

## SUMMARIES

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### **PUBLIC OFFICIALS' TIES AND MORALS**

By Antti Kivivuori

In the course of the present year (1979) some leading public officials, especially Secretary General of the Ministry of Interior Arno Hannus and Secretary General of the Ministry of Justice Kai Korte, have made public certain statements presenting their views on public officials' morals. They have, in particular, made evaluations as to what role a public official's membership in a political party or a trade union plays in terms of public official's morals. According to their view, the membership of public officials in political parties has undermined that rule of the public officials' moral code which requires that a public official should act in a fair and impartial manner as well as in conformity with the public interest, and that he should be loyal toward his superiors.

Hannus and Korte are of the opinion that public officials who are members of a political party are under the control of that party and thus, violating the public official's moral code, serve the interest of the party instead of striving, in a fair and unbiased way, to promote the public interest. This view, held by Hannus and Korte, of the consequences of public officials' party-affiliation is, however, erroneous and distorted. A public official who is a member of a political party makes, but for rare exceptions, the decisions which belong to the scope of his office, within the framework of legal norms and in accordance with his personal sense of justice, not according to the instructions of the party.

In effect, the statements of Hannus and Korte must be regarded as efforts tending to preserve the bourgeois attitudes which in the past decades have solely dominated among the public officials. These statements have also been conducive to turning general and public attention away from the corruptive relations of public officials to representatives of the business interests, which have been revealed in numbers recently.

Public officials' ties as well as the state of their morals in conducting their offices should, thus, be considered from another point of view than that represented by Hannus and Korte.

The functions of the administrative system have changed together with the society. Functions purporting to social development have come to play a more and more important role within the work and duties of the various governmental ministries. On the other hand, the normative framework which guides and is applied by the administrative authorities has become more and more abstract and thus leaves more room for interpretation. In consequence, the discretionary scope and power of these authorities has increased.

The traditional bureaucratic system of administration is not very well suited for performing these new functions. The organizational foundations of the administrative system should be developed so that the preparation of major decisions could take place in bodies where versatile expertise and different societal views would be represented and brought together. In order for this to be possible and for the ministerial administration to be even otherwise representative of the social experience of a wide range of the population, the officials in the ministries should have various societal views.

The organizational structure and composition of the staff do not alone determine the functional characteristics of the administration. The goal should, moreover, be an open procedure which could make sure that alternative solutions that are motivated by different views and interests are brought to the knowledge of the decision-making authority.

Principles of the public officials' moral code can provide a manifestation of what kind of conduct among public officials is to be valued, required and supported. It is always essential to scrutinize the content of a decision or policy choice: whose position is improved, whose is weakened? A public official should always strive for a solution which, with view to the requirements of social responsibility and

equality, is best qualified to secure the fundamental conditions of a worthy human life. This requirement of content entails a requirement of procedure: administrative acts should always be accompanied by an overt statement of the significance and consequences of the decision to different groups of people. The quantity of work done must be emphasized as a third moral requirement for public officials.

The worst shortcomings in public officials' morals at present are the following:

— passivity and ineffectiveness in adminis-

trative units whose function is to supervise and safeguard the materialization of the basic rights and security of the citizens

- inappropriate allocation of resources within the administration
- deliberate action, under a disguise of non-affiliation, against improvements in the living-conditions of large population groups and for the benefit of the business interests of the economy or the unjustifiable interests of the most well-to-do population groups.

### THE BASIS FOR THE NEGOTIATION-MECHANISM OF INCOMES POLICY IN FINLAND

By Arvo Myllymäki

The constitution of Finland was in its essential parts made at a time when social divisions resulting from the Civil War of 1918 were at their deepest. Particularly since World War II Finland, like many other countries, has experienced significant changes in its state-political system. These changes involve the ever increasing social power of political parties and economic-political trade unions.

The unions see to the controlling of various group interests in Finnish society and, when necessary, put in their claims to the state organs. In this respect the situation in Finland is in no way exceptional or isolated from the international development.

The relations between the trade unions and the government in Finland in 1940—1967 had virtually laid the foundation for the incomes policy negotiation-mechanism and the later incomes policy. The year 1940 marked a turning point in the activity of the Finnish unions. The central state organs wished to involve the

unions in the process of decision making, which dealt with prices, wages and salaries, rents and prices of agricultural products. During and after World War II the activities of the unions gained legitimacy amongst their members as well as with respect to the supreme state organs. This legitimacy, combined with the legality guaranteed by legislation, meant a rapid and vigorous growth in the wielding of social power by the unions.

The negotiation mechanism of incomes policy changed in the years 1968—1979. Typical has been the central role of the Cabinet in negotiations. The negotiations have been difficult and the incomes policy agreements have often been made as a result of mediation.

The incomes policy negotiation-mechanism signed in 1968—1979 determined the major part of the distribution of national income. Incorporating both the unions' and Parliament's wielding of power is necessary, since both of them are interested in the distribution of national income, price development, rents, rate of interest, taxation and development of social security. On the other hand the possibilities of the Finnish Parliament to control incomes policy have been insignificant during the whole period of incomes policy.

### ANTTI CHYDENIUS AS MONTESQUIEU'S ADMIRER

By Kimmo Sarje

Anders Chydenius (1729—1803) was one of the most outstanding social activists in Sweden-Finland during the 18th century. He became well-known as a radical liberal

pamphleteer, as a theoretical economist, as a politician, as a priest and as a Linnean experimenter in the fields of technology, economics and natural sciences.

The thinking of Chydenius had been influenced by great philosophers of natural law such as *Locke* and *von Pufendorf*, by natural theology and by the many critical essays on economics and politics typical of the Swedish

society of the era of freedom. Of French thinkers Chydenius greatly admired Montesquieu, whose work *Considérations sur les causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence des Romains* was translated into Swedish in 1755.

The influence of Montesquieu is clearly visible in his article on emigration and in his work *Källan til Rikets Wan-Magt* (1765). Vital elements of the methodology of his social criticism were adopted from Montesquieu. His evaluations of society were based upon physical and moral grounds and he tried to find out the basic cause — the genesis — of problems. For instance he tried to prove that the lack of freedom was the cause of the decrease of population in Sweden, where the other natural (ie. physical) and social (ie. moral) conditions seemed to be good from his point of view. Like Montesquieu Chydenius tries to analyze the development of society and history by shedding light on the laws that govern the development and he holds as important the

theory of the selfishness of human nature. He feels that history does not so much reflect the anarchy of certain individuals but rather the realization of the basic qualities of human nature. Anarchy is caused by inadequate social structures, which don't sufficiently hinder selfishness. Therefore competition and evenly distributed wealth would offer a firm basis for a free society.

The moralistic critique of Chydenius denouncing corruption and tyranny is similar to Montesquieu's critique. Both emphasize the meaning of the division of power and the vitality of the existence of righteous officials and they warn against an internal enemy of the society and about disproportionate wealth; since power is at least partly a function of wealth. A clear difference between the approaches of these two writers is the fact that Chydenius concentrates on economic issues and Montesquieu on political issues.

## TERRORISM AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

By Kari Sulevo

The word terrorism is employed to specify acts of violence for political coercion. Yet, there seems to be no definition that will satisfactorily cover all uses of the term. In general, the word terrorism is used today to define almost all illegal acts of violence committed for political purposes by clandestine groups. The object of this article is political terrorism that attempts to change the political system of the country in question. Then the terrorists aim at chaotic political and social situation that makes the system change possible.

The terrorist organizations concerned are Spanish Euzkadi ta askatasuna (ETA), Italian Red brigades, Japanese Rengo sekigun (United red army) and German Rote armee fraktion (Red army faction). The main purpose is to research if the societies in question differ from other developed capitalist countries in which there does not exist this kind of political terrorism that we are analyzing.

Theoretically the most important finding of the research is that the societies suffering from the internal terrorism belong all to the tradition of revolutionary political change. On the

other hand countries belonging to the tradition of peaceful political change have not suffered from the internal terrorism at all. This kind of developed capitalist countries are for instance Sweden and Switzerland. Moreover we can say that social rigidity and rapid political modernization promote the internal terrorism.

As a way of politics terrorism is a bad one. The organizations in our analysis have not achieved their goals. Instead of social disintegration the internal terrorism in analyzed societies has sooner promoted social integration. If we look at the organizational level of the analyzed states we can not find out the results hoped by the terrorists either. In a certain sense is the only exception Spain. In this country has the terrorism of ETA been a serious threat for the political liberalization now happening.

The ideological equipment of the internal terrorist groups is thin. The organizations in our analysis have declared that they are »marxist» movements. However none of them has done a profound ideological analysis. Also the different branches of marxism have condemned terrorist action like in our analysis. No doubt we can say that in terrorism has violence displaced political thinking. For that reason terrorism has no future either.

## FROM BIOPOLITICS TO SOCIOBIOLOGY

By Markku Laakso

The idea that biological concepts are helpful in explaining political phenomena has a long history in Western political thought. Biology has always had a great influence on social sciences but especially during the last century the relation between biology and social sciences has given rise to extensive discussion. The last five years have been quite significant particularly to political science. We speak nowadays of »biopolitics» and also »sociobiology» which has many supporters among political scientists.

The purpose of this article is to analyze these two approaches to link biology and especially political science together. The concept of »biopolitics» was first presented by *Albert Somit* (1972). His attempt was to classify the wide and irregular literature according to the following rubrics: 1) The case for a biologically-oriented political science, 2) ethological aspects of political behavior, 3) physiological and psychopharmaceutical aspects of political behavior, 4) issues of public policy raised by recent advances in biology. Somit's classification is not satisfactory, e.g. the category 1) contains results from all the other categories (2) to 4). The contribution of »biopolitics» to political theory has by now been scanty; only physiological measures of political attitudes and behavior have brought forward new perspectives. However, the actual experimental findings are not impressive, although the authors do feel that »statistically significant rank-order correlations indicate that verbal and physiological indicators are structurally related».

»Sociobiology» has nowadays risen a wide attention among scientists in very different disciplines. Also political scientists have done their contribution to that discussion. Ever since *Erward O. Wilson* published his famous book »Sociobiology: The New Synthesis» (1975) an enormous number of books, articles, reviews etc. have been published on sociobiology and its implications. The discussion has been mainly critical. The main point of critique has been to show that Wilson's efforts to »biologicize» human society reflect a particular social and political perspective. According to Wilson sociology and the other social sciences, as well as the humanities, are the last branches of biology waiting to be included in the Modern Synthesis. One of the functions of sociobiology, then, is to reformulate the foundations of the social sciences in a way that draws these subjects into the Modern Synthesis.

What can political science wait from this new approach? The results of sociobiology presented by now are disappointing. It is hard to find any significant contribution to political theory and political science. On the contrary, the political message of Wilson's book has given rise to persistent criticism: why would the way things are determine the way they should necessarily be? Genetic determinism becomes the sociobiologist's ultimate answer to any question about human behavior. This kind of thought is unknown to political science and also political scientist should find themselves unable to maintain the ease to accept discrimination, militarism, and social injustice as natural and inevitable reflections of some vast and insensate sociobiological scheme of things.