

SUMMARY

Some Aspects of Peace Research from the Standpoint of International Politics. By Göran von Bonsdorff.

In the article, some points of view concerning so-called peace and conflict research are presented, attention being focused chiefly upon the possibilities that mankind has to shift to a state of permanent peace, rather than upon solution of international conflicts. This is why the term peace research, rather than conflict research, will be employed in what follows, although the two concepts are intimately interrelated in many ways.

When the point of departure is chosen in this manner, the question of international integration comes to be of central significance. A state of perfect integration becomes equivalent to a state of permanent peace. The fact that under conditions of integration the external relations between nations are subject to regulations entails limitations of the rights of the state, but this may have the result that its actual freedom of action increases. For, under conditions of disintegration, the state's possibility of action depends generally upon physical means of power, whereas under integration it is based upon social relationships which have come into existence within the framework of an international social system.

Integration is promoted by decisions, treaties and institutions, which do not derive from any particular source, but, instead, have come into being as an outcome of an international, bilateral, multilateral or — at least in principle — universal process of decision making. The reason for making a decision is what is taken as national interest, but when an international agreement is revoked, its intrinsic value also operates as a factor in international politics. Even though the over- and extra-nationally influencing forces are comparatively weak relative to those which are directly determined by national interests, they are of great significance to the progress of integration. Transfer of power from a national to an international level entails that purely physically determined power relationships are changed into relationships fitted into a social system. This serves to reinforce the international community and to weaken the forces that are, from the standpoint of mankind as a whole, incapable of being controlled.

From the point of view of peace research it is of prime interest to investigate various forms of integration and relations between integrated communities in particular. In evaluating these relationships it should be observed that the forms of international collaboration cannot be fixed once and for all; they are dependent upon concrete needs subject to continual change owing to a dynamic, technical process of development within mankind considered as a whole. Political institutions are in need of continued surveying and readjustment for the simple reason that they have been created with a view to needs and social relationships different from those existing now.

It is also important to try to investigate the common features of the factors making for integration and fit them into a framework of a common system. The chief principle underlying the existence of national, regional and universal organs within such a system ought to be interdependence, i.e., mutual dependence rather

than complete independence. Here, interdependence is not conceived as a restriction of some actually existing freedom, but, instead, as a widening of the possibilities of action and, hence, as a higher form of independence. The central task of the system of interdependence will be satisfaction of individual human needs by means of national, regional and universal political institutions to suit the situation.

The system of interdependence could be characterized as a goal, the attainment of which requires active foreign policy based upon continual international planning. It is up to scientific research to investigate the preconditions for a coordination of international activity. Thus it is possible for one to influence the process via scientific work; to be sure, not directly, through giving advice to politicians, but through elucidating causal relationships and the various possibilities there exist for giving the development a certain generally accepted direction: the attainment of a state of permanent peace.

On the Development and Significance of the Party Press in Finland. By Onni Rantala.

In Finland the first newspapers with a definite political tendency were founded after the middle of 19th century when the liberal policy pursued by Alexander II, Emperor of Russia and Grand Duke of Finland, made possible the establishment of political parties and publication of political newspapers. However, the actual breakthrough of the party press did not happen until around the turn of the century. As a result of the growing number of political parties and the 1906 suffrage and parliamentary reform, the press grew increasingly important; the number of papers increased until it reached a maximum of 105 in 1918. A declining trend, which set in thereafter, has continued from decade to decade, so that, in January 1964, the number of newspaper organs of political parties was 59. A number of factors responsible for the declining trend can be indicated: changes have occurred in political conditions and in the relative strength of different political parties; some papers (notably small ones) have had to cope with financial difficulties; and some newspaper organs have endeavoured to achieve a more independent position with respect to their parties.

At the turn of the years 1963—64, eight papers serving as organs of various political parties were being published in Helsinki, with an added up circulation amounting to 25 per cent of the total circulation of the country's party press. The centre of gravity of the Finnish press has also in general lain in the southern and western parts of the country. At the date mentioned, 42 of the party organs were published in that area, where a higher density of population, better financial possibilities and older political traditions have made the conditions more favourable than in the other parts of the country.

In Finland the ties between the political parties and their newspaper organs have been rather intimate for decades, with the result that the papers have had a strongly partisan tinge. However, owing to differences in ownership, for example, the closeness of the ties varies to some extent. With a single exception, the bourgeois papers are owned by private joint-stock companies, so that the parties concerned cannot completely determine their policy. As a result, material related to party politics plays in these papers a less predominant role than in the newspaper organs of the left-wing parties, which are owned and directed by the parties themselves.

After the Second World War the Finnish party press has shown a tendency toward reducing its political ballast and increasing news and entertainment material; the change has been most clearly discernible in the largest bourgeois papers.

At the turn of the years 1963—64 the different parties had newspaper organs as follows: the Agrarian Party 14; the National Coalition Party 12; the Swedish People's Party 12; the Social Democratic Party 11; the Democratic League of the Finnish People 8; the Social Democratic League of Workers and Smallholders 1; and the Smallholders Party 1. Officially, the Finnish People's Party has no newspaper organ, but some of the papers that formerly had a liberal political tendency lend support to it. At the date mentioned, the number of bourgeois papers (39) was almost twice as large as that of the left-wing papers (20).

The changes within the Finnish party press been markedly greater than could be concluded from the above figures on its numerical growth and decline, for the changes in directions opposed to each other have several times tended to offset each other.

During the history of the Finnish party press, the publication of a newspaper has been discontinued, for one reason or another, on a total of 204 occasions. Such instances have been relatively more numerous in the left-wing than in the bourgeois press; this fact is primarily attributable to the instability of the Social Democratic press in the disturbed conditions of the late 1910's and suppressions and changes of name of Communist newspapers during the 1920's.

Up to 1964, a total of 62 papers had changed from one political party to another. The surrendering parties have in most instances been parties that have ceased their activities. The National Coalition Party has received in this way a larger number of newspapers than the other parties. The Progressive Party and the Agrarian Party have also received a number of papers, even though the former had to surrender them later to others. Only two instances of shift have occurred within the left-wing press; in both cases, which took place in the 1920's, the Communists seized a paper from the Social Democrats. No bourgeois paper has ever shifted to the left-wing parties or *vice versa*.

A total of 23 papers have later declared themselves non-partisan or independent. The party which has lost the largest number of newspaper organs in this way is the National Coalition (9); the second largest number was lost by the Progressive Party. That the ties between the press and the party are closer in the case of the papers of the left is also indicated by the fact that none of them has declared itself non-partisan or independent.

The changes of the types referred to above have been most infrequent in the press of the Agrarian Party and the Swedish People's Party.

In terms of circulation, the position of the bourgeois papers in comparison with the leftist papers is still more favourable than in terms of numbers. This is for the most part attributable to the Coalition Party and the Agrarian Party; the circulation of their newspapers exceed, even in comparison with the numbers of their representatives in Parliament, by far the circulation of the newspapers of all other groups. The share of left-wing papers is markedly below what could be expected on the basis of polls, so that their subscribers appear to come mainly from among the staunchest supporters of the labour parties.

Within the framework of the 19 marketing districts of the country, the correspondence between the circulation of the local party organs and polls is somewhat closer than within the country as a whole. However, even here the correspondence is only partial. The largest party had the largest local newspaper organ in only seven instances, and in four cases a party with no newspaper organ in the district was the strongest one there.