

SUMMARIES

Organizing the control of the constitutional rights (in Finland)

by Esko Riepula

In this article the author deals with the problem areas of the control (inc. the judicial review) of constitutional rights, and in this respect he notes that in Finland general attention has been called to the review of the economic, social and cultural rights, as well as to the post-review of the classical rights of freedom (freedom of speech, meeting etc.).

Nowadays the control of constitutional rights in Finland occurs mainly as a review of legislation. From the existing valid regulations of constitutional rights, a flourishing practise of interpretation has been developed, leading to the formulation of doctrines which direct the action of control in society.

The author adds that the control of constitutional rights should not be observed separately from other problems of constitutional control.

The forms in which constitutional control (review) occurs can be collected into three groups:

- (1) the system of the general courts;
- (2) the system of special courts or the so-called constitutional court; and
- (3) different kinds of systems which have a parliamentary basis.

The Finnish system of constitutional control (review) belongs to group (3).

The author examines in the article the advantages and disadvantages in these differing systems. He notes that none of them can be taken as such for the basis of a reorganisation of constitutional control in Finland. Therefore the author proposes that research should be undertaken in Finland for new alternatives which are placed between the main categories. He makes his own proposals which, briefly, are as follows:

- (1) the existing forms of constitutional control will be largely retained, namely, the review of legislation which belongs to parliament and other law-making organisations;
- (2) in reorganizing the written constitutional system of human rights, (which is taking place in Finland at the present time), the regulations should be written in such a form that care is taken over the following: that nobody can appeal directly to the regulations of the constitutional rights over and above the laws in the courts or in civil authorities; and

- (3) a special authority should be set up in Finland, namely, a committee of the constitutional rights, which has the function of acting as a link between the law-makers and decision-makers in questions of constitutional rights, and to promote awareness of constitutional rights in society.

A brain worker socialism. An interpretation of the political theory of Yrjö Ruutu

Kari Palonen

Yrjö Oskar Ruutu (1887—1956) is, both as ideologist and as political scientist, among the most original thinkers in Finland in this century. Contrary to the usual interpretation his thought does not lie near fascism, because of his faith in rationalism, progress and even parliamentary democracy.

Ruutu has no doubt a consensus view of society. But he criticizes the conventional, both monistic and pluralistic consensus theories especially because of their unhistoricalness. In his own theory, developed in the early 1920ies, he sees the content of the consensus varying with the state of the historical development. The basis of this consensus is »the objective politics» of general human values and of the demands of historical development, but this is achieved through the »subjective politics» of social groups.

A conflict theorist can easily see behind Ruutu's objective politics the interests of the learned people. Especially because of the inflation, the Finnish academicians and other brain workers lose their place in the establishment during and after the first world war. Among the Finnish academicians, Ruutu was the only eminent one, who clearly noticed the dependence of also brain workers on the interests of the capital. He interpreted the rejection of the whole power of the capital, the transition to a kind of state socialism to be their objective interest. This program contained a common front with the manual workers, not an abolishment of the division between mental and manual labour but a theory of the objective supremacy of the brain workers as an interest of even manual workers.

In Ruutu's view of history a dualism between the social and technological aspect can be stated. The first aspect demands changes in the social structure by political means, i.e. with the state as an instrument, while the technological aspect contains an »energetic» theory of rationality that makes some structural changes »unrealistic». These aspects are combined in the assumption of the work as »the most important phenomenon of the life». The social side of the work brings about that Ruutu does not represent extremely tayloristic reductionism of the human labour. Due to the »energetics» of W. Ostwald Ruutu is, however, mainly interested in the results of work, not in the human and social aspects of the labour relations.

Behind Ruutu's state socialism lay his brain worker interests and an assumption of the effectivity of the planning. But it can also be viewed as a radicalization of the social reformistic moment in the tradition of the Finnish

nationalism, a measure intended to strengthen the national sovereignty of Finland — later also as a means for better relations with the Soviet Union. Ruutu's demands for nationalizations are more radical and consequent than those of the contemporary social democrats. His state socialism is not extremely centralistic and bureaucratic but contains some elements of self-management of persons concerned. A technocratic feature is its anti-egalitarian, »according to the work», character.

The ideal state is for Ruutu »an organ of the nation for the use of the national energy», which clearly implies an expert knowledge for the most rational use, i.e. an interpretation of the interest of the brain workers as interests of the whole nation. The problem of the transition from a historical class state into this ideal state is at first hardly solved by Ruutu, but in the 1940ies he proposes interesting solutions for the technical realizability and the social and political conditions for the transition to socialism of his kind.

Compared with the dominant technocracy of »the second republic» after the world war II, the quite technocratic socialism of Ruutu is both clearly more radical and theoretically more sophisticated. Especially in his analysis of the dependence of the brain workers on the capital interests his views are actual even during the present economic crisis.

Wilhelm Bolin and the Theory of Modern State

By Jyrki Uusitalo

The Finnish philosopher Wilhelm Bolin (1835—1924), a personal friend and philosophical mate of Ludwig Feuerbach, published in 1870—71 an extensive work, entitled *Europas statslif och filosofins politiska läror* (The Political Life of Europe and Political Theories in Philosophy). Preceded by a study of the freedom of the will (in 1868), this two-volume treatise is the second of Bolin's major contributions to social and political philosophy. In this essay its main thematics is exposed. Tuned by a profound historical perspective and a liberal-democratic accent, Bolin's study sets out to show how the eminent modern theories of natural law and political domination, from Machiavelli and Bodin to late 19th century theorists, reflect and thematize the political process in real history, i.e. the formation of modern national states. Hegel and Wilhelm von Humboldt stand out as the first political theorists who have adequately grasped the social-philosophic significance of the French Revolution. In Bolin's view, the democratic idea of 'positive liberty' implied in their conceptions accords with the historical interests of emerging modern industrial society. As a whole, this work of Bolin, which for a long time has been in undeserved oblivion, may be considered a forceful and well-argued study of the growth of political theory and its intertwinement with the emergence of modern-time political institutions. The book is a specimen of a realist historical and systematic approach which was by no means common in the doctrinal constellations of social and political philosophy in the latter half of the 19th century.

Dependence models in Western development research

by Helena Tuomi

The aims of the article are 1) to describe the penetration of the concept of dependence into Western development research, 2) to identify the different varieties of dependence research, 3) to present the dependence models of some new quantitative studies based on the same body of dependence theories and 4) to reflect on the relationship between the state of dependence theory and appropriate empirical evidence.

The concept of dependence refers to such an interplay of external and internal factors that, as a result, a dependent society can only develop as a reflection of other's expansion and control. The concept mostly refers to the subordination of the developing countries from the industrial countries, and dependence is seen as an obstacle to development efforts. The concept has now been cultivated by Western scholars for some 15 years. Theoretically, the dependencia-school was already heterogeneous in its Latin American phase, but it has developed even more heterogeneously in the West. Some scholars have noted falsifications of the original theories of dependence as a result of the growing »consumption» of those theories in the West.

The varieties of dependence research are, on the other hand, an outcome of the multidimensional, multiform and multilevel character of the concept and phenomenon of dependence. These varieties partly arise even irrespective of whether the research is carried out on the nonmarxist or marxist basis. Some scholars favour the inductive strategy of research, whereby the theory-building about dependence would proceed only on the basis of specific empirical and historical studies. On the other side there are also attempts to create a coherent theory of dependence which would make the deductive approach of research possible.

Critiques of dependence theories claim that the empirical evidence has always been too scattered and imprecise. Therefore a whole body of behavioural dependence studies has arisen within last few years. The main idea is to present the theses of the theories as formal hypotheses which can be tested by quantitative methods. The central hypothesis concerns the relationship between external dependence and underdevelopment. Depending on variables, measures, sample and period, the hypothesis is both supported and rejected. A summary of research designs in five studies is presented as well as some findings. The studies are criticized 1) because of the mechanistic separation of external and internal factors which is not in accordance with any of the original theories, 2) because of putting too much emphasis on trade dependence while neglecting financial, industrial and technological forms of dependence, 3) because in trade dependence only exports are taken into consideration, 4) because only the degree of dependence is measured while the content of dependence is not discussed at all which makes the discussion of the international division of labor impossible, 5) comparatively, the degree of geographic concentration of dependence is always discussed without identifying any partners which leads to an intransitive concept of dependence.

The state of dependence theories is such that there is much room for clarifica-

tion of the concepts, new concepts and their interrelationships. Because dependence is a broad and complex social phenomenon, formalistic efforts to verification and falsification of the theories easily lead to models which are so strongly reduced that they do not any more reflect the essence of the phenomenon itself. In efforts to reach a higher level of precision, it is necessary to be aware of the limits of precision.
