

## SUMMARY

### **Filibustering in the Finnish parliament.** By Klaus Törnudd.

In this paper five cases of filibustering or threat of filibustering (through extensive speaking) are examined: by the Social Democrats in May 1920, by the Social Democrats in December 1920, by the Agrarian Union and the Patriotic People's Movement in January 1935, by the Social Democrats in June 1951, and by the Communists in June 1957. At least in the three last-mentioned cases, the immediate goals of the filibusters were achieved, and in the two earliest cases some concessions were gained although the direct effects of the filibuster can not be ascertained. A study of the attitudes of some representative newspapers to the use of filibustering revealed that its use as a weapon in the Finnish Parliament has not become generally accepted as something normal. Those parties that have used it have therefore in each case given elaborate explanations in order to justify their behaviour, the main justification being the contention that the opposition has been left with filibustering as the only remedy, when the other side first has acted in an illegal or extremely objectionable manner and **against the will of the majority of the people**. Only the Social Democrats and the Communists have shown a tendency to consider filibustering as a normal weapon in the parliamentary struggle, the former however with substantial reservations as to the character of the situation where its use is justified. On the whole, filibustering is such a rare occurrence in the Finnish Parliament that no safe generalizations about the attitudes of the parties can be made.

The Parliament has not shown much interest in curtailing the possibilities to filibuster through legislation. Government bills intended to enable the Parliament to restrict the number of statements in a debate or to close the debate at a predetermined time have been introduced in 1934 and 1950 without receiving much support in the Parliament. These bills were mainly motivated by a desire to rationalize parliamentary work in general and save time, without special referense to the filibusters. The Parliament has been conservative in this matter just as in the case of other proposals for rationalization of its own procedures. Filibusters may still be occasionally recurrent phenomena in the Finnish parliamentary life.

### **American Negro political behavior since Myrdal.** By Louis C. Kesselman.

In his encyclopaedic study of the American Negro **An American Dilemma** (published in 1944) Gunnar Myrdal viewed political discrimination against the Negro as a major factor in his inferior position in American life. Approaching the problem as one involving chiefly the Southern region because of the concentration of Negro population and the pattern of discrimination in this section of the United States, Myrdal found

that the political status of Southern Negroes was virtually unchanged since the last century when they were effectively barred from voting and office-holding.

Nearly all of the old techniques for disfranchising Negro voters were still being used in 1944, including the poll tax, property, educational and character qualifications, as well as occasional violence and intimidation. Moreover, one device, the »White Primary» system, had been more widely used after World War I than before in the one party states where barring Negroes from voting in the Democratic nominating primaries had resulted in limiting their effective choice in general elections. Determined application of these techniques, old and new, permitted only 80—90,000, or only about 2 % of Southern Negroes of voting age, to participate in the 1940 Presidential election.

In summary it can — however — be said that the period since World War II has brought steady improvement in Negro voting opportunities in the South, increasing concentration of Negroes in key Northern states, and rising awareness of group interests and needs in the part of Negro voters so that political parties must bargain for their future support. At the same time, experience with Negro voting suggests that Negroes will probably become average voters when restraints upon full citizenship are removed and they no longer have any reason to react as a special group.

**Studies of politics in the casting ladle.** By Jan-Magnus Jansson. **The juristic, historic and sociologic methods in studying political life.** By Simo Zitting, Olavi Seitkari and Kettil Bruun.

The two articles, »Studies of politics in the casting ladle» and »The juristic, historic and sociologic methods in studying political life», are based on a discussion, which was held on a meeting of the Finnish Political Science Association in February 1961.

The former article is written by Jan-Magnus Jansson, professor of Political Science at the University of Helsinki. The latter article consist of three different writings concerning study methods of political life by three meritorious Finnish scientists. The subjects of discussion woke a great interest among the audience of the meeting and brought about a lengthy exchange of opinions in the matter.

### **IPSA:n viides maailmankongressi**

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