

SUMMARY

Political Research in Finland. By Jan-Magnus Jansson.

In his paper, professor Jansson reviews the development of Finnish political science up to the present time and enumerates its most urgent tasks for the future. Political science appeared as an independent branch at Finnish universities immediately after the First World War which brought independence to the country. Influences from Sweden and Germany were very marked in the beginning; particularly after the Second World War, however, Anglo-Saxon patterns have inspired an increasing number of students. Formerly, government machinery and political ideas were the chief subjects of research, and they are still ranking high. However, since the beginning of the fifties a definite change has taken place. The behavioural approach has brought to the fore subjects like electoral attitudes, social compositions of parties etc.; even the field of international relations has attracted more interest than before. But still there are too many white spots on the Finnish political map, among them administrative behaviour, pressure groups and the role of mass media in politics. The author closes by calling for a real pioneering spirit in Finnish political research.

Political Science in the Nuclear Age. By James K. Pollock.

This paper is a translation of a speech delivered by IPSA's former President at the opening of the Rome Congress in September 1958.

The Charismatic and the Bureaucratic Leaders. By Jorma Aaltonen.

The paper is concerned with classification of leaders into two main types, the charismatic and the bureaucratic, which are frequently resorted to in typological studies on political leadership. Of the most prominent investigators in the field particularly the German Max Weber — who developed the concept „charismatic” — and the American Harold D. Lasswell are mentioned and their conceptions are described. The dicotomic classification of leader types is based on what is termed classification by ideal types, for the development of which Max Weber has become especially known. Such pure types do not appear in actual reality, so that one has to decide to which of the two types the phenomenon of persons concerned comes closer.

By a charismatic leader the author means a person whose leadership position is personal, whilst the leadership position of a bureaucratic leader is based on formal conditions. It is stated in the paper that an anomic situation serves to promote the charismatic leaders' striving for power, whereas periods of peaceful development are more advantageous for the bureaucratic type. The present situation in international politics, which has evoked feelings of general insecurity, may provide opportunities to power for charismatic leaders. As these leaders are often inclined to dictatorial methods, such a development would resemble the history between the two World Wars. The conception put forward in the paper presumes that the theory of leader types should be closely associated with the theory of anomy.

The East Karelia Question and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. By Mauno Jääskeläinen.

The annexation of East Karelia to Finland was, already before the First World War, the aim of the Finnish nationalist party, the so-called activists. In January 1917, the leading activists as representatives of the Finnish Svinhufvud cabinet tried to induce *Auswärtiges Amt* to support their planes in the peace negotiations of Brest-Litovsk. However, the German Foreign Minister, von Kühlmann, turned out to be rather cold toward the Finnish annexation aspirations. It is also to be noted that at the same time the East-Karelians themselves decided to form an independent Karelian republic.

Later on, in August 1917, the East Karelian question was discussed between the Germans and the Bolshevik Government in connection with the Supplementary Treaties of Brest-Litovsk. The Bolsheviks were anxious to receive German and Finnish help for expulsion of the Allied Forces operating in the Northern Russia. In a secret note of August the 27th the Germans promised to give such help and to evacuate after the war the East-Karelian territories eventually occupied during the said operations. In the Supplementary Treaty the German Government also promised not to intervene in the relations between the People's Commissariat and the Russian border territories. The Finnish Government had no knowledge whatever of these arrangements, and the publication of the Supplementary Treaty was a blow to the pro-German policy of the Finnish Government. In view of the fact that the *Oberste Heeresleitung* had promised to help the Finns in the East Karelia question on the condition that a monarchy be instituted in Finland — which would have signified a German king and military alliance with Germany — it seems as though the *Oberste Heeresleitung* would have used the desire of the Finns for East Karelia as a means of allurements to get an ally.

Some Aspects on the Cohesion of the Finnish Diet in 1948—51. By P. G. Nyholm.

The author explores the cohesion of the party groups in the Finnish Diet between the elections of 1948 and 1951 with the aid of a quantitative method of analysis employing 343 tabulated votes, in each of which the stand taken by every member was recorded. Having evaluated a cohesion index for each group (page 43) the author classifies, introducing certain simplifications and definitions, the vote material available according to the group combinations that have emerged from the votes (page 45) and indicates the advantages of such a grouping in comparison with a grouping based, for example, on factual contents. This classification brings out the political alternatives that have determined the stands taken by the members of the Diet and the groups which alternatives the author terms the „right-left”, the „rural-urban” and the „communist-noncommunist” contrasts; as well as the issues at vote that have given rise to these alternatives. The author considers the cohesion phenomenon with the help of this classification (page 48) and concludes his paper with an appraisal of the contrasts that exist within the party groups of the Finnish Diet.

Some Thoughts about Communist Theory of Foreign Policy. By Klaus Törnudd.

Lenin's idea that the modern capitalist world is becoming more and more subject to imperialistic domination is still a basic part of communist descriptive theory.

During the early Soviet period the concept of capitalist encirclement was developed. This theory was rather well suited to the policy of relative isolationism pursued by the Soviet Union and the people's democracies still in the early 1950's. In recent years, however, the countries under communist leadership have embarked upon a more active foreign policy, stressing the existence of a „zone of peace” which comprises the majority of the world population. This development along with the growth of Soviet military power, enabled Hruščëv in 1959 to say that final victory for socialism in the Soviet Union was achieved since no external force could threaten its continued existence. Therefore, the concept of capitalist encirclement was also abandoned.

Lenin asserted that capitalist contradictions would become more and more acute, thus leading inevitably to wars between the capitalist states. Since the 20th Soviet Party Congress in 1956 wars are not considered inevitable. This view may have been prompted by the technological development of armaments. Major wars within the two great blocs are very unlikely, and in the current situation communists obviously prefer to hope for a future without a new world war.

In recent years, peaceful coexistence has become an often used expression in communist statement on foreign policy. Sometimes it is said to be merely inevitable a stage of history, from the first successful communist revolution to the last one. During this period there must of course exist both capitalist states and socialist states under communist leadership. Peaceful coexistence has also been used as a normative concept, usually in terms of the so-called five principles of peaceful coexistence which mainly belong to traditional international law. In order to give them some special significance other than „peace”, so-called active coexistence, trade and economic competition, is often mentioned. For countries belonging to the socialist camp, the guiding theory is proletarian internationalism and not peaceful coexistence.