

## SUMMARY

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### **On the Political Activity of the Finnish Agricultural Producer Organizations and Labour Market Organizations in the 1950s**

Väinö Huuska

The article considers the political connections and activity of the central organizations of the interest groups mentioned in the title: MTK, representing agricultural producers; SAK, representing workers; STK, representing employers; and TVK, representing salaried employees. If the political field is divided into a bourgeois and a socialist sector, MTK and STK fall within the first and SAK falls within the second, whereas TVK cannot be regarded as belonging to either of the two. None of the four organizations has close ties with any political party: their collaboration with political parties only takes place in form of personal connections.

All of the four central organizations have represented the interest groups concerned in State committees and expert organs. MTK, SAK and STK have represented their respective groups with a monopolist's rights in both institutions, which are extensively used in Finland in the preparation of political decisions, new legislation and amendments to the existing legislation. TVK, by contrast, was accepted as the representative of the salaried-employee interests only in the 1950s. None of the organizations has made efforts to get their representatives elected in Parliament or to place such in the government; on the other hand, they have made endeavours to increase participation in general elections. SAK has unofficially supported the socialist parties in election campaigns; and MTK and STK have lent their unofficial support to the bourgeois parties. In a few elections, TVK tried to create a »white-collar front» in cooperation with all the political parties; but it found that the representatives of political parties were more successful at the polls than the representatives of the so-called vocational movement. The organizations concerned have attempted to influence legislation through preparing proposals which the representatives of various parties have introduced in Parliament.

In the 1950s, MTK and SAK caused a number of government crises. During that decade, a total of 19 serious government crises were experienced in Finland; eight of them were at least in part due to these organizations. The two organizations together caused two crises. MTK alone caused two crises, and the SAK alone four crises. In connection with two crises the measures undertaken by SAK also affected the composition of the ensuing cabinet. In the remaining cases either the government's programme or certain measures taken by it were influenced by SAK. The other two organizations did not affect any of the crises actively. Certain leaders of these organizations

have been among the members of cabinets; but when in the government, they have been representatives of their respective political parties or »expert» ministers, and insofar as they have represented the organizations dealt with here, this has only taken place unofficially.

Active outside pressures have been exercised by MTK and SAK alone. In the case of MTK the centre of gravity of the pressure measures has lain in messages to State organs, and delegations have, in addition, frequently been sent to the government or to various ministries. Through its declarations and resolutions the organization has also attempted to influence the public opinion. The means utilized by SAK have been similar, though it has appealed to the public opinion more frequently. It has adopted great many resolutions published in the newspaper press; but the measures that SAK has undertaken to influence the government and other State organs have also had an emphatically public nature. On the other hand, STK and TVK have hardly brought any pressures to bear on State organs from the outside.

As regards the influence of the organizations' political activity, the author argues that it can hardly be measured in accurate terms: no measuring instrument appropriate for the purpose is available. It seems incontestable, however, that the measures taken by these organizations have not been without effect; and it is concluded that, at least as far as MTK and SAK are concerned, they played a rather significant role in the political decisions made in Finland during the 1950s.

### **The Vietnam Crisis as a Problem of Great Power Politics I The Indo-China Dilemma and Its Solution at the Geneva Conference in 1954**

Mauri K. Elovainio

In the first of his two articles on the Vietnam crisis the author concentrates on a descriptive account of the background of the events, necessary for an analytical consideration of the crisis. To begin with, the restoration of the French colonial rule in Vietnam after the Second World War, the 1946 treaty and the recognition of Vietnam as a free state within the French Union are described. Following this, the coup d'état undertaken by the French and the outbreak of the colonial war are considered. The central part of the article consists of a chronological description of the events of 1950—54, when the war turned into an open international conflict as a result of the active policies of support pursued by Communist China and the United States. The latter part of the article gives an account of the decisive events in the Indo-Chinese theatre of war, the Navarre plan and the military catastrophe of Dien Bien Phu. The author concludes his article through considering the diplomatic negotiations preceding the Geneva Conference, the Geneva Conference itself, and the factors, operative in great power politics that led to the armistice treaties in the Indo-Chinese war.

## **On the Formation of Opinions about National Defence Issues**

Vilho Tervasmäki

The reinforcement that Finland's neutrality experienced after the leased Porkkala territory had been returned to Finland served to clarify the purposes and goals of national defence greatly. Within the framework established by the Peace Treaty of Paris and the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union, national defence had to aid Finland's foreign policy in its efforts to ensure the country's safety and to keep the country outside international conflicts. Finland's neutrality has been accepted in East and West. A concrete indication of this was the 1962 reinterpretation of the Peace Treaty of Paris, according to which Finland has the right to acquire guided missiles for defensive purposes.

The establishment of the National Defence Council through an ordinance given in 1957 had the consequence that the cabinet members were also involved in the discussion concerning all the varied aspects of national defence. So far, national defence courses have been arranged at the General Staff College for over five hundred persons occupying leading positions in various fields of national defence. These have been the most important occasions of information.

The creation of an information officer organization and initiation of a concise training programme for information officers in 1961, together with the appointment of a planning body for psychological defence in 1963, amounted to a considerable intensification of information concerning the defence forces. Moreover news magazines and booklets published and distributed by the defence forces have also been of assistance.

The formation of opinion concerning national defence takes place on the basis of the postulate that Finland will not take stand against any nation, but that it is her natural duty to care for her own position and interest and ensure her own safety — a duty which is also respected by the United Nations Charter. Although there are some persons who even demand unilateral disarmament, the efforts at the formation of public opinion favourable for national defence have not remained without effect. According to an opinion survey, conducted in 1964, 79 per cent of the persons interviewed were for the preservation of the defence forces. In 1948, the same opinion was only held by 54 per cent of the interviewed persons.

## **The Illegal Newspapers of the Finnish Communist Party 1918—44**

Kyösti Seppänen

The study was designed to explore the type and amount of illegal newspapers published and circulated in Finland by the Finnish Communist Party during its underground period 1918—44.

The preconditions for the emergence and continuous publication of the secret issues constituting the illegal newspaper press of the FCP were created by the 1918 Civil War, the subsequently prevailing conditions in Finland and the rise of the Finnish Communist Party into a revolutionary underground organization.

Well over 150 illegal papers, published under various names (close to 1000 issues) during the FCP's underground period, remained at the disposal of researchers. The peak of publication fell into the early 1930:s at one point about 70 illegal papers were simultaneously published. The majority of these were mimeographed; only very few were printed papers.

Prior to the peak of the early 1930:s the number of illegal papers was at its highest immediately after the end of the 1918 Civil War. At this point the secret publications circulated in Finland were printed abroad. Between and after these two peaks the number of illegal papers remained small.

Two types of illegal FCP papers may be distinguished: central papers of nationwide circulation and various local papers. In addition to general political papers, a large number of special papers were published for various segments of the population.

A content analysis relating to the writings of the principal papers revealed that the editors of the papers considered the domestic political conditions and events as their principal theme. The illegal press also displayed great interest in the problems of the Soviet Union and international communist movement; in its »organizer» function the FCP publications also dispersed a great deal of advice for party activity.

The change in the contents of the newspapers through time was also explored. The analysis revealed a continuous increase in the function of the FCP illegal press as a leader of practical party activity. The proportion of theoretically oriented writings concerning the issues of socialism, on the other hand, showed an abrupt decrease after the initial idealistic enthusiasm following the party's establishment.

Another significant structural change was also in evidence: the share of writings on the international communist movement declined whilst the writings on Social Democrats became increasingly common.

The principal current events of each particular point of time of course also stimulated the amount and contents of the FCP underground papers. It is worthy of notice that the amount and circulation of the illegal papers attained its peak when the external circumstances were most strained. In 1932—33 the circulation of the secret FCP papers attained a figure of 15 000 copies a month.

The influence exerted by the illegal papers of the Finnish Communist Party upon the political events of the time is hard to evaluate. These papers indubitably played a role as a symptom on the existence of an underground party and as a proponent of its endeavours. It may also have contributed to the surprisingly large mass support secured by the Finnish Communist Party when it came into the open at the end of the Second World War which also terminated the illegal period of the Finnish Communist papers.