

## SUMMARY

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### The voting power in the Finnish Parliament in 1951—66

By Risto Sänkiaho

The methods for studying the voting power of individuals, groups and collectivities within representative bodies have been mainly developed for the study of committees and parliaments in two party systems. Consequently the application of these methods to the study of voting power in multi-party systems as such is not possible. This paper presents an attempt to develop these methods so that they could also be applied to the study of parliamentary voting power of political parties even in a multity system.

The author has used the formula of *Mann-Shapley* model to calculate the voting power for the Finnish political parties during different sessions of the Parliament. (Table 1) This formula has been developed for the study of the presidential electorate college by substituting the political parties for the state delegations.

The obtained results about the voting power of different parties become more interesting if we compare them with the number of MP's and with the popular vote of the parties. The results indicate, that the big parties have proportionally a greater voting power than what their number of MP's provide in comparison with the medium-sized parties. The same is also true about the small parties although the discrepancy between the voting power and the number of MP's is not so striking as in case of the big parties. Figure 1 shows the trend of sliding averages that has been calculated between the number of MP's and the voting power.

If we compare the popular vote and the voting power of the parties, we find out that the discrepancy between the voting power and the popular vote is still more favorable for the big parties than that between the number of the MP's and voting power. Now also the small parties have smaller voting power than what their popular vote would provide. These results can be seen in Figure 2, where the trend of sliding averages has been calculated for the voting power and the popular vote.

In Mann-Shapley formula all potential combinations of the voting coalitions have been considered equally probable. This is obviously not a realistic assumption in a multi-party system. The ideological distance separates the parties from each other and only seldom the extreme left and right can be found in the same coalition, while the centre parties can much easier get into different coalitions. Consequently the author has developed the formula further by weighing the coalition probabilities of the parties by their assumed

distance from other parties on the ideological right-left continuum. The results can be seen in Table 3.

In general, the results obtained in this paper indicate that the study of the voting power is meaningful even in multi-party systems. They also indicate that the mathematically formulated concept of voting power can offer a good and clear starting point for developing broader theoretical frames of reference. Thus e.g. the concept of voting power can be used to summarize those institutional forces that pull the political parties toward the centre of the ideological continuum and also cause the disintegration of the centre parties. Thus it works like an intervening variable between the formal aspects of the political system (the organization of election and the functioning of the representative bodies) and the informal aspects of political systems (the organizational and the ideological grouping of the representatives).

### Western Research on the Soviet Union

By Svante Kuhlberg

Before the reign of Peter the Great, Russia was, by and large, a *terra incognita* for the West. Through »opening a window to Europe», Peter the Great not only established contact between Russia and Europe but also paved the way for the study of Russia in the western world. Germany became the first centre of this study.

During the First World War the study of Russia in the West gained fresh impetus. Up to 1933, Germany was decidedly the leading country in this field, but Hitler's *Machtübernahme* put an end to the objective, scientific investigation of Russia.

The drastic change in the international political situation following the Second World War brought with it a break through of the investigation of the Soviet Union, mainly in the United States but also in France, Germany and England. The need for all-round information concerning the Soviet Union became increasingly intense on account of the constantly increasing importance of the Soviet Union in the world politics.

Today no country is able to compete with the United States in this field, as far as the number of organizations and institutes serving it, the volume of books and articles on it, or the number of researchers in it are concerned. The most important centres of sovietology are the universities where training is given to researchers for the field and where most of the studies concerning sovietology are written.

Since the centre of emphasis in the study of the Soviet Union nowadays lies on the political plane and the purely historical investigation of the Soviet Union is methodologically similar to any other historical investigation, the present article exclusively concentrates on questions of sovietology. Initially it should be stated that sovietology is a discipline concerned with current problems in the Soviet Union and the rest of the Communist world. The study of pre-revolutionary Russia and the periods of revolution in

Russia forms a bridge between historical research proper and sovietology. The latter in turn must necessarily be based upon the past history of Russia and the Soviet Union. One point in which sovietology differs from history is that its objectives are considered to include the making of prognoses of the future development of varied phenomena. There is a tendency for sovietology to be attracted by questions that are politically topical and »hot». Hence, the most frequent themes are concerned with the Soviet foreign policy, the study of which often coincides with that of the World Communist movement. The objects of research are in fact determined by the intensity of the Communist interest in varied current questions.

Neither *the* methodological framework nor *the* method peculiar to sovietology can legitimately be spoken of: each researcher may apply the methods he is accustomed to use in his field. Politologico-sovietological research employs at least four different methods: the Kremlinological Method, the Analysis of Esoteric Communications, the Protocol Evidence Method and the Method of Defining Current Trends of Development.

### **Clergymen of the Finnish Evangelical-Lutheran Church as Parliamentary Candidates in 1919—1966**

By Tapio Koskiahö

About 92 per cent of the population of Finland belong to the Finnish Evangelical-Lutheran Church. In Finland it is far from uncommon for the clergymen of this Church to stand for Parliament or to participate in its work as members, whereas this is uncommon elsewhere in the world, for example in the other Scandinavian countries.

In the Parliamentary elections held between 1919 and 1966, the number of clergyman candidates averaged 33, and the clergymen elected members of Parliament numbered 11, on the average, the number of seats in Parliament totalling 200. The number of clergyman candidates has shown a slightly rising trend, whereas the number of clergymen in Parliament has been on the decrease. About half of total clergyman candidates and the total clergyman members of Parliament have belonged to the National Coalition Party. The Centre Party (Agrarian Union) ranks second in both respects. The entry of the Patriotic People's Movement into the political scene in the 1930s mainly resulted in a reduction in the numbers of clergyman candidates and members of Parliament belonging to the National Coalition Party.

The National Coalition Party and the Patriotic People's Movement were the parties where the proportions of the total candidates accounted for by clergymen were the largest (about 10 and 8 per cent respectively). Since the Second World War the proportion of clergyman candidates has displayed a declining trend. The proportions of the political parties' total seats in Parliament occupied by clergymen have been noticeable larger than the proportions of the clergymen among the candidates. For example, of the total candidates of the Patriotic People's Movement in the pre-war elections, about 8 per

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cent were clergymen, whereas no less than 30.6 per cent of the total seats gained by this party were occupied by clergymen. The corresponding percentages for the National Coalition Party were 10.7 and 21.3 respectively. A similar, though somewhat less pronounced, tendency has continued in the post-war elections as well.

The National Coalition Party has rather strongly stressed the importance of the Church and religion, and the same was true of the Patriotic People's Movement. This has been reflected, among other things, as the frequent and active participation of the clergymen in party politics, as candidates and members of Parliament. The programmes of the Centre Party also reveal a favourable attitude toward the Church and a willingness to develop its activity. Both the Swedish People's Party and Liberal People's Party have followed suit in this respect. The relations between Socialism and the Church were strained in Finland for a long time: in the eyes of the Finnish labour movement, the Church bore a bourgeois stamp. Only since the Second World War have the relations between the Social Democratic movement and the Church become more friendly, of which a symptom is the appearance of clergymen candidates in the Social Democratic Party.

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