



TORN BETWEEN THE “CREEDS OF THE DEVIL”: THE GERMAN-FINNISH CO-BELLIGERENCY IN WORLD WAR II



Figure 1: “Finnisches Freiwilligen-Bataillon der Waffen-SS” *Fallschirmjäger*.
<https://www.tumblr.com/fallschirmjager/9313394329/finnisches-freiwilligen-bataillon-der-waffen-ss>.

Rapprochement Between Germany and Finland

Germany and Finland traditionally had good relations
German abidance to the Treaty of Non-Aggression shaped their policy during the Winter War
German reevaluation of strategy summer of 1940



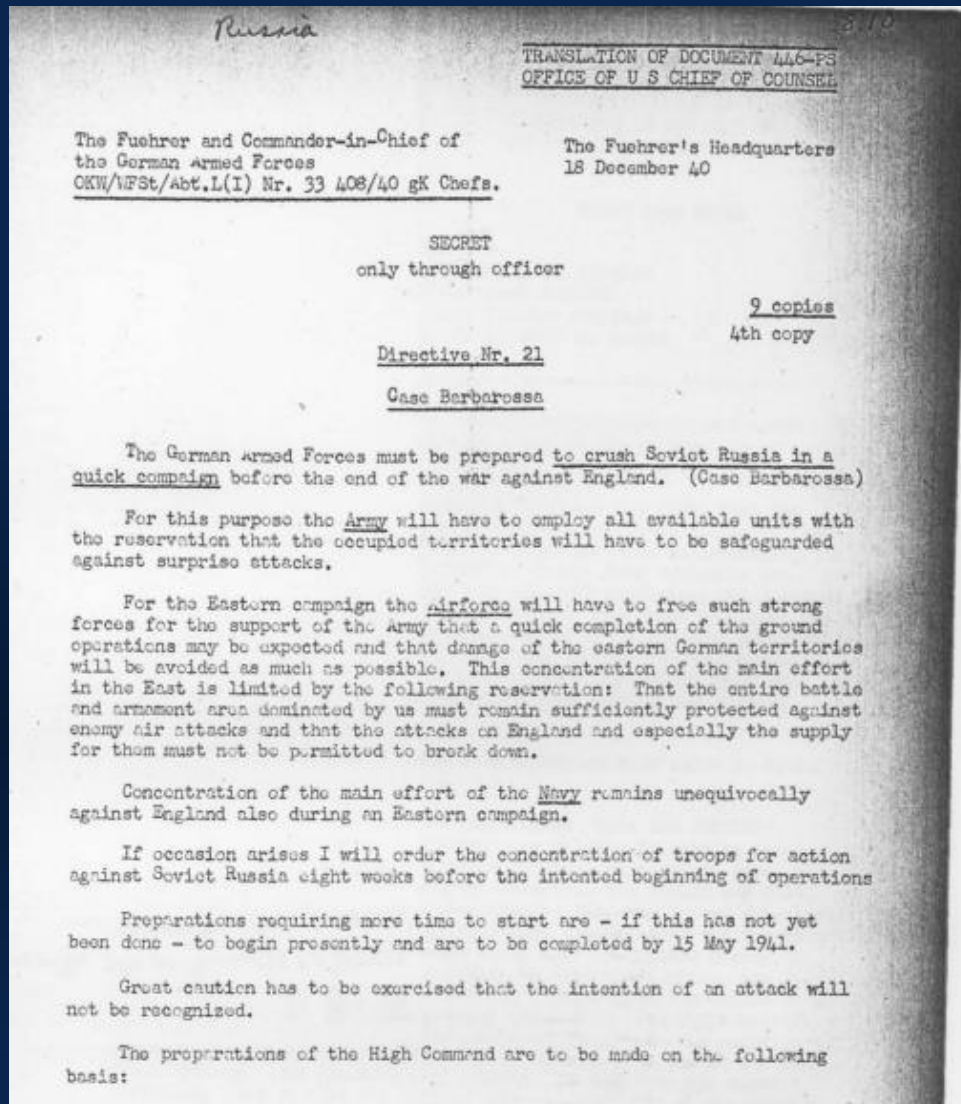


Figure 3: "Fuehrer's Directive (December 18, 1940)," United States Department of State, *Documents on German Foreign Policy; From the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry*, Washington: United States Printing Office, 1957-1964. Series D, The War Years, Volume 11: February 1- June 22, 1941. Document 532, 899-902.

II. Probable Allies and their Tasks:

1. On the wings of our operation the active participation of *Romania* and *Finland* in the war against Soviet Russia is to be expected.

The High Command will in due time arrange and determine in what form the armed forces of the two counties will be placed under German command at the time of their intervention.

2. It will be the task of *Rumania* to support with selected forces the attack of the German southern wing, at least in its beginnings; to pin the enemy down where German forces are not committed; and otherwise to render auxiliary service in the rear area.

3. *Finland* will cover the concentration of the German *North Group* (parts of the XXI Group) withdrawn from Norway and will operate jointly with it. Besides, Finland will be assigned the task of eliminating Hangö.

Figure 4: "Fuehrer's Directive (December 18, 1940)," United States Department of State, *Documents on German Foreign Policy; From the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry*, Washington: United States Printing Office, 1957-1964. Series D, The War Years, Volume 11: February 1- June 22, 1941. Document 532, 899-902.

Hitler's Directive No. 21 December 18, 1940



When did Finnish leaders know about and agree to participate in Operation Barbarossa?

Trade Agreement June 1940

Petsamo Agreement July 1940

Transit Agreement September 1940

Increased interactions between military and political officials from January 1941-May 1941

Authorization of *Finnisches Freiwilligen Battalion der Waffen SS* for the *SS-Panzerdivision Wiking*

May 25, 1941, meeting between Finnish Army General Staff and the *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* (OKW)



Figure 6 "The commander of Luftflotte 1, Colonel General Alfred Keller arrives at Mensuvaara airport to inspect the German gunboats." *The Finnish Defense Forces*. Finnish Wartime Archives; From the front line to the home front 1939-1945. SA-kuva. <http://sa-kuva.fi/>





Figure 8-11. "The Continuation War." *The Finnish Defense Forces, Finnish Wartime Archives: From the front line to the home front 1939-1945.* SA-kuva. <http://sa-kuva.fi/>



Battle of Tali-Ihantala June 25–July 9, 1944

Stalemate broken by the Soviet
Summer 1944 Offensive

Finnish IV Corp of 50,000 under
Lt. General Taavetti Laatikainen
faced the Soviet 21st Army
composed of over 150,000 men





Figure 12. Andersen, Andrew. Finland after World War II. 2003. <https://www.reddit.com/>

The Cost of Co-Belligerency

August 1, 1944, President Ryti resigned

Negotiations began through the Soviet embassy in Stockholm

September 2, 1944, the Finnish Parliament agreed to terms

The Lapland War begins

September 19, 1944, members of the Finnish delegation signed the Interim Peace Treaty





Figure 13 "Laying Wreaths at the Graves of the Fallen." *The Finnish Home Front*. Finnish Wartime Archives: From the front line to the home front 1939-1945. SA-kuva. <http://sa-kuva.fi/>

“If war and peace could be decided by the front-line soldier, wars would be few and far between, and peace would be just. He knows the horrors of war.”

Colonel Y. A. Jarvinen



Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation, <https://nakanune.rusarchives.ru/en>.

Aubert, Louis F. "France and the League of Nations," *Foreign Affairs*, 3, no. 4 (July 1925): 637-652.

Degras, Jane, ed. *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy*, Vol.3 (1933-1941). London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1953.

"Declaration Between Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden For the Purpose of Establishing Similar Rules of Neutrality, May 27, 1938." *Treaty Section, Office of Legal Affairs, United Nations*, New York. https://histdoc.net/pdf/nordic1938_en.pdf.

Department of State, Office of the Historian, Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers, 1941, General, The Soviet Union Volume I. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1941v01/d68>.

Department of State, Office of the Historian, Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1943, The British Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, the Far East, Volume III. https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1943v03/pg_251

Department of State: Office of the Historian, Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration 1933-1945. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v04/d618>.

Department of State: Office of the Historian. Woodrow Wilson Administration 1913-1921. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1918Russiav02/d865>.

Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945 Series D Volume V Poland, The Balkans, Latin America, and the Smaller Powers, 1937-1939. United States Department of State, Washington DC: United States Printing Office, 1953.

Erfurth, Waldemar. *The Last Finnish War*. Edited by Thomas L. Houlihan. Lake Orion, MI: Maps at War Publishing, 2014.

_____. *The German Liaison Officer with the Finnish Armed Forces*. Edited by Thomas L. Houlihan. Lake Orion, MI: Maps at War Publishing, 2014.

"Franklin D. Roosevelt: Statement on the Conflict Between Russia and Finland, December 1, 1939." *The American Presidency Project*: UC Santa Barbara. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-the-conflict-between-russia-and-finland>.

"Finland Is Ready with Installment." *Lynchburg News*, May 30, 1937.

Halsti, Wolf H. *Talvisota 1939-1940*. Helsinki, 1957.

History of Finland: *A Selection of Events and Documents*. <https://histdoc.net/history/history.html>.

How Moscow's War in Ukraine Sparked a Seismic Shift in Finland." *Euro News*. March 10, 2022. <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2022/03/10/living-next-door-to-russia-how-moscow-s-war-in-ukraine-sparked-a-seismic-shift-in-finland>.

"Hull Declares Finland Puppet of Nazi Regime." *Lynchburg News*, November 29, 1941.

Juutilainen, Ilmari. *Double Fighter Knight*. Tampere, Finland: Apali, 1996

Katchadourian, Stina. *The Lapp King's Daughter: A Family's Journey Through Finland's Wars*. McKinleyville, CA: Fithian Press, 2010.

Kekkonen, Urho. *Neutrality: The Finnish Position*: Speech By Dr. Urho Kekkonen, President of Finland. Translated by P. Ojansuu and L.E. Keyworth. London, UK: William Heinemann, 1970.

Khrushchev, Nikita. *Khrushchev Remembers*. Boston, 1970.

Kuusinen, Aino. *Before and After Stalin: A Personal Account of Soviet Russia from the 1920s to the 1960s*. London, 1974.

"Lunchtime on the Finnish Front." *New York Times*: April 30, 1942.

Mannerheim, Carl G. *The Memoirs of Marshall Mannerheim*. Translated by Count Eric Lewenhaupt. Boston, MA: E. P Dutton, 1954.

Meretskov, K. A. *Na sluzhbe narodu: stranitsy vospominaniya*. Moscow, 1968.

Paasikivi, J.K. *Paasikivi Diary: Meine Moskaaer Mission 1939-1941*. Haburg: Holstein, 1966.

"Radio Address by President of Finland Risto Ryti 26 June 1941." Heninen.net http://heninen.net/sopimus/ryti1941_e.htm.

"Radio Speech of Comr. V.M. Molotov, Chairman of Council of People's Commissars of USSR, November 29, 1939.) Moscow News, December 4, 1939: https://www.histdoc.net/history/molotov_radio_29111939.html.

Sherwood, Robert. "There Shall Be No Night," https://search-alexanderstreet-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C3608805#page/151/mode/1/chapter/bibliographic_entity%7Cdocument%7C3851162

Shostakovich, Dimitri, "Suite on Finnish Themes," 1939.



Bibliography

Primary Sources Continued:

Simon, John B. *Strangers in A Stranger Land: How One Country's Jews Fought an Unwinnable War Alongside Nazi Troops. . . and Survived.* Lanham, MD: Hamilton Books. 2019.

Sontag, Raymond James and James Stuart Beddie, eds. *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office.* Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 2003.

Tanner Vaino, *Kahden Maailmansodan Valissa.* Helsinki: Tammi, 1966.

“The [Åland Agreement](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/FI%20SE_930101_Act%20on%20the%20Autonomy%20of%20Aland.pdf) in the Council of the League of Nations 1921.” United Nations. https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/FI%20SE_930101_Act%20on%20the%20Autonomy%20of%20Aland.pdf.

The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy: Yale Law School. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/ns096.asp.

"Treaty of Peace with Finland, 1947." *The American Journal of International Law* 42, no. 3 (1948): 203-23.

The London Times, November 15, 1939.

“The Peace Treaty between Finland and the Federal Socialist Republic of Soviet Russia, October 14, 1920,” *League of Nations Treaty Series*. 65, https://histdoc.net/history/ru/dorpat1920_ru.htm.

U. S. Department of State, Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941. Washington, DC: United States Printing Office, 1948.

“U.S. Tells Finland Fight on Russia to Forfeit Amity.” *Lynchburg News*, November 4, 1941.

“War Declaration on Finns Impends: British Action Also Against Romania and Hungary.” *New York Times*, December 2, 1941.

Westerlund, Lars. *The Finnish Waffen SS-Volunteers and Atrocities, 1941-1943.* Helsinki: National Archives of Finland and Finnish Literary Society, 2019.

“Winston Churchill January 20, 1940, Broadcast, London.” <https://winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1940-the-finest-hour/the-war-situation-house-of-many-mansions/>.

Ueberschar, Gerd R. *Hitler and Finland 1939-1941.* Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1978.

United States Department of State, Documents on German Foreign Policy: From the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry. Series D (1939-1945), The War Years, Volume 11: February 1-June 22, 1941. Washington: United States Printing Office 1957-1964.

United Nations Library and Archives Geneva, <https://archives.ungeneva.org/neutralisation-des-iles-daland>.

Volkogonov, Dmitri. *Autopsy for an Empire: The Seven Leaders Who Built the Soviet Regime.* Translated by Harold Shukman. New York: The Free Press, 1998.

Voronov, N. N. *Na Sluzbe Voennoi.* Moscow, 1963.

Secondary Sources:

Abbott, Peter and Nigel Thomas. *Germany's Eastern Front Allies 1941-45.* Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, 2004.

Bishop, Chris. *Hitler's Foreign Divisions: Foreign Volunteers in the Waffen SS 1940-45.* London, UK: Amber Books, 2005.

_____. *Weapons of World War II: A Comprehensive Guide to Weapons Systems, Including Tanks, Small Arms, Warplanes, Artillery, Ships, and Submarines.* London, Amber Books, 2018.

Buttar, Prit. *Between Giants: The Battle for the Baltics in World War II.* Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, 2013.

Carell, Paul. *Hitler Moves East, 1941-1943.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Company, 1964.

Cinto, Robert M. *Blitzkrieg to Desert Storm: The Evolution of Operational Warfare.* Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2004.

Clayton, Anthony. *Warfare in the Woods and Forests.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011.

Condon, Richard W. *The Winter War: Russia Against Finland.* New York: Ballantine Books, 1972.

Edwards, Robert. *The Winter War: Russia's Invasion of Finland, 1939-40.* New York: Pegasus Books, 2008.

Ekholm, Laura K. Simo Muir and Oula Silvennoinen. “Linguistic, Cultural, and History-Related Studies on Jews in Finland: A Look at the Scholarship in the Twenty-First Century.” *Scandinavian Jewish Studies*, vol. 27, no. 1 (2016), 43-57.

Engle, Eloise and Lauri Paananen. *The Winter War: The Soviet Attack of Finland 1939-1940.* Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1973.

Ellman, James. *Hitler's Great Gamble: A New Look at German Strategy, Operation Barbarossa, and the Axis Defeat in World War II.* Guilford, CT: Stackpole Books, 2019.

Esposito, Vincent J. *The West Point Atlas of War: World War II: European Theater.* New York: Tess Press, 1995.

Goss, Glenda Dawn. *Sibelius: A Composer's Life and the Awakening of Finland.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009.



Bibliography

Secondary Sources Continued:

Grier, Howard D. *Hitler, Donitz, and the Baltic Sea: The Third Reich's Last Hope, 1944-1945*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2007.

Hanson, Victor Davis. *The Second World Wars: How the First Global Conflict was Fought and Won*. New York: Basic Books, 2017.

Holmila, Antero. *Reporting the Holocaust in the British, Swedish, and Finnish Press*. 1945-50. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Holmila, Antero and Oula Silvennoinen. "The Holocaust Historiography in Finland." *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 36, no. 5 (2011), 605-619.

Hughes-Wilson, John. "Snow and Slaughter at Suomussalmi." *Military History*, 22, no. 10 (January/February 2006): 46-69.

Irincheev, Bair. *War of the White Death: Finland Against the Soviet Union, 1939-40*. South Yorkshire, UK: Pen and Sword, 2011.

_____. *The Mannerheim Line 1920-39: Finnish Fortifications of the Winter War*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2009.

Jakobson, Max. *The Diplomacy of the Winter War: An Account of the Russo-Finnish War, 1939-1940*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961.

Johansen, Claes. *Hitler's Nordic Ally? Finland and the Total War 1939-1945*. South Yorkshire, UK: Pen and Sword, 2016.

Jowett, Philip and Brent Snodgrass. *Finland at War 1939-45*. Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, 2006.

Kinnunen, Tiina and Ville Kivimaki eds. *Finland in World War II: History Memory, Interpretations*. Leiden, Netherlands, Brill, 2012.

Kivimaki, Ville. "Between Defeat and Victory: Finnish Memory Culture of the Second World War." *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 37, no. 4 (2012), 482-504.

Lavery, Jason. *The History of Finland*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Langer, William L. and S. Everett Gleason. *The Undeclared War 1940-1941: The World Crisis and American Foreign Policy*. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.

Lunde, Henrik O. *Finland's War of Choice: The Troubled German-Finnish Coalition in World War II*. Philadelphia, PA: Casemate, 2011.

Mann, Chris, and Christer Jorgensen. *Hitler's Arctic War: The German Campaigns in Norway, Finland and the USSR 1940-1945*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002.

Miller, David. *Fighting Men of World War II Axis Forces: Uniforms, Equipment, & Weapons*. New York: Chartwell Books, 2010.

Muir, Simo. "'Not on the Jewish Migration Route:' Finland and Polish Holocaust Survivors, 1945-1948." *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 44, no. 1 (2016), 177-205.

Nenye, Vesa, Peter Munter and Toni Wirtanen. *Finland at War: The Winter War 1939-1940*. Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, 2015.

_____. *Finland at War: The Continuation and Lapland Wars, 1941-1945*. Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, 2016.

Nordstrom, Byron J. *Scandinavia Since 1500*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Neulen, Hans Werner. *In the Skies of Europe: Air Forces Allied to the Luftwaffe 1939-1945*. Translated by Alex Vanags-Baginskies. West Yorkshire, UK: The Crowood Press, 2000.

Palander, Marjatta Helka Riionheimo and Vesa Koivisto. *On the Border of Language and Dialect* Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2018.

Polvinen, Tuomo. *Between East and West: Finland in International Politics, 1944-1947*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

Rautkallio, Hannu. *Finland and the Holocaust: The Rescue of Finland's Jews*. New York: Holocaust Library, 1987.

Roberts, Geoffrey. *Molotov: Stalin's Cold Warrior*. Washington DC: Potomac Books, 2012.

Saarelainen, Tapio A.M. *The White Sniper: Simo Hayha: The Deadliest Sniper in History*. Havertown, PA: Casemate, 2016.

Sander, Gordon F. *The Hundred Day Winter War: Finland's Gallant Stand Against the Soviet Army*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2013.

Scott, Franklin D. *Scandinavia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Shirer, William. *The Challenge of Scandinavia: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland in Our Time*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1955.

Siilasvuo, Ensio. *Talvisto Kronikka*. Gummerus, 1989.

Silvennoinen, Oula. "The Only Democracy to Fight for Hitler: Finland and the Memory of War." *Journal of Scandinavian Cinema*, vol. 2, no. 3 (2012), 315-320.



Bibliography

Secondary Sources Continued:

Strang G. Bruce ed., *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Stenius, Henrik and Mirja Osterberg, John Ostling eds. *Nordic Narratives of the Second World War: National Historiographies Revisited*. Lund, Sweden: Nordic Academic Press, 2011.

Trotter, William R. *A Frozen Hell: The Russo-Finnish War of 1939-40*. Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books, 2000.

Tuominen, Arvo. *The Bells of the Kremlin*. Hanover NH: University Press of New England, 1983.

Upton, Anthony. *Finland 1939-1940: The Politics and Strategy of the Second World War*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1974.

USMC Command and Staff College, "The Finnish Campaigns: Failure of Soviet Operational Art in World War II." Quantico, VA: USMC Command and Staff College, 2015.

Vehviläinen, Olli. *Finland in the Second World War: Between*

Germany and Russia. Translated by Gerard McAlister. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Wright, Gordon. *The Ordeal of Total War 1939-1945*. Lake Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1997.

Weinberg, Gerhard. *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Wuorinen, John H. "Finland and the USSR-1945-1961." *Journal of International Affairs*. 16; 1. (Jan 1, 1962), 38-46.

_____. *Finland and World War II, 1939-1944*. New York: Ronald Press Company, 1948.

Ziemke, Earl F. *The German Northern Theater of Operations 1940-1945*. Washington DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 1959.

