

FATES OF BOOKS AND ARCHIVES DURING THE WAR BETWEEN FINLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION, 1939–1940 AND 1941–1944

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Introduction

All armies in the Second World War took as far as possible from the adversary into their own possession all the publications and other sources of information that they considered important from the point of view of warfare or other goals. This way acted both the Allies and the Germans, and so did the Finns as well the Soviet troops. The book confiscations of the Nazis were in their own class in their brutality, it was a series of plundering expeditions and genocide of both people and books, but all parties involved in the war did their part one way or another. The Allies took hold of hundreds of thousands of German technical reports, and the Soviet army grabbed art treasures, as had done the Nazis in many countries.

Even Finns with their small resources could put up a considerable book gathering operation in the occupied Soviet Karelia that demands attention. There is a considerable Finnish literature on many aspects of the Finnish occupation of Soviet Karelia [5; 9; 10; 11; 14] as well as on the general history of Soviet Karelia [2; 5; 6; 7], but so far very little on the book historical side of the period 1941–1944. My attention to this subject was drawn by the Chief Librarian of the Finnish National Library, Ph.D. Kai Ekholm. He has presented in his recent book on the destruction of libraries during the 20th century what has been published on the subject [2, 145–156], most of which are short journal [15; 17] or newspaper articles [8]. Unfortunately, the probably most ambitious piece of research on the subject has remained as an

unpublished manuscript [16] and has not, despite efforts, come into my hands. There is a considerable amount of archival material on the subject in both the Finnish War Archives and the National Library of Finland. In the present paper I am going to reconstruct the general outlines of the phenomenon, but will not go into details. That is why I omit the references to the archival sources, which are all in Finnish. My long-term aim is to write a thorough study on the subject, but it will have to wait for some time.

The restored areas

There was, of course, book traffic in both directions during the changing fortunes of the war. As a result of the Winter War (November 1939-March 1940) the Soviet authorities got lots of Finnish literary and archival material in their hands, because after the cease-fire in March 1940 Finns had to retreat hurriedly from the Finnish areas that were not invaded by the Soviet troops, but which were in the Peace Treaty doomed to stay in the possession of the Soviet Union. The city library of Viipuri (Vyborg in Russian), the master piece of Alvar Aalto's architecture, was left almost intact in the hands of the Soviet forces. During the Interwar period from 1940 till 1941 Soviet authorities strove to model the library according to their own ideology and library practices, but they did not throw away the majority of the Finnish books. Some of the material was transported further in the Soviet Union, even to Soviet Karelia's capital Petrozavodsk – Viipuri and the whole region was joined administratively to the Karelo-Finnish SSR. Books from private homes were collected by the Soviet authorities and ordinary Soviet citizens were forbidden to acquaint themselves with the Finnish books [1].

When the hostilities were resumed in July 1941, the areas lost as result of the Winter War were reintegrated into the Finnish territory. Naturally the Finns took possession of books and other material that was found in the reintegrated areas.

The books from Finnish libraries and private homes were returned as much as possible to their owners. In Viipuri (Vyborg), where tens of thousands of books gathered by the Soviet authorities were found in one of the towers of the city wall, a number of book exhibitions were organized in order to give people a chance to identify their own books. Books with the name of the owner were returned directly to their owners, if possible. There was a special library office in the local military headquarters of Viipuri to take care of the reinstatement of library and book matters

in Viipuri. In the beginning of the year 1943 the library office was terminated and the library matters were transferred to a board composed of civilian authorities with representatives from the Helsinki University Library (the National Library) and the State Library Bureau. The aim was to relaunch the activities of Viipuri City Library and other libraries in the restored area. There was a plan to make the City Library the first regional library in Finland in order to give it resources to support the rural libraries in the Karelian Isthmus that had suffered more from the Winter War and the Interwar period.

While the fighting went on in the former Finnish territories and the Finnish troops came into contact with literary material left by the Soviet troops, the Finnish military intelligence took hold of all books and publications that were considered useful for the conduct of war; there was lots of other booty as well. Books were captured in fighting situations but as well when the conquered areas were inspected afterwards.

There was an envoyé officer, captain Hirvonen, who was sent by the chief of the Central Library of the Finnish Army, Emerik Olsoni, to inspect the libraries of Viipuri and the Karelian Isthmus as soon as the areas fell into the hands of the Finnish troops. Captain Hirvonen found libraries of the Soviet troops in garrisons and officer clubs and inspected them in order to find books useful for the warfare. Similar expeditions were conducted further north in the areas around Ladoga See. It was important for the intelligence point of view to do inspection as soon as possible, because the ordinary soldiers took books often as trophies or left them without shelter or even used them to light a fire.

In the same way it was natural that the material captured from the Soviet naval base of Hanko that was leased to the Soviet Union after the Winter War was taken into possession by the Finns. The Soviet troops left the base in the winter of 1941.

Soviet or East Karelia

When we shift our attention to the similar activities of the Finnish troops in Soviet or East Karelia, it is an ethically and juridically different situation. When the Finnish troops crossed the so-called old border and conquered large areas in the Soviet Union they entered a land that had never been part of Finland, it was a purely conquered land where the international laws of warfare agreed in 1907 in the Hague should have been applied fully. Finland had accepted the laws in 1924. E.g.,

the confiscation of private property was forbidden. The property of municipalities and institutions of religion and philanthropy, as well as of education, art and scholarship was considered equal with private property, even if these institutions were owned by the state. As usual these kinds of norms and principles could not be maintained in the reality, sometimes there was not even an effort to do so. On the other hand, the material taken by the Finnish forces was to a large extent abandoned by the Soviet authorities that had fled before the Finnish troops arrived.

The Finns had various interests what to do with the material captured in the conquered areas. Part was clearly useful for warfare. That was taken into the hands of the Finnish military intelligence. E.g., military regulations, technical descriptions of weapons etc. were inspected and the most important were translated into Finnish. Intelligence officers or other informed officers picked publications of this sort from the shelves of libraries. The most valuable material was sent to the Intelligence Section of the Headquarters to be analyzed there. The purposes of intelligence were served even by purely public materials that could reveal important information of the war potential and psychological climate of the adversary. The use of the material extended, however, to more long-term goals and general scholarly interests as well. During the first years of the war the permanent annexation of East Karelia was the general goal of the Finnish authorities. This goal affected even how the war booty was managed. If the area had stayed permanently annexed to Finland, the communist administration and its structures would have been dismantled and something else would have been constructed in its stead. This potential future influenced planning the use of war booty, even of books.

The administration of the conquered East Karelia was taken care of by a special organ, the Military Administrative Headquarter of East Karelia (in Finnish: *Itä-Karjalan Sotilashallintoosikunta*, acronym *ItäKarSE*). The ItäKarSE had its own “administrative-economic intelligence section”. One of its chief functions was to take into possession, preserve and utilize libraries and archives found in the region. These operations had a military goal, not just general confiscation of libraries and archives. Even if there was a considerable number of Soviet inhabitants left in the area, the Soviet civil or military authorities did not stay and wait for the Finnish troops to arrive but fled and took with them as much material as possible and, in any case, their personal knowledge of the region and its administration. The Finns had to reconstruct piece by piece a picture of the area, its population and circumstances, beginning with simple facts, such as the normal time when the snows

melt in the region. That is why Soviet publications and archives were considered useful and worth preserving and legitimate part of the war booty. Even books left by private persons who had fled were taken into custody. From private homes were even removed all publications that were considered anti-Finnish or communist. These concepts could be stretched rather far.

A special character to the Finnish occupation of East Karelia was given by the fact that there were numerous representatives of the “Academic Karelian Society” (*Akateeminen Karjala-Seura*) among the officials of the Military Administrative Headquarter of East Karelia [11, 88–91]. This society, where a large share of the Finnish male academic youth belonged since the 1920s, cherished the special cultural ties between Finland and East Karelia (and other areas inhabited by Finns or their near linguistic relatives), and its long-term goal was to annex this part of the Russia or Soviet Union. It was a very powerful organization and many influential men were its former or present members. It had a deep ideological grip of its members. It was not a Fascist organization, even if some of its members were sympathetic towards right wing radicals, even the Nazis. The members of the Society had a long time studied the culture and circumstances of East Karelia, which made it rational to use their expertise in the administration of the region. On the other hand their attitudes were nationalistically coloured according to the ideological goals of the Academic Karelian Society.

One of the most doubtful actions of the Finns in East Karelia was the separation of the so-called national, i.e., Karelian and Finnish, inhabitants on one hand, and the Russians on the other from each other. The “non-national” persons were put into concentration camps and were given during the first half of the occupation period rather more disfavoured conditions than the national element, the Karelian and the Finnish. There were thousands of people with Finnish origins in East Karelia, part of them Finnish communists that had fled from Finland after the Civil War, part of them Finnish-American or Finnish-Canadian emigrants who had been invited by the Soviet government to help building the Socialist country. Many of the emigrants had perished in Stalin’s purges, but there were many left. It was thought that when the peace would come the Russian population of East Karelia would be transferred to what would be left of the Soviet Russia after the victory of the Germans. That is why the camps where the Russians were held were renamed into “transfer” or “relocation camps”. There clearly was no intention to destroy the Russian population, although during the year 1942 when there was a severe lack of

food in Finland, the people in the concentration camps suffered more than the others. After that the circumstances of the Russian population were ameliorated. Until the beginning of 1943 the annexation of East Karelia was a self-evident goal and it gave the context to the planning of future. After Stalingrad talks about the annexation of East Karelia were officially discouraged.

Confiscation and preservation

According to the instruction given by the commander of the Military Administrative Headquarter of East Karelia, general V.A. Kotilainen in September 9, 1942, “the material bearing the Russian and Soviet signs should be removed from the hands of the public and prevent it from being distributed into Finland”. All books, maps, pictures, posters etc. printed in the Soviet Union should be taken into custody. The decree was so severe that it had to be almost immediately relaxed, and it was allowed that the public may keep personal photographs, Finnish-language, purely artistic and educational printed matters, newspapers used as wallpaper etc.

Propaganda and intelligence officers collected material that was concentrated in the building of the University of Petrozavodsk (in Finnish Petroskoi), the capital of Soviet Karelia. The city was renamed as Äänislinna (or City of Onega Lake). The chief of the Intelligence Section of the Military Administrative Headquarter of East Karelia (*Itä-Karjalan Sotilashallintoesikunnan Tiedusteluosasto, ItäKarSE Tied.os.*), captain Reino Castrén, was one of the many officers in the Headquarter with a background in the Academic Karelien Society. He had, e.g., published before the war an article describing the population of East Karelia [3]. He sketched in a memorandum dated March 3, 1942 (now in the Finnish War Archives), how the material gathered would be used in a shorter and in a longer perspective. Castrén stressed the importance of the literary and archival material “in the situation when the Finnish authorities and scholars start to integrate East Karelia into their sphere of knowledge”. The primary use of the material was in any case militarily and administratively determined, only secondary role could be given to the scholarly and library interests. Castrén discussed, whether the material should be 1) distributed among the various authorities, 2) placed into Finnish general libraries and archives or 3) concentrated in one place in Helsinki or Petrozavodsk (Äänislinna). He considered the last option as the best: a “Central Library and Archive for East Karelia” should be established, preferably in Petrozavodsk. But there would be left enough of the copies of publications

collected to be sent to the Finnish libraries as well, the first among them being the Helsinki University Library, the Finnish National Library.

The military administration of East Karelia was organized in summer 1942 so that military and civilian functions were separated more or less from each other. For that reason the huge mass of books and archives collected in Petrozavodsk was in July 1942 named the “War Booty Archives of East Karelia” (a more exact but cumbersome translation might be “the archives of material captured from the enemy in East Karelia”) with military official Pentti Renvall, PhD in history in civilian life, as its chief. The functions of the institution remained the same as before. From the beginning of 1942 until summer of 1944 the institution functioned as a regular library and archives. Its premises were visited for research and other scholarly purposes, its material was lent to military authorities but even to libraries and institutions in Finland, as well as to private persons. In the autumn of 1943 a plan for a bibliography over East Karelia and its neighbouring areas was launched. A card file was gathered for it, which still exists in the Helsinki University Library.

When we are discussing the role of the War Booty Archives and the collecting campaign of books, libraries and archives in general we must bear in mind a fact that already the contemporaries knew, namely that material left without care in the war affected areas was in any case in danger. An army consists of individuals that act often on their own and do not always understand the value of books and papers that they encounter. They are used as kindling or cigarette paper. Unguarded libraries and archives simply fade away. In the papers of the Intelligence Section of East Karelia it is often repeated that the Finnish cleaning mania posed serious dangers for the preservation of books and archives: when houses were cleaned by the troops or special cleaning patrols they put away without hesitation all material that seemed to lack immediate use. The Finnish soldiers, as was the case in all armies, had their own private interests also in the books, although more in other more valuable material. It was officially forbidden to take anything for one’s personal use, but it happened in any case.

The role of the Helsinki University Library and other Finnish libraries concerning the War Booty Archives

The Chief Librarian of the Helsinki University Library (HUL), Lauri O. Th. Tudeer, had an important consultative role in the considerations concerning war booty

books and in the organization of the War Booty Archives. Already during the offensive period officers that in civilian life were librarians in the HUL, such as the future chief librarian, lieutenant Jorma Vallinkoski, informed Tudeer about interesting books and libraries that they had seen on the war path. There is an inspired spirit of revanche in the correspondence, with a background in the traumatic Winter War and the depressing Interwar period. On top of that even a wide concept of the Finnish national literature, Fennica, that comprised even books in Finnish published outside of the Finnish state borders, guided the thoughts of the Finnish officer-librarians. It is an undeniable fact that librarians saw in the material that they encountered in the field a chance to improve the collection of the Finnish national literature in the HUL, the Fennica collection. Numerous previously unknown books in the Finnish language, that is books belonging to the Finnish national literature, ended up by being incorporated into the stocks of HUL. There was a great concern among the librarians that material left unguarded in the field was in great danger of vanishing in the circumstances of war.

In his capacity as the chief of the Finnish National Library Tudeer was a central authority in the planning of management of the book collections and library matters in the conquered areas. Already in the autumn 1941, as soon as the city was conquered, he sent a detachment of officials of HUL to Petrozavodsk to take part in the organization of the collected books. When in spring 1942 the principles of the distribution of war booty books were agreed between Finnish libraries and other interested parties, it was decided that all libraries that wanted to have war booty books would be obliged to send volunteers on their pay rolls to Petrozavodsk to take part in the handling of the books (or would otherwise take part in the expenses). The largest share of the librarians came in any case from HUL. Numerous letters from these voluntary librarians exist in the archives of HUL. In the beginning these letters tell about difficult conditions and hard work but the librarians clearly were inspired by the book treasures they found. The books concerned were in most cases not valuable in material terms, but ABC-books, official publications, ephemeral journals etc., stuff that interest librarians. Library professionals would have been ready to send books into Finland even earlier than the military officials of the local Intelligence Section. In fact, the librarians appear in a rather dubious light. They seem not to have spent much thought on the moral and juridical side of the affair: what right did the Finnish libraries have to take into possession war booty books? In this sense the officers with a background in the Academic Karelian Society seem to have had a couple of degrees more sense of consideration.

The Fennica-crusade of the Finnish librarians in the East in any case led into permanent results, which is shown, e.g., in the large amount of additions in the Finnish national bibliography covering the years 1939–1943. The volume includes hundreds of Finnish language items published in the Soviet Union during the 1920s and 1930s. Even many items recording Finnish-language books published originally in America have been included thanks to the work in East Karelia, because the American-Finnish immigrants brought their own publications when they immigrated into the Soviet Union. These Soviet and American items have not been known to the compilers of the previous volumes of the national bibliography, even if there was a continuing intention to follow what was published in Finnish in the Soviet Union and part of the Soviet publications were regularly received in exchange or were bought. It is natural that the Slavic Department of HUL, famous for its collection of Russian publications, also was extremely interested to receive books from the Soviet Union. There always was a representative from the Slavic Department in the detachment of Petrozavodsk.

Tudeer defended the position of HUL as the Finnish national library and tried to look after that the distribution of war booty books would happen under the control of the library or at least it would know what went on. The representatives of the Finnish academic libraries agreed on principles and the order of distribution of the books in a meeting in May 1942. Earlier in the spring the matters had been cleared between HUL, the National Archives and the military authorities in East Karelia. Complete series of books found in East Karelia were meant to be sent to at least HUL and the university libraries in Turku and Jyväskylä. The privileged position of the Central Library of the Army had to be taken into consideration, but Tudeer tried to make the other libraries to comply to the guidelines set by HUL. There were disputes especially in the context with forestry literature, because its strategic value was seen so important from the point of view of the Finnish industry. Certain privileges had to be given to experts and libraries in the forestry sector to get literature in their fields.

War booty books were sent to the Finnish libraries under strict instructions of the East Karelian Intelligence Section. Books were only deposited, they did not become property of the Finnish libraries. HUL functioned as a clearing house. According to the instructions of the War Booty Archives the books must not be integrated into the stock of the libraries, they should not be stamped with the label of the Finnish libraries, nor should they be cataloged and they should be kept

preferably in shut boxes. It was the intention of the East Karelian authorities to ensure that the material was available for military purposes and for the future administration of East Karelia after the peace agreement, but there might have even been considerations that, after all, the material would eventually be returned to East Karelia after a possible defeat, at least thoughts like these must have crept into the minds of people after Stalingrad. Keeping the war booty books for the time being separate from the stocks of the libraries was a lucky decision, because it was then easy to return them after the fortunes of war were changed, and the transportation of books to Finland could be argued by reasons of safety. If the books had been integrated fully into the collections, it would have been even more embarrassing to explain their presence in the Finnish libraries after the defeat in the war.

All the books were not kept in the library buildings. Especially HUL, that in any case sent large parts of its collections to safety in the countryside for fear of bombings, transferred war booty books in many safe places in the country, in old schools, warehouses, manors etc., south and north. The same was done by the National Archives that deposited East Karelian archives in an abandoned factory near Turku and other places.

The service in Petrozavodsk seems to have been for many librarians an adventurous phase in their lives that they remembered later with nostalgia, although the conditions were not easy. Their work was in the first place to sort and classify books that poured into the building of the University of Petrozavodsk. They were allowed to have vacations now and then. There were even some recreational events in the midst of long working days. At least once the female library workers had a contest in arranging the books in alphabetical order. Visitors from Finland also came to Petrozavodsk, e.g. Helle Kannila, the chief of the State Library Bureau visited the War Booty Archivess in January 1944. Leading officials of HUL visited the place a couple of times to give aid in the rational organization of the work.

The War Booty Archives of East Karelia

Books and archives collected from East Karelia were concentrated in the building of the University of Petrozavodsk. When the stocks were at their maximum there were over a million books and other publications and over a thousand meters of archival material. Books were sorted so that complete series of publications with one copy of each title found were put together. These basic series, as they were

called, included, e.g., complete sets of books in the Finnish language printed in the Soviet Union as well as books in the Karelian language (Carelica), books from different subject fields, publications of the Soviet Academy of Sciences etc. American Finns emigrated into the Soviet Union had brought large amounts of American Finnish literature that also was collected as part of the Fennica literature (foreign Fennica). An inventory made in the end of 1943 revealed that there were 75 000 individual items in the basic series, half of them were unique copies. Books sent to Finland were in the beginning of the operation only extra copies of the basic series, because the compilation of the basic series was seen as the primary goal. The basic series were considered important for both the administration of East Karelia and the academic research concerning the area. A complete set of books and publications was meant to be the core of the future East Karelian regional library and archives, a sort of a national library and archives of East Karelia.

When a sufficient number of archival copies were collected, it was thought that it would be unnecessary to preserve all surplus copies of a literature that would not have use in the future. Lists were made of books that could be directly sent to the collection of waste paper, into the paper mills. Books in these lists included many high quality fiction books in Finnish, original and translated, by authors such as Juhani Aho, Aleksis Kivi, Shakespeare and Mark Twain. The fault of these books was that they were printed in Soviet Union, apparently often without taking into consideration the rights of the authors, because the Soviet Union did not belong to the Bern Convention.

Besides literature, an important object of collection were whole archives. Tens of different archives were brought to Petrozavodsk, some of them small, such as archives of shops, but some of them huge, such as the archives of the Baltic Sea-White Sea Canal Administration (1929–1933). Files of persons used as forced labor in the construction of the canal took 800 metres on the shelves of the archive.

Still in 1942 the chief of the East Karelian Intelligence Section, Reino Castrén, assured that Petrozavodsk was a perfectly safe place for the War Booty Archives. This trust was seriously shaken by the fire that severely damaged the building of the University of Petrozavodsk in December 1942. About 75% of the book material was lost, 300 000 books were saved. The reason of the fire could never be explained, probably it was caused by overheating the primitive ovens, but it could have been an act of sabotage as well. Luckily most of the archives and the most valuable part of the book collections could be saved, but the chaos caused by the fire made a new

round of sorting necessary. After the fire more attention was given to the safety of the material, and its eventual transportation into Finland became acute. Suitable buildings where the material could be placed were sought.

The transportation of books and archives started in earnest in 1943. Freight cars one after another filled with books and archives went to Helsinki, Turku and other places in Finland. Warehouses were organized in abandoned factories, old manor houses, tuberculosis sanatoriums, barns etc. A large amount of books of the War Booty Archives were sent to Karkkila, a small industrial town in Southern Finland, in the spring of 1944. After the great offensive of the Soviet forces in June 1944, Finns left Petrozavodsk.

Returning books and archives after the war

The armistice agreement of September 1944 ordered that war booty was to be returned to the Soviet Union. It applied also to books and archives and there was great hurry because the timetable set by the armistice agreement was tight. Archives and books deposited in different places in Finland were again feverishly loaded on freight cars. The Helsinki University library demanded that other libraries immediately send back the books they had received, and the library loaded its own stocks of war booty books from different warehouses in various parts of the country. Chief Librarian Tudeer could announce in February 1945 to the organ that was supervising the return of war booty that “book stocks from Viipuri, Sortavala and Äänislinna (Petrozavodsk)” that the library “had been taking care of” during the war were returned in ten freight cars and 3263 boxes. Was everything returned? It would have been dangerous to leave large collections unreturned, because the organ that supervised the fulfillment of the conditions of the armistice had great authorities to make inspections anywhere, so it was not worth taking a risk. But individual books were certainly left in the Finnish libraries. At least part of the books that were found in the Hanko naval base after the Soviets had left it were not returned. Books that had been taken into the Fennica collection of the Helsinki University Library were not either returned. They were rather modest books, ABC-books, official publications and the sort, so it was not an economic question. Major part of the war booty books in the Finnish libraries was in any case returned.

The archives and the potential of research

The archives that during the last year of the war were transported into Finland were also returned completely after the armistice. One may wonder what it would have meant for the future history writing, if, e.g., the personal files of the Baltic Sea-White Sea Canal would have stayed longer in the Finnish hand. Then even the facts that Solzhenitsyn later revealed on the Gulag would have been made public earlier. The construction of the canal, called the Stalin Canal, in 1929–1933, caused a tremendous loss of life among the forced labor sent working in horrible conditions. Over a hundred thousand people are believed have perished there. Because Solzhenitsyn could not freely use the archives, he had to use in a creative fashion the absurd book celebrating the canal project compiled by Maksim Gorki (1934), a book that, by the way, was forbidden in the Soviet Union in 1937, because it contained pictures of people that had lost their favor in Stalin's eyes. In the end of the 1930s there were great purges in the Soviet Union: first were people purged, then books where they were mentioned. The Finnish population in East Karelia was also badly harassed and purged after 1937. The fates of the Finnish people in Soviet Russia were an object of study for the chief of the War Booty Archives, Pentti Renvall, a known historian in Finland after the war. He was able to publish before the end of the war an article on the fate of the Finnish people in Soviet Karelia under Stalin's terror [13], but could not finish his study, which became impossible after the war. The same happened to some other research projects started during the war, especially in the social sciences and history. But many natural science and linguistic studies for which the material had been gathered, partly from the collections of the War Booty Archives during the war, were subsequently published.

Petrozavodsk after the war

The situation that the returning Soviet librarians met when they arrived in Petrozavodsk after the retreat of the Finns, was not enviable (http://library.petsu.ru/en/en_hist.shtml). The building of the university was in ruins and the 60.000 books of the scientific library of the university were lost or at least were in a state of chaos. The recovery of the library was, however, swift after the war [19]. So far, it has not been possible to estimate, how much of the books that the Finns returned to the Soviet Union came back to Petrozavodsk. The research continues.

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FATES OF BOOKS AND ARCHIVES DURING THE WAR BETWEEN FINLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION, 1939–1940 AND 1941–1944

ILKKA MÄKINEN

Abstract

The article describes the fates of books and archives during the Second World War in the hostilities between Finland and the Soviet Union, especially during the second phase of hostilities, 1941–1944. During the Winter War (1939–1940) the Soviet troops invaded the Finnish Karelia a great quantity of Finnish books was left in the hands of the Soviet authorities. The most important libraries in the region, the Viipuri City Library with its architectonically outstanding building designed by Alvar Aalto and the city library of Sortavala remained on the Soviet side of the border. After Winter War the border was drawn as it is now, west of the city of Vyborg (Viipuri). During the second phase of the hostilities, 1941–1944 (which the Finns call the “Continuation War”), when Finland was fighting side by side with the Germans against the Soviet Union, Finnish troops took back the parts of the Finnish Karelia invaded by the Soviets during the Winter War, but after that they continued into the Soviet Karelia and took hold of large parts of the Soviet (or East) Karelia that had never been part of Finland. The biggest city captured was Petrozavodsk (or Petroskoi in Finnish).

When the Finnish troops had taken control of East Karelia, they started to gather all material and information important for the conduct of war. Books and archives of the Soviet authorities but also individual people who had fled were collected in Petrozavodsk to be sorted and researched. A big library and archive was created, about one million books and over one kilometre of archival material. They were used for military intelligence, but there also was a great interest in the Finnish libraries, archives and other institutions to get books printed in the Soviet Karelia (and the Soviet Union in general) and important parts of the archives. There also was a plan to create a “Karelian Central Library and Archive” in Petrozavodsk that would operate still after the war. Among the archives that fell into the Finnish hands were, e.g., the personal files of the Baltic Sea–White Sea Canal workers.

Some of the aspirations of the Finnish libraries were inspired by the concept of the national literature: what belongs to the Finnish national literature, which is called “Fennica”. Fennica was understood of consisting of books in Finnish (and in the closest Finno-Ugric languages, such as Karelian), and books by Finnish authors in any language. Even books in Finnish published outside Finnish

borders were considered belonging under the concept of Fennica, which means that even books in Finnish published in Soviet Karelia during the 1920s and 30s were part of Fennica. Many Finnish libraries collecting a complete Fennica collection were eager to obtain books from East Karelia.

Large quantities of books and archives were transported into Finland from East Karelia, especially after the war seemed to turn badly for the Germans and the safety situation in East Karelia was considered risky. After the defeat in 1944 (when East Karelia had to be abandoned and Finnish Karelia was permanently lost) practically all archives and books were returned to the Soviet Union. A number, not yet examined, of the books were not returned. These books, most often modest publications, such as school text books, official publications, novels etc., were scattered in the stocks of the libraries or came there only after the war. They had in the first place a bibliographical value as specimens of the Fennica literature published in the Soviet Union, not much economic value.

KNYGŲ IR ARCHYVŲ LIKIMAS SUOMIJOS IR SOVIETŲ SAJUNGOS KARO LAIKOTARPIU 1939–1940 IR 1941–1944 METAIS

ILKKA MÄKINEN

Santrauka

Straipsnyje nagrinėjamas knygų ir archyvų likimas per Antrąjį pasaulinį karą ir konfliktų tarp Suomijos bei Sovietų Sąjungos metu, ypač antruoju konflikto laikotarpiu 1941–1944 metais.

1939–1940 metų Žiemos karo metu sovietų kariuomenė įžengė į Suomijos Kareliją ir daugybė suomiškų knygų pateko į sovietų valdžios rankas. Svarbiausia regiono biblioteka, Viipuri miesto biblioteka, ir jos puikios architektūros pastatas, suprojektuotas Alvaro Aalto, bei Sortavalos miesto biblioteka liko sovietų pusėje. Po Žiemos karo siena buvo nustatyta tokia kaip dabar – į vakarus nuo Vyborgo (Viipuri). Antruoju konflikto etapu (1941–1944 m.), Suomijoje žinomu Tęstinio karo vardu, Suomija kariavo Vokietijos pusėje prieš Sovietų Sąjungą. Suomijos kariuomenė atsiėmė Suomijos Karelijos dalį, sovietų užkariautą per Žiemos karą, bet paskui sovietai įsiveržė į Kareliją ir užėmė didelę jos dalį, kuri niekada nepriklausė Suomijai. Didžiausias užkariautas miestas buvo Petrozavodskas (arba suomiškai – Petroskojus).

Kai Suomijos kariuomenė pradėjo kontroliuoti Rytų Kareliją, ji ėmė rinkti visą medžiagą ir informaciją, reikalingą karo veiksmams. Sovietų valdžios knygos ir archyvai, taip pat pabėgėliai žmonės buvo suvežti į Petrozavodską, kur buvo tikrinami ir skirstomi. Buvo sukaupta didžiulė biblioteka su milijonu knygų ir kilometrų archyvinės medžiagos. Visu tuo naudojosi karo žvalgyba, tačiau Suomijos bibliotekos, archyvai ir kitos įstaigos irgi gyvai domėjosi didele dalimi archyvo ir knygomis, leistomis Sovietų Karelijoje (ir apskritai Sovietų Sąjungoje), ir stengėsi jų įsigyti. Buvo planuojama Petrozavodskės sukurti Karelijos centrinę biblioteką ir archyvą, kurie veikti ir po karo. Tarp archyvų, patekusių suomiams, buvo Baltijos ir Baltosios jūrų kanalo darbininkų asmeninės bylos.

Kai kurie Suomijos bibliotekų siekiai buvo paskatinti Suomijos nacionalinės literatūros, vadinamosios Fennica, idėjos. Pagal to meto sampratą, Fennica sudarė visos suomiškos ir kitomis finų-ugrų kalbomis išleistos knygos, suomių autorių knygos visomis kalbomis. Netgi knygos suomių kalba,

išleistos už Suomijos ribų, priklausė Fennica kompleksui, t. y. trečiajame ir ketvirtajame dešimtmetyje sovietų Karelijoje leistos knygos suomių kalba taip pat buvo jos dalis. Daugelis Suomijos bibliotekų, kaupiančių išsamų Fennica fondą, norėjo įsigyti Rytų Karelijos knygų.

Iš Rytų Karelijos į Suomiją buvo išvežta daugybė knygų ir archyvinės medžiagos, ypač kai karo sėkmė nusigręžė nuo vokiečių ir Rytų Karelijos padėtis pasidarė rizikinga. Po 1944 m. pralaimėjimo Rytų Kareliją teko palikti, o Suomijos Karelija buvo prarasta amžiams, beveik visos knygos ir archyvai buvo gražinti Rusijai. Tačiau dalis (kol kas nežinoma, kiek iš viso) knygų liko Suomijoje. Šios knygos – tai daugiausia kuklūs leidiniai, tokie kaip vadovėliai, oficialūs leidiniai ar romanai. Jos buvo išsklaidytos po bibliotekų fondus, dažniausiai į juos pateko jau po karo. Šie leidiniai neturi ekonominės vertės ir yra įdomūs kaip Sovietų Sąjungoje leistos Fennica literatūros pavyzdžiai.