

SUMMARY

Regionalism and Universalism in International Politics. By Göran von Bonsdorff.

In this paper some points of view are put forward concerning the interrelation between the universal and regional forms of international cooperation, particular consideration being given to the efforts made toward creating a coherent, political world system and, simultaneously, reducing, as far as possible, the intensity of international tensions.

The problem came to be topical with the establishment of the League of Nations, even though regionalism was of relatively minor consequence during the time of its existence. At the stage when the United Nations was being founded, a struggle ending in the victory of universalism was fought between the two principles. To some extent, however, the Charter of the United Nations took account of regionalism, too, which has continued to grow in significance within the framework of the activities of this organization. In elections, as well as in the work taking place under the direction of the Economic and Social Council, regional principles are being observed. The UN system, as it stands, is at once universal and regional, even though the universal principle is in the foreground.

Nevertheless, regionalism has made much more headway outside the UN, particularly in Europe, which has succeeded America as the leading area of regional organization. The reasons for this development stem partly from the difficulties the UN has had to face because of the cold war and partly from the entirely altered position of Europe in world politics. At the same time regionalism has emerged as an actual rival to the UN with regard to the maintenance of peace and security, as well as in other spheres such as, say, economic and social cooperation.

The military regional organizations, such as NATO, the Warsaw Pact and others, have been founded with reference to the UN Charter, but their compatibility with the UN system itself may be considered doubtful. The question of the use of force in international contexts in the present situation is a universal rather than a regional matter. The military regional organizations concern not primarily regional matters; rather, they are tied up with the global struggle for power. Nor does there exist any intimate collaboration with the regional organizations and the Security Council, despite the fact that the Charter accords the former no right to resort to any coercive measures without the consent of the Council.

The non-military regional organizations, too, are, in part, closely associated with the leading power blocks. Moreover, the majority of these are *sub-regional* in nature: under certain conditions they are likely to make for regional split rather than for regional co-operation. Most distinctly regional tasks are handled by the organs consisting exclusively of small nations.

There has been comparatively little contact between regional organs within and without the UN. This is related to the fact that there has appeared competition concerning the tasks to be performed. At the same time it is obvious that, outside the UN, regionalism may be developed in novel forms. This applies, for example, to the creation of interparliamentary organs, to integration implying restrictions of sovereignty, to common markets, to coordination of long-range plans, as well as to purely technical questions of organization. In consequence, even if regionalism within the framework of the UN should increase, the regional organs outside of it would have an independent task to fulfil at least for an unforeseeable time ahead.

The factors that may facilitate the emergence of a combined universal-regional world Community can be stated to include the following: realization of the right of

self-determination on a world-wide scale; elaboration of regionalism within the UN in such a way as to cover the whole globe evenly; extended mutual collaboration between regional organs; regional collaboration on the basis of equality, without the domination or »leadership» of any great power; and an appropriate division of labour. Such questions as those of the maintenance of peace or those concerning the principles of world trade should be settled on a universal basis, but otherwise the line of division between universal and regional tasks is bound to become hazy even because of the rapidity of technological as well as political developments in the world of today.

A Comparative Study of the Position of the Presidents of the United States and Finland. By Antero Jyränki.

Among the countries that have adopted a parliamentary form of government Finland forms in one respect a rare exception. In Finland, the head of the state, the President of the Republic, has a constitutional right to act even against the will of the Cabinet (Council of State), which is politically responsible to Parliament. Therefore, the President of the United States, exercising his powers independently, is a considerably more adequate subject of a comparative study than is the head of state of any country with a parliamentary system of government.

In both countries the method of electing the President is indirect. In Finland, however, the electors have retained their independence. Unlike in the United States, the final decision has in most cases been actually made at the meeting of the electoral college. The procedure followed in Finland when the President is unable to discharge his duties is more flexible and appropriate than that applied in the United States. If the inability is of a temporary nature, the Prime Minister has to discharge the duties of the President; if the inability is permanent, new elections shall be held as soon as possible.

Both in Finland and in the United States, President is the holder of supreme executive power. It appears, however, that, thanks primarily to the power of removal from office, the President of the United States is able to interfere with the activities of subordinate authorities in greater detail than his Finnish colleague. Although the President of Finland appoints and discharges the members of the Cabinet, his powers are limited in this respect by the parliamentary system. Under normal conditions, removal from office of civil servants for other than disciplinary causes is out of the question in Finland, nor is it, in many instances, even legally permissible.

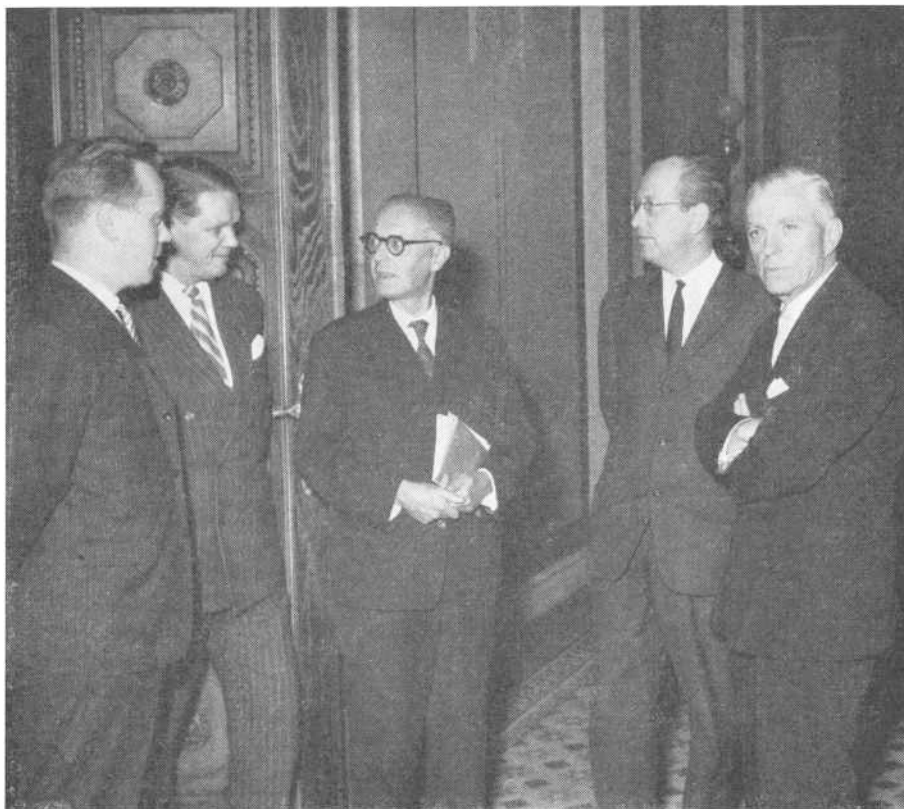
As regards foreign policy the President of Finland has apparently more extensive powers than the President of the United States because, according to the Finnish constitution, only certain kinds of treaties with foreign countries (including those concerned with legislation or state finances) must be submitted to Parliament for approval. On the other hand, it is possible for the President of the United States to act wholly independent of the Senate through making use of so-called executive agreements. In both countries the President is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. In Finland this right has not been utilized the same way as in the United States, where the doctrine of the war power of the President has emerged from necessity. In Finland the departures from constitution, necessary in time of war, as well as the requisite extensions of the powers of administrative authorities and restrictions of civil rights, have been possible to achieve flexibly and promptly in the order prescribed by the constitution.

In relation to the legislature the position of the President of Finland is stronger. In addition to his right of suspensive veto, also possessed by the President of the United States, he has the power to initiate legislation and that to dissolve Parliament.

In the United States, the President is, during his term of office, at the same time the leader of his party. In Finland there is a powerful tradition according to which the President has to keep outside and above the political parties.

In both countries the position of the President has grown stronger over the period in which the constitution has been in force. In the United States this has entailed an increase in the power of the executive relative to that of Congress; in Finland, on the other hand, where the political system is different, the development had ended in accentuated independence of the President with respect to the Cabinet.

Recent developments include features indicating that the systems in the two countries have come closer to each other. Through making his personal opinions public in larger measure than his predecessors, first and foremost over the radio and television; and through taking an active part in the campaign for presidency while in office, the present President of Finland has assumed a distinctly »American line» different to previous practice. In the United States, in turn, the »institutionalization» of presidency, i.e., an increasing division of the rights and responsibilities of the President between himself and his closest assistants, has contributed toward making the American system approach the Finnish system.



The Yugoslavian Professor of International Law at the University of Zagreb visited the Finnish Political Science Association last October. From the left: Mr Kauko Sipponen, Chairman of the Association, Dr. K. Killinen, professor Juraj Andraassy, professor Jan-Magnus Jansson and professor Erik Castrén.