petty bourgeois states”, thus, attributing a negative image to them and leaving a stereotype that bourgeoisie produces banditry. More than that, he emphasizes that the initiative belongs to “powerful Entente” that tells

those states what they should do “standing behind the backs”. It underlies that the author believes that Entente wants to conceal itself and act secretly. The banditry in Karelia was to be understood not as criminal acts initiated by Karelians but rather as implementation of the undermining policy of the “bourgeois states”. Apart from that, it is announced in the article that there is “gossip” about Karelians’ wish to “secede from the USSR and join Finland”. Again, this information is attributed to the Finnish sources, such as “the bourgeois parties of Finland”. And the fact that it is called “gossip” shows that the author believes that it has no relation to Karelians.

- (10) Karelian people do not want to break the bonds that attach them to Soviet Russia in the sphere of culture, economics and politics, and there is no desire to join White Finland. Karelian people feel free on the territory of Soviet Russia and do not want to exchange freedom in the USSR for slavery in White Finland or any other capitalistic country. The working people of Karelia will not let the natural wealth of Karelia, its forests, waterfalls, lakes full of fish, mines be exploited by the Finnish bourgeoisie under the guise of “protection” of Karelians. The Karelian commune remains an indispensable part of Soviet Russia, Karelian people will achieve the economic and cultural prosperity of their country. Only the closeness and unity with Soviet Russia can guarantee Karelian people peace, prevent the invasion of capitalists and ensure the free development to them. (Banditry in Karelia, 1925)

The article aims at generalizing Karelian people’s opinions. This is implemented through the frequent repetition of reference to the inhabitants of Karelia: “Karelian people do not want”, “Karelian people feel”, “the working people of Karelia will not let”, “the Karelian commune remains”, “Karelian people will achieve”. “Cultural, economic and political attachment to Soviet Russia” is emphasized by the author as the key element that keeps the Soviet Karelian people in the USSR. Apart from the mentioned “bonds” there are a number of other reasons for the readers to adopt the offered point of view. The motivating and inspiring reasons to develop a sense of unity with the Soviet Union that are mentioned in the excerpt are: “freedom in the USSR and slavery in White Finland”, “Finnish bourgeoisie’s hypocrisy and desire to exploit the natural wealth of Karelia”, “cultural and economic prosperity of the whole country with the help of the Karelian contribution”, “guarantee of peace on the Karelian territory”, “protection from the invasion of capitalists” and “freedom of development”.

- (11) The workers and peasants of Karelia organized voluntary troops of skiers to resist the attacks of the criminals. By the way, in some areas such as in Olonetsky county the bandits got rebuffed in such a way that they will never forget it.

With the appearance of the military units of the Red army, which were met with great enthusiasm, the major part of the Karelian territory was cleaned from the gangs that had caused a lot of harm at the beginning. They took the advantage of complete absence of any military defense of the Karelian-Finnish border. The bandits that were functioning in 7 or more counties remote from the railway road, where the operations of the Red army were difficult to carry out due to almost complete absence of convenient communication channels, were also defeated completely. (Banditry in Karelia, 1925)

This excerpt of the article emphasizes the successes of the mutual efforts of the Red army and the voluntary troops in fighting “the criminals”. It is underlined that the inhabitants of Karelia managed to “resist the attacks of the criminals” and “the bandits got rebuffed in such a way that they will never forget it”, although “the criminal attacks” had been unexpected. The author claims that the ordinary people were ready to unite and fight those who came to their territory on unfriendly purposes. Such a description of the events intends to arouse the feeling of pride for the comrades, desire to defend the country and an inimical view of the representatives of White Finland. More than that, the author emphasizes the achievements of the Red army and people’s support of it. He states that “the military units of the Red army were met with great enthusiasm” in Karelia and that even in the remote areas of Karelia “the bandits were defeated completely”. Thus, the author tries to show that there is nothing impossible during hard times for the Soviet people when they unify their effort and have patriotic feelings towards their homeland.

As it is stated in another article, the common hardships in the past and the common goals for the future keep the Karelians united. Moreover, the author states that this fact should be transmitted to those who still live “under the reign of the capital” and know nothing about the improved life conditions in Karelia.

- (12) During the last 10 years of revolution, out-of-the-way and downtrodden by the czarism Karelia has now achieved colossal results in all the spheres of economic and cultural life; everybody wants the Finnish comrades to see the life, the living conditions and the social work of Karelian workers and employees. Everybody wants them, having arrived from abroad where there is still the reign of the capital, to say their word about our development. (The Finnish working delegation is Karelia's guest, 1927)

The emphasis of the article's excerpt is placed on the achievements and "colossal results" of the workers of Karelia. It is claimed that "czarism" did not contribute to the development of the region; vice versa it became "downtrodden" and remained "out-of-the-way" under the reign of czars. According to the excerpt, now Karelia is thriving both in economic and cultural life. Furthermore, the author of the article believes that the fact of the observations by the "Finnish comrades" will explain to the capitalist world that the Soviet Karelia is a prosperous place.

The following passage shows the hardworking nature of the Karelian people. Additionally, it aims at emphasizing the fact that positive changes in the region serve as "a great impulse and enthusiasm" for them to work harder.

- (13) The transition to peaceful development, the establishment of the autonomous region awoke in Karelians a great impulse and enthusiasm to build. (Rovio, 1932).

In this statement the author makes an attempt to add to the idea of unity inside Karelia. The readers see that there is a common goal for all the Karelians, namely, building and developing. He emphasizes that there are inspiring factors that are relevant for all and each, such as "the transition to peaceful development and the establishment of the autonomous region". All this is stated as a fait accompli, leaving no hesitation or doubts about how the majority of Karelians live.

- (14) All the past of the workers of Karelia is connected to struggling – hard and severe struggle. The nature itself, natural life conditions, environment here demand a hard struggle from the workers. Under the leadership of the Lenin Party the workers of Karelia went through the severe and at the same time victorious struggle. (Rovio, 1932)

The approach of referring to the past plays the role of unification for those who experienced the described events. By putting stress on “hard and severe struggle” that people faced, the author unites the workers of Karelia and provides them with the idea that their unity helped them make the struggle “victorious”. Rovio tries to show that common past, common experience bring Karelians together and bind them to victory and success.

- (15) That is why we in Soviet Karelia must watch our border carefully and be ready to resist the attacks of the Finnish bourgeoisie, be ready for the new battles and protection of the lands we acquired.
The workers and peasants of Karelia were standing, are standing and will be standing on guard like the soldiers of the great revolution, defending the vast north-west border of our great USSR. (Rovio, 1932)

Rovio resorts to the strong unifying ideas such as “watch our border carefully”, “resist the attacks”, “be ready for the new battles and protection of the lands”. Those who identify themselves with the Karelian territory cannot remain indifferent and are united due to this common challenge. Moreover, the author praises Karelians for their intention to “stand on guard”, “defend the vast border of the great country”. Such an approach motivates and inspires Karelians to actively support the governmental line and sustain the imposed stereotypes.

6.3 Enemies of Karelia

In the Soviet times there was a division of the population of Finland into those who supported the ideas of the ruling elite of Finland that was in opposition to Soviet Russia, the White Finns, and those who supported communist ideas, agreed with the policy of the Soviet Union, the Red Finns. The following categorization, namely “enemies of Karelia”, includes mainly the White Finns and their allies.

The Soviet Karelian newspapers expressed the attitude of the Soviet ruling elite towards both groups of Finns. The White Finns were perceived as a threat and the local

population of Karelia read about the harm that was done by the representatives of White Finland in Karelia or else newspapers dwelled on the potential harm that might have been caused by them.

The following article describes the attempts of the White Finnish representatives to affect the life in Karelia so as to bring imbalance to the region. It insists that the “gangs” in Karelia were organized with the aim of taking control over the area.

- (16) The Finnish White guards began to organize gangs on their territory for arming Karelia, so that later they could start shouting to the whole Europe about the “sufferings of Karelians under the yoke of Russia” and about their “total rebellion against the Soviet rule”. Their only aim of “Karelian rebellion” was to lay their hands on one of the richest Russian regions. (Banditry in Karelia, 1925)

The author of the article describes Finns as a threat to Karelia and the USSR in general. Finns are called “White guards” and their actions are described as “organizing gangs for arming Karelia”, their intention is “to start shouting about the sufferings of Karelians and rebellion against the Soviet rule”, desire “to lay the hands on one of the richest Russian regions”. Such a portrait of the neighboring state could create only a negative stereotypical perception of the official authorities of Finland and their supporters. The intention of the article is to show how the militant plans of neighbors are meant to be implemented and to bias the readers’ opinion.

Wasting products was an unforgivable offence, especially in the 1920s when people in Karelia were starving. The article puts special emphasis on this fact and blames the White Finns for “causing huge loses”.

- (17) The invasion of the White Finns into the territory of Karelia caused huge loses. 50.000 poods of bread supplied by the soviet government for the starving Karelians were spoiled and stolen, 17.000 poods of meat, - 1.000 poods of sugar and fat. All the logging plans were disrupted, all the fishing trades were destroyed, 500 horses were stolen, all the provision offices and rural district executive committees were robbed, the property of many hundreds of families was destroyed, many villages were burnt down completely. On October 13th, one of the bandit troops managed to

burn down the wooden bridge deck of the Murmansk railway over river Onda. (Banditry in Karelia, 1925)

The big numbers of “spoiled”, “stolen”, “disrupted”, “destroyed”, “robbed”, “burned down” villages, property, food supplies automatically evoke the feeling of hatred and rage in the readers. The examples of the devastation brought by the White Finns that the author mentions in the excerpt are not petty. The loss counted in numbers indicates that the Karelian population would experience hardship in different areas, for instance, in accommodation, in nutrition, in transportation, in the professional sphere. The author refers to the people who caused the harm as “bandit troops” and does not leave any doubts about who those people were.

- (18) The assistance of the Finnish government that was provided to the White Guard gangs that organize raids to Karelia, represented an outrageous violation of neutrality and the peace treaty between Finland and Russia signed in Tartu.

Without that assistance the White Guard gangs would by no means be organized as a serious power, get weaponry, set supplies and recruitment bases, and cross the border. The Soviet government through several official notes demanded vigorously from Finland to immediately stop acting inimically towards soviet Russia and abide by the Tartu peace treaty strictly. (Banditry in Karelia, 1925)

In this excerpt the author of the article insists on the official support of the “White Guard gangs” by the Finnish government. He claims that the possibility for the “bandits” to be able to “be organized into a serious power”, “get weaponry”, “set supplies and recruitment bases” and “cross the border” could be provided only by the authorities. He blames the official leaders of Finland for “the outrageous violation of the peace treaty and neutrality”. It is interpreted by the readers as an inimical behavior both on the highest level of the White Finnish official representatives and on the level of the citizens of the neighboring country who support their officials. The article maintains that there were numerous violations from the Finnish side and “several official notes from the Soviet government” to stop “inimical acts” and “abide by the Tartu peace treaty strictly”. It all creates the image of a ruinous neighbor who threatens the sovereignty of the Soviet state which can eventually take a form of a stereotype. The

readers had no chance but to adopt the transmitted image and rely on the provided information, unless they had personal contacts with someone from Finland.

- (19) Different Finnish bourgeoisie unions, such as “The Jäger Movement”, “South Ostrobotnia tillers (landlords)”, having the protection and material support of the government, worked openly on organizing the gangs, and providing them with everything necessary. The Finnish officers willing to join those gangs received long-lasting vacations, railways took them to the border from the army either free of charge or for half price. All the Finnish bourgeoisie press was full of defamation articles about Soviet Russia and calls to organize Karelian campaigns. (Banditry in Karelia, 1925)

Analyzing this excerpt, it becomes evident that the author sought to convince the readers of the insidious plans and serious ambitions of the “Finnish bourgeoisie” concerning Karelia. He maintains that the gangs “were organized” by the Finnish “government” and received “material support” from it. More than that, the article claims that it was officially allowed for “the Finnish officers to join the gangs”. They were provided by “either free of charge or half price” transportation to the Finnish-Soviet border and it is presented as a piece of evidence of the governmental participation of Finland in the “Karelian campaigns”. Additionally, the author of the article insists on the influence of propaganda of the “Finnish bourgeoisie” that presented a biased point of view about Soviet Russia and that “called for organizing Karelian campaigns”.

The following passage names the foes of the Karelian people referring to the historical evidences. It witnesses how the negative image of the White Finns was maintained through the years in the Karelian press.

- (20) Having overcome the resistance of the kulaks and the petty bourgeois elements, the workers of Karelia faced their main enemy – white Finns who had been dreaming of annexation of Soviet Karelia. The first raid into Soviet Karelia was organized by the Finnish bourgeoisie in spring 1918. The experimental expedition that aimed at capturing the territory was directed towards Northern Karelia up to the town Kem. (Rovio, 1932)

Along with the emphasis on the appearance of a new self-perception among Karelians, the author of the article presents the others in an inimical manner. The others are depicted as “the petty bourgeois elements” — such a description is supposed to be perceived as negative, and the word “elements” is intended to humiliate those who belong to the group depriving them of the right to be called people. More than that, he clearly defines them as an “enemy”. Kulaks who owned some property were also considered to be inimical towards the poor majority who, in their turn, sought equality for all. At the same time, Rovio points out another group that is presented as the “main enemy” of the workers of Karelia. He claims that “White Finns” represent a threat to Karelians as their intention is to capture the region. Here the word “White” has a negative connotation showing that the Whites are alien, that they support “bourgeois” ideas and, consequently, are inimical to the Reds, who support the ideas of communism.

- (21) At the same time the Russian White Guards started to move towards Karelia from Murmansk with the aim of intervention. In April 1919 the Finnish Bourgeoisie directed the second expedition for annexation of Karelia and this time it was towards Southern Karelia. This time the aim was to capture the capital of the republic – Petrozavodsk and to cut the Murmansk railway by means of ruining the bridge over the river Svir. Almost all Karelia became a battlefield. The workers and peasants of Karelia supporting the Red Army fought against the fierce enemy – White Finns, allies and the Russian White Guards. Thus, the fight turned out to be a distinctly international war with a class-related nature. Englishmen, Frenchmen, Finnish and Russian White Guards and others fought against the Soviet government. (Rovio, 1932)

The specification of who should be taken as a “fierce enemy” is provided by the author of the article in detail. Russian White Guards, the Finnish bourgeoisie or White Finns, Englishmen and Frenchmen fought against the Soviet government, thus, the readers are suggested to elaborate negative attitudes towards them. The thorough description of the “annexation” strategy and the aggressive intentions of the “enemy” such as “capturing the capital”, “cutting the railway”, “ruining the bridge” is provided in the passage to raise the spirit of patriotism, to remind the workers and peasants of the past troubles and prepare them to always be ready to defend their motherland.

- (22) However, the peaceful break did not last long. The enemy – the Finnish bourgeoisie, used the hardships of the Soviet government which were aggravated by the devastation of the Civil War for its own benefits. In autumn 1921 Finland organized bandit riots that were planned beforehand and helped with weapons and people, making the third desperate attempt to annex Karelia. Again people have to drop building construction and switch to martial law. Only by March 1922 Karelia gets rid of the bandits and the Finnish White Guards. But at what price. (Rovio, 1932)

In order to add more of the characteristic features to the White Finns, thus showing that they are the Others and have negative intentions, the author resorts to them as “the enemy”, “Finnish bourgeoisie”, “the bandits”, “the Finnish White Guards”, people who organized the “bandit riots” and “made attempts to annex Karelia”. All of the definitions aim at provoking the feeling of hatred and consequently, define them as aliens who threaten the well-being of Karelians, which consequently may lead to formation of a fixed stereotypical perception of the neighbors. It simultaneously provokes the feeling of unity among Karelians as Karelia is their common land that needs to be defended through the collective effort.

- (23) 10 years have passed since the elimination of banditry. Can we believe that the Finnish bourgeoisie has finally refused from the idea of annexing Karelia, put up with the failure. Can we feel safe and not fear the new attempts and trials from the Finnish side? (Rovio, 1932)

The choice of wording in this passage depicts that Rovio makes the distinction between “us” and “them”. The White Finns are referred to as “banditry” and “Finnish bourgeoisie”. These definitions strive to make the readers want to stay away from them. Moreover, he talks about “the failure” of the Finnish side while attempting to “annex” Karelia. It underlies that the united efforts of Karelians were successful, which is another reason to be proud of themselves and continue the work.

- (24) All along the way the bandits left destruction and devastation – in many villages there are no doors, no rustic stoves in houses, neither is there glass in windows.
Those people who did not manage to escape were kidnapped, horses and cattle were hijacked to Finland. Tens of party and non-party workers were cruelly murdered. In other words, in a significant number of

Karelian places it was necessary to start all the work and building construction from the very beginning. (Rovio, 1932)

The purpose of these paragraphs is to create a clear image of devastation that White Finns left in Karelia. The citizens of Soviet Karelia could not remain indifferent to the vivid descriptions such as “kidnapping of people”, “hijacking the cattle”, “murdering workers” and “leaving destruction and devastation”. More than that, the author referred to the people who had caused all that as “bandits”. The readers were supposed to form a negative attitude from the source that was considered to be reliable.

The additional categorization that the author makes is the division into “party” and “non-party” members. In the Soviet Union there was just one party – the Communist Party, and as a matter of fact, for the Soviet citizens it was of crucial importance whether a person was a member of this party or not. However, the author emphasizes that for the White Finns it did not play a decisive role in making a decision how to treat those on the territory of Karelia. He claims that both “party and non-party members were cruelly murdered”. Thus, once again, the emphasis is laid upon the inimical approach of the White Finns to the neighboring Karelians.

(25) According to all the available data the Finnish bourgeoisie is waiting for the suitable and appropriate moment to restart the attempts to capture Soviet Karelia. (Rovio, 1932)

The statement that Soviet Karelia will sooner or later be exposed to “attempts of capturing” is targeted at arousing the feeling of affiliation to the land in Karelians and providing them, in return, with the inimical feelings towards the “Finnish bourgeoisie”. More than that, the author contributes to the formation of the inimical stereotype which refers to the “Finnish bourgeoisie”.

Another issue that is targeted by the article is to provoke the feeling of fear in the Karelian population. The Soviet propaganda aimed at keeping the population under control and the feeling of fear could help to achieve it.

- (26) The appetite and the lust are not petty. The “Great Finland” needs forests, water, and riches of the Karelian territory and the Leningrad region. These issues are discussed and described by the Finnish fascists, their communities and organizations. And they are actively getting ready for the implementation of their invasive plans. (Rovio, 1932)

The illustration of the neighboring country in such metaphoric terms makes the main idea of the author understandable for various readers creating the image of a hungry and desperate crowd. The author resorts to the metaphoric description of the intensions of the-then rulers of Finland and uses the words “appetite” and “lust”, and he emphasizes that those are “not petty”. The readers are provided with examples of the riches of their native territory that they might possibly be deprived of. All this is intended to arouse the sense of possession. Furthermore, the author uses the strong, negative term “fascist” to refer to Finns. The word transmits the attitude about the neighboring country to the reader and where there is little if any place for forming an independent stance. Most readers had no other sources of information and, thus, the newspapers’ expected the provided data to be taken for granted.

As it is explained in another Soviet Karelian article, which was published much later, the perception of the White government of Finland by the Soviet people in general is strained. More than that, the article claims that the coalition of English, French and Finnish militarists aim for another “world war”.

- (27) The Finnish militarists and their hapless fascist government that is being pushed by the English-French arsonist of the new world war, fall over themselves to prove to the whole world that the Soviet government is to be blamed for derailing the talks, that the USSR put forward impossible demands for Finland, that the USSR invaded Finland to deprive it of its independence and forcibly make it Soviet. But the crocodile tears of Kajander — Tanner will never deceive anyone. It is absolutely clear for everybody that this government, — the faithful servant of the big imperialistic predators, lacked the intelligence to agree with the sensible, peaceful offers of the USSR, and to conclude a treaty of friendship with the great soviet people. The provocative shots from the side of these “fighters” arouse anger in the hearts of 183-million soviet people. (Semionov, Kulizhnikov, Ioilev, 1939)

The authors of the article express their opinion in an emotional manner. Their intention was to leave nobody indifferent and introduce a strictly negative view towards the Finnish authorities. They refer to them as “hapless fascist government”, “fighters”, “faithful servants of predators”; this is intended to humiliate the Finnish authorities and damage the image of the authorities. In addition to that, the authors describe the actions of the Finnish government as “it is being pushed by”, “fall over themselves to prove”, “their crocodile tears will never deceive”, “lacked the intelligence to agree” and all that contributes to the general negative image that is being created. The Finnish government is claimed to follow the decisions of the “imperialistic predators”, thus having no autonomous position. The fact of choosing the capitalistic way of development automatically questions the possibility for the USSR to be friends with such a state. Furthermore, claiming that there were “provocative shots from the Finnish side that arouse anger in the hearts of 183-million soviet people”, the authors express the idea that on the one hand unifies all the soviet people and makes every soviet reader feel involved, and on the other hand, presents the events so that nobody would question the situation. The chosen approach to introduce the events reflects a predetermined point of view and it intends to leave no opportunity for the readers to decide for themselves and to form their own attitude.

- (28) The fearsome time has come for the fascist militarists to pay for the innocently shed blood of the faithful soviet sons. The military order has been given. The valorous Red Army units have swept away the border. In a wild fear Kajanders and Manneheims run away – the bloody torturers of the Finnish people. The “formidable” power of the Finnish fortification is being destroyed completely. The working Finnish people meet our comrades with joy. (Semionov, Kulizhnikov, Ioilev, 1939)

The general purpose of the paragraph is to show the optimistic opinion of the authors and attribute it to all the soldiers of the Soviet army fighting on the Soviet-Finnish border, so that the readers of the article would acquire a similar opinion and mood. The way of rendering the ideas transmits an optimistic view on the current state of affairs and the future. Moreover, in order to depict the Finnish authorities and military as evil, to create a negative image, which can take the form of a stereotype, and to show the contempt, the authors call them “the fascist militarists”, “the bloody torturers of the

Finnish people” and “Kajanders and Mannerheims”. Furthermore, the usage of the personal names in plural shows disregard to the ruling circles of White Finland and deprives the mentioned leaders of their uniqueness. In other words, the authors imply that each of them is simply one out of many. Another image that is being created is that of unlucky fighters and cowards. It is implemented through the following phrases: “to pay off for the innocently shed blood”, “the border was swept away”, “in a wild fear Kajanders and Mannerheims run away”, “the formidable power of the Finnish fortification is being destroyed completely”. Furthermore, the authors of the article consider it to be significant to mention that there are people in Finland who support Soviet ideas and who suffer from the Finnish government. As an illustration the authors claim that “the working people” in Finland meet the Soviet soldiers with “joy”.

As it is claimed by another article, just before the Winter War started in 1939, the White Finnish authorities strengthened the anti-Soviet propaganda. And the examples provided by the article attempt to prove that.

- (29) Along the Eastern border of Finland it is possible to observe the real military situation. Soldiers are marching everywhere, the town Viipuri and surrounding villages are plunged into darkness and trenched; there are wire fencing and gas-proof shelters. The war hysteria is strenuously being blown up.
- Having entered into negotiations with the USSR, the ruling elite of Finland launched a campaign against the country of socialism. Having chosen the target of derailing talks with the USSR beforehand, they started to depict its peaceful aspirations as an attempt to deprive Finland of its independence. Behind the slogan of maintaining neutrality there were carried out real preparations for the war with the USSR. Using all means, the Finnish ministers referred to their favorite method – the most impudent slander to provoke the hatred towards the Soviet Union. The Finnish magazine “Suomen kuvalehti” released two articles written by the officers of the general staff of the Finnish army right after several days when the negotiations began. In these articles they discussed war plans against the USSR. The officers made various layouts, evaluated the strategic position of Finland, opportunities of the “foe” and made conclusions that if the USSR... does not suffer defeat, then at least it will not be able to successfully resist the Finnish army. (The ruling circles of Finland provoke war with the USSR, 1939)

During the pre-war period the number of articles devoted to anti-Soviet propaganda in Finland escalated according to the Soviet Karelian newspapers such as *The Red Karelia* and *The Belomorsk Tribune*. The given excerpt provides examples of how the neighboring country is getting ready for the war with the USSR. The author claims that the Eastern border of Finland has already prepared itself for military operations. Namely, he states that there are “soldiers marching everywhere”, the territory on the border is “trenched”, “gas-proof shelters and wire fencing” are prepared. He maintains that Finland “is being blown up with hysteria”. It implies that the citizens became nervous and uneasy about the possible military conflict with the Soviet Union. In order to depict how “the Finnish ministers” intimidate their compatriots the author resorts to an interview in the Finnish magazine “Suomen kuvalehti”. The author of the article depicts the content of the interviews in a decisive manner that reflects how determined the officers are and how war-oriented Finland is. To sound more reliable, he resorts to the word “foe” that was used in the interview by the officers. It is aimed at making the readers believe that the neighboring country officials view the Soviet people as enemies. The author claims that the ruling elite set a target as “to provoke hatred towards the Soviet Union” convincing people that “the USSR wants to deprive Finland of its independence”. It is achieved through “the most impudent slander”, according to the article. At the same time, the Finnish officials try to convince the USSR in “maintained neutrality”, the author maintains and as for the Soviet Union, it has “the peaceful aspirations” and does not consider war. The article puts the blame for worsening the international relations completely on the Finnish ministers.

Another article offers more examples of the anti-Soviet propaganda in Finland before the Winter War in 1939. This corresponds to the general information flow about the representatives of the bourgeoisie and their supporters.

(30) Helsinki, 15 (TASS).

The police broke into the editorial office of the Finnish magazine “Soihtu” the other day and conducted a search. Policemen confiscated the issues of the magazine “Soihtu” and a number of articles prepared for printing that called for the establishment of normal relations between the Soviet Union and Finland.

The ruling elite restlessly approves of the anti-Soviet propaganda. Especially diligent is the press. It is considered to be the direct duty to constantly and systematically write various fables about the Soviet Union to insult its state agencies. In the army press it is intensively preached to hate “the moskals”. (The anti-Soviet campaign in Finland, 1939)

The excerpt of the article provides the readers with a recent example of the actions of the Finnish ruling elite and defines them as “anti-Soviet propaganda”. The author claims that the “confiscation of the issues” of the magazine “Soihtu” was of friendly predisposition towards the Soviet Union and “called for establishment of normal relations” between the two countries. The main blame is placed on the ruling elite and the Finnish press. It is stated that it “systematically writes fables about the Soviet Union” and that one of its aims is “to insult the Soviet state agencies”. However, the crucial target of the press is “to preach hatred towards the moskals”, according to the article. Thus, the readers are provided with the image of an unfriendly government of the neighboring country that conducts anti-Soviet propaganda.

- (31) The skirmishers of the anti-Soviet deceitful propaganda are the most reactionary, right-wing elements who are dreaming of expansion of the Finnish border to the Ural. The society is being instilled by all means that there is absolutely no difference between the old and modern Russia. The screens have been offered for showing the unbelievable fiction. Thus, shortly before the Soviet-Finnish negotiations they showed a mediocre movie “The terror of Cheka”, shot by the Englishmen with the help of the Russian White guards.

During all these years Finland oriented itself towards the West and primarily towards those powers that treated the Soviet Union inimically. This policy has been implemented with the most balanced development, worthy of the best application. The English bourgeoisie warmed up and sustained the anti-Soviet sentiments of the Finnish ruling elite. During the 20 years England was trading with Finland at a loss. That is where the source of the anti-Soviet propaganda among the Finnish ruling elite finds itself.

The Finnish bourgeoisie closely related to the English capital received a big profit. It viewed Finland as a barrier against the “barbarians from the East”. (The anti-Soviet campaign in Finland, 1939)

The article dwells on the topic of the anti-Soviet propaganda in Finland and tries to provide convincing arguments. It claims that there are “right-wing elements” that plan to “expand the Finnish border to the Ural”. This argument sounds as a direct threat to

the Soviet people. The readers found out that the so-called anti-Soviet Finnish propaganda imposed a negative view of the neighbors on the Finnish citizens. The argument that the article provides is that the movie called “The terror of Cheka” could not create a friendly perception of the USSR. The author calls the film “mediocre” in order to show that it is untalented. It is emphasized that the neighbors exposed to propaganda would perceive the Soviet Union as a potential threat and enemy. In order to distance the Finnish citizens from the Soviet people, according to the author, Finland “oriented itself towards the West” and especially those western countries that were of “inimical” attitude towards the USSR. The author of the article maintains that “England was trading with Finland at a loss” and the reason for such interest was “to sustain the anti-Soviet sentiments. The scheme of mutual benefit in Finnish-English relations is clear, according to the author, Finland received “a big profit” from the English capital and England relied on Finland being “a barrier against the barbarians from the East”.

- (32) It is not difficult to guess why these “ideological” preparations were held. The current break in the Soviet – Finnish negotiations should be analyzed in the light of the anti-Soviet policy of the Finnish ruling elite. The Finnish delegation is returning to Helsinki. However, the right-wing circles, inspired from abroad, are preparing “a honorable retreat”. They are trying to depict the situation in advance so that the USSR is to blame in the disruption of the negotiations because it made “impossible claims”. This is the exact tone of today’s newspapers. They are already hesitating whether it will be possible to continue the negotiations. (The anti-Soviet campaign in Finland, 1939)

The excerpt of the article repeats once again that there was an “ideological” background to the anti-Soviet propaganda held by the Finnish ruling elite. The Finnish right-wing circles are suspected of being “inspired from abroad” and blamed for depicting the situation so that the USSR disrupted the negotiations. The Finnish newspapers are claimed to spread the information that is biased and thus, support the anti-Soviet propaganda, according to the article. Thus, the stereotype that the readers are exposed to is that all those who support the White movement in Finland have negative sentiments towards the soviet people.

- (33) It should be noted that the official circles of Finland repeat that they seek agreement with the USSR, that the break in negotiations in the Kremlin is temporary. However, it is simply a way to mislead the public opinion of the world. It is evident that the ruling elite of Finland do not want the agreement with the USSR, they hold onto their anti-Soviet policy. A great number of people sincerely seek to establish friendly relations with the Soviet Union. The inimical anti-Soviet policy has not justified itself. This policy failed and Finnish people do not support it. (The anti-Soviet campaign in Finland, 1939)

The excerpt of the article maintains that the Finnish authorities try to persuade the “public opinion of the world” that the negotiations between the Soviet Union and Finland will be held after the break. The Finnish ruling circles are said to conduct a “misleading” policy according to the author. Moreover, they are believed to hold onto the anti-Soviet propaganda. At the same time, the author states that the Finnish citizens are not influenced by those attempts and that they aim at establishing “friendly relations” with the USSR. The author’s conclusion is that the political line of the Finnish government is doomed to fail.

The following article also draws the attention of the readers to the propaganda held in White Finland against the Soviet Union. It emphasizes the spirit of the Finnish military people and their attitude towards the neighboring Soviet state.

- (34) The roots of the arrogant Finnish militarists can be found in the endless chauvinistic propaganda that was held in the army during the two decades. The meaning of this propaganda was expressed in a brief formula: “Ten Moskals are worth one Finn.” In the Finnish army the education of officers was based on this principle. It was rammed into everyone’s brain that the Finnish army is superior. The drill system, based on the incitement of hatred towards the Soviet people, was encouraged by the top leaders of the Finnish army. The representatives of the English militarists were actively helping them in it. The Finnish militarists were cheered up by those who like to rake up the fire by the hands of others. This explains the “determination” of the Finnish militarists that seriously threatens to “crush down” the Red Army. (The ruling circles of Finland provoke war with the USSR, 1939)

The given excerpt of the article claims that the Finnish military representatives, called “the arrogant Finnish militarists”, supported propaganda against the Soviet Union and

were continuously imposing a hostile image of the Soviet people. It is stated that the process has lasted for twenty years and has spread its roots in the society. In order to show how insolent the attempts of propaganda are, the author provides the example of comparison made by the Finnish propagandists, namely “Ten Moskals are worth one Finn”. Russians are called “Moskals” which depicts the contemptuous attitude. And the emphasis is placed on a very low value of the neighbors. The article insists that the main aim of the Finnish propaganda is to evoke “hatred” towards the Soviet Union among the Finns. More than that, the author maintains that the Finnish military propaganda was supported by “the English militarists”. The English propaganda supporters, namely, the Finnish militarists, are claimed to “rake up the fire by the hands of the others”, which implies that the Englishmen strived to achieve their goal through the Finnish activists trying to minimize England’s involvement. Another issue underlined in the excerpt is that the Finnish propaganda praised the future victories of Finland and described the “threats of crushing down the Red Army”. They claim that the might and potency of the Finnish army was ready to face all the possible challenges. At the same time, the anti-Soviet propaganda lessened the abilities of the Red Army and convinced the audience of its defeat.

Obviously, the Soviet Karelian newspapers aimed at contributing to the implementation of the official Soviet policy through blaming the neighbors, who followed a different political line, for anti-Soviet propaganda. However, the Soviet Karelian newspapers would not mention that there was propaganda against those neighbors in the local press. On the contrary, it is claimed that the Soviet Karelian newspapers tell the truth and the White Finnish sources lie.

- (35) Obviously in order to restore the undermined authority of the Finnish generals in the country and in the army malicious rumors are spread that the Soviet army arrived in Estonia on broken tanks, that the soldiers of the Red Army do not have shirts and greatcoats, and that the rifles are hanging not on belts but “on ropes or wires”. The record of anti-Soviet lies is beaten by the newspaper of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the “Helsingin sanomat”. Against the sound sense, the Finnish ruling elite, following its irreconcilable anti-Soviet policy, keeps on rolling down the inclined plane. (The ruling circles of Finland provoke war with the USSR, 1939)

According to the information that *the Belomorsk Tribune* presented in the given excerpt of the article, anti-Soviet propaganda in Finland encouraged its audience by means of lessening the Soviet possibilities to resist in the warfare. One of the reasons for “the malicious rumors” about the Soviet soldiers, as the article states, was “to restore the undermined authority of the Finnish generals”. The given comparison tries to emphasize the serious approach and serious attitude of the Finnish authorities towards the regimentals and facilities of the Finnish army and illustrate the weakness of the Red Army. However, *the Belomorsk Tribune* insists that the mentioned examples, such as absence of proper outfit, “rifles on ropes or wires” and broken tanks, are only “rumors” and “propaganda”. The Finnish newspaper “Helsingin sanomat” is said to play the main role in spreading the rumors and leading the anti-Soviet propaganda, according to the article. The conclusion that the author of the article makes is that the Finnish ruling elite behaves “against the sound sense” and that it has stepped on a risky path of “irreconcilable anti-Soviet policy”. This statement, in its turn, makes an attempt to leave the readers with the feeling of futility of the Finnish stance and of confidence that the Finnish elite’s anti-Soviet policy is not likely to change for the better.

6.4 Friends of Karelia

Soviet Karelian mass media sources and particularly newspapers divide Finns into two main groups: the White Finns and the Red Finns. Admittedly, they are presented differently in order to show that the Finnish society has polar opinions about the political system in their own country. Consequently, the population of Karelia could form different perception of these two groups of Finns based on the information of the newspaper articles.

The Red Finns are viewed as friends of the Soviet Union and its allies. Similarly, for the authors of the articles, the workers of the “White Finland” are often viewed as sharing the ideas and aspirations of the Red Finns. Thus, the articles devoted to them describe how Soviet workers and peasants express their support to the comrades in Finland.

Some other articles describe the hardships that the Red Finns have to overcome in their own country where the government does not provide them with support but rather oppresses them.

More than that, the American Finns who moved to Karelia shared the Soviet ideas and aspirations. They lived and worked together with the Soviet people in Karelia. Thus, Karelians could apply the information from the newspapers to their own experience of communication with the American Finns.

The article below shows that the workers and peasants of Karelia had warm and friendly feelings to the comrades in Finland. It emphasizes that the Karelian people are ready to provide them with the necessary mental and material support.

- (36) Working women and peasant women of Finland, we, working women and peasant women of the Red Soviet Karelia, are extending our sisterly hand to you on the international day of working women and peasant women.

We know how difficult your situation is, we know that many of your sons, husbands, fathers and brothers are languishing in capitalistic jails, we know that many of you are thrown outside by the heartless capitalistic regime. (Telegram to the Finnish working women and peasant women, 1926)

By means of publishing the telegram in the newspapers the Soviet propaganda seeks to show that there was cooperation with various representatives of the Red Finns and that the friendly predisposition of the Karelian working women towards their peers in Finland contributed to this cooperation. The author chooses the phrase “we are extending our sisterly hand to you” to demonstrate the friendly attitude and the desire to support the working women of Finland. It is implied that the Finnish working class would see the support of the Soviet Karelians and the Soviet people in general and it would give them more enthusiasm to fight for the socialist ideas and strength to overcome the hardships of the capitalistic regime of their motherland. More than that, having read the article Karelian women could gain more enthusiasm and motivation when realizing that they belong to a larger community that is spreading and developing. The working class of Karelia learned that there were like-minded people in Finland. For

instance, “we know how hard your situation is” shows that Karelian workers felt compassion, according to the author. In addition, the author draws a line between the Red Finns who deserve support and the White Finns who are inimical by the phrases “heartless capitalistic regime” and “... brothers are languishing in capitalistic jails”.

- (37) Remember that you have no other way to emancipate the working people but only through the social revolution.
Get ready for it, mobilize and temper people and together with the working people and the peasants of Finland hold high your red banner where it is written “Proletarians of all countries, Unite!” (Telegram to the Finnish working women and peasant women, 1926)

The strategy that the author applies, namely to give advice to “remember”, denotes that the Soviet representatives consider themselves to be prior in the process of the building of socialism. Thus, motivating appeals such as “get ready for the social revolution, mobilize and temper people and together with the working people and the peasants of Finland hold high your red banner” are expected to inspire the addressee and activate the readers even more to achieve better results. Furthermore, the famous motto “Proletarians of all countries, Unite!” is already a unifying call as it was known by the workers all over the globe. Realizing that socialist ideas are supported by others in distant places made people believe they had friends everywhere.

According to the author, the common aspirations and goals created the feeling of unity and brotherhood among Karelians and the Red Finns. The trade unions from both sides contribute to the development of relations and support the existing mutual understanding between the workers of Karelia and Finland.

- (38) The Karelian Congress of Trade Unions entrusts comrade Härmä with sending brotherly greetings from Karelian workers to the Central Trade Union of the Finnish Federation and to all of the working class of Finland and it expresses its confidence that the bonds established this year between Karelian and Finnish workers will be developed and strengthened on the grounds of the common fight against capitalism. (Greetings to the working class of Finland, 1927)

In order to express the friendly predisposition towards the working class in Finland and to show that there are common objectives between the two, the Karelian Trade Union is presented as working on “establishing the bonds between the workers”. The authors of the article consider it to be significant to emphasize that “the common fight against capitalism” will be “developed and strengthened”. Thus, the readers understand that there are workers in Finland as well who share their views and are ready to achieve similar goals. The manner that is used to render the information is definitive and unhesitating.

- (39) Expressing deep sympathy with the workers in Finland in their fight against the entrepreneurs, the Congress offers the Council of Trade Unions to discuss the issue of providing the currently striking metal workers with feasible material assistance. (Greetings to the working class of Finland, 1927)

According to the article, there exists confrontation between the workers and entrepreneurs in Finland. The Soviet Karelian workers expressed their “deep sympathy” with the Finnish working class and promised “feasible material assistance”.

Another article provides an example of the reception of the Finnish workers’ delegation by the Karelian comrades. It attempts to show the friendly predisposition in detail.

- (40) For autonomous Karelia that borders Finland the visit of the Finnish workers’ delegation is an exceptional event. The guests are rare and at the same time close. The proletariat of Petrozavodsk, the part of which speaks the same language with the guests, was stirred by feeling their class kinship. The Karelian council of trade unions worked out the reception program, having made it both official and friendly. The meeting, the joint session of the presidium, the demonstration, the banquet for comrades, the concert – these are the main points of the program. (The Finnish working delegation is Karelia’s guest. Before the meeting, 1927)

The article reports about the visit of the Finnish delegation of workers to Karelia. It is presented as a politically significant occasion for Karelia and referred to as “an exceptional event”. The representatives of the working class of Finland are called “rare and close guests”. The usage of “rare” may imply both that they are special and that the

meetings with them happen seldom and as for “close”, it may imply both physical closeness and mental kinship. It is emphasized that a part of the party members in Petrozavodsk “speak the same language with the guests”, which contributes to the development of the stereotype that concerns the “feeling of class kinship”. Thus, the author steers the readers’ attention to the unifying and binding factors between the Finnish and the Karelian representatives of the proletariat. Moreover, the article proves the “friendly” predisposition towards the guests through mentioning the special reception program for the visitors.

- (41) The delegation has already spent three weeks in the Soviet country, where life and work are so different from other countries. So these peculiarities of our life became the subject for special studies by the delegation. The delegation has visited many industrial regions of the USSR, before it came to Karelia. The sphere of its observation was vast. It has a lot to say to the Finnish proletariat, dispel the lies that are spread by the White Finnish press about the proletarian republic. (The Finnish working delegation is Karelia’s guest, 1927)

The excerpt of the article represents the Finnish working delegation as friends of the Soviet people. It is made clear that their aim was to “study the peculiarities of life” in the USSR. The author emphasized that “life and work in the USSR are so different from other countries” and thus, “the sphere of observation was vast” which implies that the delegation had a lot to see and to learn. More than that, the author believes that the Finnish working delegation has an additional aim, namely to see and judge for themselves and afterwards “dispel the lies that are spread by the White Finnish press about the USSR” among the Finnish proletariat. It is emphasized that the articles in the governmental Finnish newspapers were biased against the USSR and spread the lies. Therefore, the article draws a distinct line between the representatives of the Finnish society in the Soviet Karelian perception. On the one hand, there are Finnish friends – workers and peasants of Finland, on the other hand, there are Finnish opponents – the bourgeoisie of Finland and the White Finnish press.

As the next article maintains, the Finnish working delegation is warmly welcomed in the main city of Soviet Karelia – Petrozavodsk. The hosting side expects comments and

suggestions from the visiting comrades and expects them to add to the improvement of the work in Karelia.

- (42) The Finnish working delegation is arriving in Petrozavodsk today. We are sincerely happy that now our Finnish comrades, the closest neighbors from the international family of proletarians, relying neither on our, nor on their own press, nor on the information from any other sources, can see us the way we are with their own eyes, without any mediators. We will be waiting for the serious comradely critique from the guests. Every suggestion mentioned to us, if only it does not contradict the workers' interests, will be perceived by us as a treasure and it will be taken into account in our further work. (Greetings to the representatives of the working class of Finland, 1927)

The article aims at elucidating the visit of the Finnish delegation to Karelia. From the very beginning the author displays that the delegation is anticipated and welcome. "We are sincerely happy", "our Finnish comrades", "the closest neighbors" transmit the positive spirit of the hosts. The author emphasizes the expected objectivity of the visitors which is revealed through the following statement "our Finnish comrades can see us the way we are with their own eyes without any mediators". Moreover, the author insists on the possible "comradely critique" that can be made by the guests and help improve the state of affairs in Karelia. He assures that "every designation mentioned" will be taken seriously and "implemented" later on. The author of the article shows the value of the possible visitors' comments and calls them "treasure". However, it is clearly stated that the workers have certain interests of their own and that the "suggestions" should not "contradict" them.

- (43) We will ask our Finnish comrades to tell the workers beyond the borders of the Soviet Union that just as during all these years we are ready to work non-stop and struggle to finish the implementation of the affair that we started in October. Also, we are not striving for anything more than for the unity of actions and will of the entire world's working class; for the common progress. (Greetings to the representatives of the working class of Finland, 1927)

The author of the article tries to transmit the general mood of the society and shape the opinion of the readers. The excerpt is of concrete and decisive tone. As a matter of fact, the workers of Karelia are presented as an example for the working class abroad and

thus, the author names the objectives of Karelians and states that “our Finnish comrades will be asked” to spread the information about the current state of affairs and goals of the Soviet workers. The friendly predisposition to the workers of Finland and the Red Finns is emphasized in the excerpt through the phrase “our Finnish comrades”. It defines the peasants and workers of Finland as sharing the “will of the entire world’s working class” and thus, presents them as friends of the Soviet people.

The passage below emphasizes how the interaction and mutual goals brought different groups of people together. By means of that, the author makes an attempt to show the significance of cooperation for the common good.

(44) The workers and peasants, Russians, Karelians, Finns and others fought for the Soviet government shoulder by shoulder. (Rovio, 1932)

The peculiarity of the writer’s approach is that he draws the readers’ attention to the fact that “workers and peasants” in Karelia have friends. This expression helps to strengthen the significance of friendship — friends stand “shoulder by shoulder” and therefore support each other. Russians, Karelians, Finns and others who support the socialist ideas and “fight for the Soviet government” can be considered to be friends to the readers of the article and this idea is transformed into a stereotype. It implies that not all the Russians, neither all the Karelians, neither all the Finns should be perceived negatively. In other words, the attitude of people towards the Soviet rule makes it clear who is a friend to the Soviet Union and who is not.

As it is explained in the next article, the Soviet Karelian people express deep sympathies to the Finnish working class and hope for the better future for them.

(45) The current situation in Finland gives us confidence that the Finnish proletariat and the workers of Finland will not let their talentless rulers lead the country along the path of the military ventures anymore. The Finnish people will sweep away the political gamblers such as Kajander and Erkkö, and will send them in the same direction as Becks and Moscickies. (Prokopiev, 1939)

The excerpt of the article dwells on the current situation in the White Finland. It is expressed that the Soviet people are not satisfied with the White Finnish government that is called “talentless rulers” and “the political gamblers” and blame them for “the military ventures”. It implies that the Finnish government is thought to be playing political games and wants to pull Finland into a military campaign. The expectations of the author are connected to the change of the government and “sending” them away as far as possible. The crucial role in changing the government of White Finland, according to the author, is given to “the Finnish people”. In other words, the author expects the Finnish people to show their predisposition to the Soviet government. The article emphasizes that the changes are about to happen and “the current situation gives the confidence” that it will be so soon.

The following article explains that the Karelian workers were always ready to express support to their comrades in Finland and raise their spirits and strengthen their communist aspirations through showing their own desire to work for socialism.

- (46) Early in the morning on December, 3 the Kirosozersky lumberjacks and carters were informed that on the day before the Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR, V.M. Molotov, and the head of People’s Government of Finland, O.V. Kuusinen, signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Finland. There started an impromptu gathering in the dormitory. The workers were enthusiastically greeting the brotherly cooperation between the Soviet and Finnish people.

At the gathering there was made a decision to go to work on today’s weekend day as a sign of friendship with the Finnish people, in the honor of the heroic victories of the valorous Red Army. (Rozhenok, 1939)

The fact of signing the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation between the USSR and the Finnish Democratic Republic is presented in the article as an important event that is worth the attention of all the Karelian workers. To clarify the importance of it, the author of the article refers to the example of workers in Kirosozersk who organized an “impromptu gathering” to “enthusiastically greet the brotherly cooperation”. Additionally, in order to show how overwhelming the news was for the workers, the author says that they even preferred to “go to work on the weekend day”, mentioning

that it is a “friendship sign”. However, the manner in which the author presents the events does not clearly show whether there were alternative possibilities for the workers to vote. For instance, the readers do not find any information on whether the workers could vote against and not go to work on the weekend day. Therefore, the claims of the author of the article are rather propagandistic.

As the next article shows, the establishment of the Finnish Democratic Republic was presented as being a serious event for the Soviet Karelian people. The Finnish Democratic Republic was a puppet state established in the-then Terijoki which existed for several months. The representatives of the Soviet government claimed that the Finnish Democratic Republic would not be Soviet, but it would serve the purposes of safeguarding Leningrad. (Roberts, 2006: 48) The Soviet Karelian people regularly organized gatherings and expressed their joy and support of the new state, where everybody shared their ideals.

- (47) All the 100 people present at the gathering voted for the resolution which states: - “We – collective farmers, working intelligentsia, as well as all the soviet people salute the message about the formation of the new People’s government in Finland with great joy. At the moment the age-old aspirations and expectations of the Finnish and Karelian peoples about the reunion into one Finnish state are being implemented. We salute the conclusion of the treaty between our government and the Democratic People’s republic of Finland and we hope that the People’s government of Finland will guarantee peace and true friendship of the Finnish people with the great Soviet Union, the liberator country that first raised the banner of the proletarian social revolution”. (The age-old expectations of the Finnish people are being implemented, 1939)

The emphasis of the passage is laid upon the positive attitude towards the formation of the government in Finland that shares the ideas of the Soviet Union. Readers can feel emotional attachment to their Finnish peers and take the statement “age-old expectations of the Finnish and Karelian peoples about the reunion into one Finnish state” as a matter of fact and realize that they should feel the same, since they are part of the mentioned people. The unification by means of “we” and “as well as all the soviet people” is another strategy that the authors of the article use in order to impose the idea of the common attitude among the whole country. Expressing such a view as “we hope

that Finland will guarantee true friendship with the great Soviet Union” implies that either the Soviet Union has already taken its own share of responsibility and guaranteed it, thus Finland is in charge of the rest of it, or it is all Finland’s business to guarantee “true friendship”. More than that, using phrases like “true friendship” lets the readers make a conclusion that the new People’s government of Finland is expected to become an actual friend of the Soviet Union.

6.5 Summary

Having analyzed the articles in the Soviet Karelian newspapers, it is possible to summarize the findings. The different frames are represented in the table below. The newspapers’ information is compressed in the table that is divided into four categories, namely, the history of Karelia, the enemies of Karelia, the friends of Karelia, Karelians. More than that, the important elements of each frame are accompanied by the common examples of the newspapers’ descriptions. Thus, the concise analysis of the data constitutes the overview of the chapter.

Table 2. The Frames of the Soviet Karelian Newspapers in 1920s and 1930s

<p>1.The History of Karelia</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasizing of self-consciousness and self-identification; • Reminding the readers of the heroic fight against oppression and exploitation; • Awareness of the national equality among other ethnic groups in the USSR; • Setting objectives for the future such as strengthening the institutions of the Soviet rule and building socialism; • Reminding the readers of the abundant natural resources of Karelia; • Strengthening the spirit of patriotism, the feeling of unity, the feeling of belonging to Karelia; • Informing the readers of the “never-ending” anti-Soviet propaganda; • Reminding the readers of the attempts of the White Finns
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	<p>to organize rebellions in Karelia;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reminding the inhabitants of Karelia about the raids, robberies, devastation caused by the White Finnish troops in Karelia; • Claiming that the White Finnish militarists desire to capture the natural resources of Karelia and its territory.
<p>2. The Enemies of Karelia</p>	<p><u>Who:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The capitalistic regimes; • The White Finns and their allies; • The “petty bourgeois elements”; • Fascists; • Entrepreneurs; • The Russian White Guards; • The kulaks. <p><u>Why:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Possible threat to the well-being of Karelians; • Bandit riots, robberies, kidnapping, murdering; • Devastation of infrastructure; • Anti-Soviet propaganda; • Possible stagnation of the development of the region; • Possible threat to the creation of a prosperous communist society; • Possible annexation of Karelia; • The threat of the world war.
<p>3.The Friends of Karelia</p>	<p><u>Who:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workers of Finland; • Peasants of Finland; • The Red Finnish representatives. <p><u>Why:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The feeling of brotherhood; • The support of the Soviet rule; • The class kinship; • Similar goals and objectives; • Pro-socialist propaganda; • Common foes; • Common linguistic and cultural background; • The possible collaboration in scientific, cultural and economic spheres and exchange of experience that may trigger faster development of the countries;

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of material and mental support to overcome obstacles on the way of achieving socialism; • Guarantee of absence of any military or inimical plans.
4.Karelians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasizing the past hardships and how successfully Karelian people overcame them; • Praising the Karelian people's spirit to fight enemies and hardships; • Warnings of possible intrusions of the enemies into the region and threat of the division of the society; • Strengthening the ideas of ethnic unity in the Karelian society; • Reminding of the common mission to protect the borders of the USSR; • Pointing out common objectives for the future for all the inhabitants of Karelia, such as transition to peaceful development and strengthening the autonomous region; • Guarantees of peace, protection, free development only inside the USSR; • Occasional examples of unbearable life conditions in capitalistic Finland.

7 CONCLUSIONS

The present research set the aim to explore propaganda and stereotypes about Finns and Karelians in the Soviet Karelian newspapers between 1920s and 1930s, namely how Finns and Karelians were presented in the Soviet Karelian press, and what role was played by the official Soviet propaganda in the formation of stereotypes about Finland and Finns. The current qualitative research was conducted to explore the issues. Propaganda and stereotype theories were discussed. Further on, articles from Soviet Karelian newspapers published in 1920s and 1930s were chosen, translated and analyzed. Framing analysis as proposed by D'Angelo and Kuypers was conducted, and the results of the analysis were presented. The translation of the articles from Russian into English was done by me.

The frames appearing in the articles devoted to Finland and Finns and their relations with Karelia and Karelians, published in Soviet Karelian newspapers within the framework of the 1920s – 1930s are: the History of Karelia, Karelians, friends of Karelia, and enemies of Karelia.

The articles that discuss the impact of Finns on the history of Karelia, remind the readers of attempts of the White Finns to organize rebellions in Karelia, to rob the local people of their property, and in the long run, capture the rich territory of Karelia. More than that, articles of this category call for strengthening the institutions of the Soviet rule, building socialism, and raising the spirit of patriotism along with the feeling of unity. Furthermore, the authors of those articles aim at emphasizing self-consciousness and self-identification.

The next frame describes Karelians and their objectives, praises the persistence of Karelian people and their ability to resist the hardships. Additionally, the frame reminds the readers of the necessity to protect the borders of the USSR from the possible intrusions. Another issue that is thoroughly clarified in the articles of this category is that there are common objectives for the future for all the inhabitants of Karelia such as transition to peaceful development and strengthening the autonomous region.

The articles that are grouped into the category of “Friends of Karelia” point out those Finns who should be perceived positively by Karelians. In this regard, workers of Finland, peasants of Finland and the red Finnish representatives are claimed to be friends to the readers. More than that, the authors of the articles provide argumentation to support these statements. Common objectives and aspirations as well as common foes are said to be the unifying factors. The support of the Soviet rule was of crucial importance too. Furthermore, class kinship, common linguistic and cultural backgrounds were of great importance in building up friendly predisposition towards these groups of Finns.

The fourth category of articles refers to the “Enemies of Karelians”. Those Finns who support the White officials of Finland, capitalistic regimes, bourgeoisie and fascists are claimed to be the foes of the Soviet people. Furthermore, the Russian White Guards, kulaks and entrepreneurs are added to the list of enemies. In order to convince the readers, arguments that clarify the claims are provided. It is maintained that the mentioned groups of people represented possible threats to the well-being of Karelians, held anti-Soviet propaganda, organized murdering, kidnapping, robberies and bandit riots on the territory of Soviet Karelia. In addition, the authors mentioned possible annexation of the territory, threat to creation of a prosperous society and stagnation of the region because of those who had taken an unfriendly stance to Karelians.

Analyzing the frames and the way they were constructed on the basis of theories of propaganda clearly demonstrates that the press in the Soviet Karelia in the 1920s – 1930s was actively participating in Soviet propaganda on the local and republican levels. All the articles were of a decisive tone and expressed an unyielding point of view. This showed the ideological influence of the Soviet Union officials on mass media in the country. The opinion of the authors of the articles reflected the dual position of the Soviet officials towards the neighboring country.

According to the findings, the articles emphasize that the attitude towards Finns was not homogeneous. The authors draw a clear line between those they support and those they consider to be foes.

As a consequence of the Soviet propaganda in these newspaper articles, readers may have formed the stereotypes about Finns that were vital for a long period of time. All the judgments were made on the basis of the information that circulated in the press. Since Soviet propaganda had a significant impact on the minds of Soviet people, the attitude towards the closest neighbours was successfully spread among the inhabitants of Karelia. Thus, the approach to splitting Finns into friends and foes contributed to the construction of stereotypes.

The impact of the Soviet propaganda can be seen in the offered articles. The authors expressed and spread the views of the Soviet officials, as well as provided facts and argumentation to form the public opinion in the region. The analysis of the articles showed that there were no opposing or alternative points of view. Moreover, the manner in which most authors chose to express the ideas was invocatory. The readers received the information that did not presuppose further discussions, vice versa; it provided ready-made decisions, fixed opinions and recommendations for further actions. As the research showed, the Soviet propaganda was present in the Soviet Karelian newspapers. The impact of it got stronger in the society that was closed. The facts that contradicted the ideology were omitted and the emphasis was placed on issues that contributed to the achievement of the communist goals.

Admittedly, the current research provides a small piece of samples how propaganda appears in newspapers and hence can influence public opinion and it creates a foundation for further study of the impact of propaganda on construction of stereotypes about Finns in Karelia. Further research can investigate the actual opinion of the inhabitants of Karelia about the neighbors and whether the Soviet propaganda succeeded to achieve its ultimate aim. The time-frames of the examined newspapers could be modified as well as some other newspapers can be chosen for analysis, namely newspapers in the Finnish language.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Original Texts

- (1) Но Карелия с её неисчислимыми природными богатствами, не давала покоя белой Финляндии. Поэтому Финляндия решила устроить в Карелии комедию «народного восстания». Для этой цели из Финляндии выступили вооружённые отряды под командой финских офицеров и старых руководителей бандитского движения 1919 г. Первый из этих отрядов, численностью в 60 чел., под командованием финского офицера Таконена перешёл границу в районе Репольской волости в начале октября. Вслед за ней двинулись и другие банды в различные пограничные волости и рассеялись по лесам, производя набеги на деревни и сёла, разоряя лесные и рыболовные промысла, уничтожая продовольственные склады и поджигая советские учреждения (*7 ноября 1925 г. Красная Карелия, №255. Бандитизм в Карелии*).
- (2) Карелия — путь суровой героической борьбы, путь выхода из угнетения и эксплуатации на широкую дорогу успехов и побед (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).
- (3) При царизме Карелия являлась объектом угнетения и эксплуатации, двойного угнетения — капиталистического и национального (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).
- (4) Царизм веками угнетал и держал в темноте трудящихся Карелии и пытался насильно их русифицировать (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).

(5) Но вот наступил 1917 год. Грянула великая Октябрьская революция, и трудящиеся Карелии стряхнули с себя вековой гнёт, почувствовали себя равноправной национальностью среди других национальностей и приступили к созданию и укреплению органов советской власти, органов диктатуры пролетариата. Перед ними встала задача использовать на благо трудящихся огромные природные богатства края и поднять культуру и благословение масс, идя рука об руку с другими народами бывшей России (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).

(6) Эти возможности перехода на социалистическое строительство однако пришлось отвоёвывать трудящимся Советской Карелии в кровавой и длительной борьбе, продолжавшейся с небольшими перерывами, с 1918 по 1922 год. (23 Апреля 1932г. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).

(7) И если финские правители теперь лицемерно уверяют, что они всегда хотели лишь отстоять «самостоятельность» и «нейтральность» Финляндии, то этим лжецам следует ответить: с такой ложью вы далеко не уедете. Она разоблачена полностью известными всем фактами:

Первым фактом был поход на Олонец, предпринятый финскими белогвардейцами весной 1919 года в сотрудничестве с империалистами Англии и Франции.

Второй факт — поход финской белогвардейской банды в Ингерманландию для организации там мятежа 1919 года, при начале наступления Юденича, когда палач финских рабочих, Маннергейм, публично требовал посылки финляндской армии для «завоевания» Петрограда.

Третий факт — предпринятый в 1921-1922 гг. новый поход в Карелию под командой офицеров финляндской армии, при поддержке английских империалистов (2 Декабря 1939 г. Красная Карелия, №274. Обращение ЦК компартии Финляндии к Трудовому Народу Финляндии).

(8) Четвёртый факт — также характерный для «нейтральности» финляндского правительства — реорганизация вооруженных сил Финляндии в 1921—1923 гг. была проведена вызванной из Англии офицерской делегацией, под руководством генерала Кирке, того самого, который летом 1939 года снова посетил Финляндию для проверки военных приготовлений на Карельском перешейке.

Пятый факт — непрекращающаяся в Финляндии клеветническая травля Советского Союза и шовинистическая агитация за «великую Финляндию», с сумасбродными бреднями о завоеваниях «вплоть до Урала» (2 Декабря 1939 г. Красная Карелия, №274. Обращение ЦК компартии Финляндии к Трудовому Народу Финляндии).

(9) Бандитизм в Карелии представлял собой явление не местного характера, а находился в тесной связи со всей той гнусной и провокационной политикой, которую вела по отношению к нам буржуазия соседних мелких государств и стоящая за их спиной могущественная Антанта.

Буржуазные партии Финляндии в своих газетах усиленно распространяли слухи, будто бы сам карельский народ хочет выйти из состава СССР и присоединиться к Финляндии (7 Ноября 1925 г. Красная Карелия, №255. Бандитизм в Карелии).

(10) Карельский трудовой народ не желает порывать связующих его с Советской Россией культурных, экономических и политических уз и даже не думает о присоединении к белой Финляндии. Карельский народ чувствует себя свободным на территории Советской России и не желает променять свободу РСФСР на рабство в белой Финляндии, или в какой-либо другой капиталистической стране. Карельский трудовой народ не допустит, чтобы естественные богатства Карелии, её леса, водопады, рыбообильные озёра, копи достались для эксплуатации финской буржуазии под видом «защиты» карельского народа. Карельская коммуна остаётся неразрывной частью Советской России, карельский народ добьётся экономического и культурного расцвета своей страны. Только

тесный союз с Советской Россией может обеспечить карельскому народу мир, предотвратить нападения капиталистов и обеспечить ему свободное развитие (7 Ноября 1925 г. Красная Карелия, №255. Бандитизм в Карелии).

- (11) Рабочие и крестьяне Карелии образовали добровольческие отряды лыжников для отражения насильников, при чём в некоторых районах, как, например, в Олонецком уезде, бандиты получили такой отпор, что никогда не забудут его.

С приходом частей Красной армии, восторженно встреченной населением, большая часть карельской территории была быстро очищена от банд, успевших в начале наделать много вреда, лишь пользуясь полным отсутствием всякой военной охраны карельско-финляндской границы. Бандиты, действовавшие в 7 или более отдалённых от жел. дор. волостях, в которых операции Красной армии сильно затруднялись почти полным отсутствием удобных путей сообщения, вскоре также были разбиты на голову (7 Ноября 1925 г. Красная Карелия, №255. Бандитизм в Карелии).

- (12) За 10 лет революции, когда-то забитая царизмом глухая Карелия, достигла сейчас колоссальных результатов во всех отраслях экономической и культурной жизни; всем хочется, чтобы финские товарищи посмотрели на жизнь, условия быта и общественную работу карельских рабочих и служащих. Всем хочется, чтобы они, прибыв из-за рубежа, где ещё царит капитал, сказали своё слово о нашем строительстве (19 Июня 1927г. Красная Карелия, №138. Финская рабочая делегация — гостя Карелии).

- (13) Переход на мирное строительство, создание автономной области вызвали среди карел величайший порыв и энтузиазм стройки (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).

- (14) Всё прошлое трудящихся Карелии пронизано борьбой — упорной и суровой борьбой. Сама природа, естественные условия жизни здесь требуют и приучают трудящихся к упорной борьбе (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).
- (15) Вот почему мы в Советской Карелии должны зорко и бдительно следить за нашей границей и быть готовыми отразить набеги финской буржуазии, быть готовыми к новым боям и к защите наших завоеваний. Рабочие и крестьяне Карелии стояли, стоят и будут стоять на посту, как солдаты великой революции, охраняя великую северо-западную границу нашего великого ССР (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).
- (16) Финские белогвардейцы начали организовывать на своей территории банды для вооружения в Карелию, чтобы потом кричать на всю Европу о «страданиях Карельского народа под игом России» и о его «поголовном восстании против советской власти». Им важно было лишь под предлогом «Карельского восстания» прибрать к своим рукам богатейшую русскую область (7 Ноября 1925 год. Красная Карелия, № 255. Бандитизм в Карелии).
- (17) Вторжение белофиннов в пределы Карелии принесло колоссальные убытки. Было испорчено и разграблено 50.000 пудов хлеба, доставленных советской властью для голодающих карел, 17.000 пуд. мяса, — 1.000 пуд. сахару и жиров. Сорваны лесные заготовки, разрушены все рыбные промыслы края, угнаны 500 лошадей, все заготовительные конторы и волисполкомы разграблены, имущество многих сотен семей уничтожено, многие сёла сожжены до основания. 13 октября одному из бандитских отрядов удалось сжечь деревянный настил моста Мурманской ж.д. через реку Онду (7 Ноября 1925 г. Красная Карелия, №255. Бандитизм в Карелии).

(18) Помощь финляндского правительства белогвардейским бандам, устраивающим набеги на Карелию являлась вопиющим нарушением нейтралитета и мирного договора Финляндии с Россией, подписанного в Юрьеве.

Без этой помощи белогвардейские банды ни в коем случае не могли бы организовать в серьёзную силу, доставать оружие, устраивать базы снабжения, вербовочные пункты и переходить границу. Советское правительство в нескольких нотах самым решительным образом потребовало от Финляндии немедленного прекращения враждебных действий против советской России и строжайшего соблюдения Юрьевского мирного договора (7 Ноября 1925 г. Красная Карелия, №255. Бандитизм в Карелии).

(19) Различные финские буржуазные союзы, вроде Егерского бюро, Южно-Остроботницкого союза земледельцев (помещиков), пользующихся покровительством и имущественной поддержкой правительства, открыто работали по организации банд и снабжению их всем необходимым. Финские офицеры, желающие участвовать в бандах, получали продолжительные отпуска из армии, железные дороги перевозили их к границе либо бесплатно либо за полплаты. Вся финская буржуазная печать была полна клеветнических статей по адресу советской России и прямых призывов к походу в Карелию (7 Ноября 1925 г. Красная Карелия, №255. Бандитизм в Карелии).

(20) Быстро преодолев сопротивление своих кулацких и мелко буржуазных элементов, трудящиеся Карелии встретились со своим главным врагом — финскими белогвардейцами, давно мечтавшими о захвате Советской Карелии. Первый набег на Советскую Карелию финская буржуазия предприняла весной 1918 года. На севере Карелии, направив экспедицию для захвата территории сплошь до города Кемь (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).

(21) Одновременно с этим на Карелию надвигается интервенция союзников с Мурманска совместно с частями русских белогвардейцев. В апреле 1919 года финская буржуазия направляет вторую экспедицию для захвата Советской Карелии, на этот раз в южную Карелию, ставя перед собой задачу, захватить столицу республики — Петрозаводск и перерезать Мурманскую ж.д. подрывом моста через реку Свирь. Почти вся Карелия превращается в театр военных действий. Рабочие и крестьяне Карелии, поддерживая Красную армию, ведут кровавую борьбу против злостного врага: финских белогвардейцев, союзников и русских белогвардейцев. Таким образом, борьба, помимо резко выраженного классового характера, являлась ярко выраженной интернациональной борьбой. Помимо советской власти, борьбу вели англичане, французы, финские и русские белогвардейцы и др. (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).

(22) Но не долго длилась передышка. Враг — финская буржуазия, воспользовавшись трудностями Советской власти, усугублёнными разрухой после гражданской войны, осенью 1921 года заранее подготавливает и поднимает в Карелии бандитское восстание и помогает оружием и людьми, делает третью отчаянную попытку захвата Карелии. Вновь приходится бросать мирное строительство и переходить на военное положение. И только к марту 1922 года Карелия очищается от бандитов и финских белогвардейцев. Но какой ценой (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).

(23) С момента ликвидации бандитизма прошло десять лет. Можно ли считать, что финская буржуазия окончательно отказалась от мысли захвата Карелии, примирилась с постигнувшей её неудачей. Можем ли мы опасаться новых попыток и авантур со стороны Финляндии (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).

(24) По всему, пройденному бандитами, пути — остаётся след разорения и разрушения — во многих деревнях не осталось целых дверей и печек, не говоря о стёклах.

Не успевшее убежать население, лошади, скот угонялись в Финляндию. Десятки работников, партийных и беспартийных были зверски убиты. Одним словом, на значительной территории Карелии нужно было начинать всю работу и строительство с самого начала (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).

(25) По всем имеющимся данным финская буржуазия ждёт удобного момента для возобновления попыток захвата Советской Карелии (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).

(26) Аппетиты и вожеления не маленькие. Леса, воды и богатства территории Карелии и Ленинградской области нужны «Великой Финляндии».

Об этом пишут, говорят из года в год финские фашисты, их общества и организации. И деятельно готовятся к осуществлению своих захватнических замыслов (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).

(27) Финская военщина и её незадачливое фашистское правительство, подталкиваемое англо-французскими поджигателями новой мировой войны, из кожи вон лезет, чтобы доказать всему миру, что, мол, Советское правительство виновато в срыве переговоров, что СССР ставил Финляндии невозможные требования, что СССР напал на Финляндию, чтобы лишить её независимости и насильственно сделать её советской. Но крокодиловы слёзы, которые проливает «правительство» Каяндера — Таннера, никого не обманут. Для каждого ясно, что у этого правительства, — верного прислужника крупных империалистических хищников, нехватило рассудка для того, чтобы согласиться с разумными, мирными предложениями СССР, и заключить договор о дружбе с великим Советским народом.

Провокационные выстрелы со стороны этих «вояк» вызвали гнев в сердцах 183-миллионного советского народа (8 Декабря 1939 г. Беломорская трибуна, № 167. Письмо молодых бойцов. А. Семёнов, Я. Кулижников, Н.Иойлев).

(28) Настал грозный час расплаты фашистской военщине за невинно пролитую кровь верных сынов советского народа. Боевой приказ дан. Части доблестной Красной Армии смели границу. В безумном страхе бегут Каяндеры и Маннергеймы — кровавые палачи финского народа. Разлетается впрах «грозная» сила финских укреплений. С радостью встречает наших товарищей трудовой финский народ (8 Декабря 1939 г. Беломорская трибуна, № 167. Письмо молодых бойцов. А. Семёнов, Я. Кулижников, Н.Иойлев).

(29) На восточной границе Финляндии сейчас можно наблюдать доподлинно военную обстановку. Всюду маршируют солдаты, город Випури и окрестные селения погружены в темноту, вырыты окопы, устроены проволочные заграждения и газоубежища. Военный психоз в стране усиленно раздувается.

Вступив в переговоры с СССР, правящие круги Финляндии развернули обширную кампанию против страны социализма. Заранее поставив себе целью порвать соглашение с СССР, они начали изображать его мирные стремления, как покушение на самостоятельность Финляндии. Под флагом охраны нейтралитета велась настоящая подготовка к войне с СССР. Используя все средства, финские министры пустили в ход излюбленный метод — самую беззастенчивую клевету для того, чтобы возбудить ненависть против Советского Союза. Финский журнал «Суомен кувалехти» буквально через несколько дней после начала переговоров выступил с двумя статьями, написанными офицерами генерального штаба финской армии. В этих статьях с самым серьезным видом обсуждались планы войны с СССР. Офицеры делали всяческие выкладки, оценивали стратегическую позицию Финляндии, возможности «противника» и

приходили к выводу, что если СССР... не потерпит поражения, то по крайней мере, ничего не сможет поделаться с финской армией (21 Ноября, 1939г. Беломорская Трибуна, №160. Правящие круги Финляндии провоцируют войну с СССР).

(30) Хельсинки, 15 (ТАСС).

На днях в редакцию финляндского журнала «Сойхту» ворвалась полиция и произвела обыск. Полицейские конфисковали номера журнала «Сойхту» и ряд подготовленных к печати статей, призывавших к установлению нормальных связей между Советским Союзом и Финляндией.

Правящие круги непрерывно поощряют анти-советскую пропаганду. Особенно усердствует печать. Считается прямым долгом постоянно, систематически писать всякие небылицы о Советском Союзе, оскорблять его государственные органы. В армии в печати повсюду усиленно проповедуется ненависть к «москалям» (18 Ноября, 1939 г. Беломорская Трибуна, №159. Анти-Советская Кампания в Финляндии).

(31) Застрельщиками антисоветской лживой кампании являются самые

реакционные элементы, мечтающие о расширении границ Финляндии до Урала. Общественности внушается всеми способами мысль о том, что между прежней и теперешней Россией нет никакой разницы. Экраны ещё недавно охотно представлялись для демонстрации невероятной антисоветской стряпни. Так незадолго до советско — финляндских переговоров в Хельсинки показывался бездарный фильм: «Ужасы ЧК», сделанный англичанами с помощью русских белогвардейцев.

Все эти годы Финляндия ориентировалась на Запад и в первую очередь на те державы, которые враждебно относились к Советскому Союзу. Этот курс осуществлялся с большой планомерностью и упорством, достойным лучшего применения. Английская буржуазия подогривала и поддерживала антисоветские настроения финских правящих кругов. В течении 20 лет Англия вела торговлю с Финляндией себе в убыток. Вот где источник антисоветской политики правящих кругов Финляндии.

Тесно связанная с английским капиталом финская буржуазия получала большие барыши. Она считала Финляндию барьером против «варваров с востока» (18 Ноября, 1939 г. Красная Карелия, №261. Антисоветская кампания в Финляндии).

- (32) Для чего проводилась вся эта «идеологическая» подготовка догадаться не сложно. В свете антисоветской политики финляндских правящих кругов надо рассматривать и нынешний перерыв советско — финляндских переговоров.

Финская делегация возвращается в Хельсинки. Но реакционные круги вдохновляемые извне, готовят «почетное отступление». Они уже заранее пытаются изобразить дело так, что в срыве переговоров виноват СССР, так как он предъявил «невозможные требования». Таков именно тон сегодняшних газет. Они уже сомневаются в том можно ли будет продолжать переговоры (18 Ноября, 1939 г. Красная Карелия, №261. Антисоветская кампания в Финляндии).

- (33) Правда официальные круги Финляндии теперь ещё твердят, что они стремятся к соглашению с СССР, что перерыв совещаний в Кремле временный. Но это ничто иное как приём, рассчитанный на введение в заблуждение мирового общественного мнения. Очевидно, что финляндские правящие круги не хотят соглашения с СССР, что они придерживаются своей антисоветской политики. Широкие массы населения искренне стремятся к установлению дружественных отношений с Советским Союзом. Враждебный антисоветский курс себя не оправдал. Эта политика провалилась и народ её не поддерживает (18 Ноября, 1939 г. Красная Карелия, №261. Антисоветская кампания в Финляндии).

- (34) Корни этой заносчивости финской военщины кроются в той непрерывной шовинистической пропаганде, которая велась в армии в течение двух десятков лет. Смысл этой пропаганды выражается краткой формулой: «один финн стоит десяти москалей». В финской армии

воспитание офицеров и солдат было поставлено именно по этому принципу. Каждому усиленно вбивалось в голову военное превосходство финской армии.

Система муштры, основанная на разжигании вражды к советскому народу, поощрялась высшими руководителями финской армии. В этом им активно помогали представители английской военщины. Финскую военщину подбадривали любители загребать жар чужими руками. Этим и объясняется «решимость» финской военщины, которая не на шутку грозит «смять и раздавить» Красную Армию. (21 Ноября, 1939 г. Беломорская Трибуна, №160. Правящие круги Финляндии провоцируют войну с СССР).

- (35) Видимо для поддержания подмоченного авторитета финских генералов в стране и армии распространяются злостные слухи о том, что Советские войска прибыли в Эстонию с поломанными танками, что у красноармейцев нет рубашек и шинелей, а винтовки висят не на ремнях, а «на верёвке или на проволоке». Рекорд в этой антисоветской лжи побивает газета министерства иностранных дел «Хельсингин саномат». Вопреки здравому смыслу финские правящие круги, следуя своей непримиримой антисоветской политике, продолжают катиться по наклонной плоскости (21 Ноября, 1939 г. Беломорская Трибуна, №160. Правящие круги Финляндии провоцируют войну с СССР).

- (36) Работницы и крестьянки Финляндии. Мы, работницы и крестьянки красной советской Карелии, в международный день работниц и крестьянок протягиваем вам свою братскую руку.
- Мы знаем всю тяжесть вашего положения, мы знаем, что у многих из вас сыновья, мужья, отцы и братья томятся в капиталистических тюрьмах, что многие из вас бездушным капиталистическим строем выброшены на улицу (10 Марта, 1926 г. Красная Карелия, №56. Телеграмма работницам и крестьянкам Финляндии).

- (37) Помните, что у вас нет иного пути к раскрепощению трудящихся, как только через социальную революцию. Готовьтесь к этому, мобилируйте и закаляйте ваши кадры и вместе с рабочими и крестьянами Финляндии держите выше красное знамя коммунизма, на котором начертано «Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!» (10 Марта, 1926 г. Красная Карелия, №56. Телеграмма работницам и крестьянкам Финляндии).
- (38) Поручая т. Хярмя передать от имени организованных в профсоюзах Карелии рабочих и служащих, братский привет Н. П. Финляндской федерации и всему рабочему классу Финляндии, съезд выражает уверенность, что начавшаяся в этом году связь между финляндскими и карельскими рабочими будет в дальнейшем на почве общеклассовой борьбы с капитализмом расти и крепнуть (13 Октября, 1927. Красная Карелия, №234. Привет Рабочему Классу Финляндии).
- (39) Глубоко сочувствуя трудящимся Финляндии в ведущейся ими борьбе с предпринимателями, съезд предлагает совету профсоюзов обсудить вопрос об оказании посильной материальной помощи бастующим в данное время финляндским металлистам (13 Октября, 1927. Красная Карелия, №234. Привет Рабочему Классу Финляндии).
- (40) Для автономной пограничной с Финляндией Карелии, проезд Финской рабочей делегации — событие исключительное. Гости редкие и вместе с тем близкие. Пролетариат Петрозаводска, часть которого говорит на одном с приезжими делегатами языке, всколыхнулся, почувствовав своё классовое родство. Карпрофсовет разработал программу приёма, придав ей деловой и дружественный характер. Встреча, совместное заседание президиума, митинг, товарищеский банкет, концерт — вот основные пункты программы (19 Июня, 1927 г. Красная Карелия, №138. Финская Рабочая Делегация — Гостя Карелии).

(41) Три недели уже делегация пробыла в Советской стране, в которой жизнь и работа так не похожа на другие страны.

Вот эти особенности нашей жизни и были предметом особого изучения делегации. Делегация побывала во многих промышленных районах СССР, прежде, чем посетить Карелию. Поле её наблюдения было обширным. Ей есть что сказать финскому пролетариату, рассеять ту ложь, какую преподносит белофинская печать о пролетарской республике (19 Июня, 1927 г. Красная Карелия, №138. Финская Рабочая Делегация — Гостя Карелии).

(42) Сегодня в Петрозаводск прибывает делегация финляндских рабочих. Мы искренне рады тому, что теперь наши финляндские т.т. ближайшие соседи из международной семьи пролетариев, не полагаясь ни на нашу, ни на свою печать и информацию из каких бы то ни было источников, своими собственными глазами, без всяких посредников, могут видеть нас такими, какими мы являемся в действительности.

Мы будем ждать от прибывающих серьёзной товарищеской критики. Всякое указание, сделанное нам, лишь бы оно не расходилось с интересами трудящихся, будет принято нами на вес золота и учтено в нашей дальнейшей практической работе (18 Июня, 1927 г. Красная Карелия, №137. Привет Представителям Рабочего Класа Финляндии).

(43) Мы будем просить финляндских т.т. передать трудящимся за рубежом Советского Союза, что также, как и все эти годы, мы вперёд готовы не покладая рук работать и бороться за окончание начатого в Октябре дела, а также и то, что как всегда, мы ни к чему так жадно не стремимся, как к единству действий и воли всего мирового рабочего класса, к единому фронту профдвижения (18 Июня, 1927 г. Красная Карелия, №137. Привет Представителям Рабочего Класа Финляндии).

- (44) За советскую власть боролись единодушно, плечом к плечу, рабочие и крестьяне — русские, карелы, финны и др. (23 Апреля 1932. Красная Карелия. Жизненный путь трудящихся. Г. Ровио).
- (45) Нынешняя обстановка в Финляндии создаёт уверенность, что финский пролетариат и трудящиеся Финляндии не позволят больше своим бездарным правителям вести страну по пути военных авантюр. Финский народ сметёт политических картёжников типа Каяндера и Эркко, отправит их по пути Беков и Мосьцицких (1 Декабря, 1939 г. Беломорская Трибуна, №164. Воля всего Советского Народа. Н. Прокопьев).
- (46) Рано утром 3 декабря лесорубам и возчикам Кирозозерского лесопункта стало известно, что накануне Председатель Совнаркома СССР В.М. Молотов и глава народного правительства Финляндии О.В. Куусинен подписали договор о взаимопомощи и дружбе между Советским Союзом и Финляндской Демократической Республикой. В общезитии возник импровизированный митинг. Рабочие горячо приветствовали братское сотрудничество советского и финляндского народов. На митинге было принято решение — в честь дружбы с финским народом, в честь героических побед доблестной Красной Армии отработать сегодняшний выходной день (8 Декабря, 1939 г. Беломорская Трибуна, №167. В Честь Дружбы с Финским Народом, Е. Роженок).
- (47) Все 100 человек присутствовавших проголосовали за резолюцию, в которой говорится: — «Мы, колхозники, трудовая интеллигенция, как и весь советский народ, с чувством великой радости встречаем сообщение об образовании нового Народного правительства в Финляндии. Сейчас на деле осуществляются — вековые стремления и чаяния финского и карельского народов о воссоединении в единое финляндское государство. Мы приветствуем заключение договора о взаимопомощи нашим правительством с Финляндской народной демократической республикой и надеемся, что народное правительство Финляндии обеспечит мир и

подлинную дружбу финского народа с великим Советским Союзом, народом-освободителем, который первым поднял знамя пролетарской социалистической революции» (8 Декабря, 1939 г. Беломорская Трибуна, №167. Осуществляются Вековые Чаяния Финского Народа).