

## SUMMARY

### **On Constitutional Dictatorship**

Kauko Sipponen

Not even in a constitutional state can the wielding of power be invariably confined to the limits prescribed in the constitution: under exceptional conditions, in cases of emergency, in a state of war or siege, and so on, it may prove necessary to increase the powers of the administrative authorities. Where this takes place directly on the basis of the provisions of the constitution, or at least on the basis of laws enacted in accordance with the constitution, «constitutional dictatorship» can be spoken of. In Schmitt's terminology, dictatorship tied up with the constitution is «commissarial» dictatorship. The commissary does not act on his own behalf, but on behalf of the body entrusting him with dictatorial powers, and these powers are tied up with the mandate of the body representing the sovereign people. In the Roman republic, dictatorship had the nature of commissarial dictatorship.

In all the Western democracies, the prerogatives of the head of state concerning cases of national emergency, state of war and state of siege have disappeared; thus, constitutional dictatorship is based on legislation, and parliament has control over the general provisions issued on the basis of dictatorship. This amounts to a clarification of the prerequisites, objects and means of the exercising of power. The importance of the delegation of legislative powers, in particular, has grown in importance in the sphere of emergency legislation.

In Finland, constitutional dictatorship rests upon constitution and empowering legislation. The Finnish constitution includes provisions concerning a procedure for so-called urgent constitutional amendment, making it possible to enact laws containing exceptions to the constitution with the same rapidity as ordinary laws. Hence, there is no need in Finland to resort to any emergency right theories: any temporary enlargement of the powers of the administrative authorities should be based on legislation.

### **Political Communication**

Martti Noponen

The article gives a general survey of the manifestations of communication in political life, its forms of diffusion and its effects, and the problems encountered in the study of political communication. The vagueness characteristic of the concept is due to the fact that the forms of political communi-

cation are many and varied, and that it takes place on varied levels, so that the effects of various forms and media of communication are difficult to distinguish. Mass communication, where the communicator does not know in advance which particular individuals the communication will reach, has been investigated for a long time; in fact, the study of communication was long confined exclusively to the investigation of the effects of mass communication. Today the situation is different: no complete picture can be received of the problems of communication involved in, say, the election process, unless consideration is given to the forms of personal communication as well. The recent interest in the decisionmaking process, again, has brought to the foreground still another important aspect of political communication.

As a rule, various forms of communication complement one another. Thus, at present the most difficult research problems include those concerning the relationships between various forms and media of communication and those concerning the identification of the effects of these different forms in the communication flow. It has recently been discovered, in any case, that the influence of the election propaganda through the press is not as great as it was previously believed to be. One circumstance, in particular, has been found to limit the influence of this type of propaganda: voters only tend to read the newspapers representing political opinions compatible with their own opinions. Thus, this information does not reach the section of the electorate which could, in principle, be influenced, since this section is not interested in political information. It has been shown, on the other hand, that television is capable of influencing such individuals too. Nevertheless, certain individuals, the influentials, often affect the voting decisions most markedly in connection with so-called two-stage communication: the political information spread through the media of mass communication is transmitted by these individuals to the other members of their respective small-groups.

A point that has attracted increasing attention in recent times, alongside communication taking place in the ordinary direction, i.e., from the top downwards, is the feedback phenomenon; that is, the possibility that a means of communication can also reflect the reactions and wishes of the public. The spontaneous efforts of, say, various interest organizations to affect the resolutions made by decision-makers are a further instance of upwards-directed communication. Interaction between a number of political decision-makers or political parties, again, provides an example of political communication and its significance on the horizontal level.

The picture that can be formed of the part played by political communication in the decision-making process today is still more deficient than the picture formed of its influence on public opinion. Particularly in Finland no studies are available concerning, say, the kinds of communication that could be also conjectured to be effective in the upwards direction — that is, through which the decision-makers of the State could be influenced in such fields as, say, legislation, administration or foreign policy; nor are there studies indicating what kinds of factor affect the decision-makers' possibilities of receiving enough factual information in support of their decisions. The intensified information (or P. R.) services of various government departments and agencies, for instance, indicate that decision-making has also become increasingly dependent on the images one succeeds in creating of the endeavours concerned among the public.

## The Role of a Communal Council Member

Voitto Helander

The article aims to illustrate the activity of the Communal (Municipal) Council as a representative and decision-making body, considering it against the behavioural background of the individual decision-maker, that is, the communal council member. A theoretical framework for the study was provided by an analysis of the role, attitudes and overt behaviour of the communal council member. The role of the communal council member was considered from two aspects: as a representative of various groups and interest on the council, and as a decision-maker wielding the supreme local power. In addition, an attempt was made to form a picture of the factors supposedly influencing the council member's career in local politics.

Use was made of the interview method. The sample studied consisted of all the members of the communal (or municipal) councils of the city of Turku, the market-town of Loimaa and the rural commune of Alastaro; the interviews took place during the early part of 1964. The members of these communal councils totalled almost a hundred (Turku 53 + Loimaa 23 + Alastaro 21 = 97). Thus, all the three types of Finnish commune (municipality) were included in the study; the purposive selection entailed that the sample did not meet the conditions necessary for statistical treatment. Use was made of comparative total analysis and two variables: the type of commune and, within each communal council, the bourgeois — socialist group-membership.

Certain differences were discovered in the attitudes and overt behaviour of the communal council members, depending on the type of commune and the bourgeois-socialist group-membership.

1. Even before their election, the ties of the communal council members with local self-government affairs and with the activity of political parties were closer than those of voters.

2. The municipal council members participate in the activities of various organizations and hold positions of trust within them more often than the rural council members do.

3. The representatives of the left have closer ties with political party organizations and the bourgeois representatives with non-political organizations.

4. The representatives of the socialist parties regarded themselves mainly as representatives of groups of people, whereas the bourgeois members considered the promotion of this or that case to be their principal task.

5. The differences between the parties in the acquisition of information and in the way the decisions were made known seemed to correlate with the coherence of the party organization: in the case of coherent mass parties, use was made of organizational channels more frequently than in the case of less coherent parties.

6. The importance of the communal council group-membership as a determinant of the behaviour of an individual council member increases — roughly speaking — in passing from the right to the left.

7. The differences between the types of commune are principally differences between urbanized and rural communities. This was indicated by

the «urban» character of the behaviour and attitudes of the market-town council members.

8. The differences between the political parties seemed to be based mainly on differences in the coherence of the party organizations, rather than on actual ideological differences.

## Lenin — the Cicero of Marxism

Svante Kuhlberg

In the struggle for political power in society two methods have traditionally been employed: coercion or (and) persuasion. Being the verbal and psychological counterpart of coercion, persuasion has always played a prominent role in the shaping of society's political countenance.

The one to continue the tradition of classical rhetoric in Socialist Russia was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin; and he also founded the rhetoric of communism.

However, in the rhetoric of antiquity, a central place was occupied by questions of a primarily formal nature; that is, questions related to the style of speech and other kindred phenomena, rather than its content. Lenin's art of speaking was different in that respect. His rhetoric rested in the first place upon the content of speech, and stylistic formulation was relegated to a secondary place. The latter accompanied the structure of the former automatically, as it were, depending upon to whom and for what purpose he addressed his speech.

This is tantamount to saying that Lenin did not adhere slavishly to any prescribed rhetoric rules; and contrary to what was the case with the rhetoric of antiquity and, notably, the Middle Ages, he did not endeavour to subordinate his speech to any particular formulas. Quite the contrary, he made use, pragmatically, of the rhetoric rules with the object of reinforcing the content. Words were for Lenin a tool in the art of politics, a weapon in his revolutionary fight. It was mainly the communicative aspect of language that interested Lenin, as a dialectic and practical means for the attainment of political power.

It is wholly warranted to claim that Lenin's speech was one of the most effective and powerful instruments through which the Bolshevik Party succeeded in gaining hegemony over the competing parties and in persuading the masses to side with it both prior and after the October Revolution.

Hence, Lenin's rhetoric constitutes a most interesting research object, especially since it laid a foundation for the entire propaganda and agitation of Communism.

Nevertheless, the study of Lenin's rhetoric has so far been almost entirely neglected in West and East alike.

This paper is not intended as an exhaustive analysis of Lenin's rhetoric, which would merit a voluminous monograph; it merely seeks to outline Lenin's person, as a speaker, his rhetoric (i.e., his doctrine of propaganda and agitation), and his style of speech as a persuasion method.

## The City Council and the Municipal Housing Policy in Helsinki, 1949—1963

Magnus Lemberg

The reason why just the City Council was made the subject of study was that all of the most important municipal policy decisions are dealt with by it, and thus it is there that the housing policy problems of various sectors converge. In the article, housing policy is subdivided into (a) financing policy, (b) city planning, (c) building lot policy, (d) clearance, and (e) the social aspects of housing policy.

The appropriations for the promotion of housebuilding were regarded as the chief financing policy criterion for the housing policy of the Council. Regarding the question of the appropriations for housing, a rather clear-cut division into the «bourgeois» and the socialist members of the Council is discernible. The former have as a rule given their support to the City Board's budget proposals, whereas the socialist groups have demanded increased appropriations. As the bourgeois groups were in majority throughout the period under consideration, the appropriations were, as a rule, made in accordance with the budget proposals.

One possibility for the alleviation of the housing situation without burdening the budget is that the City undertakes to stand surety for housing loans. A resolution to this effect was made in 1950.

What possibilities the City will have to pursue housing policies in the future will depend in a high degree on the availability of building lots. At present the City areas suitable for housing purposes are almost fully exploited, and thus it would be an urgent task for the City to acquire, through purchase or incorporation, additional land outside the present City boundaries.

One reason for the high cost of housing is the price of building lots, which tends to rise as the shortage of land suited for building lots increases. Sharp criticisms have been made of the auctioneering procedure applied by the City in certain instances: this has entailed that the law of supply and demand has determined the building lot prices. Because of these criticisms, the City has not sold building lots by auction since 1960.

Clearance (i.e., imposition of constraints on building rights) constituted a first-rate issue of contention between the representatives of property-owners and the left. On two occasions (1954 and 1961) the City Council passed resolutions amounting to limitation of the building rights.

Alongside the questions concerning ordinary housing policy, the City Council dealt with the housing problems of the elderly and the persons without dwellings. As regards the elderly, homes for the elderly were founded; and (1963) the City Council made a decision concerning the payment of housing allowances to old persons of small means.

During the post-war period a large proportion of those lacking a dwelling were accommodated in air-raid shelters. This has no longer been the case since 1954, after the City Council made a decision on the construction of wooden houses and the purchase of a property for the purpose. Nevertheless, a large proportion of those lacking dwellings continue to be accommodated

in various provisional lodging quarters. Thus, the problem of those without dwellings continues to be acute.

In assessing the housing policy pursued by the City Council it is possible to maintain that this or that group of inhabitants has been wronged. Here, however, one has to do with value judgments. What is easier to establish is that the City's possibilities of pursuing positive housing policies in general, through ensuring the availability of building lots at reasonable prices, are narrowly circumscribed at present because of a shortage of land suited for housing purposes. On this point the leaders of the municipal affairs can be accused for a lack of foresight.