

independence of Finland was recognized within the frontiers of the Grand Duchy of Finland; (2) a Convention of June 1st, 1922, limiting military forces and making other arrangements to ensure peace in a frontier zone between Lake Ladoga and the Arctic Ocean; (3) an exchange of notes of September 24th, 1928, appointing frontier commissioners empowered to deal jointly with any frontier incidents in the Karelian Isthmus; and (4) a Treaty of Non-aggression and Pacific Settlement of Disputes of January 21st, 1932, by which existing frontiers were guaranteed and comprehensive provision was made for the peaceful settlement of all issues. In 1934 the validity of this Treaty was extended to the end of 1945. In addition the report refers to the obligations of both countries under the Covenant of the League and the Pact of Paris of 1928, as well as under the Convention for the Definition of Aggression concluded in 1933 between the Soviet Union and various adjacent States. The purpose of this Convention was to define aggression as specifically as possible; it declared *inter alia* that the State which was the first to attack another State was the aggressor no matter what political, economic, military or other considerations were advanced; an annex specifically stated that neither the internal condition of a State nor its international conduct could justify an act of aggression against it. The third section of the report considers the attitude and acts of the two Governments in relation to the international commitments. It finds that at no stage in the dispute did the Finnish Government reject any peaceful procedure: they entered into negotiations at the request of the Soviet Government and offered to make territorial concessions; they proposed an enquiry into the Mainila incident by the frontier commissioners; they asked for the application of the conciliation procedure laid down by the Treaty of Non-aggression of 1932; they proposed neutral arbitration and accepted the United States Government's offer of good offices; they declared that they were ready to negotiate for the reciprocal withdrawal of troops in the Karelian Isthmus; after hostilities began, they attempted to propose through the Swedish Minister in Moscow the opening of fresh negotiations; finally they referred the matter to the League of Nations under Articles 11 and 15 of the Covenant.

On the other hand, the report finds that the attitude and acts of the Soviet Government were incompatible with their commitments: in spite of a guarantee of the existing frontiers they demanded the cession of Finnish territory; after the Mainila incident they proposed the unilateral withdrawal of Finnish troops from the frontier and ignored the Finnish proposal for a joint enquiry by the frontier commissioners; they declared that the Finnish Government's refusal to withdraw their troops was a menace to Leningrad and proceeded to denounce the Treaty of Non-aggression; they refused to apply the procedure of conciliation specified in that Treaty; they violated the Pact of Paris and Article 12 of the Covenant by attacking Finland in operations which constituted a resort to war under these instruments and an act of aggression under the Convention for the Definition of Aggression; finally by refusing to recognize the legitimate Government of Finland and by entering into relations with a so-called government of their own creation, they contravened not only the Covenant but also very definite obligations assumed under the Convention for the Definition of Aggression. The report concludes by stating:

"It follows from these findings that the Soviet Government has violated, not only its special political agreements with Finland, but also Article 12 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Pact of Paris."

The Special Committee appointed a drafting committee to frame recommendations. The proposals of the drafting committee were considered on December 13th and were adopted with certain amendments. They were in the form of a draft resolution of the Assembly. The first part of the resolution contains a condemnation of the action of the Soviet Government and an appeal