

**“The Workers’ Paradise:”  
Finnish-Americans Destitute of Rights  
in Soviet Karelia**

**Alex Bare**

**Senior Division  
Individual Documentary**

For four years, my History Day projects have involved Finnish history topics. My acquaintance with the Finnish language and dozens of individuals of Finnish ancestry has encouraged me to continue learning and teaching about Finland's history. This year, my research on Finnish-Americans in Soviet Karelia was sparked by the stories of David Karhu of Lantana, Florida, who lost his uncles during Karelia's purges.

My research began with two autobiographies of American Finns who immigrated to Karelia during the 1930s. I then scoured the Internet for sources in English and Finnish. During this stage of research, I contacted researcher Laurie Hertzell, who helped uncover Minnesota's connection with Karelia. After beginning my documentary, I searched for resources to broaden the context of my topic. The Scott County Library's interlibrary loan service gave me access to a rare book written by a survivor of the purges. With these resources, I contacted university professors Elena Osokina and Hilary Virtanen, who provided me with Russian sources and proofed my documentary, respectively. I emailed the University of Minnesota's Immigration History Research Center, where I found an abundant collection of materials. Patti Daniels of Vermont Public Radio and Charlie Hosford devoted time in attempting to arrange an interview with one of the last survivors of "Karelian Fever." Through the Finnish-American Heritage Center, Joanna Chopp provided a treasure trove of primary documents. Finally, I was able to have a personal interview with Karelian Fever researcher Dr. Peter Kivisto of Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois.

Although, during previous years I completed exhibits and performances, I felt I could best convey my topic through a documentary. Documentaries allow for the portrayal of emotional topics through media and music, which I heavily utilized.

The experience of Finnish-Americans who immigrated to Soviet Karelia during the

Depression years is a story of stolen rights. Finnish immigrants in America were regarded as inferior due to their ethnic origins, and were given the most undesirable jobs. When an opportunity arose for these Finns to construct a “workers’ paradise” in Soviet Karelia, some 6,500 Finnish North Americans immigrated. Although overjoyed to work in a place where their rights were respected, soon their government was dissolved, Finnish-language schools and media shut down, and mass arrests rounded up thousands of former Americans and Canadians, never to be seen again. Soviet leader Josef Stalin deemed Karelia’s Finns to be overtly nationalistic, and therefore a threat to his power. One by one, the rights awarded to the people of Karelia in the Treaty of Tartu were stolen until Finns were destitute of rights.

Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev finally acknowledged Stalin’s responsibility for the deaths of twenty million Soviet citizens in 1956. Denied their right to the truth for decades, the families of those who disappeared in Karelia only came to learn their relatives’ fates during the Soviet Union’s collapse. This little-known chapter of history retains an influential lesson: although a hard-working people, the Finns of Karelia were not immune to the abuses of power by a single individual.

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Sources:

#### **Advertisements:**

**Torgsin in USSR. *Neuvosto-Karjalan 15-vuotiselta taipaleelta 1935: n. pag. Print.***

Torgsin shops in the Soviet Union allowed foreigners to purchase special food provisions and luxuries not available to native Russians. The translated text of this advertisement reads: “Prices are inexpensive as compared to prices in the United States.” Published among the Finnish-American community during the Depression years, this advertisement would have made the Soviet Union appear desirable to Finns, whose economic rights were often suppressed in America. An image of this advertisement appears in my documentary.

#### **Artworks:**

**Vogeler, Heinrich. 1933-1934. Karel’skiy Gosudarstvennyy Krayevedcheskiy Muzey [Karelian State Regional Museum], Petrozavodsk. *Rozhdeniye novogo mira glazami khudozhnika [Birth of a New World Through the Eyes of the Artist]. Petrozavodsk State University. Web. 4 Jun. 2014.***

German-Soviet artist Heinrich Vogeler’s vibrant colored pencil sketches capture the atmosphere of life among Karelia’s Finnish-American communities. With scenes ranging from paper mills, to logging villages, and the ski factory, these crucial images add an element of beauty to my documentary, and capture a time when Finns in Karelia still had many rights. Like many Finns, Vogeler too was branded an enemy of the state for his race, and in 1942, succumbed to the conditions of the gulag in Karaganda, Kazakhstan.

#### **Books:**

**Hokkanen, Lawrence & Sylvia, and Anita Middleton. *Karelia: A Finnish-American Couple in Stalin’s Russia, 1934-1941.* North Star Press of St. Cloud, 1991. Print.**

Lauri and Sylvi Hokkanen’s families were members of the Finnish Communist Hall in their hometown of Sugar Island near Michigan’s Canadian border. As opposed to “Church Finns,” these “Hall Finns” were adamant followers of Communist doctrine and fought for the rights of Finnish laborers in the Upper Midwest. After immigrating to Karelia in search of a “workers’ paradise,” seven years of tribulations in Karelia ensued, although the couple managed to be one of only a handful to escape back to America. “That couldn’t have happened” was the response given by many Finnish-Americans who hadn’t experienced Karelia couldn’t bring themselves to believe that the Soviet government would fail in their responsibility to support a Communist state for Finns in Karelia. The Hokkanen’s story is a critical addition to my presentation of the destruction North American Finns’ rights in the Soviet Union.

**Sevander, Mayme. *Of Soviet Bondage: Sequel to "Red Exodus"* Duluth, MN: OSCAT, 1996. Print.**

While Mayme Corgan Sevander's experiences in the Soviet Union were horrific, she spent a great many years working to uncover the truth of the Finnish-Americans who disappeared without a trace. This publication is a seminal piece of documentation, as it includes a comprehensive list of missing and executed Finnish-Americans in Karelia. Furthermore, it incorporated the stories of Finns who were forced to live out their lives in far eastern Russia, denied the right to move where they pleased or return to America. This lesser known aspect was incorporated into my documentary, and the list of victims has enhanced my understanding of many individual tragedies of stolen rights.

**Sevander, Mayme, and Laurie Hertz. *They Took My Father: Finnish Americans in Stalin's Russia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2004. Print.**

Mayme Corgan was born to Finnish immigrants in Brule, Wisconsin in 1923 to a family of Finnish-American Communists. Mayme's father, as head of the Karelian Technical Aid in Harlem, persuaded groups of Finns to immigrate to Karelia. There in 1934, the Corgans personally came face to face with the harsh reality of life in Karelia and soon found their rights were rapidly disappearing in what was dubbed the "workers' paradise." Mayme's father was arrested in 1937 and subsequently executed for alleged conspiracy as a minority. For the next decade, his entire family suffered as relatives of an "enemy of the state." This autobiographical account of the 1930s' purge against Finns in Karelia is crucial in the complete understanding of the injustices faced by Finns in Karelia. Sevander's first-hand accounts appear in the opening scenes of my documentary.

#### **Databases:**

**"Pominal'nyye spiski Karelii, 1937-1938" [Memorial Lists of Karelia, 1937- 1938]. The National Library of Russia, 2002. Web. Mar. 2014.**

The names of thousands of Russians, Ukrainians, Finns, and others who were executed by Stalin's regime in Karelia are listed in this database. Pieced together through surviving records, the database serves as some of the only information remaining of those who disappeared. Records like these made possible the identification of mass graves such as the one in the Sandarmokh forests, as seen in the final segment of my documentary.

**“Uhreja: Teloitettujen suomalaisten ja karjalaisten nimiluettelo” [Victims: Name Catalogue of Executed Finns and Karelians]. Rostelekom, n.d. Web. 14 Jan. 2014.**

Compiled from lists of those who were posthumously rehabilitated at the fall of the Soviet Union, this catalogue serves as a database for searching names among the many hundreds of Finns who were executed in Karelia during the 1930s for alleged crimes against the Soviet state. The data also includes information from other sources, and was compiled by Memorial, a foremost Russian organization dedicated to investigating killings from Chechnya to Karelia. Through this catalogue, I have been able to discover the fates of many of those who were arrested and never seen again.

**Interviews:**

**Harvey, Al. “Italian Hall Disaster Eyewitness Account.” Interview by Arthur Puotinen. *Oral History Digitization Project*. Finlandia University, Feb. 2008. Web. 3 Feb. 2014.**

Al Harvey was in the streets below the Italian Hall of Calumet, Michigan, when he heard screams and shouts of fire. Harvey climbed a ladder into the second floor of the building to find seventy-three bodies piled like “sardines” in the stairwell, unable to push open the inward-opening doors of the exit. A majority of those killed were the children of Finnish mine strikers. This disaster played a key role in radicalizing Michigan’s Finnish immigrants, who turned to Communism to support their rights when it became apparent that Capitalism did not uphold its responsibilities to protect the rights of workers. Harvey’s audio testimony will likely be used in my documentary.

**Nousiainen, Mirjam. “Reconnecting With Vermont After A Lifetime In Russia.” Interview by Patti Daniels. Vermont Public Radio. Colchester, Vermont, 15 Dec. 2011. Radio. Transcript.**

While she was born in Winhall, Vermont, Mirjam Nousiainen’s family immigrated to Karelia. The family soon realized their mistake, but it was too late. Mirjam reflected on how her “mother felt guilt [...] all the rest of her life. But nothing was [her fault] - she couldn't do anything.” This interview supports my thesis that an immense abuse of power by the Stalin regime bears responsibility for the destruction of the “workers’ paradise,” not the individuals who were lured to Karelia by Soviet propagandists.

**Sevander, Mayme. “Mayme Sevander Last Interview.” Interview by Varpu Lindström. *Vimeo*. ShebaFilms, 2013. Web. Oct. 2013.**

In 2002, from her deathbed in Petrozavodsk, Karelia, Mayme Corgan Sevander gave this final interview. Her father was a central organizer of the immigration to Karelia from America, and as a result, Sevander had spent much of her life conducting groundbreaking research in Karelia. During the video, she discusses how joyous many Americans in Karelia were before the purges, which is accompanied by videos of life in Karelia that are used in my documentary. Sevander’s own words are also used in my documentary to describe how she was denied information regarding her father’s death until 1991.

**Salo, Dagne. "Excerpts from Interview with Dagne Salo, Born in 1915 in Michigan." Interview by Alexey Golubev. 21 Sep. 2006. Print.**

Dagne Salo, who still lives in Karelia and surprisingly still thinks in the English language, came to Karelia as a teenager. Her interview shed light on the feelings of those American Finns who never left Karelia, and would prefer to stay. After her father was arrested in June 1938, she was referred to as the daughter of an "enemy of the people." She recalled: "during 1937 and 1938 we almost never slept at nights." Salo interestingly described her family as "socialists," whereas those who persecuted her family were loyal "Stalinists." This supports my assertion that Stalinism and not Socialism bears responsibility for the destruction of Finnish-American rights in Karelia.

**Turner, Leo. "20th Century Minnesota Radicalism Project." Interview by Sal Salerno. Minnesota Historical Society, 15 Feb. 1988. Web. 22 Mar. 2014.**

Turner, a native of Minnesota's Iron Range, was a child when his father and stepmother left for Karelia in the early 1930s. Fifty years later, and no one in America had heard from them since they arrived in the Soviet Union. This became an all too common story amongst families of those who had gone to Karelia, where Finnish-American communities were suppressed and eliminated by Stalin's regime. This highlights the theme of unanswered questions, which was a recurring aspect of Stalin's responsibility for unrighteous treatment of Finnish North Americans.

**Letters:**

**Karelian Immigration Agency. "Letter from Karelia Immigration Agency to Head of Karelian Government." Letter to Edvard Gylling. 4 Mar. 1931. MS. National Archives of the Republic of Karelia, Petrozavodsk.**

The contents of this letter detail the relationship of the Soviet government with the American Communist Party regarding emigration. After the first year of immigration to Karelia, the American Communist Party had begun to clamp down on emigration from the United States for an unknown reason. This letter insinuates that the government of Karelia would ensure that Communist Party leaders in America are no longer an obstacle to emigration. Special thanks to Joanna Chopp of Finlandia University for supplying this source.

**Laiho, William A. Letter to Martha Laiho. 15 Feb. 1933. MS. Finnish-American Heritage Center, Hancock, Michigan.**

Writing to his sister from a rural logging community in Southern Karelia, William Laiho confided he originally thought "things didn't look just right," when he arrived, but now (1933) he was sure he wanted to stay in Karelia. He even invited his elderly parents to join him under Socialism, where their "old age would be insured [sic]." Interestingly, he listed the rights given to him under Socialism: "only here is a worker free to say what he thinks [...] I'm free to leave this country when I please." In reality, none of these rights

were offered to Finnish-Americans. Finnish-North Americans largely were unaware of the situation unfolding before them, and the nightmare they had been led into in the Soviet Union.

**Kostanian. “Study of Kirov’s Murder.” Letter to Comrade Evgen’ev. 4 Mar. 1935. Library of Congress, 22 Jul. 2010. Web. 06 Nov. 2013.**

This Soviet Government letter discusses the December 1934 murder of Soviet Politburo member Sergei Kirov. Kirov’s assassination is largely seen as the source of radical and systematic annihilation of minority groups in the Soviet Union. The paranoid tone of this letter foreshadows what would eventually become the Great Purge, in which millions of “Trotskyites” alongside nationalists (such as the Finns) had their right to a fair trial stolen, and were arbitrarily condemned to death or labor.

**Mykkänen, David. “Letter to His Sister from Aboard the Ship Drottingholm.” Letter. 27 Jun. 1931. MS. Personal Archive of Yrjö Mykkänen, n.p.**

Generously provided by Finlandia University, I was able to obtain a better grasp of what provoked the emigration of Finnish-North Americans to Karelia. Written in the wake of the 1929 Stock Market Crash, Mykkänen speaks of the “great chaos” unfolding in the capitalist world. The tone of the message is greatly optimistic, and perhaps misinformed of the true conditions existing in Soviet Karelia. This sentiment is representative of many Finns in their decisions to emigrate.

### **Maps:**

**“Karelskaya Avtonomnaya Sovetskaya Sotsialisticheskaya Respublika” [Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]. *Atlas soyuz sovetskikh sotsialisticheskikh republik*. Moscow: Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, 1928. 31-32. *Heninen.net*. Web. Jan. 2014.**

This early and detailed map of the Karelian ASSR depicts Karelia several years after its reintegration into the USSR. An image of this map is shown following a modern map depicting the Republic of Karelia with its present-day borders in Russia. It also served as a reference for geographic locations in Karelia that were previously unfamiliar to me.

**Music:**

**Koskela, Juho. "Kansainvälinen." By J. Paananen. Cond. Rosario Bourdon. Rec. 19 Apr. 1919. Victor, 1919. *Encyclopedic Discography of Victor Recordings*. Library of Congress. Web. 1 Feb. 2014.**

Recorded by a Finnish immigrant, this song is the Finnish-language version of the Communist anthem "Internationale." The song was wildly popular among the Communist Finns of North America, and encouraged their relocation to the Soviet Union. The recording is an essential addition to my documentary, especially considering the lyrics, which adamantly advocate for the rights of the "labor slaves."

**Soininen, John. *Vaka vanha Väinämöinen*. 1939. *The WPA California Folk Music Project*. Web. Feb. 2014.**

This vintage Finnish folk song captures the sounds of immigrant life of Finns in America. Sung by a Finnish-American from California, this song is used during my documentary when I explained the tough working conditions and lack of rights provided for Finns in America.

**Newspaper Articles:**

**"Christmas Festivities End in Carnage of Death." *Työmies* [Hancock] 25 Dec. 1913, Vol. X. Labor and Working-Class History Association. Web. 23 Mar. 2014.**

This publication captured the initial reaction of Finnish-Americans on Michigan's Upper Peninsula to the horrific disaster at the Italian Hall in Calumet, Michigan. More than eighty (mostly Finnish children) were crushed and suffocated after a false cry of fire during a Christmas party. A great discontent with the rights of Finnish workers under American capitalism can be heard, as the disaster was believed to have been incited by mining companies attempting to break a strike. This tragedy serves in my documentary to show the kind of political atmosphere that pushed Finns to the Soviet Union during the 1930s.

**Halonen, George. "The Karelian Workers' Commune: The Beginning of a Red Scandinavia." *The Toiler* [Cleveland] 16 Apr. 1921: 4. *Chronicling America*. Web. Feb. 2014.**

Finnish-American George Halonen, who worked to promote Karelia in North America, warned in this article that Karelia's vast virgin forests are vulnerable to the exploits of capitalism. Interestingly, the article included this quotation from the Soviet government in Moscow: "Soviet Russia [...] will defend the rights of the Karelian toilers, their national self-determination and their freedom from the yoke of robbers and exploiters." Through this, I gained a view of how fiercely defensive the Soviet Government was of Karelia, perhaps explaining why they were paranoid of the Finnish-Americans and Canadians who came during the early 1930s. An image of this article appears in my documentary.

**“Korholinin Runoja ‘Ruoditaan’ Karjalassa” [Korhilin’s Poems Are “Picked Apart” in Karelia]. *Industrialisti* [Duluth] n.d.: 3. Print.**

Published sometime around 1932, this article was written in response to the sharp criticism of poorly written patriotic poems submitted to the Communist newspaper of Karelia. Written by an “old friend” of the poetry’s author, the article pokes fun at how desperate some are to be noticed by the Kremlin. This exposed some of the desperately patriotic sentiments existing in Karelia, which are partially responsible for the mass murder of “enemies of the state,” including Finnish-Americans.

**National Geographic Society. “Karelia: A Little Finland.” *The Watchman and Southron* [Sumter] 1 Feb. 1922: 5. *Chronicling America*. Web. 3 Feb. 2014.**

Referring to the border between Karelia and Finland, the National Geographic Society writes, “just as this imaginary line divides geographic features, so it divides people of the same race.” Furthermore, “Russian Karelia, free from the Swedish influence that has molded much of the culture of Finland, [...] has preserved a purer form of the ancient customs of the Finnish race.” This explains how Karelia and Finland are essentially two in the same, and why Karelia appealed to leaders of Finnish Communists. In this way, not only could Finns enjoy rights as a working class, but also as an ethnic group. This is also important since the article reveals American support for the unification of Karelia with Finland, thus preventing to formation of a Communist government in Karelia.

**“Poems Must Also Be Written.” *Punainen Karjala* [Petrozavodsk] 26 Feb. 1932: n. pag. Print.**

Published in the Finnish-language Communist newspaper of Karelia, I examined a curious aspect of Finnish-American Communism in this article. Generously provided by the Finnish-American Heritage Center (Finlandia University), the article criticized the Communist poetry of a Finnish-American who had submitted it for publication. It was judged that his work needed to “precisely follow proletarian ideology and Marxism-Leninism.” For example, Korhonen wrote of the beauty of the Karelian sun and land, whereas the editors pointed out that the land is only made beautiful by the hard work of the peasantry, who reap its benefits for all the people. This supplemented a first-hand depiction of the Communist atmosphere in Karelia during the years leading up to the purges, which were promulgated by this aura.

### Personal Essays:

**Rajala, Helvi. *Commune Cement* #3. Mar. 1987. Essay. Print.**

Through the generosity of the University of Minnesota, I accessed this unique depiction of a Finnish-American's experience in Russia. Helvi Rajala (Lahti) came to the Soviet Union with her family in 1931 to the city of Nizhny Novgorod, many hundreds of miles from Karelia. Her differing experiences shed light on Finns and other Americans who ended up in far-fetched locations across the Soviet Union. At the time of writing, Rajala was working to bring home her sister-in-law, who had been exiled in Kazakhstan and hadn't seen her son since 1941. Rajala's writing helped me imagine the tremendously difficult process of bringing her separated family to America, just one of the many rights denied to Finns in the Soviet Union.

### Photographs:

***Digital Library Services. University of Minnesota, 9 Jan. 2009. Web. 10 Feb. 2014.***

Through this photograph archive, I was given access to more than a thousand photos of Finnish-Americans and Canadians, taken in locations from Siberia to Oregon. The immense scope of the collection has enabled me to provide a wide variety of photographs in my documentary to portray the story of America's Finns who went to Soviet Karelia in the early 1930s, never to be seen again.

**Närä, J.W., et. al. 2005. Photographs. Van Pelt & Opie Library, Houghton. *Keweenaw Digital Archives*. Web. 27 Jan. 2014.**

This photograph collection from Michigan Tech University allowed me to portray the vibrant Finnish culture in Michigan's Upper Peninsula during the 1920s and 1930s. It was instrumental in revealing a rough working life and chronic poverty, which acted as a catalyst for emigration to Soviet Karelia, located in the northwestern corner of the Soviet Union. Many photographs from this collection are used in my documentary.

### Publications:

***Neuvosto-Karjalan 15-vuotiselta taipaleelta [Soviet Karelia's 15-Year Anniversary]. 1935. Publication. Finnish Federation, Inc., New York. Print.***

Obtained from the University of Minnesota's Immigration History Research Center, this hundred-page document commemorates the fifteenth anniversary of Soviet Karelia's founding in 1935. Of particular interest were the photographs included, which depicted life of Finnish-Americans in backwoods Karelia. Photographs of women at work clearly reveal the propagandic intentions of the authors, who hoped to lure more Finnish-Americans to Karelia with the promises of economic rights for women. Through this source, I was able to depict why life in Karelia was so appealing to thousands of Finnish-Americans and Canadians.

**Republic of Karelia. OGPU (Joint State Political Directorate). Karelian Office. *On the Situation in Finnish American Colony in Karelia*. Trans. Alexey Golubev. Petrozavodsk: n.p., 16 Oct. 1932. Print.**

The predeceasing agency of the Soviet KGB prepared this “huge comprehensive report” on Finnish-Americans in Karelia, of which only two pages are translated. It can be deduced that Karelia was suffering from severe labor shortages at this time, and a “devil-may-care” attitude towards foreign workers was prevalent. Insufficient living conditions for employees of state companies, and dissatisfactions with food provisions for foreigners (especially in remote areas) are reported. This report reveals that state authorities were at least aware of the lack of responsibility exhibited by certain agencies of the Soviet government.

**Video Footage:**

***Life Under Stalin*. [Ca. 1930]. Distribution Access, 1999. *Learn360*. Web. Feb. 2014.**

To obtain video footage of Soviet leader Josef Stalin, I clipped segments from this video. Additionally, footage of agricultural life and poor industrial working conditions from the 1930s were instrumental to in the depiction of Soviet life at the time when Finnish-Americans were arriving by the thousands.

## **Secondary Sources:**

### **Books:**

**Fitzpatrick, Sheila. *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s*. New York: Oxford UP, 1999. Print.**

Discussing various aspects of Soviet life in the 1930s, this book allowed me to see what the political climate of the country was when Finnish-Americans came to Karelia. Through the ever-pervasive climate of fear and belief that the Soviet government was always right, it was simpler to understand how horrible oppression and atrocities could be allowed to occur. The content of this book proved useful in understanding life in such a complex society as the Soviet Union in the 1930s.

**Golubev, Alexey, and Irina Takala. *The Search for A Socialist El Dorado: Finnish Immigration to Soviet Karelia from the United States and Canada in the 1930s*. East Lansing: Michigan State UP, 2014. Print.**

Purchased fresh off the printing press, this book is the most comprehensive analysis of immigration to Karelia ever published in English. In addition to stunning photographs, the book offered interesting arguments regarding Karelian Fever, including that the Finnish-Americans of Karelia transformed the region from a miserable “ethnic periphery” to a thriving center of production and culture. The wealth of first hand sources provided in the book also made it extremely helpful in understanding such a complicated topic as Karelian Fever.

**Osokina, Elena A. *Our Daily Bread: Socialist Distribution and the Art of Survival in Stalin's Russia, 1927-1941*. Ed. Kate Transchel. Trans. Greta Bucher. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001. Print.**

Beginning with the destruction of the Russian private market in 1928, this book documents the ruinous path of Soviet economic policy. By exporting produce from rural areas into a state rationing program, the “shoemaker went without shoes,” resulting in millions of deaths. It is notable that in Karelia, foreigners such as Finnish-Americans were endowed with a supply of goods that couldn’t compare to the meager rations given to native residents. One American in Moscow reported how his interpreter burst into tears at the sight of such excess in a provision shop for foreigners. This paints a clear image of how the Soviet government unequally and irresponsibly managed food distribution.

**Rislakki, Jukka, and Eila Lahti-Argutina. *No Home for Us Here: The Mass Annihilation of the Finnish Border-Hoppers in the Urals in 1938*. Trans. Richard Impola. St. Cloud, MN: North Star of St. Cloud, 2002. Print.**

Purchased on Amazon.com, this book exposes a lesser-known aspect of the purges of Finns in the Soviet Union. While 6,500 Finnish-Americans and Canadians were flowing into Karelia during the early 1930s, approximately 15,000 Finns illegally crossed the border into the Soviet Union to escape epidemic unemployment in Finland. Expecting to be welcomed with open arms, these Finns were detained, and eventually deported to the Ural Mountains. Here, half of them were brutally exterminated for various “crimes.” While not mentioned in my documentary, this book allowed me to see the greater context of the violated rights of Finns in the Soviet Union. Mugshot photographs from this book are used in my documentary.

### **Documentary Films:**

***Letters From Karelia*. Dir. Kelly Saxberg. Prod. Joe MacDonald. By Robert Lower. National Film Board of Canada, 2004. DVD.**

Following the story of Finnish-Canadian Aate Pitkänen and his immigration to Soviet Karelia, this documentary gave me introspect into the process of discovering the fates of those who went missing in Karelia, and also opened up new avenues of visual media for my documentary, such as mugshot photos, and footage of Karelia’s mass graves today. The right of family to learn the fate of lost relatives is quite prominent in this production, as following Aate’s death, his son was lost in the Soviet Union and not reunited with his Canadian family until he appeared on a Russian reality TV show in 2000.

### **Interviews:**

**Afanasieva, Alexandra I. “Interview with Dr. Alexandra Ivanovna Afanasieva, Petrozavodsk State University, June 1996.” Interview. *Historians Speak*. University of Minnesota, n.d. Web. 27 Nov. 2013.**

Historian Alexandra Afanasieva of Karelia’s Petrozavodsk State University provided her insight on Karelia during the 1920s and 30s in this interview. Language policies in early 20th century Karelian schools largely reveal which ethnic division wielded power, and before 1929, the Finnish and Russian languages held equal status. Seeking to maintain Karelo-Finnish rights over an increasingly Russian majority, the Finnish diaspora in North America was recruited to come to Karelia. The status of language in Karelia “was not stable”, as this interview reveals. Russian interviews such as this will be influential in bilaterally analyzing the rights of Finns in Karelia as I conduct my research.

**Pashkov, Alexander. “Interview with Dr. Alexander Pashkov, Petrozavodsk State University, November 1996.” Interview. *Historians Speak*. University of Minnesota, n.d. Web. 26 Nov. 2013.**

Dr. Pashkov of Petrozavodsk State University in the Karelian capital introduced to me the concept of “Finnicization”, in which Karelia was converted into a Karelo-Finnish cultural and communistic paradise. The ultimate goal of bringing Finns to Karelia would be to eventually incite a Communist revolution in neighboring Finland, soon bringing all of the Karelo-Finnish workers their rights. Despite having a Swedish name, Gylling firmly believed that Karelia belonged to the Finnish people and their related ethnicities; “his thought was that Karelia must be under the influence of [...] Finnish civilization.” With this information, I can synthesize how the Soviet authorities justified their atrocities against thousands of innocent Finns in Karelia, who were perceived to be violating their responsibilities to maintain a purely communistic government.

**Kivisto, Peter. Personal Interview. Rock Island, Illinois. 3 Jun. 2014.**

Dr. Kivisto, professor of sociology, anthropology, and social welfare at Augustana University (Rock Island, Illinois) was kind enough to discuss his travels and research regarding Karelian Fever with me. Having researched for several projects and having traveled to Karelia for a scholarly conference on the Finnish-Americans who had immigrated there, Kivisto was the perfect interview subject. Many of the discussions, including the responsibility of Karelian Fever, and the correlation of Karelia’s terror to Russian military operations in Ukraine presently proved to be very interesting and appear in my documentary.

### **Journal Publications:**

**Kostiainen, Auvo. “Genocide in Soviet Karelia: Stalin's Terror and the Finns of Soviet Karelia.” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 21.4 (1996): 332-41. Web. 04 Nov. 2013.**

Through this article, I gained a better understanding of how Finnish immigration to Soviet Karelia took place (both legal and illegal). Soviet records reveal that between 1937 and 1938, 17% of the Finns in Karelia were arrested, opposed to a mere 1.1% of the Russians. Thus, Finns in Soviet Karelia were targeted with an intensity seventeen times that of Russians. A total of 15,000 Finns are believed to have been “exterminated.” In retrospect, a 1934 statement by the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs is darkly comical: “In no other country have so many peoples lived as peacefully with one another as in the Soviet Union.” Contrarily, it is quite clear that the rights of the Finnish minority in Soviet Karelia were trampled upon by Stalin.

**Middleton, Anita. “Karelian Fever: Interviews with Survivors.” *Special Issue of Journal of Finnish Studies* 1.3 (1997): 165-78. Print.**

Summarizing interviews with nineteen survivors of Karelian Fever conducted in Petrozavodsk in 1993, I was able to gain a retrospective, first hand view from this article. Particularly, I learned of the “culturally interesting” life experienced by many Finns in Karelia. Author Anita Middleton also provided the interesting point that through the superior work ethic of Finnish-Americans, Karelia underwent an “industrial revolution,” transforming the backwoods region. This adds to the significance of my topic in history.

**Pogorelskin, Alexis. “New Perspectives on Karelian Fever: The Recruitment of North American Finns to Karelia in the Early 1930s.” *Special Issue of Journal of Finnish Studies* 1.3 (1997): 165-78. Print.**

Utilizing newly available resources, Pogorelskin unveiled the hidden processes of Karelian Fever recruitment in this special journal publication. In particular, I learned a significant amount about the key organizers of American immigration to Karelia, and their intentions (which included the formation of a nationalistic Finnish state in Karelia, as opposed to a purely Soviet one.) This also worked to explain the justification used for “extermination” policies against Finns in Karelia, who were labeled as fascist elements by Soviet leadership.

#### **Music:**

**Chorus and Orchestra of the Bolshoy Theater. *Anthem of Soviet Union*. World Media Alliance, 2011. MP3.**

This modern recording of the USSR’s national anthem creates a sense of patriotic love for Karelia and the entire Communistic system, as felt by many Americans (especially Finnish-Americans) who came to the Soviet Union to enjoy extensive workers’ rights. It is used in my documentary during the description of life in Karelia during the 1930s.

**The City of Prague Philharmonic Orchestra. *Munich - Prayer for Peace*. John Williams, 2005. MP3.**

Originally used in the historical drama “Munich,” this composition allows me to build up an emotion of a new beginning and reconciliation. The song is used in both the opening scenes and final segment of my documentary.

**Heatta, Ánne M. *Iditguovssu*. Máddji. 2010. MP3.**

Sung in the Northern Sámi language of extreme northern Scandinavia and Russia, ethnic sounds and chilling vocals of *Iditguovssu* (Dawn Light) are played during my documentary. As images of Finns who left for Karelia are flashed on the screen, the song works to build anxiety for what would eventually become of them in the Soviet Union.

**Hartikainen, Eila, et. al. *Kuulin äänen*. MeNaiset. 2001. *Youtube*. Web. Feb. 2014.**

The song *Kuulin äänen*, or, “I Heard the Voice” was recorded in a traditional Finnish/Karelian style by the by the women’s folk group MeNaiset. MeNaiset’ Finno-Ugric ethnic folk tunes set the scene of Finnish immigrant life in America at the beginning of my documentary, especially through the eerie harmony of their voices.

**Syrjälä, Pauliina, perf. *Talonpoikaikantele [Peasant Kantele]*. Kansanmusiikin ja -tanssin edistämiskeskus, 2008. *Youtube*. Web. 10 June 2014.**

Performed in the traditional style, this song was played using a kantele, the Finnish and Karelian national instrument. Comparable to a lap harp, the piece’s light notes coincide with the portion of my documentary talking about thriving life for American Finns in Karelia, adding beauty to the segment.

**Webern, Anton. *Six Bagatelles for String Quartet*. 1913. MP3.**

During the portion of my documentary covering the 1913 Italian Hall Disaster, I made use of this song to capture the horror of the event, in which seventy-three (mostly children) were crushed and suffocated in a stairwell. This song was composed the same year as the tragedy, adding to its relevance.

#### **Newspaper Articles:**

**Batson, Judith. “Why Did Her Mother Lie?” *The Tampa Tribune* 27 Jul. 2008: 6. Print.**

Batson documented her journey to discover the fate of her missing grandfather in this article. Kalle Korhonen abandoned his Finnish-American family during the 1930s to build Communism in Soviet Karelia, and for years, Batson was lied to about his fate. In reality, her grandfather had succumbed to tuberculosis in 1939 during a time of great upheaval in Europe. This sheds light on the families who continue searching for clues some seventy years later as to whom or what was responsible for the disappearance of loved ones in Karelia.

**Clines, Francis X. “Soviets, After 33 Years, Publish Khrushchev’s Anti-Stalin Speech.” *The New York Times*. *The New York Times*, 05 Apr. 1989. Web. 09 Jun. 2014.**

This article is important in pinpointing the responsibility of the purges of national groups like Finns across the Soviet Union. In 1989, the full text of the Nikita Khrushchev’s 1956 speech “On the Cult of Personality and its Consequences” was released to the Soviet public. “The cult of the individual acquired such monstrous size chiefly because Stalin himself,” wrote Khrushchev. Stalin’s chief responsibility for the killings of millions of Soviet citizens will make a more prominent appearance in my documentary.

**Maupin, Caleb. “Fascist Violence and the Value of Human Life.” *RT. TV-Novosti*, 12 May 2014. Web. 09 Jun. 2014.**

Looking for correlations between the annihilation of Finnish-Americans in Karelia and the current Russian military operations in Ukraine, I came across this article. In Karelia, the Soviet government claimed it was arresting “fascist nationalist groups of Finnish terrorists.” Today, Russia has denounced the Ukrainian Government as little more than “fascists” and “ultra-nationalists.” Furthermore, the article (which happens to be written by a Russian media outlet) describes the violence in Odessa as “fascist terrorism” and the Russian soldiers sent into Ukraine are the “anti-terrorism soldiers.” It is quite clear that the Russian government is again using such words to justify its shows of force in the world, and thus, history is perhaps repeating itself.

**Milne, John. “Family Hopes for Happy End to Tragic Personal History in USSR.” *Boston Globe* 27 Apr. 1987: 1+. Print.**

Persuaded to come to the Soviet Union in 1931, with the promises of employment, the Rajala family was soon torn apart as Josef Stalin ordered the purge of foreign national groups, including Finns, from the Soviet Union. At the time of its publishing, Helvi Rajala’s sister and mother-in-law were on a list of more than a hundred human rights cases presented to Soviet officials. The two were still exiled in Karaganda, Kazakhstan and had not seen their family for more than forty-five years, as diplomats were working to secure their release. Through this article, I was able to interpret the ways Soviet officials violated the rights of Finnish-Americans for as long as five decades after the onset of the purges. As a result, this topic received more coverage in my documentary.

#### **Online Publications:**

**Klementyev, Yevgeniy, Svetlana Kovaleva, and Konstantin Zamyatin. *The Karelian Language in Russia: An Overview of a Language in Context*. Ed. Johanna Laakso. European Language Diversity for All (ELDIA), 2012. Web. 28 Nov. 2013.**

This publication defines the historical and modern status of the Karelian Language, whose speakers occupy much of Karelia. Karelians consider themselves to be “Finns who have their roots in Karelia.” Karelian, which is distinctly related to the Finnish language, has faced the stigma of being a minority language in Russia. This publication reveals the difficulty of using Karelian as the official language during the 1920s and 1930s, since its several dialects make establishing a standard written form of the language a laborious process. This in turn explains why Finnish was the official language of Karelia before Stalin purges began. How the native Karelians were related to the Finnish people, and what position Karelian held during the unstable language policies of 20th century Karelia is now clearer.

***Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights.* UNESCO, 9 Jun. 1996. Web. Nov. 2013.**

In a 1992 UNESCO Conference on Linguistic Rights, it was specifically outlined that all minority groups have the right to both linguistic preservation and cultural practice. This reinforces my claim that the outlawing of the Finnish language in Karelia and implementation of culturally destructive policies in Soviet Karelia were indeed a great loss of rights for Finnish-Americans, whose primary language was often Finnish.

**Radio Broadcasts:**

**Losure, Mary, and Dan Olson. *Finland Was a Poor Country.* Prod. Alan Stricklin. 10 Jun. 1997. MPR. Minnesota Public Radio. Web. 06 Mar. 2014. Transcript.**

One of the many resources I've gathered from the state of Minnesota, this radio broadcast described the atmosphere of life in Minnesota's Iron Range at the turn of the century. The horrific working conditions in Minnesota's mines were exposed, as well as the spite mine owners had towards Finnish laborers in particular, depriving them of a long list of rights. These truths of daily life for Finns in America as well as a photograph on the webpage were used in my documentary to portray the treatment the Finns endured in America.

**Web Pages:**

**"Article 58 of the Penal Code of the RSFSR." *Eesti Mälu Instituut.* Estonian Institute of Historical Memory, n.d. Web. 9 Jun. 2014.**

Article 58-10 regarding "propaganda or agitation, containing a call for the overthrow, subversion, or weakening of Soviet authority" was used to justify many arrests of Finnish-Americans, a great many of whom were innocent. This article offers insight into the legal punishment entailed by this crime, which includes deprivation of liberty and a minimum of a six-month prison sentence. In reality, however, virtually all of these sentences involved arbitrary execution.

**"Edvard Gylling." Trans. Alex Bare. *Eduskunta.* The Parliament of Finland, 30 Oct. 2007. Web. 21 Nov. 2013.**

Edvard Otto Vilhelm Gylling is recognized as the most influential leader of Finns in Soviet Karelia, acting as a catalyst for Finnish immigration to Karelia. While he was seen as a Communist, left-wing leader in Karelia, his upbringing in Finland eludes to a more nationalistic background. The final entry in his biography was his arrest in 1937 and subsequent execution, likely taking place near Moscow on June 14, 1938, although this date is contradicted by other government reports. Gylling's personal story is exemplary of what happened to Finns' rights during Stalin's purges, and also will be quite useful in further analyzing Gylling's role as leader of Karelia during the so-called "Karelian Fever".

**“The Finns.” *Immigration*. Library of Congress, n.d. Web. 31 Jan. 2014.**

A comparatively small amount of Finns came to America in the context of Scandinavian immigration. Unequal treatment of Finns in the United States, however, was far more frequent than that of other ethnicities. Since the Finnish language traces its roots back to the Ural Mountains of interior Russia and has no linguistic connection to English, Finns had difficulty comprehending English. As a result, they were given the lowest paying jobs often involving manual labor. Finns were not given equal rights in housing or job opportunities, and public insults and violent attacks were commonplace. This source highlights the unique adversities faced by Finns, which indeed contributed to the decision of thousands of them to immigrate to Soviet Karelia.

**Gracheva, Ekatarina. “Of Russian Origin: Stalin's Purges.” *RT Russiapedia*. TV-Novosti, n.d. Web. 01 Nov. 2013.**

Gracheva, a correspondent for the international Russian television network RT, summarizes what is known as the Great Purge. Between the years 1934 and 1939, an intense series of mass executions and deportations took place across the Soviet Union. Targeting ethnic minorities and alleged political opponents, some 20 million people were sent to Gulag labor camps during Joseph Stalin’s reign, where an estimated 10 million were killed. Largely, much of this purging was an attempt by Soviet leaders to industrialize the nation and affirm a “cult of Stalin-worship”. Through this summary, I now understand what justifications Soviet leaders had for disregarding numerous rights of ethnic minorities, including the Finns and Karelians.

**Heninen, Andrew. “Sandarmoh 1937-1938.” *Heninen.net*. N.p., n.d. Web. 26 Apr. 2014.**

Using materials gathered by the State Center for the Protection and Management of the Historic and Cultural Monuments of the Karelian Ministry of Culture, this article documented the history of Sandarmokh: a forested area near Povolets, Karelia, where 9,500 people of fifty-eight ethnic identities were ordered to strip to their underwear. They were then bound, gagged, and shot between 1937 and 1938. Among them were 900 residents of nearby towns, including a few hundred Finnish-Americans and Canadians. The gravesite was only located in 1997 by Memorial, a society today known for its work uncovering mass murder in Chechnya. A photograph of the Sandarmokh memorial is included in my documentary, which reads, “Humanity, don’t kill one another.”

**“The Italian Hall Disaster, Calumet, Michigan.” Genealogical Society of Finland, n.d. Web. 02 Feb. 2014.**

Contained in this article is a full list of the victims of the horrific 1913 Italian Hall Disaster, in which seventy-three people (mostly Finnish children) suffocated after a false cry of “fire!” sparked a stampede. Many speculate that strikebreakers hired by mining companies were behind the disaster. The index of names allows me to have a better handle of the demographics of those killed, as well as in presenting the kinds of adversities faced by Finns in their fight for rights in Michigan. It is important to also note that this disaster encouraged emigration to Soviet Karelia, where Finns hoped to find equal rights for all.

**Jones, Adam. “Case Study: Stalin’s Purges.” Gendercide Watch, n.d. Web. 08 June 2014.**

Analyzing the prominence of “gendercide” in the Soviet Union under Stalin, this article asked a crucial question: “who was responsible?” This also applied to the purging of Finnish-Americans in Karelia. While evidence overwhelmingly blamed Stalin’s “god-like” power for the deaths of millions, the article too points out that many scholars today believe Stalin’s policies were adopted from Lenin. Indeed, this is the conclusion of my interviewee, Peter Kivisto. In exploiting the principles of Communism and creating a system of fear and paranoia, both Lenin and Stalin are responsible for the destruction of countless lives in Karelia and the entire Soviet Union.

**Pogorelskin, Alexis. “Edvard Gylling.” *Why Karelian Fever Happened*. University of Minnesota, n.d. Web. 22 Nov. 2013.**

Edvard Gylling was leader of the 1930s’ “Karelian Fever”, in which thousands of Finns immigrated to a Communistic “workers’ paradise” in Soviet Karelia. Raised on a rural estate in poverty-stricken Finland, Gylling had a deep love for his native nation and its culture. He soon became politically involved with the Democratic Socialist Party of Finland in 1904, and was disturbed by the plight of Finnish crofters (peasants) and the rapid rate of emigration to America. In 1920, Stalin invited Gylling to the Soviet Union to discuss the construction of a Karelian Republic in the Soviet Union, promising it could retain a Finnish identity. The Finnish aura of Karelia would be soon all but destroyed during Stalin’s purges of the 1930s. With this, it is clear what role and intentions Edvard Gylling had in the creation of Karelia, which had its rights revoked by the Soviet Union’s ruthless goal of pure domination.

**Pogorelskin, Alexis. "Historical Preface." Preface. *Karelia: A Finnish-American Couple in Stalin's Russia, 1934-1941*. St. Cloud: North Star Press, 1991. ix-xvii. Print.**

Before becoming an independent country, the Swedish ruling class labeled Finns as an "inferior race", provoking emigration to America. There, facing discrimination and failing to find the "American Dream", the working Finns were easily persuaded by Marxist ideals promoting workers' rights. Thus, in the 1920s and early 1930s, thousands of Finns came to Karelia. Dr. Pogoreskin's historical preface has allowed me to see the greater context of Stalin's purges in Soviet Karelia, uncovering a motif of unrighteous treatment in the history of the Finnish people..

**Pogorelskin, Alexis. "Karelian Fever Survivors." University of Minnesota, n.d. Web. 28 Nov. 2013.**

While many thousands perished in Karelia's Purges, a handful of North American Finns managed to survive. One of them, Kaisa Siimis, came to Karelia with her husband and young child. While her husband was arrested, she and her daughter were exiled on an island north of Petrozavodsk and given stables to live in. Upon finding her way back to Petrozavodsk, Siimis attempted to obtain a residence permit, but was told to "live in the forest because as [a] Finn, 'she was an animal.'" The oppressive conditions took their toll on her daughter, who eventually committed suicide. These harrowing experiences shed light on how the Karelian Finns' loss of their rights and dehumanization impacted them, directly connecting it to the theme "Rights and Responsibilities in History."

**Pogorelskin, Alexis. "The Terror." University of Minnesota, n.d. Web. 26 Nov. 2013.**

In November 1935, conditions in Karelia began falling apart after Karelia's Finnish leaders were forced to sign an agreement with the Soviet Union denouncing Finnish nationalism and were assigned to jobs in Moscow, with Russians taking up their former posts in Karelia. Blood was spilling by 1938, when Karelia's Communist chairman Edvard Gylling was arrested and executed in June. The Finnish language was outlawed by July 1, stealing linguistic rights from ethnic Finns. Finnish newspapers and radio were closed as literature was burned. Finnish-Americans involved in the Communist Party in the vicinity of the Karelian capital of Petrozavodsk were targeted and shot, including some as young as sixteen. This source effectively chronicles what rights were stolen from the Finnish people at the hands of the Soviet Union during the late 1930s.

**Pogorelskin, Alexis. “Why Karelian Fever?” University of Minnesota, n.d. Web. 26 Nov. 2013.**

In 1929, the implementation of the Soviet Union’s First Year Plan initiated the forced industrialization of the Soviet Union, which resulted in an mass migration of ethnic Russian laborers to Soviet Karelia. Sensing an endangerment to the Finnish identity of Karelia, Communist chairman of Karelia, Edvard Gylling, began to recruit Finns from North America, leading to “Karelian Fever”. Several circumstances in North America encouraged Finns to emigrate. Most notably, the Great Depression’s effects were making life almost unbearable for Finns who already faced widespread discrimination, and as a result Finns felt that the United States and Canada has failed in their responsibility to provide sustainable livelihoods for Finnish immigrants. Gylling’s program was a great success, and it is believed that between 1931 and 1934, 10,000 Finns immigrated to Karelia from Canada and America.

**“Repression and Terror: Kirov Murder and Purges.” Revelations From the Russian Archives. Library of Congress, 22 Jul. 2010. Web. 05 Nov. 2013.**

A catalyst for the Great Purge under Joseph Stalin was the December 1, 1934, murder of Sergei Kirov, a high-ranking member of the Soviet executive committee, or Politburo. Due to Kirov’s high status in the Soviet Government, Stalin ordered a “witch-hunt” for anyone who may have been involved in the politics behind the murder. This ultimately culminated in the Great Purge, in which millions of Soviet citizens were arrested or murdered over the next four and a half years. This case serves as a pretext to the complete denial of rights to Soviet citizens, many of whom constantly lived under the fear of arrest and subsequent execution. Additionally, the case will be crucial to understanding the context of the mass executions that took place specifically in Soviet Karelia in the late 1930s.

**Starshova, Tamara. “Suomen Kieli Karjalassa [The Finnish Language in Karelia].” *Kulttuurisivuja Karjalasta [Culture Pages about Karelia]*. Trans. Alex Bare. State University of Petrozavodsk, n.d. Web. 12 Dec. 2013.**

This Finnish language article was critical to my understanding of linguistic policy in Karelia. Before the Russian Revolution, Russian was used as an official language, whereas Karelian dialects were the spoken language of the people, since it had no standard written form at the time. During the 1920s, schools in Karelia were taught in various dialects of Karelian. The late 1920s, however, saw the Finnish language become mandatory for all Karelians. Conversely, the Finnish language was denounced by the mid-1930s and replaced with Russian. The Soviet Government had decided that Finns were an obstacle to “Russification,” and thus began the “Persecution Years,” or the Great Purge. All of this information serves to show how the linguistic rights of the Karelian and then Finnish people were all but nullified over the policy of “Russification.”

**Spiegel, Taru. "The Finns in America." *European Reading Room*. Library of Congress, 5 Aug. 2013. Web. 31 Jan. 2014.**

This timeline chronicles Finnish immigration to America and additionally supplied photographs of Finnish communities that will be of use. Information regarding Finns' life in America is important in analyzing the factors that contributed to Finns' immigration to Soviet Karelia to build the "workers' paradise."

**Utekhin, Ilya, Alice Nakhimovsky, Slava Paperno, and Nancy Ries. "Housing in the USSR." *Communal Living in Russia*. Colgate University, n.d. Web. 25 Jan. 2014.**

Reflecting the testimony of Finnish-Americans who endured Karelian Fever, this chronicle of Soviet housing during the twentieth century reveals Karelia's housing situation in the context of Soviet politics. Due to intensive industrialization (which attracted Finnish immigrants), the USSR's building planners decided to build communal apartments. Even worse living conditions existed in what were called "barracks," where many Finns lived. Essentially, these "barracks" were hastily built college dorms, where families had individual rooms, but communal kitchens, hallways, and outhouses. The state controlled who lived where through residency permits, such as in cases when Finns were banned from living in Leningrad, and when a Finnish woman survived a labor camp only to be told she would not be given a residency permit because she was Finnish, and should therefore live in the woods.

**Virtanen, Hilary. "Stereotype and Tradition in Upper Michigan." *Heikki Lunta Culture*. University of Wisconsin, 2006. Web. 02 Feb. 2014.**

Hilary Virtanen of the Finnish-American Heritage Center (Hancock, Michigan) explains the hardships faced by Finnish-Americans in the Upper Peninsula on this website. In particular, the story of a young Finn who was turned away from her friend's doorstep when the household's mother found she was a Finn, and her daughter couldn't be playing with "that Mongolian" is important in describing the limited rights of Finns in America. This new story played an important role in my description of the context of Finnish emigration to the Soviet Union.

#### **Video Footage:**

***Violent, Dramatic Clash In Ukraine's Capital*. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 18 Feb. 2014. Web. 9 Jun. 2014**

To show a correlation of my topic to modern events in Ukraine, I chose to display this footage taken during violent protests during February of 2014 in Kyiv. The chaotic nature of the piece matches the tone of my closing segment, in which I warn that history may be repeating itself.