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# FINNISH FEATURES

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## FINLAND AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

## Finnish Foreign Policy and EC Membership

The function of Finnish foreign policy is to promote Finland's national interests. The rapid changes that have taken place in recent years both in our immediate vicinity and more widely in Europe pose new challenges for Finnish foreign policy as well.

Central to these changes have been the end of the Cold War, the breakdown of ideological barriers and the demise of totalitarian governments. With the end of confrontation and ideological division, all European governments have accepted democracy, human rights and welfare based on economic freedom and social justice as the cornerstone of the Continent's future development. The goal is equal security for all countries.

The nations of Europe together with the United States and Canada have set down their common values in the CSCE Paris Charter and committed themselves to work together to promote them. States and international organizations and institutions are engaged in working together and separately to create a foundation for peace and prosperity.

The central force in the political and economic development of Europe is the European community, from which the key contribution in the creation of a unified Europe is expected. Under the Maastricht Treaty, the EC member states are leading the Community towards economic and political union. The EC is also prepared to enlarge its membership.

In March 1992 the Government of Finland decided to apply for membership of the EC. The decision was based on the view that Finland could best pursue its national interests and international aspirations as a member of the EC.

Finland shares the same values as the EC member states, and is on an equal footing in socio-economic development with them. The views of Finland and the EC countries on international issues are already either similar or convergent. In applying for membership, Finland accepts the membership obligations and objectives of the Maastricht Treaty.

As a member of the European Union, Finland would be party to the common foreign and security policy of the Union, which the Union and its Member States will implement through systematic coop-

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HELSINKI FINLAND

eration, to common positions and to joint action in international affairs. Development of a common foreign and security policy will be gradual, and based on unanimity. The goal is also to create a common defence policy, and in time, a common defence.

With respect to Finnish foreign and security policy, the decision to apply for EC membership was based on a definition of the country's own interests, and an assessment of the demands posed by them. In a divided Europe, the Finnish policy of neutrality was a means of staying outside conflicts between the great powers. It was a political choice, which was not based on obligations binding under international law or our own legislation. The end of the division of Europe and confrontation between the superpowers means that there is no longer ground for a broadly applied policy of neutrality.

The Maastricht Treaty will not make the European Union a military alliance, nor will it replace the present defence arrangements of EC members or applicants for membership. The core of Finland's traditional neutrality - military non-alignment and a credible independent defence - is in harmony with the obligations of the Maastricht Treaty, and as a defensive arrangement will retain its significance for Finnish security.

Finland's relations with the Western European Union (WEU) which is to be used as an instrument of the European Union in decisions with defence implications, will be determined in the light of the development of the European Union. Crucial in this development is, how the EU's defence dimension will evolve and how the European security architecture will take shape during the 1990s.

As a member, Finland would commit itself, in a spirit of solidarity and without reservation, to join the other Member States in promoting the objectives of the Community. Finland's constructive work in, for instance, the UN and CSCE, has already won wide recognition. Finland has worked actively for UN peacekeeping goals and for shaping crisis management mechanisms of the CSCE. Finland can make a positive contribution to implementing the Union's common foreign and security policy.

The most important special feature of Finland's international position is its geographical location in the neighbourhood of Russia. In a new Europe, the neighbourly relations between Finland and Russia will be developed according to commonly accepted international principles.

Finnish membership would also make Russia an immediate neighbour of the Union. The long land border with Russia would affect the security of the whole Union.

The Union aims at cooperating with Russia and bringing it into the process of European unification. Finland will use its own resources to promote the Russian reform process, particularly in nearby areas. In this respect, the aims of Finland and the EU are mutually supportive.

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**October 1992**

For further information please contact:
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**The Ministry for Foreign Affairs**
Kanavakatu 3 C, 00160 Helsinki
**Finland**

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1992

# FINNISH FEATURES

## Glögg Party



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Classification:
15

## Christmas glögg

1 bottle red wine
2-3 tablespoons Madeira (optional)
1/2 cup raw sugar, or to taste
1/3 cup raisins
1-2 sticks cinnamon
5-6 whole cloves
peelings of I orange
1/4 cup blanched, slivered almonds
1/4 cup vodka to spike it up (optional)

In a large kettle, combine all the ingredients except the vodka. Heat slowly, until the drink is steaming hot. Stir every now and then, and taste with a spoon whenever you feel like it. Do not let the drink get even close to boiling. Just keep it warm. Before serving, add vodka if you wish.

Servings: 1 to 6.

## Ginger cookies
## Piparkakut

(makes about 200)

Baking time: 10 minutes/batch
Oven temperature: 400 °F (200 °C)

1 1/4 cups (300 g) margarine
1 1/4 cups (300 g) sugar
3 eggs
1 cup (250 g) dark syrup
2 teaspoons ground cinnamon
2 teaspoons ground ginger
2 teaspoons ground cloves
1 tablespoon grated orange rind
about 7 cups (1 kg) white flour
3 teaspoons baking soda

1. Boil the syrup and spices, add the margarine and beat until the mixture is cool.
2. Beat the eggs and sugar.
3. Mix the soda in with part of the flour and then combine with the syrup-margarine mixture. Add the whipped eggsand the rest of the flour. Do not knead the final mixture.
4. Cover the dough with plastic wrap and leave overnight in a cool place.
5. Roll out the dough, cut up into shapes and bake the cookies in the oven until golden brown.

## Christmas pastries
## Joulutortut

Pastry:
7 oz (200g) soft butter or margarine
1 cup (2 1/2 dl) flour
1/3 cup (1 dl) cold water
1 teaspoon vinegar

Filling:
sweetened prune purée or plum jam

1. Put all the pastry ingredients into a bowl and mix quickly by hand into a dough. Don't knead too much.
2. Put the dough to a cold place to harden.
3. Roll out on a floured board, folding a few times to make a puff pastry, and finally make a 1/2 cm thick sheet.
4. Cut the sheet into 7 x 7 cm squares. Split the corners of each square.
5. Place a bit of prune purée or plum jam in the middle of each square. Fold over every other split end onto the center, to form a windmill-like pastry.
6. Brush with beaten egg and bake at 450° F (250° C) until light brown.

To make round pastries, cut into circles, fill, and fold in half. Bake as above.

## Cinnamon buns
## Korvapuustit

Rising time: 11/2 + 11/2 hours
Baking time: about 10-15 minutes/batch.
Oven temperature: 400°F (200°C)
Suitable for freezing

2 eggs
3/4 cup (2 dl) sugar
2 cups (1/2 l) milk
2 oz (50g) yeast or 2 pkgs dry yeast
3 teaspoons salt
1 tablespoon crushed cardamom
1/2 lb. (250 g) butter or margarine or
3/4 cup (2 dl) cooking oil
about 2 1/4 lb. (1 kg) white flour
1/3 cup (1 dl) raisins
egg yolk for glazing
almonds for decorating
cinnamon

1. Put the ingredients for the dough ready in the kitchen the previous evening. If they are cold the dough will take too long to rise.

2. Heat the milk to hand temperature so as to enhance the action of the yeast.

3. Beat up the eggs and sugar, add the milk, yeast, salt and cardamom. If oil is to be used, add it at this stage.

4. Add enough flour to get a thick, elastic mixture. Beat it vigorously to put air into the dough. This will enhance the glutination of the flour and make the dough rise well.

5. Mix in the rest of the flour and finally the butter or margarine. Knead the dough until it separates completely from your hands and the sides of the bowl.

6. If you make the dough with an electric dough mixer, follow closely the instructions for preparing dough.

7. Cover the dough with a cloth and leave to rise in a warm place. When the dough has doubled in bulk, place it on a lightly floured surface and knead well. Add the raisins.

8. Roll the dough into a sheet about 1 cm thick.

9. Spread the dough with a thick layer of melted or very soft butter. Sprinkle with sugar and cinnamon.

If you like, you can add a layer of chopped or ground almonds or other nuts.

10. Roll and cut into slices c. 3 cm thick.

11. Arrange the slices on a baking sheet covered with baking paper. Let rise.

12. With a finger or the handle of a knife, make a vertical depression down each bun so that the spirallike filling bulges out on both sides.

13. Let the buns rise. Brush with beaten egg and bake.

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1992

# FINLAND 1992

## Four Finnish Perspectives

Seen by

*Jörn Donner*
*Osmo Jussila*
*Irmeli Niemi*
*Jarmo Virmavirta*

# Finland as an Exception

The victorious western powers in World War I wanted to give 'nations' freedom and the right of self-determination, but were not quite clear about how this would happen. There was agreement that the Habsburg Empire had to be divided up, and this was done, but at the cost of national injustices, if one assumes that an independent state ought to be made up mainly of closely related nationalities. Hungary, formerly part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, suffered considerably in the process.

Finland, however, was an exception. During the era of Russian rule, which began in 1809, Finland succeeded in creating a number of national institutions, including a central bank and eventually an elected democratic parliament as well. Finland then profited from the Russian Revolution, since Lenin shared Wilson's view of the freedom of 'nations', although in retrospect historians have generally regarded this as merely a tactical manoeuvre; Armenia for instance, was later forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union.

Finnish independence, declared on December 6, 1917, remained an exception. The population was relatively homogeneous despite the fact that two languages, Finnish and Swedish, were spoken in the country. In contrast to many of the independent states that emerged in Eastern Central Europe, the new Republic of Finland encompassed no large ethnic or linguistic minorities regarding themselves as 'homeless'.

Finland was still primarily agrarian, although industrialization had begun, partly on the initiative of immigrants from various countries. During the period of Russian rule, trade with Russia had been very advantageous to Finland; a similar situation developed much later when Finland was able to trade industrial products for Russian raw materials, with the Soviet Union eventually accounting for over 20% of the country's foreign trade. This figure is now down to less than one-fifth of that level.

The historian A.J.P. Taylor underlined the role of coincidence in the events leading to the Second World War. Should one speak of coincidence or statesmanship where Finland is concerned during this period?

We do not know what Stalin was thinking when he sent Russian troops to attack Finland at the end of November, 1939. What we do know is that Finland's war was a popular cause in London and Paris, with the result that the French and the British, Churchill included, wanted to send troops to the aid of Finland. Another historian, John Lukacs, has called this "the most harebrained plan of the Second World War", adding: "Eventually the imbecile scheme collapsed, as the Finns concluded a Peace with the Russians a day or so before the Anglo-French troops were to sail from Scotland, without knowing exactly where."

The fact is that Sweden would have denied the troops transit, as Sweden had absolutely no interest in being drawn into the war. Neither had Finland. It only happened to lie in geographical proximity to the Soviet Union, a fact which is sometimes forgotten even today now that the Soviet Union has again become Russia. But Finland's eastern border, all 1,200 kilometres of it, is still there, and may one day be the only, and certainly the longest, land frontier between the EC and Russia.

It is one of the peculiarities of history that Finland had to surrender part of its easternmost territory in 1940, but did not lose its independence or suffer occupation, even at the end of the struggle against the Soviet Union which lasted from 1941 to 1944. Ignorant western historians have claimed that Finland took an active part in the German siege of Leningrad, which is not true. The war was an accident, self-inflicted according to some, brought on by outside coercion according to others.

In autumn 1944, Finland agreed to drive the remaining German troops from Lapland. This operation was completed some weeks before the Germans capitulated and peace came to Europe, though peace was not restored to the rest of the world until after Hiroshima, Nagasaki and the Japanese capitulation.

Most of the new 'nations' which emerged from the First World War suffered an ungentle Soviet fate. The Baltic states were incorporated in 1940. Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the eastern parts of Germany were subjected to Sovietization after the Second World War. Churchill delivered his famous Fulton speech, the Cold War and the Iron Curtain descended between East and West. Finland managed to keep on the western side of that boundary, but at a price.

That price has been called 'Finlandization', a term which may have been valid at times, but which gradually lost its meaning. Finland's incumbent President Mauno Koivisto said in a recent interview that "nothing threatened Finland after 1944," while Yuri Deryabin, the present Russian ambassador in Helsinki, is of the opinion that former president Kekkonen "always got his way in Moscow." But this means forgetting that the official friendship policy towards the Soviet Union could be – and indeed was – used as a lever in Finnish politics. This was also reflected in cultural life, where books by Solzhenitsyn were *non grata*. A film based on *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was banned by the censors, and the term 'anti-Soviet' could be personally damning. One was supposed to be pro-Soviet, in the name of the Treaty of Friendship Co-operation and Mutual Assistance concluded in 1948 and which died without glory at the end of 1991, when the Soviet Union was dissolved.

The fact is, as stated above, that the Finnish economy gradually found the Soviet Union to be a great asset, and that the Soviet leaders, or their bureaucrats, were immensely irritated by Finnish statements which could be construed as hostile. For a number of years there was also an unwillingness to admit that Finland was neutral, instead it was merely "striving to be neutral," a problem which may now be rather dated, as prospective Finnish EC membership and acceptance of the Maastricht Treaty would entail reinterpretation of traditional neutrality, since membership requires that democratic states join in the defence of shared values.

The victors of the First World War did violence to the principle of nationality by creating nation-states on vague premises, and history repeated itself after the Second World War. The paradox now evident in a freer but also less secure European world and in an attempt at international unity, is that 'nations' declare themselves independent without asking others for advice. I am thinking particularly of the Slovenes and Croats, but also of some strong separatist tendencies in the western parts of Europe.

But how did the concept of 'Finland' survive such great European crises as the two world wars, without occupation and with an economy that eventually made the country, at least until the end of the 1980s, one of the wealthiest in the world in terms of GNP?

One reason has already been mentioned. As a territory, excluding the areas ceded to the Soviet Union, Finland was fairly homogeneous with fairly marginal class differences, despite the fact that the country had two languages (and still has; 6% of the population speaks Swedish).

Finland has from time to time been the subject of international sympathy, from very different directions, both East and West. When the Czar tried to Russify Finland, a great European appeal for Finland was signed by leading intellectuals. The reason was that Finland was known for its science and art, and not its industry. The inexplicit concept of 'national culture' simply meant that there was a great hunger for knowledge and aesthetic experience.

The old European states, particularly France, have often taken their existence for granted. But states which we regard as self-evident, like Italy and Germany, have also experienced long periods of separatism, disruption and division by foreign powers. It is all too easy to forget that modern nationalism is an invention of the 19th century and that before 1914 there was a borderless Europe without passports or visas.

In the old Europe it was also considered vital to create pacts and alliances which would guarantee a balance of power; this thinking was founded on imperial contradictions and the fear that a single power would dominate Europe. This was what Hitler's Germany attempted, and after the Second World War it seemed imperative for both West and East to have buffer territory of their own.

Oppressing nations and states and ruling

foreign territories indirectly was easier for the Soviet Union than living in agreement with its neighbours – with one exception, Finland.

No one can be absolutely certain that the time for alliances of that sort is definitely past. It only seems past. Political alliances have been replaced by economic alliances, more specifically by the process of integration which Russia also seeks to join and to which Finland has submitted its application.

A psychological trap lies in thinking that Finland, which has had to resort to armed force in modern times to preserve its independence, would be wrong to give up something won so dearly, mainly the myth of total autonomy and independence. The sad example of Albania (a law was passed that prohibited foreign debt) demonstrates that such self-sufficiency belongs to the past, but it may be difficult to admit that one has already been part of a world of economic integration for some time. On an intellectual level, one should also understand that deeper integration of this kind creates mutual dependence which in turn may exacerbate conflicts.

If defence against outside enemies becomes of secondary concern to Finland, other questions will rise to the surface. Considerable sections of the Finnish economy are still closed, especially agriculture. There is tacit expectation that the export sector, working under competitive conditions, should somehow finance a deficit in the balance of current accounts which is partly the result of a lack of dynamism in the closed sector. Although issues similar to those being discussed in other industrial countries are also under discussion in Finland, such as the privatization of state-owned industry and the functions of local government, foreigners' rights to own companies and real estate are still subject to advance approval. All this has caused extensive social depreciation, and an economic crisis which is self-inflicted, although sometimes the rest of the world is blamed.

It is true that demand has been declining in Finland's main trading partners, but it is equally true that Finnish society was not prepared for the day economic expansion stopped at home. A social welfare system had been created which swallowed more revenues every year, and no one was willing to admit the consequences once they became apparent. Someone has said that Finns are at their best in a crisis, which means that they should be at their best just about now, since the present crisis is deeper than perhaps any other during the 75 years of Finnish independence, although the outer, visual image of the country is superficially tranquil. Still, more than 10% of the workforce is unemployed, the financial system is burdened with a huge volume of bad debt, there is now a chasm between people's expectations and reality, and we know from experience that reality generally wins.

And yet Finland has been by far the most successful country in the border zone between 'East and West' in Europe. In 1938, the standard of living and productivity in Czechoslovakia were higher than those of Finland. Being on the geographical periphery of Europe may even cease to be a disadvantage, as the country's proximity to the newly independent Baltic states and St Petersburg may eventually become an advantage. As a Finnish citizen, I feel compelled to believe in an end to the present economic crisis, however absurd that may seem at present.

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**Jörn Donner, born in 1933, is a well-known author and MP (Swedish People's Party).**

# Finland in Light of its History

The Finnish nation and state are products of many layers of history, as are the other nations and states of the world. Finland is, in a historical sense, an eastern portion of Sweden, with a predominantly Finnish-speaking population. It is the world's only country with Finnish as its official language. The nation and state emerged under the sceptre of Russian rule. Finland is a successor-state to both Sweden and Russia.

Like most larger and older nations, the French for example, the Finnish nation has its mythical history. But to a small and young nation, such a history is more important than to a large and ancient one. As Professor Yrjö Koskinen (d. 1903), leader of the Finnish Party and father of Finnish history, once said: "If a nation wants a history, it will have one." And just the kind it wants, one might add.

The Finnish people's great, national romantic story about its past includes the migration from the bend in the River Volga to the promised land – Finland – arriving there in the early Christian Era, the emergence of a distinct Swedish 'Eastland' in the Middle Ages, the transformation into a grand duchy in the 16th century, the nascence of the notion of independence in the 18th century, the self-constitution of the land into an autonomous state by way of a treaty with the Russian Emperor in 1809, and then the fruition of independence, declared on December 6, 1917. At the heart of this story is the idea that the Finnish nation accomplished this all by itself, albeit guided by the hand of Providence.

Reality often presents a less romantic picture. According to the latest scholarship, there was no great migration to Finland. The separate nature of this Swedish 'Eastland' stemmed mainly from the fact that it was an overseas possession; otherwise it was an integral part of the Kingdom of Sweden, unlike the other Swedish overseas conquests, such as Estonia and Livonia. Like the rest of the Swedish provinces, those on the eastern side of the Gulf of Bothnia (present-day Finland) were consolidated in step with the country as a whole. 'Finland', which initially referred only to the southwestern tip of the peninsula, gradually began to comprise the other Finnish provinces, Häme, Karelia, Savo and Ostrobothnia as well. Owing to the Great Power politics of Napoleon and Alexander I, Sweden ceded its eight eastern provinces to Russia by the Treaty of Fredrikshamn in 1809, and the Czar added the appellation 'Grand Duke of Finland' to his list of other titles. In accordance with the traditions of the Russian Empire, Alexander preserved the existing (Swedish) laws and social structure of this newly conquered territory, thus necessitating the establishment of a separate central administration (the *governing council*), just as he did in Bessarabia. But in contrast to Bessarabia, Finland managed to use its new central government (called 'the Senate' as of 1816) to transform itself during the course of the 19th century into an internally independent state. The country finally detached itself from Bolshevik Russia in 1917 with German assistance and then escaped becoming a vassal state of Germany upon the downfall of the Kaiser's empire at the end of 1918. Thus like it or not, Finland slipped into the role of a fully sovereign state, though no well informed citizen of that era would have thought it possible.

By virtue of its social composition, laws, form of government, and religion (with the exception of its Greek Orthodox minority), Finland was – and in a sense remains – a part of Sweden. Its status as a separate state is a consequence of the loose structure of the Russian Empire, which ultimately enabled a Finnish state to develop. As has been said of the Habsburg system, Russia too was a "dynastic union of corporate states." Alexander I wanted to embellish his cluster of titles with one more grand duchy and strengthen his realm by one more nation. He gave Finland a 'political existence' and ordered his new subjects to be Finns. It was the Finns' duty to obey their Emperor's command and infuse real substance into the state they had been given. The famous utterance "Swedes we are not, Russians we will not become, therefore let us be Finns" became something of a platform for nation building at that time. Even so, 'Finnish nationalism' still

existed only as a bilingual – and predominantly Swedish-speaking – movement. It was not until the 1840s that J.V. Snellman began to create a real Finnish-language fennophile movement.

Although both Estonia and Latvia were, like Finland, successor states of Russia, Finland was in many ways unique among these borderlands. In contrast to Estonia and Latvia, Finland was a 'complete' state by 1917. The country had developed its self-government further, and preserved it for longer, than any other autonomous part of the Russian Empire. Unlike the Baltic countries, it managed to fend off Stalin's attempt at Sovietization in 1939–40, and in 1944–45 distinguished itself from Hitler's vassal states (Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary) by avoiding German occupation. Among the capital cities of the European countries engaged in the war, only Moscow, London and Helsinki were never occupied. This also largely explains why Finland managed to avoid taking 'the Czechoslovakian road' in 1944–48. Stalin settled for obtaining a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance specially tailored to Finnish conditions.

The 600 years of Swedish rule differentiated Finland from the Baltic lands. Livonia, for instance, spent less than one hundred years under the Swedes. The people of Skåne in modern-day southern Sweden will have to wait until the year 2230 to have actually been 'Swedish' for as long as the early Finns. Though, like the Baltic provinces, Finland was overseen by a Russian governor-general after 1809, it was nonetheless a governorship ruled by the country's own Swedish laws. In Finland, the governor-general was restrained by the Senate and occasionally by the Committee for Finnish Affairs in St Petersburg. Legality was also monitored by the Procurator of the Senate. In the Baltic lands, the German nobility sealed itself off with its own associations and its own Diets (*Landtag*) and remained isolated from the governor-general. A broad chasm separated the Baltic German nobility from the rest of the populace. Finland, in contrast, developed a state administration and a national consciousness that united the four estates (nobility, clergy, burghers and peasants) represented at the Diet. Furthermore, in 1906 the Finnish nobility voluntarily abandoned their privileged status in the interest of the nation, whereas such a move was out of the question with the Baltic nobility, which has been aptly termed 'illiberal'.

Thus Finland's civil society arose independently and separately from Russia. In contrast, the Baltic nobility was closely integrated into the ruling elite of St Petersburg, and no distinct civil society developed in those lands as did in Finland after 1809. It is strong evidence of Finland's distinct status as an area separate from the rest of the Empire – that only 0.22% of the population were Russian speakers in 1900. Although a considerable number of Finnish subjects were employed in Russia, with almost as many Finns in St Petersburg in 1840 as in the city of Helsinki itself, these people retained their Finnish citizenship and were registered there by a Finnish passport bureau. Yet it would be an exaggeration to claim that the only bond between Finland and Russia was, aside from the Emperor himself, the shared railway gauge or rifle calibre. It is certainly true that the Finnish rail network was built to serve the country's own needs, to link the lake district with the coast and the different provinces to each other; the line from the frontier to the Finland Station in St Petersburg was supervised by the Finnish authorities, and the Finnish railway system was not linked to that of the rest of the Empire until a trestle was built over the River Neva in 1913. But on the other hand, it is worth remembering that Russia's strategic interests began to influence railway construction in Finland as of the turn of the century, and that, aside from having a rifle calibre in common, the Finnish army (1878–1901) was linked to the Russian also in the person of the governor-general, who was both the commander of the Finnish forces and of the Russian army's Finnish military district. Likewise, the uniforms and language of command, Russian, were other shared features. Finland's telegraph system was Russian from the very start, as was the postal system from 1890 onwards. Finnish legislation was made a separate part of Russian imperial legislation by the February Manifesto of 1899, but Finland's own Diet – a unicameral parliament as of 1906 – survived intact right through the end of the Russian Empire. Economically, Finland had begun to part ways from Russia as early as the 1860s and to orient itself towards western Europe. The country obtained its own currency, the *markka,* in

1865 and shifted to the gold standard in 1877. In an economic sense, Russia, with its tariff boundaries, was perceived as a thriving 'foreign' market for Finnish industry, and in Finnish liberal circles it was also considered a foreign country in a political sense. The common practice of Helsinki newspapers to print Russian items under the heading of 'international news' did not go down well in St Petersburg.

In short, Finnish society never became Russian, despite the country's administration by an imperial governor-general with even the Finnish title of *maaherra* changed to 'governor' in 1839. On the contrary, M.M. Speransky, the chief adviser to Emperor Alexander I, hoped to 'Sveco-fennicize' Russian society. The first step in this direction was to reunite the Finnish province of Viborg with the rest of Finland in 1811. Speransky's further plans were interrupted, however, by his exile to Siberia. The Swedish Gustavian system of administration was preserved in Finland, even after the Swedes mounted their own revolution in 1809 and distanced themselves from that tradition. The foundations of that system survived even beyond 1917, at which time Russia underwent a revolution of its own and, in a sense, 'left' Finland to her own devices. Today's Russians who claim that Finland 'left' Russia in 1917 do not know their history well enough. The Finnish revolution of 1918 was an abortive one, and therefore Finland is, alongside Britain, one of the few European countries that have not witnessed true revolution – neither bourgeois nor proletarian.

Once the country had successfully severed itself from Russia and gained its independence in 1917–1918, Finnish exporters quickly found new western markets to replace those they had lost in the east. The famine of 1918 prompted a thorough restructuring of the agricultural sector and new emphasis on self-sufficiency, the fruits of which were reaped during the Second World War. In fact, Finland was to remain an agrarian land of smallholders and logging camps long into the post-war era.

In its foreign policy, independent Finland first aligned itself with the Baltic countries and Poland (the so-called 'border-state policy'), and then turned to the League of Nations and the Scandinavian countries. To Moscow, Finland appeared at times to be a Baltic, and at other times a Scandinavian country depending on the temperature of relations. In bad times, as from 1939 onward, Finland was lumped together with the Baltic countries as the secret additional protocol to the Hitler-Stalin pact of August 23, 1939 demonstrates. Even then, Moscow treated Finland more leniently than it did the Baltic states.

Though the Winter War (1939–40) could have been avoided by succumbing to Soviet demands along with the Baltic countries, Sovietization could not. The war tested the strength of the independence won in 1917, and Finland survived that test. The 'war of retribution', launched in 1941 to retake Karelia, could also have been avoided but in that case it is doubtful whether Germany would have left Finland unoccupied. Finding a way out of Hitler's war required good luck as well as skillful timing. When Finland made peace in September 1944, the onslaught of the Red Army had been halted, the Germans had been forced out of the Baltic countries and no longer had any realistic opportunity of invading Finland. At Teheran in 1943, Stalin had assured Roosevelt that he would respect the independence of a nation that had fought as bravely as the Finns, and in late 1944 and early 1945 he had no reason to occupy a country whose army was itself doing the job of expelling the Germans. It is entirely another matter that Stalin regretted his generosity by the spring of 1948. With the Allied Control Commission in Helsinki (1944–47), a Soviet naval base at Porkkala until 1956 and the conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance in 1948, Finland had certainly moved into the Soviet sphere of interest if not the orbit of the true Soviet satellites.

Now that the USSR no longer exists, there has been discussion in Moscow over the nature of 'Finlandized' Finland's relations with the Soviet Union. Certain commentators have described Finland as a mouse in the claws of a cat, while others note that the prey often outsmarted the predator. Somehow this discussion resembles a debate that occurred at the beginning of the century over the conduct of Finland's representatives in imperial St Petersburg. Many of the Russians notorious to Finns as 'oppressors', such as General and Historian M.M. Borodkin, recognized these men for what they were, able and clever guardians

of their nation's own interest.

The traveller to Helsinki who arrives by ship past the sea fortress of Sveaborg and its Gustavian King's Gate, who lands at Katajanokka and walks by Uspensky Cathedral, the Guard House and the Presidential Palace to Senate Square and proceeds beyond the statue of Alexander I to the steps of the Lutheran (Nicholas) Cathedral, gets a good overview of two of the main layers of Finnish history. In the Sveaborg fortress of Ehrensvärd and King Gustav, he sees a monument to the Swedish era, a rampart built to check the expansion of Petrine Russia. In the former imperial (now presidential) residence and in Senate Square with its statue of the Emperor and the Senate building, the visitor has before him the heart of the Grand Duchy – the original Finnish state. Though the chapel erected beside Uspensky Cathedral in commemoration of Finland's annexation by Russia was demolished after independence was gained, central Helsinki's Empire-style architecture remains testimony to this city's former status as the capital of an imperial grand duchy, a 'little St Petersburg' as it were. At one time, plans were made to construct an imperial palace, in the style of a Roman castrum or Medieval stronghold, on the current site of the Uspensky Cathedral. But, this being a poor country, Finland's rulers finally had to settle for the unimposing Heidenstrauch burgher's house, which now serves as the Presidential Palace. After the war of 1808 and the period of reconstruction, the Helsinki of Gustav Vasa was left with only a single building from the Swedish era. Just as the city of Turku, with its Medieval cathedral and other landmarks, is one of the historical centres of the great Swedish Kingdom that once surrounded the Baltic, Helsinki (made the capital city in 1812) belongs to the history of the Russian Empire.

When the visitor to Helsinki leaves the steps of the Nicholas Cathedral and enters the triangle formed by the Bank of Finland, the National Archive building and the House of Estates, he is also leaving Finland's 'state square' and entering its 'national square'. The history, which Yrjö-Koskinen promised the Finnish people, is deposited on the northern edge of this triangle in the Finnish National Archives. On the western edge, in front of the Bank of Finland, stands the statue of Finland's national philosopher and father of the Finnish currency, J.V. Snellman[9], Opposite, in front of the House of Estates, one finds a bust of Senator Leo Mechelin[8], theoretician of the Finnish state, A portrayal of his work and – at the same time – a 'self-portrait' of the Finnish state is found in the frieze of the House of Estates. The frieze was completed in 1903 in secrecy from the 'Russifying' Governor-General Bobrikov, who held that Finland was merely a Russian *guberniya* and not a true state. The frieze depicts the Swedish Law of 1734 and the Form of Government of 1772, as well as the figure of Emperor Alexander I, who swore to uphold those laws, and the Finnish nation to whom he made this solemn pledge. It also displays the unique character of Finnish nationalism: a bilingual nation is shown rallying around its laws to defend them. Similarly, when official guests – from East or West – are received in the Hall of State of the Presidential Palace, they sit before a statue of the 'Maid of Finland', her shield emblazoned with the word 'LEX'. Legality is once again the theme of Finland's 'national painting' *The Attack* ( 1899 ) by E. Isto, showing that same maiden trying to a save an enormous law book from the claws of a double-headed Russian eagle.

If our foreign guest still has enough energy, he may choose to continue his tour from here northward. Crossing the 'Long bridge' (*Pitkä silta*), he will arrive at Hakaniemi Square, the square of the Finnish people and the Finnish working class in particular. The square is bounded by the Helsinki Workers' Association building on the western side, the headquarters of the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions on the south, and the statue entitled *World Peace*, Moscow' s gift to the city of Helsinki and symbol of the post-war era of Finnish-Soviet 'neighbourly' relations, on the eastern edge. Though the 'Long bridge' has sometimes separated and sometimes united the Finnish working and 'bourgeois' classes, on the whole, it acted as a dividing line only a short time, from 1918 to the 1930s. In 1939, the Communists of the north side joined the bourgeois residents of Helsinki's southern quarters in defending the Fatherland against an attack by the Red Army.

From the tower of the Workers' Association building, where a red lantern was lit to

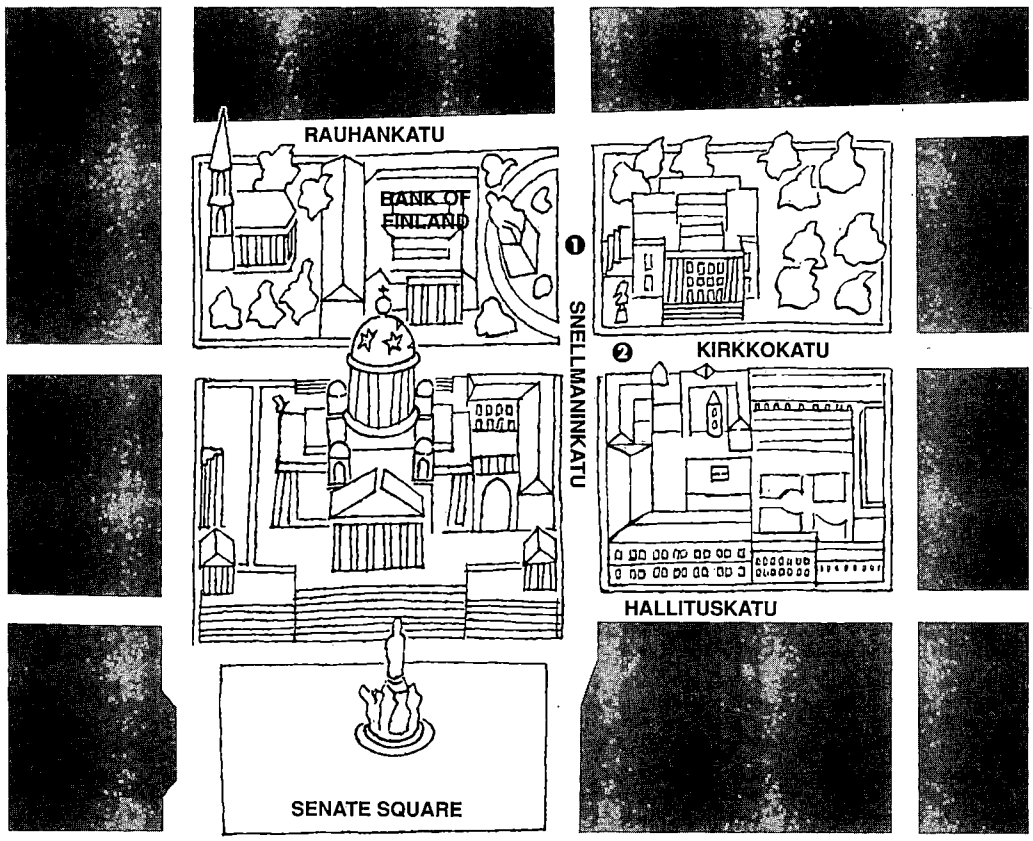
announce the revolution of 1918, one has a splendid view of White (bourgeois) Finland across Töölö Bay. On Mannerheimintie, Helsinki's main thoroughfare, the White General himself, C.G. Mannerheim, sits astride his mount, as if still leading his peasant army in the victory parade of May 1918. Opposite, in front of Parliament House, stand the solid figures of P.E. Svinhufvud (1861–1944), vice-chairman of the Senate and proclaimer of Finnish independence, and K.J. Ståhlberg (1865–1952), Finland's first president and 'father of the Republic'. A little to one side is the seated figure of Kyösti Kallio (1873–1940), Finland's farmer president.

Finland is a young state, but it has its share of bronze figures, erected to commemorate a variety of people and ideas, from the Czar to Mannerheim – the Czar's uhlan – and from Peace to Lenin.

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**Osmo Jussila, born in 1938**
**Professor of Political History,**
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*"... the rushing of thy rapids, the sighing in thy trees..."*

# Water and Forest: the Keys to Finnish Culture

As early as the last century, Finland's prosperity was based on its forests and waterways. They were the primus motor in the development of Finnish society and the country's economy. Thus it comes as no surprise that they also hold an important position as cultural symbols.

Nature and culture may once have been regarded as opposites. Today, however, such an attitude is fruitless, even dangerous. People who believe in cultural values cannot look on nature with indifference. And many Finns, Finnish artists, too, still have "dirt under their fingernails." I myself am a fourth-generation city-dweller, but every summer I get the same powerful message from nature when I feel the pine needles of a forest path under my bare feet.

This summer there is an exhibition called Kalliolle kukkulalle (High on a hilltop– the name is taken from a popular folk song) at Helsinki railway station, that most urban of places. Using new methods and fleeting images, two young women photographers have sought to crystallize the relationship between nature and culture, and to stop hurried passers-by to ponder it. The environment feeds the soul, they say; through it, people see themselves as part of the whole.

This sort of thing has been going on in Finnish art for centuries. The artistic value of forests and people's relationship to them occupied the Romantics of the 19th century, while images of water are inherited from ancient times. Both acquire a mythical dimension in art: water joins, the forest separates. The forest carries connotations of innocence and purity but water of experience and continuity.

Finnish culture is still solidly based on the *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic. It is not an epic of forests, but of water . The *Kalevala* begins with the birth of the world out of the primeval cosmic ocean: "There came a great gust of wind / from the east nasty weather / lashed the sea to foam / whipped it into waves. / The wind lulled the maid / and the billow drove the lass / about the blue main / and the froth-capped waves; / and the wind blew her womb full / the sea makes her fat."

Väinämöinen, the wise hero, is also a seafarer, who seeks hidden knowledge in the depths of the sea. The battle for the great magic object, the Sampo, is waged on stormy seas. In the *Kalevala,* the sea is as much a challenge to the heroes' strength as a basic element of movement and a mysterious unknown realm peopled by mermaids and other sea sprites. Its breakers give an inkling both of the Ithaca of Ulysses and of the Viking voyages currently being presented to a wide public at the Council of Europe's great exhibition in Paris. The embrace of the sea also opens to receive the tragic maiden, for whom the lapping waves are the only escape from marriage to the old seer: "Waters of the sea / so much blood of mine; / fishes of the sea / so much flesh of mine; / brushwood on the shore / is a poor one's ribs; / grasses of the shore / are her tousled hair."

The very nature of water makes it an element which maintains international relations. Thus many wistful characters in Finnish folk songs sit by rivers, weeping, as if the river of Babylon had suddenly been transferred into a Finnish setting. In Finnish visual arts, rivers are threatening, the sea is awesome and lakes are calm. There could hardly be a more explicit image of isolation and desolation than the picture of a frozen lake, bearing only the imprint of the lone skier.

The great sea epic of Finnish literature is Volter Kilpi's *Alastalon salissa* (*In the parlour at Alastalo,* 1933). This story about an attempt by Finnish islanders to build a tall ship is of international stature but it still awaits its translator. The action all takes place on one day and its innovative language make it comparable in importance to James Joyce's *Ulysses* and Joseph Conrad's stories. The sea both threatens

and draws together: in the street, you may hear someone humming a tune which brings a greeting from the Ancient Romans: "for all but sailing is futile."

The openness and movement of the sea have their counterpoint in the shelter and – at least so far – permanence of the forest. Even at its most romantic, the Finnish forest is nothing like Shakespeare's pastoral wonderland. The forest claims man for its own.

Aleksis Kivi, Finland's great classical writer of the 19th century, made the forest into a symbol which still endures. In his novel *Seitsemän veljestä* (*Seven brothers,* 1872), he leads the seven brothers of the title, who will not adapt to civilization, back to the "womb of the forest," into a rough, northern pastoral existence. Kivi also wrote the first Finnish tragedy, *Kullervo*, basing it on folk poetry (the same work on which Aulis Sallinen has based his new opera). In this work, the forest acquires features of destruction, final judgement and annihilation; it becomes a landscape of the apocalypse.

The forest theme permeates all Finnish literature as a symbol of social change – "from forest to town" – and as a conveyor of a lyrical state of mind. An ambiguous world of forest and trees exists in the production of Paavo Haavikko, a notable Finnish contemporary poet. The trees are women, the forest is the nation's capital which it is unable to look after properly. In *Ratsumies* (*The horseman*), which has also been made into an opera by Aulis Sallinen, Sweden and Russia are creating a 'forest state' between them: "so great and gloomy a forest / between the robber states, / Sweden and Russia. / Land of the happy." France has given a particularly enthusiastic reception to Arto Paasilinna's novel *Jäniksen vuosi* (*The year of the hare:* French *Le Lièvre de Vatanen*), which is a comic description of man's longing to return to nature and his attempts to find a survival ethic of his own in the pressures of consumer society. *Jäniksen vuosi* has also been made into a popular film.

After touring the landscapes of Europe, the pictorial artists of the 'golden age' at the turn of the century discovered the Finnish forest. Their work has a power which has lately been interpreted as a plea for the conservation of nature. The ecological responsibility of mankind is also evident in contemporary art, as in Kimmo Kaivanto's Monet-type water-lilies paralysed by pollution.

Sculptors who use wood as a material have a special relationship with the forest. This even sparked a lively aesthetic debate a while ago: is it really art if somebody carries an old stump out of the forest, puts it in an exhibition and calls it art? Wood lives in a more refined form in the work of Martti Aiha and Kain Tapper: Tapper's sculptures, appealing in their monumental simplicity, are like journeys into the soul of the forest.

It took a genius of Jean Sibelius's calibre to give these two symbols musical shape. Sibelius understood that it was the sea and the forest that gave an international audience a sense of Finland. In 1914/, he composed and conducted The *Oceanides*, a work commissioned for an American music festival. The name might be a reference to the *Kalevala*, but Sibelius himself said that the theme has a closer affinity with Homer's mythological imagery. Sibelius's forest fantasy, on the other hand, the symphonic poem *Tapiola*, is closely bound to Finnish folk poetry, although it, too, was commissioned for America and had its world premiere in New York in 1925. Sibelius' free hand with *Kalevala* themes is obvious from the motto he wrote for the score at the publisher's request: "Widespread they stand, the Northland's dusky forests, /ancient, mysterious, brooding savage dreams: / within them dwells the Forest's mighty god, / and woodspirits in the gloom weave magic secrets."

The spirit of the sea, its powerful rhythms and volumes continue to exert an attraction on today's composers. When one listens to *Marea*, the new work by the leading Finnish orchestral composer of the 1980s, Magnus Lindberg, one senses the ties to both Sibelius and Debussy. But in *Marea* (the Italian for 'tide'), the continuously changing, gushing and layered musical texture speaks its own, contemporary language.

But what role do women play in the culture of water and forest? Are they mere objects and ornaments in works by men? By no means; women have created their own fantasies and images, even if, quantitatively speaking, they fall short of those made by men. Women have their own perspective, as we see from Edith Söder-

gran, a great Modernist poet of the 1920s, who turns the relationship between trees and people on its head. Now the trees speak: "My childhood's trees stand high in the grass / and shake their heads: what has become of you? / Rows of pillars stand like reproaches: you are unworthy to walk among us!"

Nature requires man to account for his actions, wakens him from sleep. Small observations may reveal metaphysical dimensions, as in the lines of Helvi Juvonen, a woman poet of the 1950s: "Lichen lifted its crisp cup, / and rain filled it, and a sky / glistened in it, / charged with wind. // Lichen lifted its crisp cup: let's toast to the abundance of our lives."

Many contemporary woman writers, for example, Ulla-Lena Lundberg and Eeva Kilpi, consider the sea and the forest part of people's everyday environment, the coordinates they use to navigate by. But the identification of water and human being may also be filled with an almost magic mystery. In Maaria Wirkkala's light installations, reflections literally walk on water. Fire and water merge in an erotic glow in Mirka Rekola's poem *Burning in water:* "In water as a bait / in front of your portrait / silver, flowing / quickly, glowing. // Do you see the double / fishes afire. / Your eyes kindle. / Burning in water."

One can also learn self-knowledge and tolerance on 'the sea of life', and the perfect guide on this voyage is Tove Jansson and her Moomin stories. The sea is part of the happy and sometimes frightening reality of the Moomin world. *Moominpappa at Sea* describes the sea as a being, as unpredictable as a person and just as worthy of understanding and loving: " 'You see,' said Moominpappa, 'my idea is to discover what secret rules the sea obeys. I must if I'm going to learn to like it. I shall never be happy on this island until I've learned to like the sea.'

'It's exactly the same with people,' said Moomintroll eagerly, sitting up. 'Liking them, I mean.' "

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# From Division to Interaction:
## a Small Country on the Brink of Major Changes

First of all, it is important to know that Finland has always been situated between east and west, on the border of Europe. A letter from the Pope to the Archbishop of Uppsala in 1172 identifies Finland as one of the Baltic provinces that were targets for crusades and that had become battlegrounds between east and west. Christianity came to Finland both from Novgorod in the east and from Uppsala in the west. The Byzantine border crossed Finland from south to north. Even the oldest existing travel guide to Finland describes the country as a realm between east and west. The navigational route ran from Åland, by the island of Kökar, and from there eastwards along the Finnish coastline, towards Viborg, Russia and southward to Estonia. Thus the division of Europe is part of Finnish history.

Culturally and economically, Finland became united with western Europe. Academically-minded Finns studied at the universities of Paris, Bologna or Leipzig. Bishop Olavus Magni, a Finn, was rector of the University of Paris in the 15th century and even built an altar in the Cathedral of Turku to Saint Ursula, the patron saint of that university.

As a province of Sweden, Finland came under the influence of German culture. The advisers of the Swedish kings were Germans. Scholarship came to Finland via Germany, as did the art of printing.

Finland became a nation after the Russians took the country from Sweden in 1809. Finland was given an autonomous status, its own currency, state organs and even its own Diet. Finland became

Finnish, since it was no longer part of Sweden and did not wish to become part of Russia. Finland was the showpiece of the Russian Emperor, the only peaceful borderland. St Petersburg, the nearest metropolis to Finland, was culturally French.

When Finland began to industrialize towards the end of the 19th century – while still under Russian rule – its markets were in western Europe. Capital, technology, and even industrial leaders were imported from Germany, Scotland, Sweden and Norway. In the second half of the 19th century Finland had the world's largest sailing fleet, which headed west.

The zero point of Europe's post-war division is 1917, the year of the October Revolution and Finnish independence. As a result of the revolution Finland detached itself from the chaos of Russia. However, Finland had first to obtain recognition for its decision from Lenin. Before that, no country in western Europe recognized Finnish independence.

Thus Finland discovered her limitations at birth; it was necessary to win the confidence of the Soviet Union in order to have leeway in the west.

As the Soviet Union locked itself up in Moscow, the border of western Europe coincided with Finland's eastern frontier. This situation lasted until the end of World War II. Soviet politics remained obscure and foreign to the European way of thinking long after the war: introverted, party-centered, obsessed with control.

After the war, Finland had to return to the basic scenario; political confidence and acknowledgement of its independence had to be gained from Moscow, whereas the markets for her products lay in western Europe. Now most everything had to be done on Moscow's terms, as the Soviet Union had emerged from the war as a superpower. Finland was now within the sphere of influence of a Communist superpower.

In the post-war era, three fourths of Finnish foreign trade was with western Europe. Although the Soviet Union understood the realities of Finnish culture and economics, it did not wish to share a border with a Finland that belonged politically to western Europe. The policy of Finnish neutrality was born. Leeway in the west was bought by first earning the trust of the east. It was a balancing act between choices.

This history, particularly the post-war era, has affected Finnish modes of thinking and behaviour in a variety of ways. De Gaulle is supposed to have said that a state has no friends, a state only has interests. It was in Finland's interest to have friends in Mos-

cow. Moscow had no other friends in the west.

Friendship was a political issue. Finns have learnt to hold politics and foreign policy in high regard. Politics was what divided Europe and politics used to control things. Politically conducted trade with the Soviet Union offset problems in the west European market and so it was profitable for Finland. Finland gradually began to overestimate the importance of politics.

In the late 1940s, the time known in Finland as the 'years of danger', an American diplomat, answering Finnish requests for material aid, said: "We cannot promise you aid, but will give you some good advice. In the future, you should remain on better terms with your great neighbour."

Finland became Finlandized of its own free will, by its own form of wisdom.

We should note that even after the war, Finland was internally divided into political factions on the left and right. The Communists, ideological brothers of Moscow, had the support of one quarter of the voters. Finland was also divided into different interest groups: producers and consumers, urban and country people.

The conflict-management theories of Ralf Dahrendorf were the inspiration for a new approach to the country's political and economic administration, an approach which Max Jacobson called 'consensus'. Consensus called for the most significant issues to be solved by negotiation between the Government, the opposition, the employers and the trade unions. Parliament was not the centre of power. This system worked well as long as the country experienced economic growth – and had spoils to divvy up. Thus labour-market and incomes policy penetrated the political arena and politics meshed with economic life. The public administration grew, wage levels rose, and taxation increased, all this happening on the basis of broad mutual understanding.

Finland has a strong tradition of state-centered thinking, and so the idea of state-centered consensus-building was as traditional and familiar as the country's situation between east and west. In important decisions, Finnish constitutional law used to require more than a simple majority; it demanded a majority of at least two thirds, and sometimes a qualified majority. This necessitated a broad governmental basis or the tacit cooperation of the opposition. It favoured unanimity, not conflicting opinions. Finnish constitutional law has its roots in the experience of the Civil War which followed on the heels of independence: a situation where the nation was divided into equally strong right and left political factions. This system of constitutional law and consensus created a broad political centre, involving long lasting governmental cooperation between the agrarian Centre Party and the Social Democrats.

Constitutional law is also connected with another special feature of Finnish politics. In Finland, the president possesses exceptionally broad powers. The President has played an active role, especially in foreign policy, where the necessity of national unanimity was most obvious. The President's position was stressed particularly during the presidency of Urho Kekkonen, and it also extended to domestic policy. In fact, the division between foreign and domestic policy was vague.

Consensus was effective, but inflexible and expensive. It covered everything. Politics began to govern economic life and the ability to adapt to changing circumstances decreased. Ralf Dahrendorf himself began to criticise the Finnish and the Swedish system for concealing conflict rather than regulating it.

Unity is power according to a Finnish proverb. In the post-war era, this evolved into a virtue, the only accepted doctrine. Differences had no place in foreign policy. Decisions on income policy also covered social policy, regional policy, agricultural policy, almost everything. The intellectuals also came closer to power, and the media joined the consensus. Thinking became standardized.

The Final Act of the Helsinki CSCE was basically post-war Finnish. It defined the rights and duties of the states involved and their position in the divided Europe. It was based on the idea of peaceful coexistence between two opposing political systems in Europe. In maintaining peace and balance, the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states was upheld. Here Finland was adamant, considering its own situation. Cooperation was for states, not citizens.

The CSCE was the peace which had not been made after World War II. In Finland few people understood that it was necessary, that the post-war era ended with the Helsinki Final Act, and that Europe began to move toward a new age.

The Paris CSCE act, 15 years after Helsinki, is proof of what happened. It declares that respect for human rights and basic freedoms offer vital protection against a strong state. Democracy and a market economy are common European values. The freedom of the individual forms the basis for successful economic and social development.

In Finland, so accustomed to state-centred thinking, this was the greatest change of all. And why not. Finland, after all, existed between two state-centered systems, the Soviet Union and Sweden.

The post-war era was favourable for Finland. Finland had a special position on the border of a divided Europe. For the Soviet Union, Finland was a display window. Since it is difficult to give up a special position, Finland wanted to believe that the Soviet Union was eternal.

Somehow, fear of what is going on in Russia has an effect. Fortresses to protect Finland were built along the eastern frontier as early as the 15th century. They might come in very handy now for refugees. Or, more wisely, Finland now needs the expertise of immigrant Russians for the new Russian market. Finnish trade with the east will no longer be governed by politics.

As Europe is no longer divided, neutrality will also change. There will be no need to buy leeway in the west from Moscow. It is time for Finland to stand on its own feet.

Finland lost the wars, but won the subsequent peace based on division. European integration is therefore a new challenge to Finland in a completely different way from any other European country. It is a challenge to thinking.

It is understood that in a Europe where technology and economy form the basis of division, Finland cannot remain neutral, but will have to be on the side of progress. This is where Finland's advantage on the emerging eastern market lies. As freedom increases and Europe opens, the entire Continent will be a home market for Finland, too. The nearest major home market is Russia, and first of all St Petersburg. These markets are now trying to ascertain the nature of Finnish expertise.

One must also consider communication. The links between the increasing freedom of the media and the changes in eastern Europe are particularly clear. Those few provisions in the Helsinki Final Act about the flow of communication meant a great deal. The liberation of the media was limited at first, yet irrevocable. The beginning of perestroika was glasnost, openness.

This is significant in Finland because the foreign policy consensus also extended to communication. Non-intervention in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union was also understood to include communications. This may be one reason why the disintegration of the Soviet Union came as a surprise to the Finns.

At the moment, however, the Finns have better connections to the emerging Russian media than anyone else. One thing must be remembered – although Russia is in a process of transformation, developments are still controlled to a large extent by the same people as before. The new Europe is also a Europe of the people in the east. And the east is also part of Europe.

Finland now has a different type of neighbour in the east. Russia will remain unstable for some time, but progress is being made towards more openness, democracy and free enterprise. In the west Finland is becoming integrated with a different Europe. Unrestricted mobility of people, goods, capital and services forces one to ask where the opportunities of a small country lie. They lie in the philosophy of smallness, in creativity.

We will have to transform our thinking. The position of a small country cannot be consolidated by a Berlin wall if that wall is a mere memory of the insanity with which the world was ruled. Without the cold wall, there might have been a hot war.

During the long division after the war, we learnt to think that peace was only an extension of war, an intermediate state, an interregnum. The position and thinking of a small country were based on those facts. Now it must change. This challenges foreign policy, economic policy, but most of all thinking.

First of all, state-centred thinking must change. We are moving towards a Europe of citizens. Human rights offer protection against a strong state. This change comes easier to a large country than it does to a small one. It means that the entire world must become small. "The world must become small again as the Ancient Greek world was – so small that there is room in it for everyone," as Henry Miller wrote at the ruins of Phaestos before World War II.

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**Jarmo Virmavirta, born in 1940**
**Lawyer, journalist**
**Chairman of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs**

# FINNISH FEATURES

## Edith Södergran's Fame is Spreading

Mention Scandinavian literature, and most people outside the Northern countries will give you Strindberg and Ibsen. Others may even venture Lagerlöf, Sillanpää, Hamsun or Laxness. Writers of prose, writers for the theatre. But ask for the name of a poet from that part of the world, and increasing numbers of people today will say: Edith Södergran. Wasn't she a Nordic poet? Isn't she one of the most beloved poets that Scandinavia has ever produced?

### A St. Petersburg childhood

Indeed she is, and today she is also considered one of the best. One hundred years ago this year, and twenty-five years before Finland became an independent country, Edith Södergran was born in St. Petersburg. Her parents were Finnish, and since they belonged to Finland's Swedish-speaking minority, Södergran's home language was Swedish. She attended an excellent school where the language of instruction was German and where she also studied French, Russian, and English.

Södergran's life in St. Petersburg was not unlike that of other young gifted women of her time and social class: she was a good student, she excelled in languages and literature, she had youthful crushes on some of her teachers, she hated the repressive tsarist regime. She spent her summer vacations in Raivola, some sixty miles north-west of St. Petersburg where the family had a house – a perfect place for reading, for daydreaming. It was here she began to write poetry.

### The shadows fall

The early Södergran poetry gives us little indication of the poet to come. These are verses, mostly in German, written by an adolescent, conventional in style and subject matter. Soon however, life dealt Södergran a series of blows: she lost her grandmother, an adopted sister, and finally her father to whom she was very close. Worse yet, her father died of tuberculosis and before Edith was sixteen years old, she found out that she had contracted the same disease.

As the shadow of illness and death fell over Södergran's life, something remarkable happened to her art. Taking her vocation

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HELSINKI FINLAND

Classification:
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*Edith Södergran 1892–1923*

as a poet with increasing seriousness, she abandons German, abandons rhyme and meter, and starts writing poetry in Swedish in a modernistic style never before seen in Scandinavia. But before she published her debut collection she took a trip to the continent which provided her with valuable spiritual nourishment and inspiration.

## The sanatorium years

It was no ordinary tourist trip. When Södergran found out that she had tuberculosis, she was first sent to a Finnish sanatorium – the same one where her father had died. She hated the place and would not collaborate in her treatment. Her doctor then referred her to a Swiss sanatorium in Davos. There, she not only profited from the care of a wise doctor but also from the international atmosphere of the sanatorium itself with patients from all over the world taking the cure and enjoying the well-equipped libraries, the theatre companies and symphony orchestras of Davos. On the eve of the outbreak of World War I, Edith Södergran returned from Switzerland much improved, and ready to appear in print.

## Love affair and debut

Södergran's first collection, Dikter (Poems) was published in 1916. The poems are suffused with lyricism and a gentle sadness. The poet addresses the "stranger", death, at her side as she is searching for ways to survive her illness. Another important theme comes from a searing love affair that Södergran had with a married man sixteen years her senior. The doomed affair left Södergran deeply disappointed but produced some of her best-known love lyrics.

## War, revolution, more poetry

The First World War brought turmoil to the Raivola region. Trains full of troops passed in one direction, refugees in another. Food became scarce. The Russian Revolution of 1917 cut off the financial support that Södergran and her mother had been receiving from St. Petersburg. The Finnish civil war that followed on its heels brought fighting right into Raivola itself. Södergran's precarious health deteriorated.

Her answer to all these difficulties was another collection of poetry, Septemberlyran (The September Lyre), published in 1918. Most critics had met her first collection with lukewarm interest. But now her style had changed: Södergran writes prophetic poems full of cosmic visions and exalted strength. These poems shocked most critics, and some even questioned her sanity. Despite this, Södergran published two more collections: Rosenaltaret (The Rose Altar, 1919) and Framtidens Skugga (Future's Shadow, 1920).

## Final years

There was enough illness, poverty, and defeat in Södergran's short life to expect the predominant tone of her poetry to be one of disillusionment. But that is not the case. What Södergran has left us, instead, is a song to life's beauty and the triumph of the human spirit. In her last poems, written shortly before her death at the age of thirty-one, she speaks of a humble and childlike acceptance of God and of a closeness to nature which is free of all artifice. It is an intimate voice, but it has carried far: Södergran has been translated into all the major languages and continues to win new readers, even among those who do not usually read poetry.

## *My Soul*

*My soul can tell no tales and knows no truths,*
*my soul can only cry and laugh and wring its hands;*
*my soul cannot remember and defend,*
*my soul cannot consider or approve.*
*As a child I saw the sea: it was blue.*
*In my youth I met a flower: she was red.*
*Now a stranger sits by my side: he is colorless,*
*but I fear him no more than the virgin feared the dragon.*
*The knight came upon the virgin, red and white,*
*but I have dark rings under my eyes.*

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**From Love & Solitude, selected poems by Edith Södergran. Bilingual centennial edition. Translated by Stina Katchadourian. Fjord Press, 1992.**



*The actress Lisa Doron as Edith Södergran in Stina Katchadourian's play The Raspberry Patch. The play has been performed in Finland and Sweden, in the US and in Ireland, and will be performed in Norway and in Russia during the summer of 1992.*

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**Written by Stina Katchadourian, author, translator**
**June 1992**

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1992

# FINNISH FEATURES

## Finnish Music in the World

Finland has experienced a period of rapid growth in musical performances during the past decade. The level of music-making has risen considerably, in many cases to the international elite. More music is being played and listened to than ever before. Helsinki, the capital, is still the main centre of music in Finland, but nearly every city and town has an active musical life today. In summer, dozens of music festivals draw enthusiastic crowds all over Finland.

Although Finland does not have anything like the heritage that many countries in Central Europe can boast of, the traditions of the performing arts are surprisingly old in some cases. For example, Turku Musical Society, founded in 1790, is one of the world's oldest orchestral institutions still in operation: it lives on under the name of the Turku Philharmonic Orchestra.

Orchestras are the cornerstone of Finnish musical life at present. Finland has a population of five million, yet it has more than ten professional symphony orchestras and twice as many semi-professional orchestras which give concerts regularly. Orchestras, like all musical life, are supported by society through a comprehensive subsidy system.

The best known orchestras are the Finnish Radio Symphony Orchestra and the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, both based in Helsinki, which have achieved fame both on tour and with their recordings. The Helsinki Philharmonic (founded in 1882) is the oldest Nordic orchestra with an uninterrupted history of concert-giving. Apart from the Helsinki orchestras, those of Lahti, Tampere and Turku are also well known. The Tapiola Sinfonietta and the Ostrobothnia Chamber Orchestra are professional chamber orchestras; other, more irregularly active chamber orchestras include the flexible Avanti!, which was founded by young musicians and which changes its ensemble to fit the works performed, and the Finnish Chamber Orchestra.

The founder of the Helsinki Philharmonic and the 'true' interpreter of the works of Sibelius, Robert Kajanus (1856–1933), was the first Finnish conductor to establish a reputation abroad. Since his time, several Finnish conductors have reached the international limelight; those still active include Paavo Berglund (b. 1929), Leif Segerstam (b. 1944), Okko Kamu (b. 1946) and Osmo Vänskä (b. 1953). The brightest stars in the young constellation of conductors are Jukka-Pekka Saraste (b. 1956) and the newly appointed chief conductor of the Los Angeles Philharmonic, Esa-Pekka Salonen (b. 1958). The large number of orchestras in Finland is often cited as an explanation for the high incidence of excel-

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*Scene from the opera Aida, a work featured in the repertoire of the Savonlinna Opera Festival since 1986*

lent Finnish conductors.

Finnish singers have also done well in both Lied and opera ever since the days of Aino Ackté (1876–1944), who took the operas of Paris, London and New York by storm. Recent and current world-famous Finnish singers include bass singers Matti Salminen (b. 1945), Jaakko Ryhänen (b. 1946) and Martti Talvela (1935–1989), whose brilliant career was tragically cut short; baritone singers Tom Krause (b. 1934), Walton Grönroos (b. 1939) and Jorma Hynninen (b. 1941); and, in the younger generation, soprano Karita Mattila (b. 1960) and bass Petteri Salomaa (b. 1961). Many other Finnish singers are pursuing a career in the opera houses of Central Europe.

That Finnish singers often go abroad to work is no wonder, since there is only one professional opera company in Finland, the Finnish National Opera. The other well-known manifestation of opera, the Savonlinna Opera Festival, is held each summer in the Medieval courtyard of Olavinlinna Castle. Apart from the National Opera and the Savonlinna Opera Festival, operas are performed on an irregular basis by various operatic societies.

Finland is known as a land rich in choirs, although choral singing no longer carries such patriotic clout as it did last century. Choral music relies almost solely on amateur singers, but despite this apparent handicap many choirs have attained an extremely high level of performance.

The current boom in Finnish musical life is largely due to the efficient music training system. The first school of music in Finland, Helsinki Music Institute, was founded in 1882. This institution is now called the Sibelius Academy; it is the only university-level music education facility in Finland. Over the last few decades, music schools have sprung up all over Finland. Eleven



*Conductor Jukka-Pekka Saraste*



*Pianist Olli Mustonen*

conservatories, nearly a hundred music institutes and a large number of other music schools ensure that talent is spotted and provided with competent tutelage.

The fruit of this increase in music education is beginning to ripen, and musicians now make their débuts at an increasingly younger age. The world-famous Tapiola Choir is a traditional example of the remarkable achievements of young Finns. Another example could be the Helsinki Junior Strings, an astonishingly mature and disciplined orchestra of young musicians whose age is between ten and eighteen.

The first internationally known Finnish instrumentalist was the clarinetist and composer Bernhard Henrik Crusell (1775–1838), who spent most of his life in Sweden; however, comparatively few Finnish instrumentalists have managed to reach international fame, compared with the number of conductors and singers. Current celebrities in this field include cellist Arto Noras (b. 1942) and pianist Ralf Gothóni (b. 1946). This situation will in all probability change, for a generation of talented and thoroughly educated musicians is growing up. For example, young pianist Olli Mustonen (b. 1967) is already one of the best-known Finnish musicians abroad. It is only a question of time before other young musicians follow suit.

Finnish musical life follows a regular annual pattern. The normal concert season begins in September, peaks before Christmas and continues regularly again throughout spring to the end of May; however, the summer season with its dozens of music festivals is really the culmination of the year. The best-known music events in summer in Finland are: the Savonlinna Opera Festival, the Naantali and Kuhmo Chamber Music Festivals, the Turku Music Festival, the Pori Jazz Festival, the Kaustinen Folk Music Festival, the Viitasaari Contemporary Music Festival and the Helsinki Festival, which brings the summer season to a close in August.

The summer festivals attract a large number of international visitors, both concertgoers and top performers. Thus, the summer season has become a showcase for the diversity and high quality of Finnish musical life.

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**April 1992**

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## Main Outlines of Finnish History

### The Swedish reign

Until the middle of the 12th century, the geographical area that is now Finland was a political vacuum, and interesting to both its western neighbour Sweden and the Catholic Church there, and its eastern neighbour Novgorod (Russia) and its Greek Orthodox Church. Sweden came out on top, as the peace treaty of 1323 between Sweden and Novgorod assigned only eastern Finland to Novgorod. The western and southern parts of Finland were tied to Sweden and the Western European cultural sphere, while eastern Finland, i.e. Karelia, became part of the Russo-Byzantine world.

As a consequence of Swedish domination, the Swedish legal and social systems took root in Finland. Feudalism was not part of this system and the Finnish peasants were never serfs; they always retained their personal freedom. Finland's most important centre was the town of Turku, founded in the middle of the 13th century. It was also the Bishop's seat. In 1362, Finns were given the right to send representatives to the election of the king in Sweden, and in the 16th century this right was extended to include representation in the Swedish Diet.

The Reformation started by Luther in the early 16th century also reached Sweden and Finland, and the Catholic Church consequently lost out to the Lutheran faith. The Reformation set in motion a great rise in Finnish-language culture. The New Testament was translated into Finnish in 1548 by the Bishop of Turku, Mikael Agricola (1510–1557), who brought the Reformation to Finland and created written Finnish. The entire Bible appeared in Finnish in 1642.

During its period as a great power (1617–1721), Sweden extended its realm around the Baltic and managed, due to the weakness of Russia, to push the Finnish border further east. With consolidation of the administration in Stockholm, uniform Swedish rule was extended to Finland in the 17th century. Swedes were often appointed to high offices in Finland, which strengthened the position of the Swedish language in Finland.

### Finland as a Grand Duchy of Russia (1809–1917)

When Sweden lost its position as a great power in the early 18th century, Russian pressure on Finland increased, and Russia conquered Finland in the 1808–1809 war with Sweden.

During the Swedish period, Finland was merely a group of provinces and not a national entity. Finland was governed from Stockholm, the capital of the Finnish provinces at that time. But when Finland was joined to Russia in 1809, it became an

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autonomous Grand Duchy. The Grand Duke was the Russian Emperor, whose representative in Finland was the Governor-General.

Finland's highest governing body was the Senate, whose members were Finns. Matters pertaining to Finland were presented to the Emperor in St. Petersburg by the Finnish Minister Secretary of State. This meant that the administration of Finland was handled directly by the Emperor and the Russian authorities were therefore unable to interfere.

The enlightened Russian Emperor Alexander I, who was Grand Duke of Finland in1809–1825, gave Finland extensive autonomy thereby creating the Finnish state. The Lutheran Church retained its position in Finland, and so did Swedish as the official language of the country. In 1812, Helsinki was made the capital of Finland, and the University, which had been founded in Turku in 1640, was moved to Helsinki in 1828.

The Finnish national movement gained momentum during the Russian period. The Finnish national epic, the Kalevala, created by Elias Lönnrot, was published in 1835. J.V. Snellman (1806–1881), who was a senator and professor at the University of Helsinki during the reign of Alexander II in 1855-1881, worked to promote the Finnish language and to make it an official language alongside Swedish.

The Language Decree issued in 1863 by Alexander II marked the beginning of the process through which Finnish became an official administrative language. Although only one-seventh of the Finnish population spoke Swedish as its first language, Swedish retained its dominant position until the beginning of the 20th century.

The Finnish Diet was convened in 1863 after a break of more than half a century. From then on, the Diet met regularly, and active legislative work in Finland began. The Conscription Act of 1878 gave Finland an army of its own.

During the reign of Alexander III (1881–1894) and particularly of Nicholas II (1894–1917), nationalist circles in Russia gained increased influence. The Grand Duchy of Finland, part of the Russian Empire but enjoying extensive privileges had long been a sore point to Russian chauvinists. Finland was a state within a state, with its own Senate and its own Diet, its own local officials, legislation, army, money (the mark) and postage stamps. And to top it all off, Finland was separated from the Empire by an official border.

The obliteration of 'Finnish separatism', a policy also known as Russification, started during the 'first era of oppression' (1899–1905) and continued during the second era (1909–1917). The 1905 Revolution in Russia gave Finland a short breathing spell, while a new legislative body to replace the old Estates was created in 1906. At that time this was the most radical parliamentary reform in Europe, because Finland moved in one bound from a four-estate diet to a unicameral parliament and universal suffrage. Finnish women were the first in Europe to gain the right to vote in parliamentary elections.

## The independent republic

On December 6, 1917, Parliament approved the declaration of independence drawn up by the Senate under the leadership of P.E Svinhufvud (1861–1944).

At the same time, the breach between the parties of the left and the right had become irreconcilable. At the end of January 1918, the left-wing parties staged a coup, and the government was forced to flee Helsinki. The ensuing Civil War ended in May with victory for the government troops, led by General Gustaf Mannerheim (1867–1951). Finland became a republic in the summer of 1919, and K.J. Ståhlberg (1865–1952) was elected the first president.

The independent republic developed briskly during the 1920s. The wounds sustained in the Civil War were alleviated by conciliatory measures such as including the Social Democrats in the government; in 1926-1927 they formed a minority government on their own. In 1929, the Lapua Movement, which had taken its cue from Italian fascism, demanded a ban on communist activities, and such a ban was indeed put into effect by the "communist laws" of 1930. In 1932, the Lapua Movement also tried armed revolt against the government, but had to back down.

Although Finland first pursued a foreign policy based on cooperation with Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, the League of Nations was already the cornerstone of

Finnish security policy in the 1920s. When the inability of the League of Nations to safeguard world peace became evident in the 1930s, Parliament approved a Scandinavian orientation in 1935.

In August 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed a non aggression pact, which included a secret protocol relegating Finland to the Soviet sphere of interest. When Finland refused to allow the Soviet Union to build military bases on its territory, the latter revoked the non-aggression pact of 1932 and attacked Finland on November 30, 1939. The Winter War ended in a peace treaty drawn up in Moscow on March 12, 1940, giving southeastern Finland to the Soviet Union.

When Germany invaded the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, Finland entered the war as a co-belligerent with Germany. The 'Continuation War' ended in armistice in September 1944. In addition to the areas already lost to Russia, Finland also ceded Petsamo on the Arctic Ocean. The terms of the armistice were confirmed in the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947.

Marshal Mannerheim was made president of the republic towards the end of the war. He was followed in 1946 by J.K. Paasikivi (1870–1956), whose aim was to improve relations with the Soviet Union. The Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance concluded between the countries in 1948 provided the foundation of what is known as the 'Paasikivi Line'. In subsequent years, Finland's international position grew stronger. The Olympics were held in Helsinki in 1952, and in 1955 Finland joined both the United Nations and the Nordic Council.

Urho Kekkonen, who was elected president in 1956, worked to increase Finland's latitude in foreign policy by pursuing an active policy of neutrality. This was evident for instance in initiatives taken by Finland, such as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Helsinki in summer 1975.

When Urho Kekkonen, who had led Finland for a quarter of a century, resigned because of poor health, Mauno Koivisto was elected president in 1982.

In the 1945 parliamentary election, the Communists won a great victory and entered the Government from which they were forced to resign following defeat in the 1948 election. The following governments were coalitions of the Social Democrats and the Agrarian Party, until the former were forced to relinquish their position in 1958 due to distrust on the part of the Soviet Union. Major gains by the left in the 1966 parliamentary elections allowed the Communists and the Social democrats who had long been in opposition to return to the government. The political right (the National Coalition Party) was subsequently in opposition for some two decades.

Spring 1987 marked another turning point when the conservative National Coalition Party and the Social Democrats formed a majority government which remained in power until 1991. After the 1991 election, the Social Democrats were left in opposition, and a new government was formed by the Conservatives and the Centre Party (formerly the Agrarian Party).

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**June 1992**

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## Finnish Theatre

Finland has achieved a reputation as a country where theatre thrives. The figures often quoted in support of this show that every other Finn goes to the theatre at least once a year, on average. This is not, in fact, as surprising as it seems, since the theatre is never far away: there are nearly 40 permanent or institutional professional theatres around the country and about half as many professional theatre groups of varying sizes. The groups, in particular, make a habit of touring different parts of the country, while the popularity of theatre excursions is testified to by the numerous chartered coaches that typically flank a theatre building during performances.

Finnish theatre has also been described



*Ralf Långbacka is known best for directing and researching Brecht. THE LIFE OF GALILEI at Helsinki City Theatre in 1987 featured one of the best-known Finnish actors in Scandinavia, Lasse Pöysti.*

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as a people's theatre; the reference is then to the city or municipal theatre institution which exists in various administrative forms. A theatre of this kind has a permanent staff, its own theatre building, State and municipal subsidies and a fixed number of performances per year catering to all tastes. This type of theatre fell out of grace in the late 1960s, compared with groups founded by the new generation in the name of 'the people' and fired by the social passions of the period. These groups took their performances outside the established theatres - if they had any permanent venue at all - and proceeded one production at a time. The administration, such as it was, was handled by the actors themselves. But tradition is a force to be reckoned with, and within a few decades these fringe groups became established in turn themselves, passed influences back into the institutional theatres, and came to resemble permanent theatres themselves with their own venues and regular patrons. In fact, such institutionalization is a feature typical of Finnish theatre, and it was not actually seriously threatened until the beginning of the 1990s, with the emergence of a profusion of small-scale theatres, for whom 'the people' no longer represented a single homogeneous concept.

Domestic and foreign material often mingle in Finnish theatre in a way that makes them difficult to distinguish from one another. The theatre in itself is a foreign loan, but the penchant for acting can already be seen in the ancient folk poetry and rites. The popularity of amateur theatre is a modern continuation of this old urge to perform. Theatrical styles are also foreign in origin, but adapting them to Finnish circumstances has in many cases produced something quite original. Finnish drama has always formed a significant part of the repertoire – more than one third – but foreign plays that are staged successfully on the Continent tend to appear in Finnish translation fairly rapidly. The international and the domestic have occupied the Finnish theatre as equals from its very beginnings to the present day.

## The foundation of theatre: from the international to the national

Finland's remote geographical location meant that early theatrical influences, while they did reach Finland, remained slight. In the late 18th century, foreign theatre companies visited Finland from the west, south and east. The Swedish influence was ultimately the strongest, as is witnessed by the fact that the main Swedish-speaking theatre in Finland remained a sort of remote outpost for the Stockholm theatres until 1916, at which point the Swedish-speaking Finns took it over, up to and including the leading roles.

Finnish theatre was born in a period of nationalistic fervour around the middle of the 19th century, following the same pattern as several other countries whose national language or population was subject to oppression. Drama was the first art form to appear: Aleksis Kivi (1834–1872), who attained the status of Finland's national author, wrote a tragedy called *Kullervo*, a comedy called *Nummisuutarit* ('The cobblers on the heath') and several other plays which have remained in the stock repertoire; while J.J. Wecksell's (1838–1907) *Daniel Hjort* was considered the most significant drama written in Swedish before Strindberg. The founding of the Finnish Theatre in 1872 was preceded by scattered theatre performances in Finnish. The theatre was set up following international models, the purpose being to show that Finnish-language culture was on a par with that of established cultures.

The most significant person in the Finnish Theatre was its director, Kaarlo Bergbom (1843–1906), whose main influences came from Germany. The repertoire of the theatre exhibited strong links both with the Continent and with Scandinavia. Henrik Ibsen was particularly popular, and his plays were often performed in Finland immediately following their premieres in Norway. The cultural obligations of the theatre required that classical drama be performed; Bergbom faced up to this task admirably, aided by a cohort of industrious and talented translators. Apart from contemporary foreign



*The Chekhov tradition in Finland has survived its foremost proponent, Eino Kalima. The National Theatre has also introduced many internationally famous guest directors. THE CHERRY ORCHARD was directed by Anatoli Efros in 1983.*

drama and the classics, Finnish drama was a strong third component in the theatre's profile. After Kivi, Bergbom fostered a new generation of dramatists, who now had live performances to draw upon as well as translations of major foreign plays. The most important of these new dramatists was Minna Canth (1844–1897), who progressed from the realism of the 1880s to conventional depictions of family life during the next decade.

At the turn of the century, the changing times were reflected in the theatres as well, and National Romanticism focused on Finnish history. The political situation in Finland added fine shades of its own. In 1902, the Finnish Theatre moved into a new building designed in the National Romantic style and changed its name to the Finnish National Theatre. At a time when Russification was imminent, the change acquired great symbolic significance, while the repertoire showed attempts to emphasize the special qualities of Finland's past.

However, the National Theatre was no longer alone in nurturing the development of Finnish theatre. The largest provincial towns soon acquired theatres of their own, many of which eventually became professional. Amateur theatre was extremely popular all over the country, particularly in the workers' clubs, many of whose theatres also went professional. A particularly high status was won by the Tampere Workers' Theatre, founded in 1901, often a pioneer of change in drama, and today the only surviving professional workers' theatre. The 1910s also saw experimental contributions to the field of drama, such as the Ida Aalberg Theatre, founded in 1918 in memory of the greatest star of Finnish theatre history and applying Stanislavskian methods, and the Vapaa Näyttämö ('Free stage') founded by Elli Tompuri a little later.

## Institutionalization of the national theatre movement

Finland became independent in 1917. Repertory theatre became the norm, and

artists were now occupied full-time. Contacts with the outside world proliferated, and theatre managers and directors in particular travelled abroad to find new plays and modes of interpretation. Experimentation in the 1920s was within the institutional theatres, since the heavy entertainment tax at the time made it impossible to organize theatre performances without public subsidies; the few temporary groups were summer touring companies set up by actors, more often to earn money to pay for costumes than for artistic experimentation.

Eino Kalima (1882–1972) had been appointed director of the Finnish National Theatre in 1917. His exceptionally long directorship created a comfortable working environment in the theatre, despite occasional disputes. The National Theatre was without doubt the most important theatre in the country. A new major dramatist emerged with the début in the 1910s of Maria Jotuni (1880–1943), storywriter and depicter of women, who displayed human weaknesses in her plays with gentle irony (e.g. *Miehen kylkiluu,* 'Adam's rib', 1914). The Expressionists attracted a great deal of attention in their day – people like Hagar Olsson, advocate of literary Modernism, or Lauri Haarla, who waxed patriotic with pathos – but more so then than at any time thereafter.

Expressionism arrived in Finnish theatre belatedly, in the 1920s. It can be seen as an extension of German reflections in Finnish theatre, the most conspicuous name being Max Reinhardt. This influence manifested itself both in choices of plays and in features of the performances. The strictest adherent of the style was Kosti Elo (1873–1940), director of the Tampere Workers' Theatre, whose teachings were disseminated throughout Finland via the courses organized by the Workers' Theatre Association and, the Finnish Drama Agency. Elo made directing the strongest component of a production and trained his actors into a group capable of cooperation. Mia Backman (1877–1958), director of the Helsinki People's Stage, copied from the same sources but more superficially, keeping to her characteristic Realism despite the occasional more radical borrowing.

The recession in the 1930s, along with increased political awareness, was reflected in the theatres, which turned to the classics and to depictions of the Finnish people. The most prominent name in Finnish drama in the 1930s was Estonian-born Hella Wuolijoki (1886–1954), whose six plays were premiered at the Helsinki People's Theatre under Eino Salmelainen (1893–1975). Many of these plays, such as the *Niskavuori* cycle, *Justiina* and *Juurakon Hulda*, have retained their status since their initial overwhelming success in the 1930s. The product of Salmelainen's and Wuolijoki's cooperation represents the typical '30s style: Realism flavoured with focuses and emphases borrowed from the Expressionism of the previous decade. The new Realism was selective, rhythmic, and theatre-like.

## Upheaval in the 1930s

Finnish theatre has always been vulnerable to conflicts, some of which have made the news. In the 1880s, the Board of the Finnish Theatre discontinued performances of Canth's naturalistic depiction of the poor because it was too merciless. In the early 1920s, Parliament debated the immorality of a Jotuni play being performed at the National Theatre. The moralists usually triumphed in this controversy. The 1930s and the Helsinki People's Theatre in particular seem to have attracted the most disputes, mainly political issues highlighting the hegemony of the literary ideals dominating the theatre world. Criticism was levelled at Marc Connelly's *Green Pastures,* Wuolijoki's *Laki ja järjestys* ('Law and order'), Pär Lagerkvist's *Pyöveli* ('The executioner'), Irwin Shaw's *Bury the Dead* and Hagar Olsson's *Lumipallosota* ('The snowball fight').

Connelly's play was put on inspired by a performance in Stockholm, and no doubt fierce debate and a consequent box office hit was anticipated. What transpired went beyond the wildest dreams of the producers: within a few months, opinions on the play had been published in the very remotest newspapers, and the choice of play was debated in Parliament and in Sunday sermons. The division

between pro and con ran roughly along party lines. The opposition won, and it was ruled that God must not be represented on the stage (especially if He was black). Thus the play never opened. The events surrounding Lagerkvist's *Executioner* paralleled those in other Scandinavian countries, where the play was performed amidst great public uproar and the disapproval of German circles. In Finland, the opposition wrecked the production before the premiere.

*Law and order*, a play far too understanding of the losing side in the Finnish Civil War, and *Bury the Dead*, well known in many countries for its Pacifist tendencies, were subjected to censorship by order of the Board. The strangest fate befell *The snowball fight*, a play set in Finland, more particularly in the family of the Foreign Minister, in 1939. As the threat of war grew in autumn 1939, reality began horribly to conform to the fictional content of the play, even though the text was altered to distance the play from real life. Eventually the Ministry for Foreign Affairs banned the play, which by that time had also become difficult for the actors to perform.

The theatre rows of the 1930s were caused by social circumstances as much as by the plays themselves. Pacifism was seen as a threat to national unity and especially the values of the student union which owned the premises housing the People's Theatre. True to Finnish tradition, morality was heavily invoked in the debate, although it did not take on as much weight as it had had at the turn of the century. In issues concerning the immorality of Wuolijoki's plays, for instance, it is easy to decipher the real reason for discontent – the left-wing tendencies of the author.

## From the absurd to social change

After the Second World War, the theatre world went back to business as usual, but the opening of frontiers was bringing in new influences. At the National Theatre, Eino Kalima created his great interpretations of Chekhov as a tribute to Stanislavski and the Artistic Theatre in Moscow, an affection he had had since the beginning of the century. The National Theatre exported its performances, and Kalima was invited to direct in Oslo and other places. Arvi Kivimaa (1904–84), director of the Helsinki People's Theatre and later of the National Theatre, introduced Finns to Scandinavian and contemporary American drama, represented in the previous decade only by Eugene O'Neill. French drama enjoyed particularly great success at the National Theatre. During the 1950s, the Tampere Workers' Theatre attracted the public eye due to the work of Eino Salmelainen.

The conference of the International Theatre Institute in Finland in 1959, and especially the participation of Eugene Ionesco, had a great influence on Finnish theatre. Absurd drama, of which some examples had already been seen, made its breakthrough in Finland. This was encouraged by the founding of chamber theatres and later the construction of studio stages, initiated by the National Theatre, but also by the cultural atmosphere, which contributed towards the birth of Modernism in literature. Alongside the traditional Realism, a new strand of Finnish drama deriving its influences from Modernism evolved, producing playwrights such as Eeva-Liisa Manner (b. 1921), Veijo Meri (b. 1928) and Paavo Haavikko (b. 1931).

The next decade brought about an even more extensive change. The performance in 1966 of the *Lapualaisoooppera* ('Lapua Opera') by Arvo Salo (b. 1932) is generally seen as a turning point, the moment when a new 'people's theatre' was born. The symbolic value of this passionate outburst from young students has remained constant, even though the event was actually as much an effect as a cause. In any case, the new generation gradually took over the limelight. The strongest force in this development was Ralf Långbacka (b. 1932), an analytic director and Brecht expert who is also equally conversant with Chekhov and the epic style. People in theatre believed that the world could be changed, and the Finns naturally could not reach this conclusion independently of international developments. The strongest manifes-

tation of theatre with a message was the eight-year directorship of Ralf Långbacka and Kalle Holmberg (b. 1939) at the Turku Theatre in the 1970s. It was at that period that the capital lost its previously undisputed status as the leader of Finnish theatre. Later, these directors moved to Helsinki, but also made visits abroad, for instance to Sweden and Hungary.

The 1970s gave rise to the group theatre movement and regional theatres, paralleling developments in the other Scandinavian countries. The interest in regional theatre brought about local plays which, typically of the period, addressed problems close to the audience. The interest in Finnish drama also brought director Jouko Turkka (b. 1942) into the public eye for the first time. The first scandal associated with his name concerned the production of Jussi Kylätasku's (b. 1943) play *Runar ja Kyllikki* in Joensuu. Having once made the headlines, Turkka stayed there. During his stay at the Helsinki City Theatre, he established a reputation as an interpreter of Finnish plays, but also produced Strindberg's *Ghost Sonata* with great success and followed international trends more than he is given credit for. Turkka is still seeking new paths, after years of teaching at the Theatre Academy, directing TV plays and writing.



*The Lahti Theatre, designed by Pekka Salminen and completed in 1983, was named Concrete Building of the Year upon completion because of its architectural merits. Photo: Pertti Nisonen*

## In and out of new buildings

The first purpose-built theatre buildings in Finland were constructed in the 19th century. Of these, the Åbo Svenska Teater (Turku Swedish Theatre), the Svenska Teatern i Helsingfors (Helsinki Swedish Theatre) and the Pori Theatre have survived. Following the building of the new National Theatre, only a handful of other theatres were built until the past two decades, when over half a dozen cities and towns, including Turku, Helsinki, Tampere and Lahti, acquired modern theatre buildings with two or three stages. The most famous modern Finnish architect, Alvar Aalto, designed several theatres in Finland, some of them part of a more extensive building complex, as in Rovaniemi and Seinäjoki.

The new buildings created a better working environment, but adapting to larger stages and to buildings which sometimes laid more emphasis on architecture and public facilities proved problematic in some cases. However, it is obvious that in the early 1990s theatre is, on average, better housed and equipped in Finland than anywhere else.

At the same time, there has been an estrangement from these new premises and from a large staff in general. The trend away from the conventions of institutions betrays cracks in the unity. This is evident in the experiments within institutional theatres which either utilize the traditional space in a new way or transport the performance outside the theatre. There are more small independent theatre groups now than ever before. The dominance of language is receding with the rise of visual features and the breaking of old forms. Women have always enjoyed a strong position in Finn-

ish theatre, and particularly so in the 1980s. Perhaps the most significant woman director is Laura Jäntti (b. 1950), who has worked with the KOM Theatre and Turku City Theatre. Dramatizations have primarily favoured Finnish sources.

The 1990s have opened an important phase in Finnish drama with a new generation of dramaturgically trained graduates of the Theatre Academy, presaged by the shocking depictions of modern Angst by Jussi Parviainen in the 1980s. One of the most notable playwrights in recent years has been Juha Siltanen, whose texts reflect film dramaturgy and urban themes; his play *Foxtrot* has been translated into English.

## Theatre visits

Before the Second World War, Finnish theatres very rarely exported their performances; conversely, foreign performers rarely appeared on Finnish stages. After the war, international traffic picked up, and permanent contacts were established in Scandinavia in particular. Lilla Teatern was the first to establish a reputation in Sweden as an interesting avant-garde theatre in the 1950s. Performances touring the Continent took in Finland as well, such as the famous productions directed by Peter Brook. However, these were isolated cases, organized by the National Theatre or other organizations.

As group theatre became more popular, Finnish theatre exports increased, partly because the productions of independent groups were easy to move around. The cultural exchange between Sweden and Finland was also based on the desire to offer theatre in Finnish to emigrants living in Sweden.

Over the past decades, organizations have also been created for the express purpose of arranging theatre visits. The Central Union of Finnish Theatre Organizations is responsible for visits to the yearly meeting of professional theatre people in Finland, and the international organizations connected with it have taken care of Scandinavian and international festivals. The Helsinki Festival has always included a varying number of theatre performances; at best, it has introduced a wide variety of experimental productions. The annual Tampere Theatre Festival also always includes foreign productions, but the 'small is beautiful' theme of recent years has brought about a sea-change: no single cult productions, but several smaller productions of extremely diverse character.

## Land of theatres and theatre organizations

Finland is a land of organizations and thus also a land of theatre organizations. The Finnish and Swedish language groups both have their own central theatre organization, and the professions are nearly 100% unionized. The earliest organizations to be founded were the Finnish Actors' Union (1913), the Finnish Theatre Association (1920), the Workers' Theatre Association (1920), the Finnish Drama Agency (1921) and the Finnish Society of Dramatists (1921). Unlike their counterparts in many other countries, the organizations also act as agents for plays and handle contract business. Most organizations have international contacts. The most important of the organizations is the Central Union of Finnish Theatre Organizations, founded in 1934, which includes the Finnish offices of the International Theatre Institute, which manages foreign theatre contacts, and the Scandinavian Theatre Union. In the early 1990s, the organizational tangle became somewhat simpler, with most organizations residing under the same roof.

The Theatre Academy gives basic, further and complementary training in Finnish and Swedish for the various professions of the theatre, from actors and directors to dancers and lighting managers. The National Ballet has its own school. The University of Industrial Arts trains set and costume designers, the University of Tampere trains actors. Theatre and drama research can be undertaken up to and including a doctorate at the University of Helsinki. At the Universities of Tampere and Turku, theatre research is an option available to literature students.

Now, in the early 1990s, Finnish theatre is in a state of flux: the feasibility of the traditional structure of the theatre world is being questioned. In this sense, the present time resembles the 1930s, when the parallel systems of workers' theatres and 'bourgeois' theatres was dismantled. Then, as now, the prime motivation was economic, but also had to do with values. Still, it can confidently be predicted that Finland will remain a country of institutionalized theatre, notwithstanding recent pluralistic developments and the emergence of independent sub-cultures.

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**Dr. Pirkko Koski, Assistant Professor of Theatre Research at the University of Helsinki.**
**October 1992.**
**Translation: The English Centre, Helsinki.**

## Contemporary Finnish plays translated into English 1970–1991

| | |
|---|---|
| Alftan, Robert | Kiri, kiri (Hurry, Hurry) |
| Andersson, Claes | Familjen (The Family) |
| Ahlfors, Bengt-Bargum Johan: | Finns der tigrar i Kongo (Are There Tigers in the Congo) |
| Haavikko, Paavo: | Kullervo (The Kullervo Story) |
| Haavikko, Paavo: | Ratsumies (The Horseman) |
| Helminen, Jussi: | Hölmöläiset (The Numskulls) |
| Kilpinen, Inkeri: | Toinen maailma (Another World) |
| Kilpinen, Inkeri: | Totisesti, totisesti (Verily, Verily) |
| Kilpinen, Inkeri: | White Roses on the Table |
| Kilpinen, Inkeri: | Eino Leino, the Poet |
| Kilpinen, Inkeri: | Rakas Lotta (Dear Lotta) |
| Kylätasku, Jussi: | Runar ja Kyllikki (Runar and Kyllikki) |
| Kylätasku, Jussi: | Maaria Blomma (Mary Bloom) |
| Kylätasku, Jussi: | Haapoja |
| Leppäkoski, Raila: | Keskusteluja viidelle näyttelijän kanssa (Conversation for Five Actors) |
| Mäkinen, Erkki: | Viimeinen valssi Viipurissa (The Last Waltz of Viipuri) |
| Mäkelä, Hannu | Herra Huu (Mr. Boo) |
| Parviainen, Jussi | Jumalan rakastaja (The God's Lover) |
| Peltonen, Juhani: | Kohti maailman sydäntä (Towards the Heart of the World) |
| Seppälä, Arto: | Viisi naista kappelissa (Five Women in a Chapel) |
| Siltanen, Juha: | Foxtrot |
| Stürmer, Wawa | Så som elden (As Fire Burns) |
| Suosalmi, Kerttu-Kaaarina: | Satahampaiset (The Hundred-toothed) |
| Tikkanen, Märta: | Punahilkka (Little Red Riding Hood) |
| Tikkanen, Märta: | Love Story of the Century |
| Tuomarila, Ilpo: | Yössä Gehennan (Gehenna's Night) |
| Vieno, Jukka: | Ilmiantaja (The Informer) |
| Virtanen, Harri: | Nam, nam (Yum-Yum) |

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## Cinema in Finland

Some 150 feature films have been made in Finland in the past ten years – an average of 15 films a year. The number is fairly high considering Finland's 5 million population and the fact that the market is increasingly dominated by films imported from the US.

Finnish film production has always relied on the domestic market, and we still cannot count on exporting our films. This means that most new films require audiences of more than 100,000 to pay their way. In relation to population this would mean in the US that films reaching an audience of less than 4–5 million would show a loss. In Finland the 100,000 profitability level is exceeded only by the most popular comedies or such epics of national history as *The Winter War*. It also means that Finnish film production is kept alive mainly through State subsidies.

A crisis hit the Finnish film industry in the 1950s, reflecting a global trend. Audiences shrank, first because of television, then because of the breakthrough of



*THE WINTER WAR, 1989, directed by Pekka Parikka, actor Taneli Mäkelä.*




*I HIRED A CONTRACT KILLER, 1990, directed by Aki Kaurismäki, actors Aki Kaurismäki and Jean-Pierre Léaud*

video, and it was not until the late 1980s that the downward slide came to an end. It was understood at the end of the 1950s that State subsidies were necessary, and the first support system was established in the early 1960s in the form of State Awards. The Finnish Film Foundation was set up at the end of the decade, and after a chequered history its support system has finally stabilized. The Film Foundation does not produce films itself, but it decides on financing and regulates loans out of funds comprising firstly State grants to the arts, and secondly fees for unrecorded cassettes and television rights and a share of box office receipts.

When the production system dominated by large companies collapsed in the early 1960s, a 'new Finnish wave' emerged, i.e. films made by small companies and distinctive cinema personalities. All this was again in keeping with the international trend. This generation of transition steered the Finnish film industry into the next decade, until it, too, was forced to step aside for various reasons. Now, at the beginning of the 1990s, Risto Jarva, Mikko Niskanen and Heikki Partanen are dead, and Jörn Donner, Erkko Kivikoski and Maunu Kurkvaara have not made films since the early 1980s. Even veterans like Matti Kassila and Rauni Mollberg seem to be having difficulties in carrying on with their careers.

A change of generation began in the early 1980s, and the decade witnessed some thirty first films, many of which were unfortunately also their makers' last. Mika and Aki Kaurismäki emerged as pioneers of the new film, but there were also other film-makers worth mentioning, e.g. Päivi Hartzell, Matti Ijäs, Markku Lehmuskallio, Claes Olsson, Olli Soinio and Lauri Törhönen.

Along with its young film-makers, Finnish cinema rediscovered the theme of 'rootless young people outside the mainstream of society', thus achieving rapport with the majority of their audience. The first push in this direction was given by Tapio Suominen's film *Right On, Man!* (1980), a great success with both the public and the critics. This provided the same kind of aesthetic and production stimulus as *Under Your Skin* in the mid-60s. Suominen's film captured something in the air that had been lost to Finnish directors for a long time: it dealt



*AMAZON, 1990, directed by Mika Kaurismäki, actor Kari Väänänen*

with the problems of the age in a way that reached a wide audience, and presented a picture young people could identify with.

The 1980s also saw the advent of such fairytale movies as *The King Who Had No Heart* (1982), *Pessi and Illusia* (1984), *The Snow Queen* (1987) and Markku Lehmuskallio's relentlessly visionary poetic works on the confrontation between man and nature (*The Raven's Dance*, 1980; *Skierri*, 1982; *Inuksuk*, 1988) or Olli Soinio's horror movie *The Moonlight Sonata* (1988). Pekka Parikka applied the conventional epic approach in his films *Plainlands* (1988) and *The Winter War* (1989), while Lauri Törhönen stepped forward as an interpreter for the new urban 'yuppie generation' in his movies *Tropic of Ice* (1987) and *Insiders* (1989).

Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly the Kaurismäki brothers who have been the trendsetters and most visible representatives of the Finnish film industry both in Finland and abroad. Their first collaboration projects, *The Liar* (1981) and *The Worthless* (1982), directed by Mika Kaurismäki and written by Aki Kaurismäki, were like a refreshing breath of wind: they rejected the prevailing production norms, rising from the foundation of the liberated, small-scale film-making tradition of the 'new waves'. This tradition included playing with roles, associations, quotations, inside jokes and the relationship between film and reality. Mika Kaurismäki has since approached conventional film-making procedures and genres, using as his starting points a crime story (*The Clan*, 1984), a road movie (*Rosso*, 1985), a comedy (*Cha Cha Cha,* 1989) and models from international gangster movies (*Helsinki Napoli All Night Long*, 1987) and adventure films (*Amazon*, 1990).

The younger brother, Aki Kaurismäki, has proved himself a stylistically and thematically coherent and systematic film-maker personality characterized by a stripped, disciplined expression, awareness of tradition, and rough, often black humour. His way of presenting his mar-

ginal, dispossessed characters combines criticism of current values with a disciplined moral pathos, for instance in his 'working class trilogy' *Shadows in Paradise* (1986), *Ariel* (1988) and *The Match Factory Girl* (1990). Aki Kaurismäki started his career as a director with a version of Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* (1983), set in Helsinki, and continued with a fairytale-like satirical urban odyssey called *Calamari Union* (1985) and a modern version of Shakespeare, *Hamlet Goes Business* (1987). Aki Kaurismäki has placed most of his later films abroad, in the US (*Leningrad Cowboys Go America*, 1989), London (*I Hired a Contract Killer*, 1990) and Paris (*La Vie de Bohème*, 1992).

Largely thanks to the Kaurismäki brothers, the international status of Finnish cinema has improved considerably, and the overall standard and artistic and technical quality can now compete with any country of the same size. Finnish films have been shown widely at various events, both retrospectives and festivals. At the Nordic Film Festival in Rouen, Finnish films have won favourable attention among other Nordic output, as is evidenced by the many special awards and the main award that went to Matti Kassila's *The Glory and Misery of Human Life* in 1989.

The Kaurismäki brothers are known not only in Europe but also in North and South America and Japan. A retrospective of their output has been arranged by the New York Museum of Modern Art, and at festivals they are top names considered equal to other leading European film-makers. Aki Kaurismäki has even become a cult director in many European countries. It is true that, amid the mainstream of the film industry, Kaurismäki audiences are small and specialized, but the brothers have succeeded in continuing to work on limited budgets, limited international appreciation and in part even limited financing.

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**Sakari Toiviainen**
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**Translation: The English Centre, Helsinki**
**November 1992**

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## Contemporary Dance in Finland

### East meets West – the rise of Finnish dance

The history of Finnish dance since the early 20th century has reflected the country's geographical position as a gateway between east and west. Classical ballet found inspiration close at hand in St Petersburg, while America and Germany provided the impetus for the rise of modern dance. It all began with two memorable performances by touring stars.

Isadora Duncan, pioneering exponent of free dance, performed in Helsinki on her way to St Petersburg in 1905. The plasticity of her style impressed many an aspiring dancer, among them Maggie Gripenberg, who later became Finland's leading dance teacher and choreographer in free dance. Three years later St Petersburg's Maryinsky Theatre Ballet opened their first tour of western Europe in Helsinki, with Anna Pavlova as prima ballerina. The performance was arranged by Edvard Fazer, the Finnish impresario who later became director of the Finnish Opera and founded the National Ballet.

From its founding year in 1922, the National Ballet made steady progress under the auspices of the Finnish Opera (now the Finnish National Opera). The ballet masters and teachers received their classical training in St Petersburg, which gave the company a distinctly Russian flavour. Throughout the 1920s Helsinki's 'miniature Maryinsky' performed a repertoire of famous Russian classics by Marius Petipa and Pyotr Tchaikovsky: *Swan Lake, The Nutcracker and Sleeping Beauty.*

The company's first ballet master was the Finn George Gé, who in the 1930s not only assembled a repertoire of classics, but also created Finland's first modern ballets. His work reflected the neoclassical style of the Ballet Russes' celebrated choreographers: Brontislava Nijinska, Serge Lifar and George Balanchine. Free dance also made its mark in the history of the Finnish Opera: Maggie Gripenberg, who studied under Emile Jaques-Dalcroze in Hellerau, Germany, choreographed for operas and the music of Jean Sibelius. She concentrated her energy on her work as a teacher of free dance and on the company she had founded and won recognition as a prize-winning choreographer in international choreographers' competitions.

### Modern dance and the '60s art boom

Finnish modern ballet had its Renaissance in the 1950s, when Elsa Sylvestersson, a former prima ballerina, turned to choreography. In a career spanning over thirty years, she created a vast repertoire for the National Ballet, including adapted versions of the classics, neoclassical pieces and modern ballets. She also made a pioneering contribution to televised ballet.

The late '50s saw the emergence of a new school of modern Finnish dancers, led by the former pupils of Maggie Gripenberg. They formed *Praesens*, Finland's first professional free dance company.

However, it was US-trained Riitta Vainio that brought real momentum to the teach-



*'SEVEN BROTHERS', Finnish National Ballet, 1992. Choreography Marjo Kuusela, dancer Sampo Kivelä*

ing and performance of modern dance. 1961 marked a watershed, with Vainio founding an academy of modern dance and launching a ground-breaking career as a choreographer. Together with artists and musicians she inspired a new trend; boundaries between art forms were transgressed and Finland was given its first taste of performance art. Vainio's postmodern choreography was unprecedented in Finland, eliciting the disapproval of audiences accustomed to the aestheticism of classical ballet. Vainio nonetheless won an enthusiastic following from a young generation of dancers, composers, musicians and experimental artists. Finland of the '60s was not ready for such radicalism. It was not until Vainio devoted herself to dance therapy in the '70s that her work began to bear fruit.

In the '70s a number of modern dance artists began forming small, temporary groups for independent productions staged at a variety of venues. In 1972 the dancers Marjo Kuusela and Maria Wolska formed the Raatikko Dance Theatre. It rose on the crest of a left-wing boom because the message was spelt out clearly: defending the underdog. Marjo Kuusela, whose early pieces depict the life of the Finnish working classes, eventually became the chief choreographer. Although Kuusela is no longer a political artist, she still stands among Finland's leading choreographers as artistic director of the Helsinki City Theatre's dance company. Her strength lies in her ability to interpret human nature, in which she carries on the realist tradition of Finnish theatre. One of her finest achievements is a ballet choreographed in 1981 based on Aleksis Kivi's late 19th century classic, *The Seven Brothers.* Still topical today, it depicts people on the fringe of European society adjusting to mainstream civilization.

Now in its 20th year, Raatikko has proved itself an enduring source of creative talent, spawning gifted choreographers such as Kuusela's successor, Marja Korhola. Her work is satirical, frequently addressing themes related to women and the world of dance.

## Jorma Uotinen – new stature to dance

The '70s witnessed the rise of American Postmodernism alongside the realist tendencies of Raatikko. New York became a Mecca for budding dancers, who learnt their trade and appropriated new ideas from the dance schools of Martha Graham and Merce Cunningham. The Rake Studio in the heart of Helsinki became Finland's very own mini-New York, where a new generation of dancers debuted their first experimental creations. Ulla Koivisto spearheaded the concept of intrinsic value in movement, while Reijo Kela, like Cunningham and John Cage before him, launched a choreographic inquiry into modern man's relationship with his environment. In a piece called 'Cityman' Kela spent a week in a see-through dwelling in the centre of Helsinki, where he danced, ate, bathed and slept in front of a live audience. Finland had never before seen another 'work of art' that so effectively undermines the boundary that separates performing from everyday life.

Jorma Uotinen's arrival on the scene had an apocalyptic impact. He danced with the Natlonal Ballet until the mid-'70s, when Carolyn Carlson recruited him *for GRTOP,* the Paris Opera's experimental dance group. Paris ripened Uotinen into a brilliant performer and an inspired choreographer. *Forgotten Horízon*, his first feature-length dance piece, was choreographed for the Helsinki Festival in 1980. Uotinen's breakthrough performance bore all the hallmarks of modern European dance theatre. It filtered Zeitgeist, menace and black humour through mythical elements. Finnish dance was finally jettisoned into the modern world, releasing a store of dormant energy. The spiritual and aesthetic hegemony of ballet began to crumble.

A year later Uotinen was appointed director of the Helsinki City Theatre dance company. Over his decade-long tenure it became Finland's leading modern dance company. Uotinen's career came the full circle in February 1992 with his appointment as director of the National Ballet. His appointment as director of the nation's most prestigious dance institution sealed the revolution that had taken place in Finnish dance. When Helsinki's new Opera House is inaugurated in autumn 1993, classical ballet and modern dance will share its two centre stages in perfect symbiosis.

## Globality – the watchword for modern dance

Following in Uotinen's footsteps, modern dance has become more global than ever. Today St Petersburg and Hellerau are no more than distant memories of times long past. Contemporary Finnlsh dance draws inspiration from the new physical dance theatre of France and Belgium, from Asian dance theatre and from Japanese buto, just to name a few. Today's generation of young dancers show a spirit of intellectual inquiry. Their ability to draw on a wide range of influences speaks for the vast improvement in dancing skills during the last thirty years.

Today's young dancers are ready to take on the world; many are involved in international projects. Dancer-choreographers such as Ari Tenhula and Arja Raatikainen have studied Japanese buto and performed on international tours with their teacher, Anzu Furukawa. The influence of buto is also discernible in productions by Sanna Kekäläinen and Kirsi Monni of the *Zodíak presents* dance company. Japanese dance seems to strike a familiar chord with Finnish audiences - it is powerful, austere, even uncompromising. Why else it might appeal to Finnish audiences is difficult to say.

Asian culture has also provided a rich source of inspiration for Tero Saarinen and Tuomo Railo, two gifted ballet dancers and choreographers whose solo work has been widely acclaimed. Kenneth Kvarnström, a Swedish-speaking Finn currently residing in Stockholm, has also won international recognition with *Exhibo* and *"... that was all I wanted, so I stuck my finger in his eye..." Voyeur*, also by Kvarnström, premiered in Stockholm in 1992 with Finns included on the cast of dancers. It, too, is characteristlcally aggressive, inspired by the underlying violence of urban life.

Apart from Raatikko and the Helsinki City Theatre dance group, Finland also has a number of smaller dance companies. *Aurinkobaletti*, directed by choreographer Raija Lehmussaari, is an international group that performs a repertoire of modern ballet and experimental pieces by young choreographers. Eri is a small,

but highly skilled group of dancers directed by the talented choreographer Tiina Lindfors, whose most talked-about work addresses the theme of sexual minorities. *Hurjaruuth*, who perform actively both in Finland and abroad, specialize in children's productions, and draw inspiration from foreign cultures, including Africa, where they have recently toured.

Some of the finest productions of recent years have been independent productions for which the choreographers have assembled Finland's top freelance dancers. Many dancers consider quality to be more important than tenure, which naturally benefits the art of dance and audiences alike. For the most part, Finnish dance companies are poorly subsidized, although Finland has a unique system allowing young dancers and choreographers to apply for one-three year grants which provide them with 'regular' salaries.

The '90s have ushered in a new dance boom, and audience numbers are on the increase. The new OperaHouse will leave the old venue free for guest performances, primarily dance productions and music theatre. Dancers will finally be provided with a much craved for permanent venue in the city centre. In 1993 the old Opera House will become theirs to keep - a place known to all city-dwellers and full of memories, the place where it all began for Finnish ballet 70 years ago.

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**Auli Räsänen**
**The author is principal dance critic for *Helsingin Sanomat*, Finland's leading daily newspaper.**
**October 1992**
**Translation: The English Centre, Helsinki**



*'ORIENT EXPRESS', Raatikkko Dance Theatre. Choreography Marja Korhola, dancers Reijo Tuomi and Kirsi Karlenius*



*'VICTIM', Finnish National Ballet. Choreography Jorma Uotinen.*



*'VOYEUR', Dansens Hus, Stockholm, 1992. Choreography Kenneth Kvarnström, dancer Katri Soini.*

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## Finnish Self-defence

Today's Finn finds himself on the verge of a frightening landscape. Will he lose his soul and his language if he rushes headlong onto the world scene? Hardly. The Finn can be oppressed, but not discouraged. His history proves as much.

Finns have once again been led to believe that they were the last people on earth to descend from the trees.

And no wonder.

Foreign conquerors as well as our own local elite have always managed to take advantage of the Finns' rather unsteady self-esteem; at times we are inbred louts, at times brave, steely-eyed warriors – any way the upper crust have wanted to see us.

Well-behaved and law-abiding, the Finn has not resisted. How could he, when both loutishness and bravery – together with several other more-or-less ornamental characteristics – have been the mythology of the Finnish character for centuries.

As early as the 17th century, Daniel Juslenius, an exponent of national awareness, wrote of the Finns as follows: "They are hard-working, industrious, unafraid to exert themselves, able to perform any trade whatsoever and not only purely mechanical handiwork or skills but also philosophical and other studies. They have a bent for languages, the liberal arts and sciences, and they are very sharp-witted, so much so that they could hardly be surpassed by any other nation if only they didn't channel their efforts in so many different directions... If only they would give up their condemnable admiration of foreigners, their excessive desire to secure their own interests and their self-disparagement. They would gain prestige immediately if they would only respect themselves to some slight degree. It is said: "Others hold you in as much respect as you hold yourself."

In Juslenius's time, the Finns knew next to nothing about themselves or their past. A history had to be invented for them, and once the inventing began there was no holding them back. The Finnish language was elevated to the position of one of the world's primary tongues, and the Finns were held to have descended directly from Noah's grandson Magog. Some half dozen Finnish kings emerged, though hitherto there had been no trace of them. With mentions of Finnish prehistoric times few and far between in the depths of foreign archives, imagination galloped wild and unbridled.

These rare notations indicate that the Finns were no riffraff, even if the Swedes did run roughshod over them for centuries.

For instance, the Norwegian Vikings guarded very bitter memories of their experiences with the Finns, whom they tried to rob in the 11th century. King Olaf almost lost his life before he had a chance to become a saint. He sailed confidently to the Finnish coast after first heavily taxing the Gotlanders and slaughtering most of the troublesome inhabitants of Saarenmaa, but the Finns, prosperous and sly, fled with their possessions into the forests. The Norwegians gave pursuit, but by night-



*Akseli Gallen-Kallela: Defence of the Sampo, 1896. Turku Art Museum.*

fall were overcome by dread. As they stumbled back to their ships in the dark, the Finns fell upon them - killing the majority of them. The rest were close to drowning once the Finns in their devilishness conjured up a terrible storm.

## Stubborn clodhoppers

Thus the Finns' reputation as witches and backwoodsmen is on a firm footing, although this became something of a burden as Christianity and Swedish culture began to spread. In the l9th century, the great advocates of 'Finnishness' could no longer accept the mushroom-dazed shaman as the Finnish archetype. No, instead they wanted to see a hardened, powerful, patient, vigorous and battle-fit nation living in healthy fear of both the Lord and secular authority.

Thanks to the good intentions of Zacharias Topelius[1] and J.L. Runeberg[2], the Finns were given a self-image from which Finnish men, in particular, are still suffering today.

Of all Runeberg's brazen warriors, the one figure to emerge as a symbol of the Finnish hero is the only complete idiot in the writer's repertoire, Sven Dufva.

Topelius, in turn, gave a real shove to the Finnish man's poor self-esteem in his Our Land, in which he describes Matti, the very essence of Finnish male mediocrity: "As a young man he was said to have danced, but that is probably just slander, because nowadays no one can detect in him even the slightest dancing ability."

"By nature Matti is not one to get excited. He is close-mouthed and shy. But when he has sat for a time in the company of good friends he seems to loosen up and undergo a transformation of character as it were. His wooden composure softens, he may

1) Zacharias Topelius, historian and author (1818-1898).

2) Johan Ludvig Runeberg, poet (1804-1877). He descrided characters in the 1808-1909 "Finnish war" between Sweden and Russia, which ended in Russian victory. In consenquence, Finland became a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire.

even become cheerful and witty in his own way."

"The whole world also knows that Matti is stubborn as sin itself: his immobility is, in fact, the reverse side of his endurance. Whatever he once gets into his head, that he will take to its conclusion. Wherever he stands, there he stands; but when he has no will for something, it is simply futile to try to coax him into it. One of Matti's brothers, a very tall fellow, drowned himself in a bucket of water; it was not an easy task, but he had decided to drown and drown he did."

Without the perseverance to drown oneself in a bucket, the Finns would hardly have ever salvaged their own language or their Uralic genetic peculiarities from all the various bullies they've encountered. In the 18th century, real efforts were made to 'Swedify' the Finns, but these efforts failed though the Finns numbered only a million. The Russians' hopes went the same way.

## The Finns' horrible secret

Though the threat of Russification abated with the securing of Finnish independence, Finnish-speaking Finland still did not consider itself free. The struggle for a single language and a single national-mindedness continued well into the 1930s, while the gutsy Swedish-speaking minority held the country in its grip by the force of money and education. In the 1920s, one was hard pressed in Helsinki to find even a Finnish-speaking barber. Swedish street signs, Swedish names and the Swedish habit of always bugling the 'Mother Country' to their assistance made life hell on earth for Finnish-speaking patriots.

The most fervent Finns ground their teeth as they listened to the Finland-Swedes carry on about their superior race and civilized language. Finnish was called a language for yokels and servant girls, and the Finnish-speaking nation was lumped together with barbarians and mongols.

This name-calling offended deeply, particularly since it contained a grain of truth. The Finns, the Finland-Swedes included, bore inside them a horrible secret: that measly dose of mongol genes.

The ardent Finnish patriot of the 1930s, who dreamt of a spiritual and territorial Greater Finland, would not, of course, have admitted even on pain of death the existence of that eastern heritage. Instead, he clung firmly to the image of a blond, blue-eyed, folk-costumed 'Maid of Finland' - and for good reason, too. At least two-thirds of the Finnish genetic make-up is of western origin, and nowhere in the world does one find so many pale blue eyes as in Finland. And what does it matter if they are slightly slanted. That's just piquant.

The Finns' internal linguistic and social struggle finally ended with the Winter War. The supreme sacrifice was made by Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Finns alike, by the ultra-patriotic bourgeois as well by Communist believers in international class solidarity.

After the Second World War, the Finns had little opportunity to ponder the question of who they are and where they are going. The country had been dismembered, and many symbols of the Finnish nation were banned by the victor's fiat. War reparations were paid, food rationed and graves of the war dead tended, but there were scarcely any outlets for pride - or at least one couldn't make any noise about them. The Finns were taught with a firm hand to keep quiet while the big boys talked.

Of course, this was a cinch for the Finns after centuries of practice.

By the 1960s, the 'Fatherland' and 'patriotism' had gradually become naughty words. The post-war baby-boom generation caught all kinds of peace-and-love vibrations from abroad, and turned first against the Vietnam War and then against Finland's own war experience.

The Soviet Union, the arch-enemy of earlier generations, began to reap sympathy as left-wing ideas spread among the Finnish youth. Everything held dear by those generations who had 'shed blood for their country' was opposed by young people. The Finnish flag was desecrated coming and going, and so too was C.G. Mannerheim[3]. At the peak of craziness in the 1970s, there was an effort to make J.V. Snellman[4] into something of a proto-

3) Carl Gustav Mannerheim, Field Marshal and President of Finland (1867-1951). He led the 'White Army' in the Finnish Civil War in 1917-1918, and served as a Commander in Chief in the Winter War of 1939-40 and in the Continuation War (1941-1944).

4) Johan Vilhelm Snellman, philosopher, statesman and journalist (1806-1881). He developed a concept of the nation-state, and promoted the Finnish language and Finnishness.

Stalinist, war deserters into heros and V.I. Lenin into Finland's generous godfather.

## Athletes light up the dark

It probably counts as an odd twist of fate that the baby-boomers' children, raised as they were on asexual 'peace toys', now pay tribute to the Winter War and want to know all about it. Fans of heavy rock music – all metal studs, hair and black clothing – whose vocabulary comprises a total of seven English and three Finnish words, despise dad and mom with their internalized concepts of peaceful coexistence, but bow down in respect before their grandfathers, veterans of war.

Until now, they never knew what a heroic and proud past Finland has really had!

School administrators have noted an entirely new interest in 'Finnishness' among the young. The army is 'in' again: conscientious objectors are scorned. Motives for national pride, in rather short supply in today's world, are sought in the nation's past. After all, who wants to brag about how many tonnes of pulp Finland produces?

In post-war Finland, national pride has been maintained almost exclusively by our athletes. There is hardly a single Finn who doesn't feel a twinge of pride when Toni Nieminen sails to another ski-jumping victory.

At that moment, the Finn forgets his fear of the future - a future which for the past few years has appeared exceptionally dark to him, in fact so dark that he has once and for all ceased to believe in the good fortune and beatitude of being born Finnish.

He is afraid that the rest of Europe will swallow him up like cough medicine.

He is afraid that the rest of Europe will spit him out.

He is afraid that the Russians are coming.

He is afraid that Finnish land will be bought out from under his feet.

His fears are probably unfounded: Finnish culture, language and survival skills have been tried and tested time and again in the course of history.

Kaari Utrio, who has enlivened Finnish historiography with a number of colourful books, laughs at the idea that the EC or CIS, or any other acronym, could ever obliterate the Finnish identity.

"Perhaps the Finns' most salient quality is their unusually strong awareness of their own nationality. After all, we were under some damned foreign power for 800 years. The Swedes couldn't change us, nor could the Russians. So how are the French supposed to manage it? It's a real vote of no confidence in this nation to imagine that it could lose its identity!"

Utrio is exasperated by the way Finns are compared to foreigners. "A Finnish workman is compared with an Oxford don. That is entirely wrong. Your ordinary Finnish bloke should be compared with ordinary French or British bloke. There's no difference between them.

"When all is said and done, we are left with a highly educated but shy and quiet nation. Our only fault is that we don't know how to smile. Smile and all will be forgiven!"

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**Written by Ms. Anneli Sundberg, Journalist. Published in Helsingin Sanomat newspaper on January 19th 1992.**

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1992

# FINNISH FEATURES

JUNE 1981

## The Finnish Nature and Landscape

Viewed from a distance and superficially, Finland gives the impression of being a low-lying country with few signs of human activity in its flat terrain. If one applies the definition of a plain generally used in international geography, virtually the whole of Finland is a plain rising to less than 300 metres above sea level. Only in Western Lapland is there an unbroken area of Arctic fells rising to over 300 metres. A general feature of the terrain is a gradual increase in elevation as one moves north and east from the coastal plains fringing the Baltic.

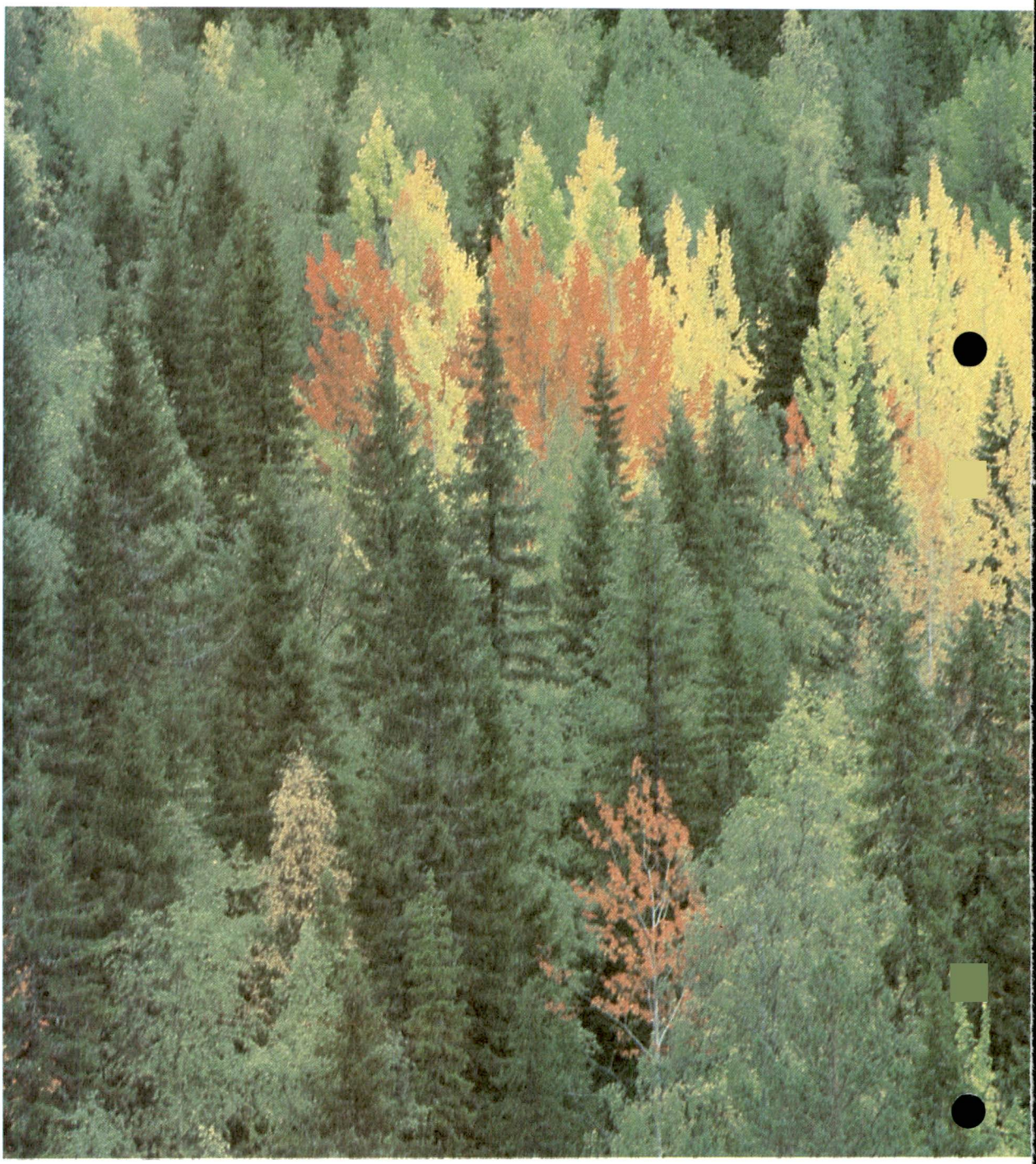
When one takes a closer look, one examines height differentials between high ground and valleys in the terrain. In a zone varying from 50 to 100 kilometres in width along the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland, this so-called relative height is under 20 metres, 5–10 metres for the most part. Elsewhere it is generally between 20 and 200 metres. Thus surprisingly large height fluctuations are encountered.

The low-lying and flat nature of the Finnish terrain is not due to thick soil strata, as is the case with the extensive plains of Eastern and Western Europe, for example. Finland's relative flatness is due to very old and thoroughly weathered bedrock. Indeed, the main parts of the Finnish bedrock are over 1,500 million years old. Even measured on the geological time-scale, this area has been part of a continental land mass above the sea for a very long time. The bedrock consists of widely varying igneous varieties, including granite, granodiorite and diorite, as well as varieties metamorphosed when the ancient mountain chains were formed through folding, e.g. quartzite, mica schist, mica gneiss and other types of gneiss. Very few sedimentary rocks are found in Finland.

Most of the soil cover was produced in the course of a period of 10,000 years or so during and after the melting of the Pleistocene ice sheet. The soil layer overlaying the bedrock is generally thin and most commonly found type is moraine, which is an accumulation of stones, gravel and other debris set free as the glaciers melted. The delta layers formed where rivers emerged from the glaciers gave birth to esker ridges and terminal moraines (which mark the former edges of the ancient glaciers); these formations contain mostly sand and gravel. Since most of what is today Finland was beneath the waters of the Baltic for a shorter or longer period as the Ice Age was drawing to a close, alluvial clay is now found as the surface layer in these areas, which are now dry land due to the bedrock having risen because of isostatic recovery. There are extensive alluvial areas in the coastal regions of Southern, South-Western and Western Finland. The cold, damp climate prevailing in Finland since the Ice Age, coupled with the flatness of the terrain, has encouraged the development of

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extensive bogs, which contain a soil organogenetically formed from semi-decomposed vegetation – peat.

Almost all pre-Pleistocene soils were cleared out of depressions and valleys in the bedrock by the glaciers. Water accumulated in these basins, thus creating Finland's typically extensive, island-studded and labyrinthine lakes, which are linked together in watercourse chains containing very few rivers. However, smallish river systems are a characteristic feature of coastal regions. Lapland, with the exception of the district around Lake Inari, is also mostly dominated by river systems. The rivers in Lapland are lon-

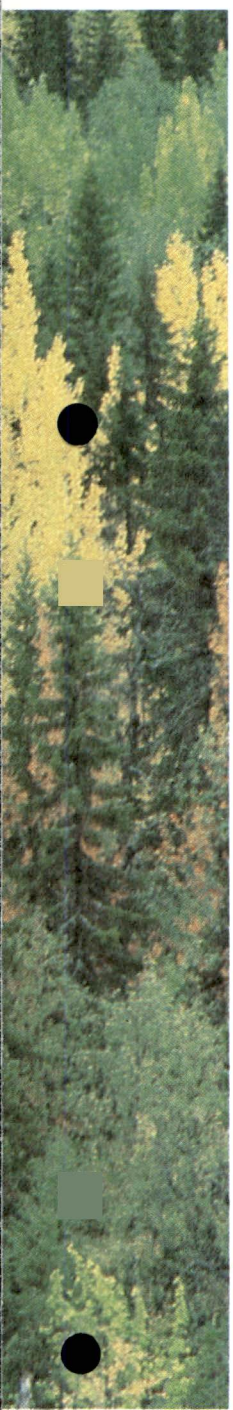


Photo by Antti Leinonen

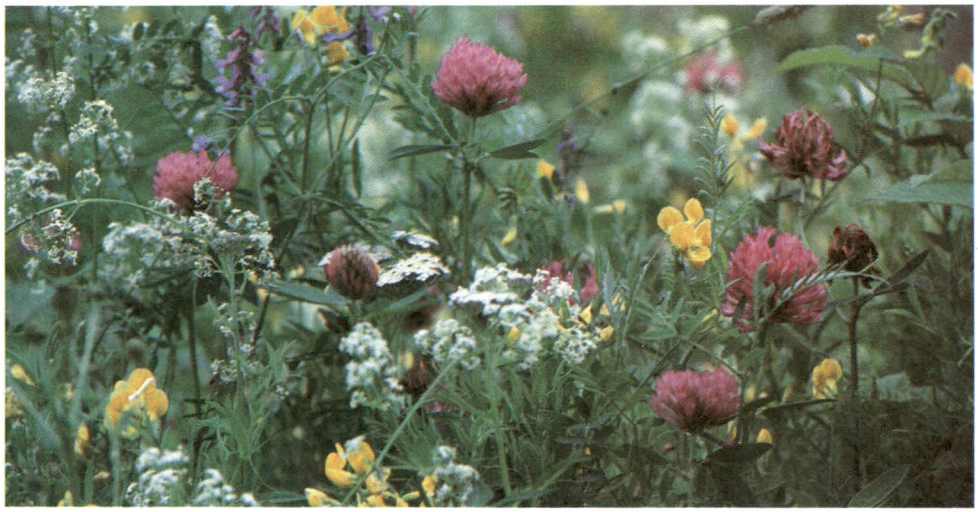


Photo by Tapio Korkolainen



**A brace of capercaillie**

Photo by Mauri Peltonen



**An elk (moose)**

Photo by Timo Aaltonen

ger and have greater volumetric flows than those in the coastal regions. In the Finnish heartland, the so-called Lake District, lakes generally account for over 20 per cent of the total area, and in the Saimaa region of South-Eastern Finland this percentage rises to over 35. All in all, there are about 55,000 lakes in Finland. In turn, the seas off her coast are studded with islands and skerries, especially in the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia. The archipelago stretching from the South-Western mainland to the Åland Islands is unique in the world, containing more than 17,000 islands larger than 0.3 hectares. Altogether, the Finnish sea areas contain about 28,000 islands.

## Climate

Finland is included in a cool climatic zone with cold winters. This zone is characterised by a cold, snowy winter and a summer with average monthly temperatures of over 10°C for the 1–3 months that it lasts. There is precipitation the whole year round, but it is heaviest in autumn and lightest in spring, from March to May. Mean annual precipitation is 550–650 mm in the South and 400–550 mm in the North. The wind is usually weak or moderate and its direction very variable. Thanks to a number of favourable natural and geographical factors, winter temperatures in Finland are 8–12°C warmer than the average for these latitudes. Where summer is concerned, Finland enjoys an advantage of 1–2°C in this respect.

There are few hours of daylight in winter. At Utsjoki in the northernmost part of the country (about 70°N), there is uninterrupted darkness for 51 days and in Helsinki (about 60°N) there is only about 6 hours of daylight each day in late December. In summer, however, there is no shortage of daylight. The sun doesn't set at all in the Utsjoki district for 73 days and even in Helsinki it is visible above the horizon for 19 hours a day in late June. In addition to this, there are 2–3 hours of twilight. Because Finland is situated so far north, darkness does not fall immediately the sun sets, but comes slowly as the twilight fades. Sunrise is likewise preceded by a gradually brightening dawn.

## Flora and fauna

Where its flora is concerned, Finland is part of a boreal coniferous zone. The northernmost parts of the country and the highest elevations there are areas of Arctic-Alpine vegetation, whilst the Southern part of the country belongs to the hemiboreal zone. The flora if Finland comprises about 1,200 vascular plants which have established themselves, about 800 mosses, over 1,000 lichens and about 2,000 algae. The most common plant community is, naturally, the forest, which covers about 71 % of the total land area. The forests are not rich in variety as far as tree species are concerned, and there are usually only one or two dominant species. 55 % of the forests are pine-dominated, 30 % spruce-dominated and the remainder birch-dominated. Peatlands cover about 31 % of the land area. Of these, two thirds are suitable for forestry and the rest open bogs. Nearly half of Finland's peatlands have been drained to increase forest productivity.

The flora of Finland resembles that of Scandinavia and the Northern parts of the Soviet Union. Altogether, there are about 22,700 species of fauna, 85 % of them arthropodal invertebrates. Some 67 mammal, 347 bird and 37 freshwater fish species are found. Mammals found all over Finland include foxes, weasels, hares, water voles and forest shrews. The most common species of birds include chaffinches, wagtails, titmouses, robins, etc.

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**Written by Seppo Sikkinen, Lecturer, University of Helsinki, Department of Geography**

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FINNISH FEATURES

APRIL 1984

Strangers in their own land:

# Finland relocated its Karelian evacuees without difficulty after the Second World War

Finland lost Karelia, about 10 % of its area, to the Soviet Union after the Second World War. The migration of the Karelians to the rest of Finland was a little incident in the enormous population moves that have taken place in Europe, but it was a period in Finland's post-war history with exceptionally far-reaching consequences.

The Karelian population made its unanimous decision for the first time during the Winter War (1939—1940): it moved in its entirety to the rest of Finland from areas taken by the Russians. Two-thirds of the 400,000 evacuees enthusiastically traveled in the opposite direction, however, when the Finnish offensive during the Continuation War (1941—1944) made it possible for them to return home.

This brief prologue later proved a valuable experience. Both society as a whole and its individual members gained expertise in evacuation, reconstruction, resettlement, and compensation which decisively facilitated the Karelians' final relocation.

The Allies began to land in Normandy on June 6, 1944, and the Soviet attack on the Karelian Isthmus started three days later. The time for final farewells was approaching. Everyone left this time, too. Most systematically moved west during the following weeks, while the last left just before the border was closed.

Many received their evacuation orders a couple of days before "D-day." Perhaps they had time to drag some of their possessions to the railroad stations for later moves. Finally, they hitched up their horses, collected their cows together on the road: it was time to move west.

They drove their teams hundreds of kilometers, along roads filled with people, cattle, and despair. Sometimes they found shelter in strange houses, sometimes in abandoned schools. Luckily, it was summer. Those on the other side of the old border were put into trains which carried most of the evacuees to the western parts of the country.

## Back to the land quickly

Just as World War Two was culminating in Germany, Finland was putting the finishing touches on the legislation which set down the principles by which the evacuees were to be resettled. A few days before, the brief conflict in Lapland had ceased, Finns against the Germans, a Soviet condition in the peace treaty.

A land acquisitions act defined the general relocation of the rural evacuees. However,

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a large group of other Karelians also followed the rural population of their home district to the relocation areas chosen. In 1949, 53 % of the evacuees lived in these areas. The rest settled where they liked.

Many things were done to help the Karelians adapt. Efforts were made to see that the region and farm conditions resembled as closely as possible those the farmers had left. Special attention was paid to the soil, economic conditions, language, and religion.

There was also a desire to keep the evacuees' local societies intact by parish and village. The Karelians themselves decided which villages were to be located in the best places, which in the poorest, based on agricultural conditions, level of cultivation, and location in Karelia. The parishes' mutual position and location were also preserved geographically in a north-south direction.

The Karelians were relocated quickly and smoothly. Nonetheless, it was impossible to keep differing opinions from clashing. The interests of those who relinquished land and those who were granted it conflicted. The evacuees' prior claim to land was also questioned at times. Finally, the influx of new settlers threatened the peacefull relations between the Finnish-speaking and the Swedish-speaking population.

## Expropriation

The land necessary for resettlement was obtained mostly from the State, municipalities, the church, business, and abandoned farms, while the share provided by actual farmers was limited to one-fifth. Since four-fifths of the total 2.8 million hectares of land was obtained by expropriation, the question of land transfers became a key factor in the public morale. The most important reason for the farmers' unwillingness to relinquish their land was its price. Since compensation was not subject to price index adjustment, the land was transferred to its new owners for under the going price, as a result of inflation. Another bone of contention was the word expropriation itself, which has traditionally had a bad ring to it in Finland. Nonetheless, it would not have been possible to obtain land for resettlement quickly enough and at a moderate price on a voluntary basis.



**Schools and parish community centers served as temporary lodgings as the whole Karelian population moved from Karelia to the rest of Finland.**

The evacuees were paid compensation for land, forests, buildings, and effects left in Karelia. This compensation was financed by the proceeds of property levies collected from the rest of the population and partly also by increasing normal taxation. Tax payers thus had to dip into their purses twice on account of the war.

The evacuees, in turn, paid for 84 % of their farms in the form of their compensations and ready money; the rest remained as a debt to the State. Only after the extensive work of construction, clearing land, draining fields, and making roads was done were the Karelians gradually able to join their neighbours as equal members of society. This would never have been possible without the widespread sympathy of the rest of the Finns.

## Swedish-speaking areas in a special position

One special feature of post-war resettlement was the necessity of



**Packed trains transported the evacuees from the eastern border to safer areas in western Finland.**

relocating the Karelians without disturbing the linguistic character of the Swedish-speaking and bilingual areas. This prohibited the settlement of Karelians almost entirely in coastal areas, which put Karelian fishermen in a difficult position.

The country's leaders did, however, realize that the Swedo-Finns represented a valuable link in Finnish foreign relations precisely during that period, when the rest of Scandinavia was showing its friendship and support. The others who relinquished land had to swallow their bitterness toward the Swedo-Finns, whose land had internationally been left untouched.

All in all, relocating the evacuees brought out the even greater contrast between the advanced agricultural areas of southern Finland and the forested areas of the north and northeast. In other words, most of the Karelians were relocated in areas that already had the densest population. Urbanization also increased as a result.

Post-war resettlement did not, obviously, only involve the evacuees. The conditions created by a prolonged war made it imperative to find land for war invalids, war orphans, war widows, and soldiers with families as well. The prior claim to land promised the evacuees was, however,largely redeemed; only some of the others obtained land at the same time as the Karelians.

## Special features

Over 14 million people became refugees or evacuees in Europe during the period 1912—1939, most of them in the Balkans, Germany, and the Soviet Union. Twelve million suffered the same fate during the Second World War, and during the ensuing decade, 30 million followed them, over half of them Germans.

The Karelians thus made up only a small stream in the great flood of refugees. Even though they only accounted for *about 12 %* of the Finnish population, many factors made it easier for them to get a new start. Finland was, after all, able to solve its evacuee problems itself, without the presence of occupying forces. Relocation took place under the country's own highly developed administration and legislation.

In addition, the Karelians joined other Finns; they were able to adapt to another *Finnish* society. Their move was also a single and final event. The evacuees did not come as a continual, chaotic flood, as they did in Germany, but over a short period of time, which made it possible to make long-range plans in solving the problems involved.

Another factor which facilitated resettlement was the full-employment situation which revailed, due partly to Finland's obligation to pay war reparations. It was certainly also very important that the evacuees' initiative and sense of responsibility could be used to the full in arranging their affairs. As a result of all this, Finland resolved its evacuee question earlier than other countries.

## Finland in transition

The Karelians' move, to the last man, to the rest of Finland was recognized quite early as a social transformation with far-reaching and profound effects. The first plan to study this period of transition scientifically was put on paper as early as

the summer of 1946. In the spring of 1948, the Rockefeller Foundation in the United States appropriated a large grant to carry out the project.

While the evacuees gradually adapted to new conditions, they still harbored an unconsicious hope that Karelia would be returned to Finland. Before the Paris PeaceTreaty was signed (1947), this wish might indeed have been based on some degree of realism. The fact that as late as the 1960s, efforts were made to use this question politically shows just how strong and tenacious these hopes were. The Karelians never started up any vindictive political movement, however.

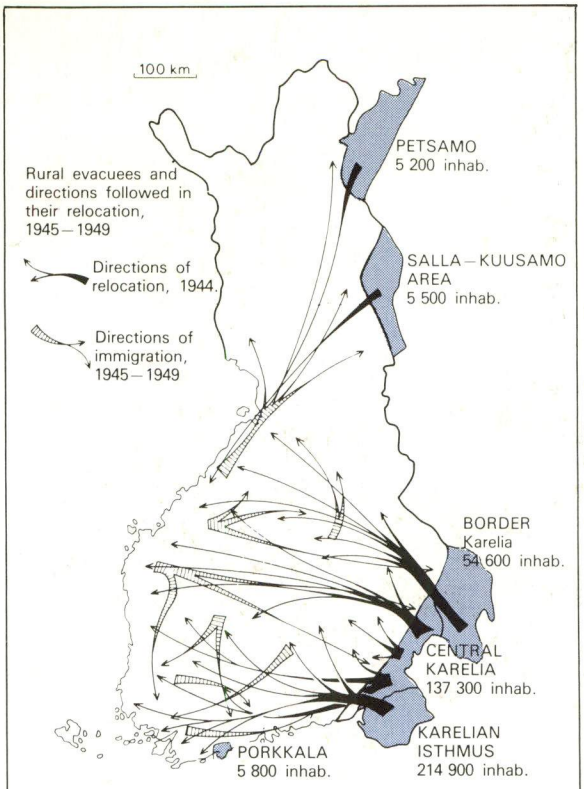
Most of those who had lived their adult life in Karelia were inclined to put everything that was past and lost in an idealized light. The Karelia they had left and everything connected with it became the center of all their sentiments. On the other hand, many very real difficulties with farms and homes did indeed make new conditions compare unfavorably with the old.

The younger generation, on the other hand, had only vague memories of the land they had lost and was much more willing to put down roots in a new place. It had none of the adjustment problems that came from deep-seated feelings. Nonetheless, the knowledge that a family comes from Karelia can be kept alive for generations as an historic tradition, a highly valued heritage.

Carrying out resettlement proved to be a project that strengthened Finnish society in quite a short time. Today we are fully aware that the rapid and determined settlement of both Karelians and war veterans saved the country from many difficult post-war social problems.

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**Written by Keijo K. Kulha, editor-in-chief of Helsingin Sanomat and a Finnish historian, with a special interest in recent history.**




**Relocating the evacuees.** The evacuees began their move in the autumn of 1939, in evacuations preceeding the Winter War which continued during and after the war as the inhabitants of areas ceded to the Soviet Union left them. During the Continuation War, c. 70 % of the evacuees returned to their homes. After the armistice in September 1944, all of the areas were evacuated once more. The evacuees accounted for *c. 12 %* of the Finnish population at the time.

An emergency resettlement act was passed in 1940 and a land acquisitions act in 1945 to relocate rural evacuees. The implementation of the former was interrupted. Persons other than evacuees were covered by the latter. By the end of 1950, nearly all the evacuees who had worked in agriculture had been settled; c. 16 % relinquished their right to land. Immigration by the evacuees after 1945 was directed from the western parts of the country toward the east and north, but also on a large scale to southern Finland.

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# FINNISH FEATURES

MAY 1984

## The Roots of the Finnish Language

In terms of both structure and vocabulary, Finnish differs sharply from most other European languages. The general acoustic quality of the language in itself is enough to attract the foreigner's attention: lots of vowels, few consonants, long words, stress invariably on the first syllable. Consonant clusters are rare, particularly at the beginning and end of words. Loanwords may thus receive such forms in Finnish as *koulu* (cf. Latin *schola,* Swedish *skola*), *ranta* (cf. Swedish *strand*), *lyijy* (cf. Swedish *bly*). The word *hääyöaie,* on the other hand, is an example of the abundant use of vowels. Finnish grammar is characterized by the lack of grammatic gender, the absence of articles, and the large number of cases (15) and derivatives, among other things. One general feature is the use of suffixes where other European languages employ prepositions, pronouns and particles. For instance the phrase *I also sing in my car* can be translated as *laula-n auto-ssa-ni-kin* (hyphens added), which corresponds roughly to "sing-I car-in-my-also".

The Finnish language, despite its exotic features, does not stand alone in Europe. It belongs to the Finno-Ugric family of languages, which have spread to Fennoscandia, Western Siberia and Eastern Europe, including Hungary. This group is further related to the Samoyedic languages, which at the beginning of this century were spread over an area extending from the Arctic Ocean across the tundra to the Taymyr Peninsula, the shores of the Ob and Yenisey Rivers and the Sayan Mountains. Together the Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages form the Uralic family of languages.

The language most closely related to Finnish is Estonian, which is spoken by around a million people on the southern side of the Gulf of Finland. Finnish and Estonia differ from each other to about the same degree as Swedish and Danish. With a little practice a Finn and an Estonian can learn to understand each other's language. To the south, southeast and east of Finland, there are several other languages which are nearly as easy for Finns to learn as Estonia is. These include Karelian, Veps, Votic and Livonian. A more distantly related language is Lapp, which is spoken in Sweden, Norway, Finland and Russia over a broad area which extends in a zone some 100—200 kilometres wide from Härjedalen in central Sweden to the eastern shores of the Kola

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Peninsula. Lapp and Finnish have diverged to the point that they are mutually unintelligible.

Other more distantly related languages include Mordvin and Mari (Cherimis) in the Central Volga area, Votyak in the Kama — Vyatka region, Komi (Zyryan) in the Dvina and Petchora River area, and Ostyak and Vogul in the Ob River area on the other side of the Urals. Finnish is also remotely related to Hungarian, the best known of the Finno-Ugric languages.

All these languages share certain structural features which set them apart from other languages. They also share the oldest stratum of vocabulary. Linguists have been able to demonstrate the relations between the members of the Finno-Ugric family and to reconstruct their history. All are assumed to have developed from a common parent language, termed Proto-Finno-Ugric, which was spoken some 5000 years ago. Further reconstruction leads back to Proto-Uralic, from which the Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages have developed. It is thought that this earlier parent language was in use some 6000—7000 years ago. There is no definite information concerning where these ancient tongues were spoken. Many facts nevertheless seem to indicate that Proto-Uralic was originally spoken in the Urals region, as the name implies.

Stone Age hunting and fishing tribes required plenty of room to ensure their daily supply of food. It has been calculated that at the time in question the forest zone of Eastern and Northern Europe could sustain a population with a density of no more than 0.1—0.5 persons per square kilometre. Life involved a great deal of travelling. Families wandered over great areas in search of food, according to the rhythm of the seasons. We can easily understand that as the region occupied by speakers of Proto-Uralic expanded, contacts weakened and finally broke off between groups which were physically separated from one another. Dialects also diverged. This divergeance eventually resulted in a loss of mutual comprehension: one language became many. The cleft between Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic was the first to develop. It appears that Proto-Finno-Ugric was initially spoken in the region between the Urals and the Volga, but over the course of the next two thousand years, Finno-Ugric tribes spread out over a broad area reaching from the Urals to the eastern part of the Baltic.

The Finno-Ugric peoples represent the oldest population of northern and central Russia. It was only in historic times, mostly in the past thousand years, that they faced encroachment by newcomers of Slavic and Turkish origin. These have in turn assimilated parts of the indigenous Finno-Ugric population.

Archeological finds, stone artifacts, pottery fragments and decorations, the remains of dwellings and human graves tell us a great deal about the life of prehistoric peoples. But language also carries traces of the past. New inventions, working methods, occupations and social structures always bring with them new concepts and words. Words form layers, with the oldest strata going back thousands of years and the youngest dating only to yesterday. The researcher can study these layers and read the history of a language and the people who have spoken it just as the geologist reads the history of our planet from the strata of the earth's crust. Although the oldest known Finnish-language texts only date back to the 16th century, historical-comparative linguistics offers the means to trace the roots of this language much farther back into the past.

The oldest recognized stratum of the Finnish language goes back to Proto-Uralic and Proto-Finno-Ugric, i.e. some 5000—7000 years. It echoes the life of the Stone Age hunter-fisherman and includes such words as *jousi* ("bow"), *nuoli* ("arrow"), *kalin* and *kulle* (both meaning a type of primitive fishing net). Although the main livelihoods at this time were hunting and fishing, some domestic animals were also kept, as evidenced by the words *koira* ("dog") and *porsas* ("pig"). This last word was borrowed by the Finno-Ugric people from their Indo-European neighbours (cf. English *pork*). Other borrowings include such words as *mehiläinen* ("bee") and *mesi* ("honey"), which show that bee products were at least known and perhaps some primitive form of beekeeping was already

being developed. Words related to old forms of winter travel such as *ahkio* ("sled") and *suksi* ("ski") have survived, as has the verb *soutaa* ("to row"), which indicates how streams were used for travel purposes. Other vocabulary related to everyday articles and skills which has remained embedded in the Finnish language includes *pato* ("dam"), *punoa* ("to weave"), *solmu* ("knot"), *veitsi* ("knife", originally "axe"), *vuolla* ("carve"), *vyö* ("belt"), *äimä* ("needle", originally made of bone), *kota* ("tent") and *ovi* ("door"). Proto-Finno-Ugric had a wealth of terms to describe family relations, and many of these are preserved in Finnish. Other social vocabulary from this period has not fared so well, however. In fact the only word in this category which has been passed on is *noita* ("witch"), a term connected with Shamanism. Such facts demonstrate the central importance of the family among Stone Age hunter-fishermen. Permanent social organization on a broader scale is not likely to have existed as yet.

All the subsequent stages through which Finnish has gone have similarly left their traces on the language. Vocabulary strata, for example, give some indication of the great social change which took place in the third century before our own era, when the inhabitants of the Baltic and Volga regions learned the art of agriculture. The common farming vocabulary of the Baltic languages, Mordvin and Mari give witness to this revolutionary change. As one might expect, new social vocabulary also developed at this time. The farmer's life was regular, dwellings became permanent, relations with neighbours took on larger importance, and the community moved towards greater organization and adopted new standards.

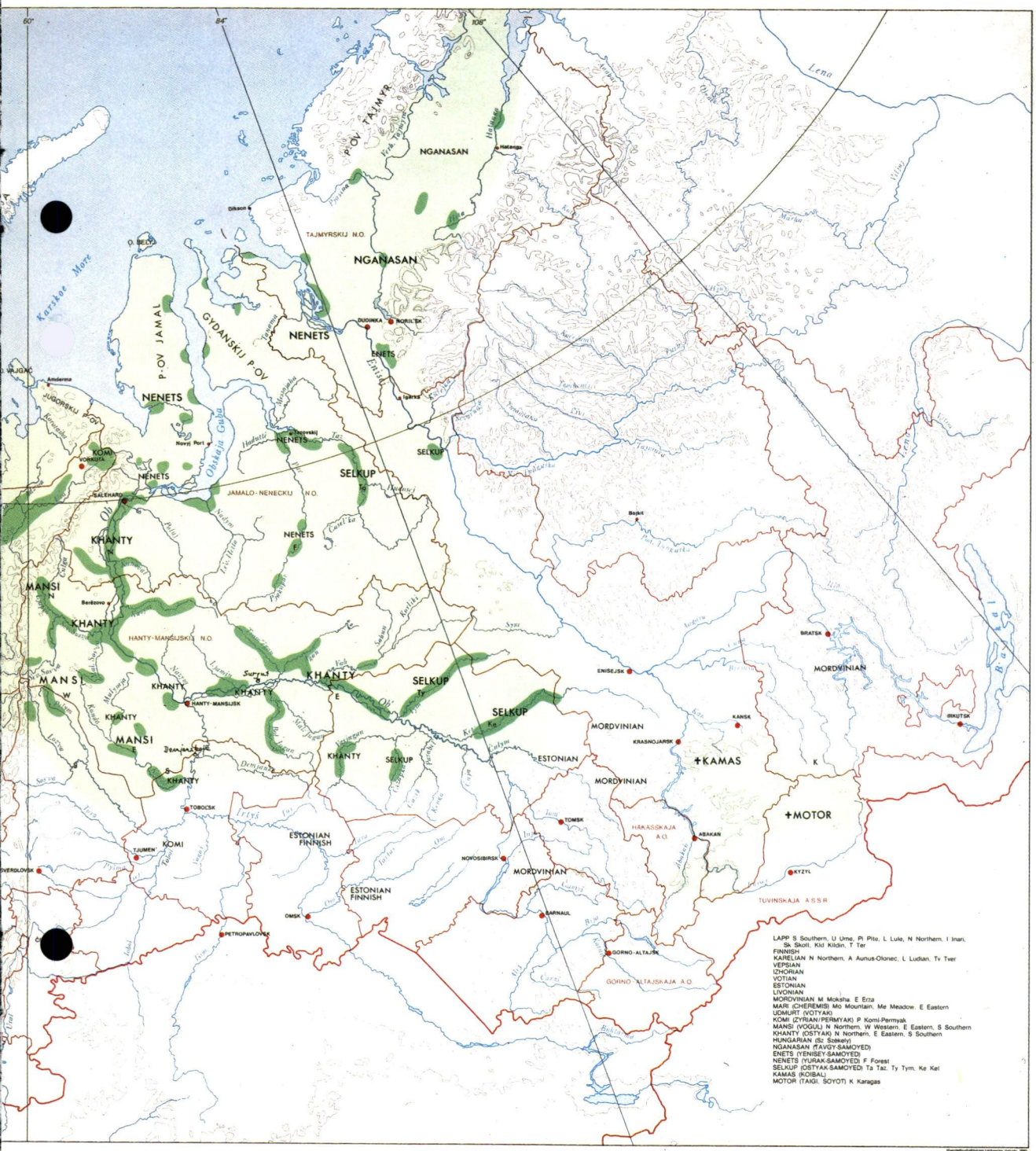
Not everyone wished to assume the worries of farming, however. Especially in the northernmost areas, agriculture could not guarantee survival. Hunting and fishing offered more security. This very difference in natural conditions was probably the main reason why two separate groups began to develop in the so-called primitive Proto-Finnic language community living on the northwestern periphery of Finno-Ugric habitation, around the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga. Eventually these two groups also diverged linguistically. The northern group continued to live as before. Game, particularly wild reindeer, drew hunters farther and farther to the north, where they encountered and gradually absorbed some earlier Fenno-Scandinavian population whose origin is unknown. The Lapps are descended from this stock. The southern group, on the other hand, stayed in the area around the Gulf of Finland, tied down by their developing agriculture and livestock herding. This second group gave rise to the Baltic peoples, including the Finns.

Finnish came from the east, but when? When did the first words of this language or some earlier stage of it first echo in the wilds of present-day Finland? No definite answer can as yet be given to this question. Linguistic methods make a relative chronology possible. Far-reaching conclusions can be reached concerning the relative age of grammatical constructions, words and forms. Grammatical changes can be put into order and the main stages of language development can be outlined. But language data alone cannot tell very much about the absolute time at which a particular change took place or some state of the language existed. Pinpointing such changes generally requires some type of extralinguistic information which can be dated and compared to the language under study.

Archeological artifacts can be dated in many instances. Archeologists have shown that Finland has been inhabited for as much as 9000 years. But stone axes, pottery fragments and fireplaces do not tell us what language their users spoke. This presents a problem: archeological finds can be dated, but they are mute, while language speaks of the past in words, but not dates. How can these two documents of prehistoric times be combined?

Various attempts have been made towards this end. For example, very few artifacts dating to the pre-Roman Iron Age (500 BC—AD 50) have been found in Finland. Abundant finds going back to the following period have been made, however, and these artifacts are similar to those found to the south of the Gulf of Finland. This has led to the conclusion


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Light green: Areas of Widest Distribution
Dark Green: Present-day Main Areas
† Extinct

that settlement in what is now Finland — whatever the origin of this early population — decreased or even disappeared during the pre-Roman Iron Age, with new settlers moving in from Estonia during the first centuries of the Christian era. It is assumed that these new settlers spoke Proto-Finnic and were the ancestors of modern-day Finns. This interpretation and the view of history it involves gained an established position in the early part of the present century. Scholars representing various disciplines were more or less unanimously in favour of this explanation, and this is what was taught in schools. But it was not the final word.

Recently, and particularly since the 1970s, both linguists and archeologists have revealed new data and new research findings which do not support the old migration theory, but rather undermine it. New archeological excavations have also brought to light artifacts from the pre-Roman period. Thanks to more complete data and more advanced research methods, the picture of Finland's pre-historic period has been altered. Many archeologists believe that the findings point to continuous cultural development from the Stone Age onwards. In their view, archeological remains do indeed point to contacts with the south, but they do not justify the assumption of such a dramatic demographical change as was once thought to have taken place.

The latest linguistic findings are also in conflict with the old migration theory. Recent research shows that the oldest Germanic loanwords were assimilated into Finnish in southwestern Finland and not to the south of the Gulf of Finland. Since the contacts which made these borrowings possible are nowadays considered to have taken place in the Bronze Age, this means that Proto-Finnic was spoken in Finland as early as 1000—1500 BC. Whether or not Finno-Ugric settlement in this area goes back even farther than this is still a riddle. In the light of archeological findings, it would appear possible that Finno-Ugric settlers arrived in Finland before 3000 BC, when what is known as comb pottery spread to this area.

Although Finnish has its roots firmly in the east, it has also acquired a great deal of western foliage over the course of time. Mention was made earlier of the Indo-European loanwords which made their way into Proto-Finno-Ugric. The study of words dating from subsequent periods indicates constant contacts with certain Indo-European groups. During the second century BC, the ancestors of today's Finns came in touch with the Balts, who spoke an Indo-European language related to modern-day Lithuanian and Latvian. Old Baltic loanwords suggest close contacts and the influence of Baltic culture. The scene of these contacts was what is now the Baltic states, where the Proto-Finns had arrived from the east. The Finno-Ugric people had up until this time been inland dwellers. The oldest strata of the Finnish language thus lack words related to the sea, even though they include many terms connected with other types of waterways. When the Proto-Finnic people arrived on the shores of the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic Sea, they encountered the Balts and adopted from them such words as *meri* ("sea"), *lohi* ("salmon") and *ankerias* ("eel").

Around this same time or perhaps a little later, the Proto-Finnic people came into touch with Germanic tribes, from whom they also borrowed many new words. Judging from such borrowings, this Germanic influence appears to have been considerably stronger than that of the Balts. Finnish includes very many words of Germanic origin in such areas as occupations, crafts, weapons and society. This Germanic influence has continued from the Bronze Age up to the present day, with greater or lesser force. The lender has also changed during this period from Proto-Germanic to Scandinavian and on to Swedish. The latest flow of Germanic loanwords comes from English. Such words as *buukata* ("to book"), *jatsi* ("jazz"), *meikki* ("make-up"), *taksi* ("taxi") and *teippi* ("tape") are an every day part of modern Finnish.

The Finns came in contact with the Slavs at a relatively late date, only around the middle of the first millenium of our era. Since then numerous Slavic loanwords have been assimilated into Finnish, and such borrowings form a considerable portion of the vocabulary of eastern dialects.

New words are not the only thing that foreign languages have contributed to Finnish. Germanic influences in particular have left profound traces on the phonetic and syntactic structure of the Finnish language. This is especially true in the case of phraseology and word meaning, i.e. the content expressed by linguistic forms. Prof. Lauri Hakulinen, a noted Finnish language scholar, has stated that "The Finnish language's inventory of expressions has particularly by means of translation loans gained access to the common cultural heritage of the majority of European languages and thus has been 'Europeanized' much more thoroughly than one might suppose given the isolation of its phonological and morphological structure."

The isolation of phonological and morphological structure mentioned by Hakulinen refers to that part of the Finnish language which has best preserved the ancient Finno-Ugric heritage. Finnish has in fact been compared to an icebox storing age-old expressions and constructions which have changed markedly in other languages. Some Finnish words are like mammoth bones surviving as monuments of prehistoric times.

For example, the words *pata* ("pot"), *pesä* ("nest"), *kala* ("fish"), *kota* ("tent") and *ilma* ("air") have retained the same phonetic appearance for 5000—6000 years, while they have changed radically in the other Finno-Ugric languages. If we take the Finnish word *kota,* for instance, it has such cognates as *koahti* in Lapp, *kudo* in Mordvin, *kude* in Mari, *kola* in Komi, *kwa* in Votyak, *kaat* in Ostyak and *ház* in Hungarian. In many cases Finnish has also preserved old loanwords better than the language of origin. Thus the old Germanic *kuningaz* is still *kuningas* in Finnish, while in the Germanic languages it has developed over the course of centuries into *king* in English, *konung* and *kung* in Swedish and *König* in German.

We have followed the prehistory of the Finnish language from Proto-Uralic some 6000—7000 years ago. What about the time before this? Long ago scholars found similarities between the Uralic and Altaic languages. This latter family includes the Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus languages, but some authorities even question the inter-relation between these Altaic groups. In any case, there are researchers who believe that the Uralic and Altaic languages are quite distantly related. Yukaghir, which is spoken in Siberia, is more evidently related to the Uralic family. There are also similarities between the Indo-European and Uralic languages, and these have been interpreted as a sign of common parentage. It should, however, be noted that the Indo-European languages show a more distant relation to the Uralic languages than do the Altaic languages and Yukaghir. In recent times there has been some discussion of possible ancient connections between Uralic, Altaic and Dravidian. In all these cases, similarities between language families represent such an old stratum that it has not yet been possible to clarify their nature. There is no way to judge whether this is a question of common ancestry or contacts between ancient Eurasian peoples some tens of thousands of years ago. The horizon is shrouded in mist.

## The Uralic language family (with approximate number of speakers)

### Finno-Ugric division

1. Baltic-Finnic group
   - Finnish (5,000,000)
   - Estonian (1,000,000)
   - Karelian (138,000)
   - Veps (16,000)
   - Votic (a few dozen)
   - Livonian (300)

2. Lapp (36,000)

3. Volga-Finnic group
   - Mordvin (1,200,000)
   - Mari or Cheremis (622,000)

4. Permic group
   - Komi or Zyryan (478,000)
   - Votyak or Udmurt (714,000)

5. Ob-Ugric group
   - — Ostyak or Khanty (21,000)
   - — Vogul or Mansi (7,600)

6. Hungarian (14,000,000)

**Samoyedic division**

1. Nenets or Yurak (25,000)
2. Enets or Yenesey Samoyed (400)
3. Ngansan or Tavgi (1,000)
4. Selkup or Ostyak Samoyed (4,300)

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# FINNISH FEATURES

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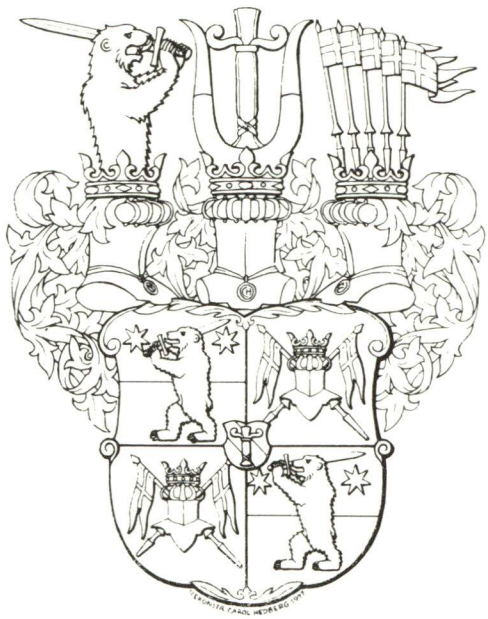
## Finnish coats of arms

The following is a brief description of Finland's national coat of arms and the arms of the nation's nine provinces. A short account is given of what each of these symbolizes and how it came into being. The article is based on the official blazon and the most widely approved explanation of each coat of arms.

### The national coat of arms

When King Gustav I of Sweden (died 1560) gave his son John the title of duke of Finland in 1556, the territory also received its own coat of arms, which was probably approved by the king in 1557, although as far as we know Duke John never used it. In addition to national emblems, this coat of arms (Figure 1) included two other symbols referring to northern and southern Finland, in actual fact the areas of Satakunta and Varsinais-Suomi (Finland Proper). These two symbols were later retained in the arms of these two provinces.

After ascending the Swedish throne, King John III adopted the title of "Grand Duke of Finland and Karelia" in the year 1581. It was probably at this time or a little later that Finland received a second coat of arms (Figure 2), which is somewhat like the present one. This coat of arms is generally thought to have been modelled on a shield sculpted for the tombstone of



King Gustav I at the Uppsala Cathedral (completed 1591). This monument was designed during the reign of John's elder brother, Erik XIV, who was king from 1560 to 1568, but it was only completed some thirty years later during John's reign. The shield was probably designed by the Dutch artist Willem Boyen, who served under both Gustav I and Erik XIV.

There is no way to know whether Finland's second coat of arms was purely the product of Willem Boyen's own imagination or whether it was based on Erik XIV's wishes or some other unknown

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Classification:
2.1.



Figure 2

historical tradition. It is known, however, that Erik XIV was himself interested in heraldry. This matter has been the subject of considerable academic debate among scholars and laymen.

At any rate, the general consensus has been that the symbol of the lion is derived from the arms of the Folkung family, which are included in the royal arms of Sweden. The two swords were borrowed from the Karelian coat of arms (Figure 8), which was publicly displayed for the first known time on a banner at the funeral of King Gustav I in 1560.

The placing of the curved Russian sabre beneath the lion's paws is undoubtedly a reflection of the political situation at this time. Sweden and Russia were almost constantly at war, and the Swedes made use of this propaganda device to imply that they had the upper hand over their enemies. The nine roses are decorative, although they have falsely been interpreted as referring to Finland's nine historical provinces. It is worth noting that the number of roses has varied over the centuries.

When Finland gained independence in 1917, the "lions arms" became the coat of arms of the new nation. Before this it had served as the common symbol for all the Swedish territory to the east of the Gulf of Bothnia; and from 1809 to 1917 it served as the coat of arms for the Grand Duchy of Finland, which was under Russian rule during this period.

The Finnish coat of arms appears on the state flag, official seals, coins, banknotes and postage stamps. On the President's car it takes the place of an ordinary registration plate.

It was not until 1978 that legislation was passed concerning Finland's coat of arms. This legislation gives the official blazon and prohibits the sale of the national coat of arms, subject to fine.

The national coat of arms displays a crowned lion standing on a red field. The lion holds a raised sword in its right gauntleted fore leg and is trampling a curved sabre. The lion, the crown and the sword and sabre handles are gold, as are the gauntlet joints. The blades and the gauntlet are silver. The field is adorned by nine silver roses.

## Provincial coats of arms

Finland's nine historical provinces include Varsinais-Suomi (Finland Proper), Satakunta, Ahvenanmaa (Åland), Uusimaa, Häme (Tavastia), Karjala (Karelia), Savo, Pohjanmaa (Ostrobothnia) and Lappi (Finnish Lapland). Several Finnish provinces had their own seals as early as the Middle Ages. No present-day coats of arms have developed from these seals, however, which included representations of saints. It was probably not until the reign of Gustav I that Finland's provinces received arms similar to those existing today.

The provincial arms were all apparently designed under kings with a personal interest in heraldry. Each coats of arms is clearly representative of the province, its fauna or other special characteristics. The coronets which appear in Finland's provincial arms are based on historical practice and show a certain degree of ignorance regarding continental heraldic tradition and conventions. The ducal coronet on some provincial arms differs from the normal crown, while the count's coronet on other provincial arms resembles a baronial crown.

Today provincial arms are used in various provincial symbols. The coats of arms of Finland's modern administrative provinces are in the main derived from those of the historical provinces. Many municipalities have also adopted the colours and motifs of provincial arms.

### Varsinais-Suomi (Finland Proper)

(Figure 3)

A golden jousting helmet in front of crossed golden lances on a red field. Each lance bears a blue forked pennon with a golden cross. Ducal coronet.

The arms of this province appeared on the coat of arms designed when King John III took the title of grand duke of Finland. The helmet and lances no doubt have reference to Turku Castle, the military and administrative centre of southwestern Finland. The helmet also bears witness to the importance of the nobility and knighthood, established in Medieval times.



Figure 3
Varsinais-Suomi



Figure 4
Satakunta



Figure 5
Ahvenanmaa



Figure 6
Uusimaa



Figure 7
Häme



Figure 8
Karjala



Figure 9
Savo



Figure 10
Pohjanmaa



Figure 11
Lappi

## Satakunta

(Figure 4)

A black bear standing on a blue and golden field, with red claws, tongue and teeth. The bear holds a silver sword with golden haft and wears a golden crown. On either side of the bear's head is a silver star. Ducal coronet.

This coat of arms also figured in the arms created for Duke John. The bear is a reference to the old fur trade and the existence of bears in this region in the Middle Ages and the early part of our own era. The bear may have appeared on the arms of this province as early as the 15th century. The animal is a symbol of the wilds. The sword and the two seven-pointed stars are mainly ornamental. Swords and stars have always been common heraldic devices. The stars can be thought of as referring to the clear winter sky of the North, for example. The ducal coronet indicates the importance of the province.

## Ahvenanmaa (Åland)

(Figure 5)

A stag on a blue field. Baronial coronet.

As mentioned above, the coat of arms adopted by Duke John in 1556 included the arms of southern and northern Finland (Finland Proper and Satakunta). In 1569 Katarina Stenbock, the widow of Gustav I, received the Åland Islands as a fief, and this area was then considered a province in its own right. This is reflected by the baronial coronet.

This province's first coat of arms displayed two deer one above the other, symbolizing the rich game of the islands. Around the beginning of the 17th century, however, the two deer were replaced by one stag.

According to one view, this change resulted from the confusion of the names Åland and Öland. The arms of Öland did in fact show a golden stag on a blue field, a reference to the splendid hunting which Öland offered the nobility.

The arms of Åland have remained basically the same since the early 17th century. The Öland arms, on the other hand, for a time displayed two deer. Nowadays they, too, feature a stag and greatly resemble the Åland coat of arms.

The coat of arms of Åland was slightly changed in 1951, when a ribbon was removed from the stag's neck. The arms were redrawn by the renowned Finnish heraldist Gustaf von Numers at this time.

## Uusimaa

(Figure 6)

A golden boat between two wavy silver lines on a blue field. Baronial coronet.

The oldest known depiction of this province's arms is in a runic painting in Uppsala which dates from 1599. The boat is a traditional symbol of coastal areas and refers to the importance of navigation and fishing. The wavy lines supposedly represent the Vantaa and Porvoo rivers, which are old trading routes and connections between the coast and the interior, i.e. the province of Häme. Another interpretation is that they refer to the Kymi and Mustio rivers, which border the province to the west and east.

The arms of municipalities in this province quite often make use of the provincial colours: blue, gold and silver. The modern administrative province of Uusimaa also makes use of the same arms, without the coronet.

## Häme (Tavastia)

(Figure 7)

A golden linx with black ear tufts on a red field, with three six-pointed silver stars above and four silver roses underneath. Ducal coronet.

An armorial banner representing the province of Häme was also noted at the funeral of King Gustav I. The principal charge, the linx, was added later as part of

the coat of arms for Gustav's tombstone. Since then it has always figured in the provincial arms.

The linx was once a very common animal in this part of Finland. The stars and roses are ornamental. In the days of Gustav I, Häme was regarded as a duchy, hence the ducal coronet.

The arms of this historical province nowadays appear as one side of the arms of the administrative provinces of Häme, Mikkeli and Keski-Suomi (Central Finland). The "Häme linx" also appears on the arms of several municipalities. Many organizations, including one of Finland's best known icehockey and football clubs, have also adopted the linx as their symbol. The provincial colours are often found in municipal arms.

## Karjala (Karelia)

(Figure 8)

A golden crown above two duelling arms, the right guantleted arm holding a sword and the left mailed arm a scimitar, all silver except for golden hafts and gauntlet joint. Ducal coronet.

The oldest known Karelian arms date from 1562. An armorial banner representing this province most probably appeared before this time at the funeral of King Gustav I in 1560, however. This banner carried the same shield which has remained on the provincial arms for four centuries.

The origin and symbolic function of the Karelian arms have long been debated. The emblem is generally interpreted as an reference to the province's position as a eastern border region and to the lengthy struggle between Sweden and Russia for ownership of this area. Finland's national coat of arms borrowed the sword and scimitar from the Karelian arms. The ducal crown in the shield itself reflects the province's historical heraldic status. The Karelian arms, without the coronet, nowadays serve as the coat of arms of the administrative province of Pohjois-Karjala (North Karelia).

## Savo

(Figure 9)

A drawn bow on a black field, with golden bow and arrow and silver feathers and arrowhead. Baronial coronet.

The simple and quite beautiful arms of the Savo province also appeared on a banner displayed at the funeral of King Gustav I. The Savo arms have remained unchanged since the 16th century. The bow and arrow refer to hunting and the need to defend the nation's border. The Savo arms, without the coronet, nowadays serve as the arms of the administrative province of Kuopio. The bow and arrow also appear on the arms of Mikkeli province, together with the linx of Häme, as well as in numerous municipal arms. Black and gold are also commonly found in various municipal arms in this part of the nation.

## Pohjanmaa (Ostrobothnia)

(Figure 10)

Six silver ermines with black-tipped tails on a blue field. Baronial coronet.

Various interpretations have been advanced concerning this province's arms. The Ostrobothnian arms also appeared on a banner displayed at the funeral of King Gustav I. In 1562 the province had its first known coat of arms, consisting of a pine marten on a white/silver field. This animal has also been interpreted — erroneously — as a black fox or even a hound. Over the course of time the province's symbol has changed in size and shape, although it has always remained a fur animal. The number of animals has also varied. It is worth mentioning that the Ostrobothnian arms appeared on a 1576 medallion in practically the same form as today. The ermine was once quite common in this area.

The Ostrobothnian arms appear on the arms of the modern provinces of Oulu, Vaasa and Lappi (Finnish Lapland) and in various municipal arms.

## Lappi (Finnish Lapland)

(Figure 11)

A wild man carrying a golden club on his shoulder and wearing a green garland and girdle on a red field. Baronial coronet.

King Karl IX, the third son of Gustav I, is responsible for giving Finnish Lapland its own arms. The original arms were depicted for the first time on a 1606 coin as part of a chain around the king's seal. The shield shows a wild man apparently clothed in furs and carrying a club on his shoulder. Later on the man was shown with only a laurel girdle and garland. This figure, which also appears in the arms of Swedish Lapland and Finland's modern administrative province of Lappi, is no doubt a poor symbol of this cold northern region. The wild man is a reference to the primitive conditions of the province's inhabitants.

It is worth mentioning that a list illustrated in the 1580s by Rev. Johan Klint of Östra Stenby, Sweden, includes a Lapp coat of arms with two golden/yellow wolves on a silver/white field. This coat of arms never came into general use, however.

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## Dr. Mauno Koivisto
## President of the Republic of Finland



According to Paragraph 33 of Finland's Constitution, the President of the Republic "prescribes" the nation's relationship to other countries. This categorical formulation, which excludes all interpretations, reveals what the father of the Constitution, K.J. Ståhlberg, who became Finland's first President, considered the central task of the office. Ståhlberg's political profile was uncompromisingly republican.

When Mauno Henrik Koivisto was a presidential candidate for the first time, a re-

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3

porter requested that he define the content of Finland's foreign policy in three words, and no more than three. Koivisto's answer, "good neighbour relations", bewildered the interviewer who then asked, "Is that enough for you?" Perhaps he had expected some phrase or other from the reigning political liturgy, for example, "Paasikivi-Kekkonen line".

This simple, surprising answer showed that the interviewee, with his double experience of having twice held both the post as Minister of Finance as well as that of Prime Minister, was thoroughly familiar with the complexity of problems which are a permanent part of Finland's geopolitics, as marked by the location of the country in the joint between East and West. Koivisto has later added to his thoughts by stating: "If Finland's relations to its neighbours, the Soviet Union and the Nordic countries, are not in order, it is futile to attempt to build a credible role in a wider international context".

After World War II, Finland's international position was stabilised during the quarter-of-a-century long presidential period of Urho Kekkonen. In particular, playing host to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held in Helsinki in 1975, accentuated the image of Finland as an active, neutral nation, striving to foster peaceful developments in Europe.

Mauno Koivisto's first presidential period, from 1982–1988, in regards to domestic politics as well as international developments, was characterised by mild weather compared to the tornados that whirled up during his second term in office, in the immediate vicinity of Finland as well. Changes in the Soviet Union and throughout all of Eastern Europe have also sent waves across the Baltic Ocean and the Gulf of Finland, and have forced the leaders of Finland's foreign policy to face new issues.

The Social Democratic presidential candidate, Mauno Koivisto's clear victory in 1982 over two non-Socialist candidates provided a good basis for his domestic policy decisions. The transition from his having been Acting President during Kekkonen's illness to becoming the head of the nation, had no effect on foreign policy nor, for example, on the State's Civil Service, despite fears of a development to the contrary. The first Cabinet he appointed was built on the same basis as had been the custom since 1966; the core consisted of Social Democrats and the Centre Party supplemented by the Swedish People's Party. And in 1983, the Finnish Rural Party (FLP) was added to the Government.

The second Government appointed by Koivisto in 1987, on the other hand, meant a real change in the nation's political power structure. The Conservative Party, which had been in opposition for two decades, became the principle party in the Government together with the Social Democrats. They even held the Prime Minister's post. The Centre Party (Agrarian Party), who had become accustomed to being a permanent member of the Government, had to accept the fact that they were left out this time. The creator of the so-called "red-blue Government" obviously had other alternatives, but the secret agreement regarding the formation of the Government, entered into by the Centre Party and the National Coalition Party influenced the President's decision. He had clearly announced earlier that no party - not even the National Coalition Party - would be automatically excluded from collaboration in the Government.

The thought often presented by Koivisto, that a Government should reign throughout the four-year period of the Parliament, became a reality. Unfortunately, this had disastrous consequences for both Governmental parties. In the elections of 1991 they experienced a crushing defeat, while the Centre Party, which had been in opposition, won a "chilling victory" (victory that would chill your blood), which the party secretary had predicted two years early.

Thus the non-Socialist parties' Government was created after a four-year delay. The Left, both the Social Democrats and the Coalition of the Left, the heir of the Communist Party reduced to half its size, became the opposition. The Greens joined them as well, though they had received increased support in the elections.

Ever since he was elected, Koivisto has stressed the importance of parliamentary government and the balance of power between the President and the Parliament. During the events surrounding the formation of the Government in 1991 he remained aloof. For example, the Centre Party's choice of their new, young party leader as Prime Minister was never questioned. During Koivisto's time as President, nearly all possible types of Government formations have had the opportunity to show their viability, and there

has been no need to form a civil servant or minority Government, which Koivisto repudiates.

The ten-year period of stable economic growth, during the so-called era of consensus and societal harmony, up until the start of the depression in early 1991 did not require any extraordinary intervention by the President.

Mauno Koivisto's active participation in the nation's societal debate, during his time as Head of the Bank of Finland, was part of his image as an individual. During his Presidential period he has kept up his long-standing contact with representatives of the arts and sciences, but he has not, like his predecessor, become involved in heated topical questions.

Koivisto has, instead, expressed his thoughts and opinions regarding the turn of events in published books. The first work, "Linjanveto" (Drawing the Line) from 1968, dealt with the period he was Prime Minister. This was followed up by "Väärää politiikkaa" (The Wrong Politics) in 1978, while the author was still with the Bank of Finland. "Politiikkaa ja politikointia 1979–1981" (Politics and Politicking 1979–1981) was published in 1988 and received as much attention as his earlier works. "Linjaviitat" (Landmarks - Finland in the World"), first published in 1983, contained Koivisto's point of view regarding foreign policy. This book has been updated several times and published in several languages.

Usually the President expresses his thoughts through speeches and lectures which he gives on different occasions. Furthermore, he gives innumerous interviews each year to foreign and domestic periodicals. At times friction has arisen in his relations with the press, though he has been much more open than any of his predecessors.

Aside from the normal reading that is part of his daily routine, Koivisto regularly keeps up-to-date with a number of periodicals and newspapers in several languages and reads the current literature. He has been particularly interested in research connected with World War II - perhaps because of his own war memories.

Koivisto is known to be an expert volleyball player, and in recent years he has taken up sailing as a hobby. Once he pointed out that sport is often called a body culture and added: "Sport also requires and often develops mental strength. International competitions using wooden bats and protection for the body are preferred to those employing weapons and explosives."

The President recalls that he once tried to formulate a short definition of culture, with the following result: "Culture is knowledge, skills and experiences. Knowledge grows through research and observations. Skills as the realisation of thoughts. Experiences provide us with contact with the spiritual life of others.

Prior to the elections of 1982, there were some political commentators who doubted Koivisto's ability to create personal contacts with the leaders of other countries, particularly the Soviet Union, as had his predecessor. His first visit to the East after his election showed that this fear was ungrounded. The then sickly President Bresjnev, Prime Minister Tihanov and Foreign Minister Gromyko, as an exceptional gesture, met him at the airport; and since then, he has met all the Soviet leaders. According to President George Bush, he is considered the statesman who is best informed concerning matters related to the Soviet Union. Mauno Koivisto, who has been called "a long-standing good friend" by both Bush and President Mihail Gorbatjov, was the first foreign statesman to visit the newly elected President of Russia, Boris Jeltsin, in his office in Moscow.

The lack of inner stability which has existed in the Soviet Union during the past few years, and particularly the strive for independence of the Baltic States, has given rise to a many-faceted discussion in Finland, in which the President has also been involved during the spring of 1991. His cautious line, recommending negotiations concerning the plans for independence, was also touched on during his visit to Jeltsin. Officially, Finland does not want to become involved in the internal affairs of its neighbouring countries, but it does support mutual agreements and does not approve of the use of force.

When the independence of the Baltic States became a reality, following the attempted coup in the Soviet Union in August 1991, Finland, along with the other Nordic countries, was among the first to reestablish diplomatic relations with and recognize the independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Throughout his official life, Koivisto has been the favourite of the people, even though his popularity in several recent opinion polls has been declining. Despite

this, he would undoubtedly have good chances to compete for the Presidential office in the elections of 1994 as well, when his second six-year mandate will end. In the spring of 1991 the Parliament passed a Constitutional reform which means that already in 1994, the President will be chosen through direct elections, in two rounds, and the maximum period of office is restricted to two mandates. Though, the law enacted by Koivisto on 22 July 1991 is not retroactive and does not apply to him. According to a memorandum from the President's office that same day, Koivisto stated that in the autumn of 1992 he would inform of his plans to stand for reelection. He has earlier clearly expressed his preference for only two mandates.

Finland's international position, particularly during Koivisto's second mandate has been strengthened. For example, Finland's membership in the Security Council of the U.N. did not cause any problems in regard to domestic policies. For example, Finland supported sanctions against Iraq after it invaded Kuwait. Finland's voting behaviour has been facilitated by the two super powers being on the same side. The many State Visits made by the President, along with the return visits, have created an image of Koivisto as a calm, able and cautious statesman who also follows his own line of thinking regarding European integration.

Finland's neutrality has been recognised by both super powers as well as by other nations. Koivisto had the interesting task of being host for the summit meeting between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union held in the autumn of 1990 to discuss the Persian Gulf crisis. The next CSCE meeting to be held in Helsinki in 1992, ever more important for the development of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, is also a new challenge for Finland's foreign policy and its leadership.

Regarding Finland's relations to the super powers Koivisto has said the following: "We strive to hold ourselves outside the conflicts between the super powers, but we watch with interest anything that could be a risk to our security. A path must be chosen between two extreme attitudes: on the one hand, one cannot imagine that in making a decision on any particular question, the only factors to be taken into consideration are those which are directly related to the matter; on the other hand, one cannot imagine steering carefully, with your back to the direction of travel, into future situations with the single concern of keeping the wake behind you in a straight line."

Koivisto has described, among other things, his own position and his own tasks in a way that is characteristic of him: "I have not been able to change the world in any significant way, but rather the world has changed me in a way that has clearly not been positive. I was a different-thinking dissident until they made me an upholder of the law. Now I look with a stern view at anyone who rocks the boat."

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**Written by Keijo Immonen, M.A.**

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## The Components of Finnish Parliamentarism

### A short history

If we had to select two important dates from the whole of Finland's political history, they would be 1809 and 1917. In 1809, after a period of about 600 years, Finland ceased to be the easternmost part of the Kingdom of Sweden and became an autonomous grand duchy under the Russian Czar. On December 6th, 1917, Parliament proclaimed Finland an independent republic. Both Swedish and Russian domination left their mark on the relations between Finland's highest organs of government.

Today Finland is a parliamentary democracy based on competition between political parties, power being divided among the highest organs of government. It does not in every respect fit into the categories of parliamentarism constructed by political scientists.

### Constitutional basis

The Finnish Constitution crystallizes the main principles of government in very plain terms. Power in Finland is vested in the people, who are represented by deputies assembled in Parliament. Legislative power is exercised by Parliament together with the President of the Republic. The supreme executive power is vested in the President. For the supreme government of the state there is also a Council of State consisting of a Prime Minister and a requisite number of ministers. Judicial power is vested in independent courts of law, at the highest level in the Supreme Court and the Supreme Administrative Court.

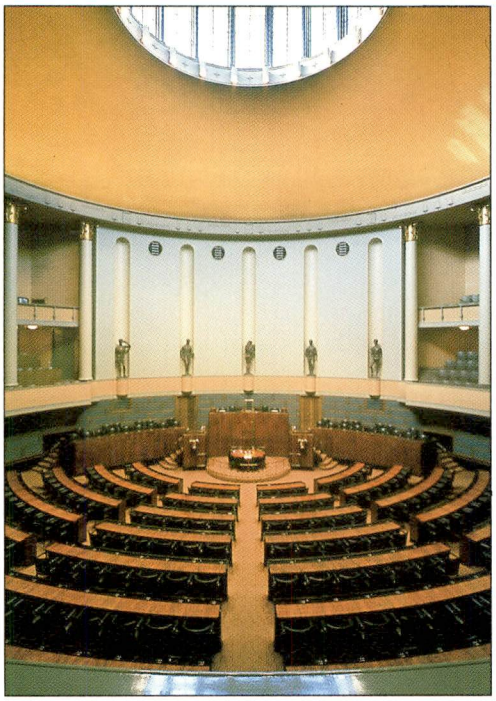
The relations between Parliament, the Cabinet (Council of State) and the President of the Republic are governed by the principles of European parliamentarism and an American-style presidency. On the one hand, the Cabinet must enjoy the support of a majority in Parliament. According to the constitutional reform of 1991 this support is first tested when a new cabinet takes office. On the other hand, the President has considerable power of his own, though not as much or such undisputed power as his American or French counterparts. The special nature of this constitutional system is reinforced by the large number of political parties: to be a big party in Finland means receiving no more than one-quarter or one-fifth of the votes.

The Finnish Constitution is made up of constitutional laws and ordinary laws. In some respects it has its roots in the days when Finland was part of the Kingdom of Sweden. The most important constitutional law is that of 1919, which sets out the rights and duties of citizens, and defines the legislative power and the status and duties of the Cabinet and the President. The 1928 Parliament Act is based on a similar act passed in 1906, before Finland was independent, and includes the most important rules concerning Parliament. Other constitutional laws are the Act on parliamentary jurisdiction over the offices of members of

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*The Chamber of the Parliament Building, Helsinki. Photographer Simo Riska*

the Council of State and the Attorney General and the Act on the High Court of Impeachment, both dating from 1922.

A distinctive feature of Finland's form of government is its rigidity. A constitutional law can be amended only if two-thirds of the members of Parliament agree. Even then, the same session of Parliament cannot amend a law unless the amendment has previously been declared "urgent". This calls for a five-sixths majority, which means agreement between at least four or five parties. One-third of MPs have the power to significantly delay the passage of an ordinary law. To be out of government does not mean to be totally without power.

Finnish parliamentarism runs on coalitions and compromises. Its rhythm is fixed by parliamentary elections held every four years and presidential elections held every six years. The annual centralised negotiations held between the labour market organisations have quickened the pace of Finnish politics in recent years and have a direct influence on policies laid down by the Cabinet and Parliament.

## The Parliament

At its birth in 1906 the Finnish Diet (Eduskunta) was something of a rarity. It was unicameral and elected by universal suffrage – women included. In the elections of the 200 Members of Parliament held in recent years, about 75% of Finns over the age of 18 and eligible to vote have done so. In the Parliament elected in 1991 no fewer than 77 MPs were women.

Parliament meets - usually twice a week - for plenary sessions at which it debates matters, or rather makes speeches about them, and makes decisions by voting. Once a week there is a special session, at which MPs put questions to the members of the Cabinet. It is unusual for an MP to vote against his or her party colleagues. In principle, MPs have a free mandate; in practice they have a party mandate, as in many other countries.

Much of the MPs' time is spent working in committees. The committees are preliminary organs, usually comprising 17 MPs through whose hands matters to be decided in Parliament pass. The committees also employ outside experts. The composition of the committees reflects the strength of each party in Parliament.

Parliament has three main duties through which it represents the people and makes the basic decisions on Finnish policy. It passes laws, it debates and approves the Budget, and it supervises the government of the country.

Passing laws is a complicated process that usually begins with the Cabinet placing a bill before Parliament. MPs may, and do also, propose legislation but government bills take preference and are better prepared. Parliament has no official machinery for making and preparing proposals. To be passed, a bill must have the support of the majority of Parliament and it must be signed by the President of the Republic.

The annual Budget put before Parliament is also prepared by the government, and much of the autumn session is devoted to debating it. Any changes made to the Budget in Parliament tend to be marginal.

Parliament supervises the government in many ways, both juridically and, in particular, politically. Every year Parliament presents the government or members of it with hundreds of written or oral inquiries. Parliament may also test the political confidence enjoyed by the government by

## Political parties elected in Parliament in 1991

| Party | Seats | % of votes |
|---|---|---|
| Centre Party of Finland | 55 | 24,8 |
| Social Democratic Party | 48 | 22,1 |
| National Coalition Party | 40 | 19,3 |
| Left Wing Alliance | 19 | 10,1 |
| Swedish People's Party | 12 | 5,5 |
| The Greens | 10 | 6,8 |
| Finnish Christian Union | 8 | 3,0 |
| Finnish Rural Party | 7 | 4,8 |
| Liberal Party of Finland | 1 | 0,8 |

making an interpellation; the result of the vote decides whether the government may continue. In practice the publicity of such moves is greater than the risk to the government. The risk last became apparent in the late 1950s. Parliament also supervises the Bank of Finland and the Finnish Broadcasting Company.

## The Cabinet and the President

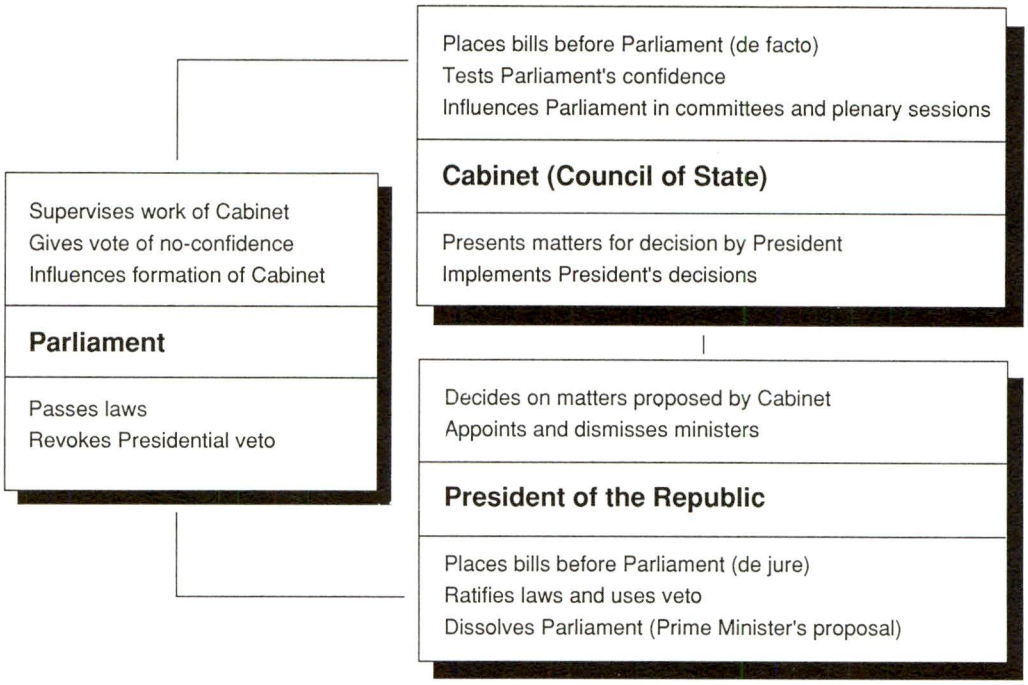
The Cabinet produces most of the material that Parliament deals with and uses as the basis for its decisions. In forming a Cabinet the President has a considerable, but not generally decisive, role. The President formally appoints and dissolves the Cabinet and he also appoints a potential Prime Minister to assemble the ministers. In practice, the central role in the formation, activities and dissolving of the Cabinet is played by the political parties involved. When a Cabinet resigns in Finland, it is usually the result of disagreements between the Cabinet parties that come to light when the Cabinet has to make a decision or its own bills are being dealt with in Parliament. In recent years, four or five parties have been represented on the Cabinet.

The tasks of the ministers are extensive. They prepare and, after gaining approval of Parliament and the President, execute legislative reform and the Budget. The Cabinet may also pass statutes if so authorized by Parliament. The ministers each direct their ministries with relative independence. There are 12 ministries and a maximum of 18 ministers.

The main collective tasks of the government are: the sessions over which the President presides, ordinary sessions and evening sessions. The President attends only the first of these, this being the highest level of the government's decision-making hierarchy in legislative matters. Evening sessions are informal occasions at which matters are prepared for discussion at ordinary sessions; they provide extremely useful opportunities for multi-party cabinets to try to come to an agreement before actual decisions have to be taken. There are also more limited preliminary ministerial committees.

The session presided over by the President is usually held on Fridays. Also present is the Attorney General, who oversees the legality of procedures and decisions. At these sessions the President formally makes his decisions on whether bills should be placed before Parliament or whether acts passed by Parliament should be signed. The President may go against the opinion of the Cabinet's majority. Similarly he may refuse to sign a law passed by Parliament, in which case it does not come into force. Usually there is no visible conflict with the Cabinet, because decisions have always been well prepared and gone through many stages. Finland's presidents have refused to sign one law a year on average. Furthermore, Parliament may approve the same law again after the next

## Relations between the components of Finnish parliamentarism




elections. If that happens, the President must then approve it.

The most important sanction open to the President in his relations with Parliament has been his right to dissolve Parliament and call new elections. This has happened seven times since 1917. Under the 1991 constitutional reform, the President cannot dissolve Parliament if the Prime Minister has not made a proposal to that effect.

## Summary

In Finnish parliamentarism, the Cabinet is the preparatory and executive body that produces material for Parliament to handle, approve or reject. The material is submitted to the President twice, but normally no conflicts arise between the President and the Cabinet or the President and Parliament. A conflict between Parliament and the Cabinet may lead to the latter's fall. Parliament is highly dependent on the bills submitted to it by the Cabinet.

In the type party-based parliamentarism practised in Finland political coalitions have to be large, and often unconventional. Inter-party relationships often overshadow the formal institutional relationships. Rapid decision-making is not a characteristic of Finnish parliamentarism.

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## The Powers of the President of the Republic

The Constitution Act passed in 1919 is one of the world's oldest existing constitutions still more or less unchanged from its original form. The enactment of the Constitution was preceded by Finland's Declaration of Independence in 1917 and the Civil War in 1918. It bears the imprint of the political thinking and the social crisis existing at that time. This can be seen in the articles concerning the President and the division of powers between Parliament and the Cabinet. The intention was to allow extensive powers of the head of state in order to have a stabilizing effect on society.

The Constitution provides the President with several major and far-reaching powers and it was the idea of the authors that they would indeed be used even against the will of the parliamentary majority if necessary.

In accordance with the classical model of dualistic parliamentarism, the President has the right to dissolve Parliament. The dissolution of Parliament was intended to serve as a countermove in a situation of conflicting interests between the President and Parliament where the latter had expressed its lack of confidence in the Cabinet. Parliament has been dissolved on seven occasions since Finland became independent. Only in the first two cases (in the 1920's) was the right of dissolution exercised in a way that could have been said to be directed against Parliament or a Cabinet enjoying parliamentary confidence. Later dissolutions have been carried out in understanding with the parliamentary majority and the Cabinet. Accordingly, Parliament was dissolved in 1971 and 1974 because of the inability of the major political parties to agree on a viable majority government. It was hoped that the ensuing elections would enable a majority government to be formed.

Originally the President's right to dissolve Parliament was entirely unrestricted. However, by a 1991 amendment to the Constitution, the right to dissolve Parliament was made conditional upon the Prime Minister's consent. Now the President may dissolve Parliament upon a reasoned proposal by the Prime Minister and after hearing the Speaker of Parliament and the party groups in Parliament. A further condition is that Parliament must be in session at the time. Although the President is not bound to accept the Prime Minister's proposal, he may not dissolve Parliament without a freely formulated proposal by the Prime Minister. This amendment was introduced in connection with the 1991 amendment of the presidential election system. On the assumption that the adoption of direct elections would increase the President's power vis-à-vis Parliament, the decision was made to counterbalance this increase in power by making the President's right to dissolve Parliament conditional upon the consent of a Prime Minister responsible to Parliament.

The President has extensive legislative powers. Most of the legislative proposals introduced in Parliament for debate are

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based on bills presented by him. When Parliament enacts a new law, it is submitted to the President for promulgation. He can, however, refuse to do so. The bill is then (once again) returned to Parliament. At this stage, the act enters into force even without the President's promulgation, if it is adopted without amendment during the term of Parliament following submission of the bill for approval. In general, Presidents have refused to promulgate laws which have, after parliamentary debate, been found inadequate from the point of view of legislative technique.

The right of veto has, in other words, evolved into a means of maintaining high legislative standards and preventing imperfect laws from getting onto the statute book. Only seldom has a veto been exercised against the will of Parliament.

The President is in charge of foreign policy and makes all important decisions in this sphere. He appoints delegations to international conferences, briefs negotiators when necessary and determines the signing and ratification of treaties. The President also makes other decisions concerning international affairs, e.g. Finland's foreign policy and the recognition of foreign powers. The conduct of foreign policy has, in fact, become the most important task of the President during the last few decades. Presidents have exercised their right to conduct foreign policy independently, and not even in practice have decisions on central issues been transferred to the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister or the responsible civil servants.

A very important power of the President is the right to appoint the members (Ministers) of the Council of State and to dismiss a Cabinet. When a Cabinet resigns (either because of a vote of parliamentary non-confidence or the loss of capacity for political action when e.g. the parties in the Government have ceased to co-operate with each other), the formation of a new government is carried out under the leadership of the President. He studies the political prospects for forming a majority Government and then appoints a prospective prime minister to lead the interparty political negotiations. At the end of the negotiations the President appoints the Cabinet as agreed among the parties.

The constitutional amendments of 1987 and 1991 define the procedures by which the President appoints a Government and dismisses the Council of State or a member thereof. In appointing a new Government, the President of the Republic must first hear all the party groups in Parliament. In the event that the composition of the Council of State should change significantly (e.g. if a party resigns from a coalition Government), the President must hear the party groups and the Speaker of Parliament, and Parliament must be in session. Once a new Government is formed, it must immediately bring its programme before Parliament. After debating the programme, Parliament may either choose to approve it or give the Government a vote of non-confidence; in the latter case the Government must resign. Thus Parliament's confidence in the new Government is ascertained soon after the Governments's appointment.

Upon request, the President may allow a member of the Council of State to resign. Resignation may also occur without a request if the Council of State or a member thereof ceases to enjoy the confidence of Parliament. The President may also accept the resignation of a minister in other circumstances (ultimately dismiss a minister against the wishes of the Council of State or of the individual minister) upon a proposal by the Prime Minister. Thus the President may not unilaterally without the consent of the Prime Minister dismiss the Council of State or member thereof if they enjoy the confidence of Parliament.

Time and again it has been difficult to form a majority government it the Finnish multiparty system. The President has, therefore, occasionally played a vital role both in endeavours to form a majority government (by persuading the parties to enter it) and / or to prolong unsatisfactory co-operation in a discordant government. The President has thus often been obliged to step out as mediator when interparty cabinet conflict has proved particularly difficult.

The President has several other powers which, however, are secondary to those mentioned above. He appoints the highest government officials. He is Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces although the supreme command can be delegated to a military man during the war. The President has the right to issue decrees, the

right to exempt from punishment imposed by a court and to order legal action against a minister.

The main part of the President's powers have been enumerated above. His rights are indeed extensive, and, as already pointed out, the authors of the 1919 Constitution meant the President to exercise the prerogatives stipulated by the Constitution independently. It was also pointed out earlier that the parliamentary principle had been incorporated in the Finnish Constitution. To describe Finnish parliamentarism it is necessary briefly to examine the roles of the President and the ministers in the decision-making process. Practically all the matters under the President's legal authority are decided in the presence of the Cabinet, and are presented to the President by the minister concerned. The Chancellor of Justice (Attorney-General) is also present to supervise the constitutionality of decisions made by the President. The President can announce his decisions only in the presence of the Cabinet. On the other hand, he is not legally bound to the opinion of a single Cabinet member nor to that of the whole Cabinet.

In practice most matters requiring presidential decision are dealt with in a preliminary collegial meeting of the Cabinet chaired by the Prime Minister. When the President makes the final decision, he is informed of the Cabinet's position on the matter. Its opinion does not, however, legally bind the President, and he is free to act against it. In general there have been extremely few deviations from the stand taken by the Cabinet. The exceptions have usually been in socially insignificant matters such as appointments. Dissenting opinions have been expressed less than once a year.

Presidents have usually complied with the view arrived at by the Cabinet during the preliminary collegial meeting. This is a result of the parliamentary principle incorporated in the Finnish Constitution. All Cabinet members shall enjoy the confidence of Parliament. In the event of a vote of non-confidence the Cabinet has to resign.

Such a vote of non-confidence would lead to a situation in which the President's scope for action decreases. The Cabinet can take advantage of this possibility and threaten to resign if the conflict with the President involves an issue of principle. Due to the parliamentary principle a crisis situation between the President and Parliament could lead to a failure of presidential policy and could finally compel the President to resign.

During Finland's independence the Presidents have not exercised their powers against the will of the majority of Parliament, but have complied with the will of majority governments enjoying parliamentary confidence. Whenever party discordance has temporarily made it necessary to rely on minority or caretaker Governments, the situation has been somewhat different.

The Constitution of Finland enables the President to stay outside day-to-day politics (Presidents have not been members of a political party after their election) but he is, on the other hand, able to intervene fairly promptly and effectively if the political situation ( a parliamentary crisis) calls for it.

When the presidential election system was altered by constitutional amendment in 1991, and two-stage direct elections were introduced, there was speculation that future presidential elections would draw the President more deeply into party politics.

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## The structure and development of Finnish political parties

Despite the many new contenders and the seemingly rapid swings of the political pendulum, continuity has been a dominant feature in the Finnish political party system. The main lines of party policy have undergone surprisingly few changes since Finland gained its independence. Apart from constantly changing election themes, Finnish politics are characterized by continuity.

### Language parties

The Finnish Estates convening in 1863, after a break of more than five decades, and the Language Decree of the same year created the basis for the formation of the Finnish party system. The nationalist Fennoman movement, which Snellman had initiated, gradually became the Finnish Party. Also, the liberals in the Diet began to act increasingly like a party. The Swedish speakers took up defensive positions and consequently a Swedish Party emerged in the 1870s and '80s.

Conflicts within the Finnish Party led to a split. The young members – who stressed liberalism and constitutionalism – established the Young Finns Party in 1894. The remainder of the Finnish Party came to be known as the Old Finnish Party. Thus three of the main political party lines already existed by the mid 1890s.

### Interest groups and parliamentary reform

Social and economic interests spurred on the formation of the two subsequent party lines. The Finnish Labour Party was founded in 1899. In 1903 it became the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and adopted a Marxist programme. Organizationally it represented a totally new type of mass party.

The Agrarian Party (ML), founded in 1906 by smallholders in northern and eastern Finland, represented political agrarianism and had the same mass appeal as the SDP.

The 1906 parliamentary reform transformed Finnish party politics. It forced parties to modernize their programmes and organizations. This was particularly true of the elitist Swedish Party. The adoption of a new ideology was also reflected in the Party's new name. Whilst the support of the Swedish Party had rested on two Estate in the Diet, the Swedish People's Party (RKP) sought the support of the whole of the linguistic minority. The election campaign following interruption of the Russification programme and the parliamentary reform made political parties in 1905–07 turn their attention to social issues. Support for merging the Old Finnish Party and the Young Finnish Party developed as the

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Russian policies of the Finnish-speaking parties converged towards the end of the second period of oppression. The People's Party I (see chart) was formed to achieve this end.

## First years of independence

The Civil War split the SDP. The radical left fled to Russia and founded the Finnish Communist Party (SKP) at the and of August 1918 in Moscow. As the Party was a revolutionary organization and illegal, a Finnish Socialist Workers' Party was established for public activities in 1920. The name was soon changed to the Finnish Workes' Party. The Party and its papers were discontinued in 1923, although it continued to have candidates in parliamentary elections under different electoral alliances throughout the 1920s.

The division of the SDP was not only the outcome of the Civil War. It also had a wider international context: the Russian revolution and the general division of the labour movement. With the foundation of the Finnish Communist Party (SKP) Finland now had its sixth main political party line.

The constitutional conflict within the conservative camp led to political realignment. The majority of the Old Finns and the minority of the Young Finns merged to form the National Coalition Party which – after the Party's plans to establish a Finnish monarchy had failed – advocated strong central government.

## The 1930s

In 1929 the Great Depression spawned the Finnish Smallholders Party, which was largely an offshoot of the Agrarian Party. With respect to ideology and adherents the new party stood somewhere between the Agrarian Party and the SDP. In 1932 discontent due to the Great Depression led to the establishment of the People's Party II. These parties combined forces and merged in 1936 to form a Smallholders' and Agrarian People's Party.

This development led to the formation of the seventh main party line. This line has been characterized by the emergence of several isolated small parties. At the same time this party line – which was in a pivotal position between the conservative and socialist camps – seems to have served as the most sensitive gauge of social and economic change. The reactions have often displayed traces of populism.

The Lapua Movement which had started with a conservative platform and became increasingly radical, culminated in 1932 in the Mäntsälä Rebellion. The patriotic People's Movement (IKL) was founded the same year to advance the work of the Lapua Movement, although by parliamentary means.

The IKL took the model for its organization from Germany. Towards the end of the decade the Italian model – including the corporate state – also contributed to it. At the end of 1937 Minister of the Interior Urho Kekkonen suddenly banned the IKL. The Helsinki City Court, however, overturned this decision by a vote of 2–1.

## Postwar situation

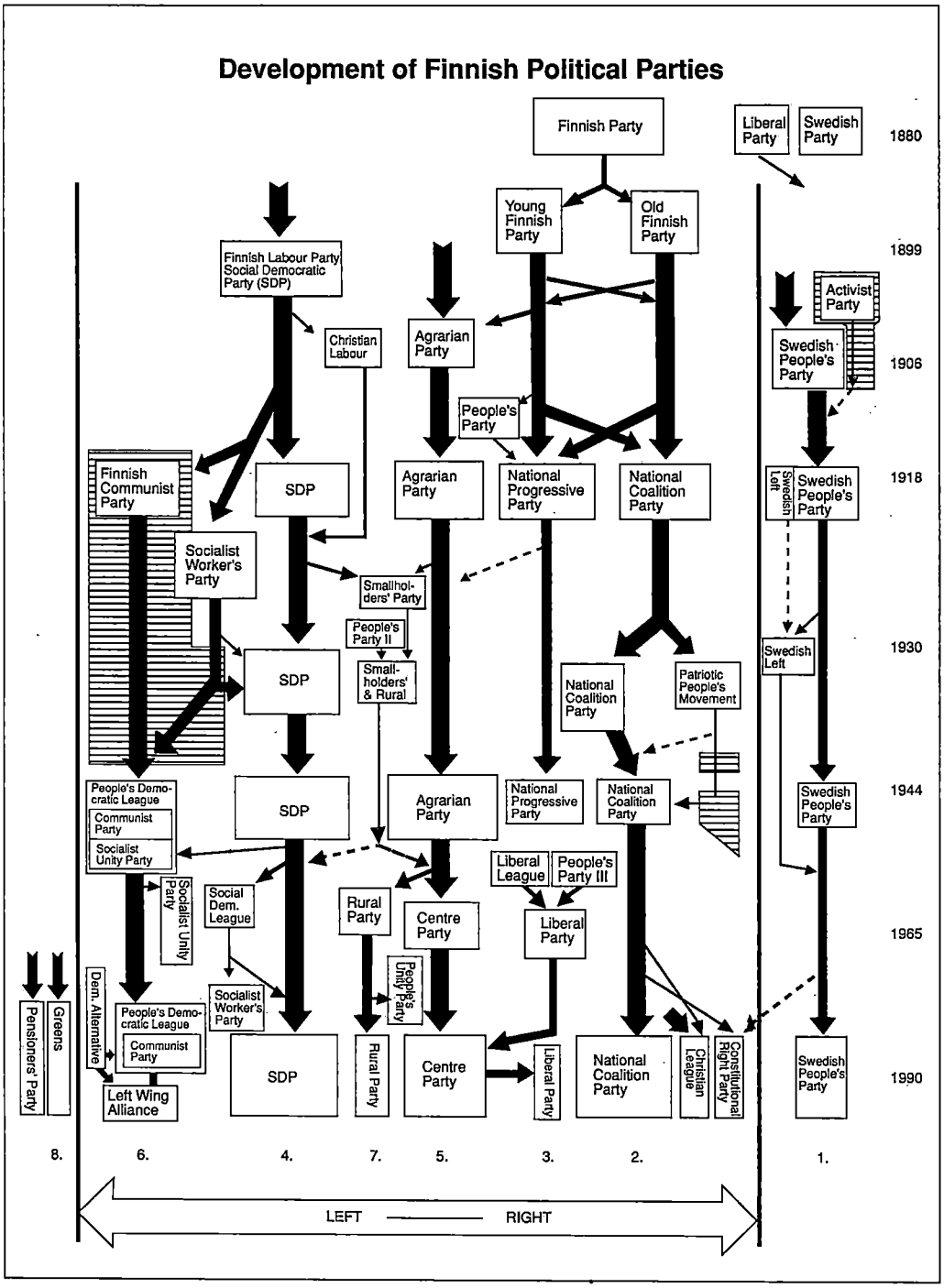
The outcome of the Continuation War (1941-1944) brought about another upheaval in the Finnish political party system and in a way shifted the whole system leftward. The IKL was banned as 'fascist' and the SKP was legalized as a party.

The Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL) was founded as a joint organization for the political left to carry out election and parliamentary work. The SKP was one of the member organizations of the SKDL. The Social Democratic opposition, originally part of the SDP, and the so-called 'six' formed the Socialist Unity Party (SYP) within the SKDL in 1946 as a counterbalance to SKP dominance. In 1955 the SYP broke away from the SKDL, but failed in the elections.

The postwar transition period also affected the political centre. The Progressive Party's (previously the Young Finnish Party) support had continuously declined. The idea of a new party, which would speak more openly on behalf of the middle classes, emerged within the Party. In 1949 the idea led to the founding of a group called the Independent Middle Class. In 1951 this group together with certain leading Progressives founded the Finnish People's Party (III).

## From the '50s to the '60s

After Väinö Tanner's election as SDP chairman and a takeover of the Party leadership by a narrow majority of 'comrades in arms', the minority marched out of the party conference. The minority founded the Social Democratic Union of Workers and Smallholders (TPSL) in 1959. This was the fourth division in the history of the Social Demo-




cratic Party. The reason were both personal and ideological.

At cabinet level the TPSL worked in close cooperation with the Agrarian Party. It also had good relations with President Kekkonen. The party officially rejoined the SDP in 1973. A small minority, which disapproved this move, founded the Socialist Workers' Party, which was active for a few more years.

The northern smallholder wing of the Agrarian Party formed an opposition group and left in 1959 to found the Finnish Smallholders' Party. Points of convergence with the

smallholders' parties of the 1920s and '30s, were evident in the new party. Their effect – although minor – extended up to 1954, so the interval between the new and the old smallholders' movement was only 4–5 years. Thus, the Finnish Smallholders' Party can be placed in the seventh, or "protest party line".

## The late '60s – a period of transition

The 1960s was a period of great social change in Finland. Towards the end of the decade the political parties also began to mirror these changes.

The Agrarian Party, whose base was waning because of rural depopulation, sought wider support from the cities. In 1963 the Party became the Centre Party (KESK). Its counterparts in Sweden and Norway had made similar changes in name towards the end of the 1950s.

The Agrarian Party/Centre Party's ambitions put the whole political centre into a state of ferment. The two successors of the Progressive Party, the Finnish People's Party and the Liberal League, felt the time was right for their parties to merge. In 1965 they together formed the Liberal People's Party.

The Finnish Smallholders' Party tried to exploit the Agrarian/Centre Party's change of name and ideology. The Party claimed to speak for the people "forsaken" by the Centre Party. At the same time it changed its name to the Finnish Rural Party. The Party also found surprising popularity in urban centres, which the Centre Party had been at pains to do. In the 1970 protest elections Veikko Vennamo's 'one-man party' grew to a medium-sized party with 18 representatives. Its protest ideology was not, however, enough to keep the very heterogeneous party together. In 1972 the opposition founded the Finnish People's Unity Party (SKYP). The new party did poorly in the parliamentary elections.

A policy dispute within the SKP broke out in the late 1960s. The disagreement was at least partly linked with the Party's position in the government. The majority stressed the fruitfulness of participation in government, whilst the opposing minority underscored the importance of ideology. The dispute displayed points of contact with Eurocommunism, although the Party itself denied such allegations. Prolonged trench warfare slowly but steadily undermined the Party's support.

## Divisions on the right in the 1970s

The political right itself was in turmoil in the 1970s. One reason was the National Coalition Party's policy shift towards the centre. As early as 1958 the Finnish Christian League had emerged to combat postwar secularization and the erosion of cultural homogeneity in the conservative camp. Until 1970 it took part in elections under different alliances and after that as an independent party. The first party political platform was approved in 1972, and has since been supplemented by the extension of the Party's Christian ideology to various sectors of social policy.

The Finnish Constitutional Party of the Right (POP) was founded in 1973 mainly as a protest against the emergency legislation passed to ensure President Kekkonen's re-election. However, there was also wider discontent among the National Coalition and the Swedish People's Party (RKP).

## The 1980s

The political '80s began with the end of President Kekkonen's 25-year rule. Mauno Koivisto's election as President in 1982 reflected the growing support and dominance of the SDP.

SDP's growing 'hegemony' drove the parties which considered themselves part of the political centre to closer cooperation. The Liberal People's Party became a member organization of the Centre Party in 1982. This appeared for the first time in the history of the Finnish political party system to mark the end of a "line". In 1986, however, the Liberal Party officially decided to leave the Centre Party fold. One background factor influencing the decision was the election victories of fraternal organizations in Europe. Harri Holkeri's blue-red coalition government formed in 1987 seems to have effectively ended the centre cooperation of the first half of the decade.

The unpredictability of the changes in the 1980s is best illustrated by the inclusion of the SMP in the government. It was the first time in the history of the 'protest' party line.

It was the sixth main party line that experienced the most abrupt changes in the 1980s. The policy dispute which had plagued the SKP for what seemed an eternity was finally resolved in a series of resignations towards the end of the decade. With the 1987 parliamentary election

approaching the minority faction was forced to register as a party. This meant the emergence of the Democratic Alternative (DEVA). Dwindling support finally resulted in the formation of a new party: the Left Wing Alliance.

The arrival of the Greens and the Pensioners' Party on the Finnish political party map in the 1980s was a new phenomenon. As a single-cause, or single-group movement their placement on the left-right axis of the party map is difficult. This is particularly true of the Greens. The shrinking of the left-right axis in favour of the right, with the left, too, now acknowledging the power of the market economy, has further complicated the issue. With their opposition to all aspects of market economy which they consider ecologically destructive, the Greens have walked off the traditional political party map. This eighth or 'Green' party line, is therefore a new political dimension with no place in the political spectrum that evolved out of 19th century ideologies.

Despite the many changes, continuity is a dominant characteristic of the Finnish political party map. Adherence to a basic 'party line' yields benefits that new contenders outside the system lack. Tradition has for example facilitated the comeback attempts of the Liberals time and time again, even if voters have not given the endeavour their support.

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**Written by**
**Dr. Timo Soikkanen, Assistant Professor in Political History, University of Turku**

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**The Ministry for Foreign Affairs**
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**Finland**

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1991

# FINNISH FEATURES

## *Curricula Vitae of the Members of Prime Minister Esko Aho's Government, appointed on 26 April, 1991*

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HELSINKI FINLAND

Classification:
3



## PRIME MINISTER
## • Esko AHO

- Master of Social Sciences (Pol.Sc.)
- Trade Ombudsman of Kannus, 1980–91
- Member of Parliament since 1983, Centre Party of Finland
- Chairman of the Centre Party of Finland since 1990

- Born in 1954/married

- Chairman of the Youth Organization of the Centre Party, 1974–1980
- Member of the Party Government and Working Committee of the Centre Party, 1974– 1980
- Political Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1979–1980
- Speaker of Parliament in 1991



## DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER

*(as from 23 August 1991),*

## MINISTER FOR FOREIGN TRADE

*(Department for External Economic Relations in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade Department in the Ministry of Trade and Industry, excluding Soviet trade and issues concerning the consumer, competition and tourism)*

## • Pertti SALOLAINEN

- Chairman of the National Coalition Party since 1991
- Master of Economic Sciences
- TV Journalist at the Finnish Broadcasting Company, 1962–66; Correspondent in London, 1966–69
- Reporter at the BBC 1966
- Member of Parliament since 1970, National Coalition Party

- Born in 1940/married

- Chairman of the Helsinki District Organization of the National Coalition Party, 1973–76
- Member of the Party Government of the National Coalition Party, 1972–76 and 1979–80
- Head of Department at the Finnish Employers' Confederation, 1969–89 (on leave of absence 1975–89)
- Member of the Helsinki City Council, 1972–84
- Vice-Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Social Affairs, 1970–75
- Chairman of the Parliamentary Finance Committee's Tax Division, 1975–79; Chairman of the Committee, 1979–87
- Minister for Foreign Trade, 1987–1991 and 1991–



## MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## • Paavo VÄYRYNEN

- Doctor of Social Sciences (Pol.Sc.) 1988
- Member of Parliament since 1970, Centre Party of Finland

- Born in 1946/married

- Political Secretary to Prime Minister Ahti Karjalainen, 1970–71
- Vice-Chairman of the Centre Party, 1972–80
- Chairman of the Centre Party, 1980–90
- Candidate in Presidential Elections of 1988
- Vice-President of Liberal International since 1988
- Member of the Nordic Council, 1972–75
- Minister of Education, 1975–76
- Minister of Labour, 1976–77
- Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1977–82
- Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1983–87
- Vice-Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in 1991



## MINISTER OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND HEALTH

## • Eeva KUUSKOSKI

- Pediatrician
- Licentiate in Medicine

- Medical Officer of Turku Health Centre since 1973
- Assistant Physician at the Helsinki University Hospital, Department of Pediatrics, 1976–80
- Member of Parliament since 1979, Centre Party of Finland

- Born in 1946/married

- Minister of Social Affairs and Health, 1983–87
- Member of the Turku City Council, 1973–80
- Chairman of the Council for Equality, 1981–87



## MINISTER OF LABOUR AND MINISTER AT THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE

**(Development of Administration)**

## • Ilkka KANERVA

- Master of Social Sciences (Pol.Sc.)
- Member of Parliament since 1975, National Coalition Party

- Born in 1948

- Chairman of the National Coalition Party Youth League, 1972–76
- Member of the Party Government of the National Coalition Party since 1972; Member of the Working Committee since 1975
- Member of the Turku City Council since 1972
- Chairman of the Board of Directors of Oy Alko Ab (State Alcohol Monopoly) 1989–1991
- Minister of State Office of the Council of State, 1987–1990
- Minister of Transport and Communications, 1990–1991
- Minister at the Ministry of Finance (development of administration), 1989–1991
- Deputy Prime Minister in 1991



## MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS MINISTER FOR NORDIC COOPERATION

## • Johan NORRBACK

- Executive Manager, teacher
- Member of Parliament, 1979–87 and since 1991, Swedish People's Party
- Teacher, 1966–67

- Born in 1941/married

- Member of the Swedish People's Party's Central Government, 1972–79; Member of the Working Committee since 1983
- Chairman of the Swedish People's Party since 1990
- District Secretary of the Swedish People's Party in Ostrobothnia, 1967–71
- Executive Manager of the Provincial Union of Swedish Ostrobothnia since 1971
- Political Secretary to the Minister of Transport and Communications, 1976–77
- Member of the Vaasa City Council since 1981
- Chairman of the Swedish People's Party's Parliamentary Group, 1983–87
- Minister of Defence, 1987–1990
- Minister of Education, 1990–1991
- Minister at the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (Fisheries and Game Department), 1987–1991



## MINISTER OF DEFENCE

## • Elisabeth REHN

- Master of Economic Sciences
- Member of Parliament since 1979

- Born in 1935/married

- Member of the Working Committee of the Swedish People's Party since 1985
- Chairman of the Swedish People's Party Parliamentary Group, 1987–90
- Office Manager at Oy Renecta Ab, 1960–64, Member of the Board of Directors, 1964–77
- Career Guidance Teacher at Grankulla Samskola, 1973–77
- Office Manager at Oy Rehn Trading Ab, 1978–79
- Member of the Kauniainen Municipal Council, 1973–80
- Member of the Municipal Board, 1979–80
- Chairman of the Parliamentary Law Committee, 1983–87
- Minister of Defence, 1990–1991



## MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY AND MINISTER AT THE MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

***(Trade and Economic Cooperation with the Soviet Union)***

## • Kauko JUHANTALO

- Master of Laws
- Advocate; Law Office since 1971
- Member of Parliament since 1979, Centre Party of Finland

- Born in 1942/married

- Member of the Party Government of the Centre Party of Finland, 1973–79 and since 1983
- Member of the Kankaanpää Municipal Council; Chairman of the Council since 1981
- Chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the Centre Party of Finland 1983–1991



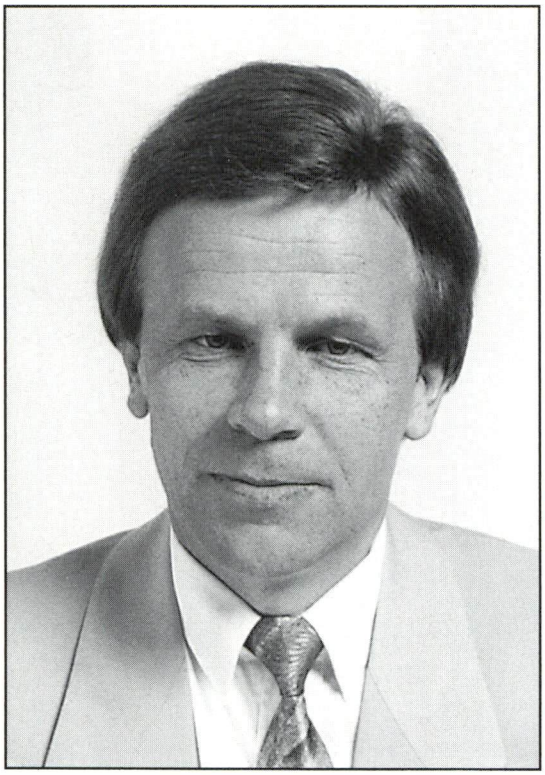
## MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND MINISTER AT THE MINISTRY OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND HEALTH

### • Hannele POKKA

- Doctor of Laws
- Member of Parliament since 1979, Centre Party of Finland

- Born in 1952

- Chairman of the Woman Organization of the Centre Party since 1985
- Vice-Chairman of the Centre Party of Finland since 1986
- Lawyer at the Central Union of Agricultural Producers, 1976–79
- Chairman at the Board of Governors of the Federation of Finnish Fisheries Associations, 1985–88
- Member of the Rovaniemi Municipal Council, 1980–88
- Chairman of the Delegates of the Finnish National Pensions Institute 1987–1991



## MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

## • Mauri PEKKARINEN

- Master of Social Sciences
- Researcher at the City of Jyväskylä 1972
- Member of Parliament since 1979, Centre Party of Finland

- Born in 1947/married

- Member of the Party Committee of the Centre Party of Finland, 1972–74 and since 1985
- Member of the Party Government of the Centre Party of Finland, 1974
- Managing Director of the Progressive Science Association, 1973
- Managing Director of the Centre Party's District Organization in Central Finland, 1974–79
- Political Secretary to the Minister of Labour, 1976–77
- Political Secretary to the Minister of the Interior, 1978–79
- Member of the Jyväskylä City Council since 1977
- Member of the Jyväskylä City Board, 1978
- Chairman of the Board of Directors of Oy Yleisradio Ab (Finnish Broadcasting Company) 1987–1991



## MINISTER OF FINANCE

## • Iiro VIINANEN

- Master of Science in Technology
- Managing Director of Konevalmistamo Oy, 1967–83
- Member of Parliament since 1983, National Coalition Party

- Born in 1944/married

- Chairman of the National Coalition Party in the Etelä-Häme District since 1987
- Member of the Government of the National Coalition Party since 1989
- Chairman of Parliamentary Group of the National Coalition Party since 1990
- Member of the Riihimäki City Council since 1977 and first Vice-Chairman since 1985
- Chairman of the Häme District Regional Planning Authority since 1989



## MINISTER OF EDUCATION

## • Riitta UOSUKAINEN

- Licentiate in Philosophy
- Member of Parliament since 1983, National Coalition Party

- Born in 1942/married

- Teacher at Imatrankoski Upper Secondary School, 1969–71, teacher of Finnish since 1971
- Lecturer at Joensuu University, Department of Finnish, Didactics, 1976–77
- Provincial Instructor of Finnish in the Province of Kyme, 1976–83
- Member of the Imatra Municipal Council since 1977 and First Vice-Chairman, 1980–86
- Vice-Chairman of the Carelian Association since 1986
- Chairman of the Committee for Education and Culture in 1991



## *MINISTER FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS*

***(Division of Cultural Policy, Department for International Relations, Planning Secretariat, Students' financial aid and Ecclesiastical affairs)***

## • *Tytti ISOHOOKANA-ASUNMAA*

- Doctor of Social Sciences
- Acting Lecturer at a Lyceum in Oulu, 1973
- University Lecturer, History and Social Sciences, Department of Teacher Education at Oulu University since 1973
- Member of Parliament since 1983, Centre Party of Finland

- Born in 1947/married

- Member of the Haukipudas Municipal Council since 1972, First Vice-Chairman since 1989
- Chairman of the Council for Adult Education, 1985–87
- Member of the Board of Directors of the Finnish Film Foundation, 1987
- Member of the Editorial Staff of "Kaltio" since 1973
- Chairman of the Finnish Youth Association



## MINISTER OF THE ENVIRONMENT

## • Sirpa PIETIKÄINEN

- Master of Economic Sciences
- Member of Parliament since 1983, National Coalition Party

- Born in 1959

- Vice-Chairman of the National Coalition Party since 1989
- Correspondent at Postitie Ltd, 1979
- Market Researcher at Ajanmies Oy, 1979, Teinitalo Oy, 1980, Suomen Hippos, 1981
- Member of the Hämeenlinna City Council since 1980
- Chairman of the EDU Environmental Committee since 1990



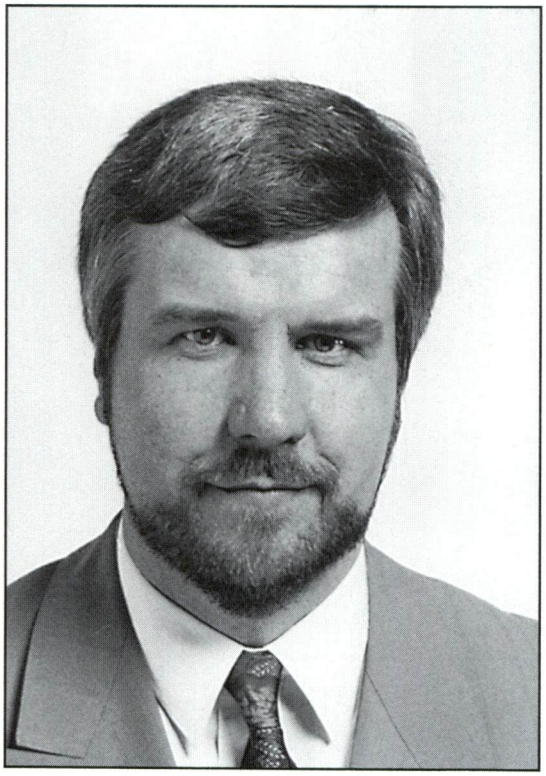
## MINISTER OF HOUSING

## • Pirjo RUSANEN

- Master of Economic Sciences
- Lecturer
- Teacher at an Institute of Commercial Training in Mikkeli, 1963–68, and Lecturer of Management Accountancy since 1968
- Member of Parliament since 1983, National Coalition Party

- Born in 1940

- Financial Manager of the Parliamentary Group of the National Coalition Party, 1983–89
- Vice-Chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the National Coalition Party 1990–1991
- Member of the Mikkeli City Council since 1973, Second Vice-Chairman, 1981, and Chairman since 1982
- Member of the Mikkeli City Board, 1973–80



## MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

*(Minister at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs)*

## AND

## MINISTER AT THE MINISTRY FOR SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND HEALTH

*(Temperance and Alcohol Policy)*

## • Toimi KANKAANNIEMI

- Chairman of the Finnish Christian Union
- Municipal Secretary of Siikainen, 1975–76
- Municipal Secretary of Uurainen since 1976
- Acting Town Manager of Uurainen, 1978–79
- Member of Parliament since 1987, Finnish Christian Union

- Born in 1950/married

- Third Chairman of the Finnish Christian Union, 1986–90 and Chairman since 1990



## MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

## • Martti PURA

- Secondary Diploma in Agriculture
- Farmer
- Member of the Centre Party of Finland

- Born in 1949/married

- Vice-Chairman of the Youth Organization of the Centre Party, 1978–80
- Vice-Chairman of the Centre Party of Finland since 1984
- Political Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, 1982–83

# FINNISH FEATURES

## Finland and the United Nations

Finland's position in the United Nations can be described as that of "a small, active, neutral Nordic country". In the light of recent world-scale upheavals, now might be a good time to take a closer look at what that entails.

'Smallness' is a relative concept. Although Finland is among the UN's smaller member nations in terms of population, in geographical size and financial contribution to the UN Finland is doing better than average. On a per capita basis and including voluntary payments, Finland is one of its four largest contributors (incidentally, the other three are also Nordic countries). Finland's per capita contribution is up to ten times greater than that of some of the major economic powers.

Nor is Finland's active contribution in the UN by any means nominal - quite the contrary. Throughout its nearly 40-year membership, the country has played an active role in the organization. Finland has systematically sought to take constructive action based on realistic assessments. Finland has gained experience and expertise, which will prove invaluable for the future.

Neutrality has been one of the principal means of Finnish foreign policy to safeguard Finnish autonomy and independence. When international politics hung in the balance between two super powers, neutrality enabled Finland to offer its services and to act as a mediator in conflict situations. Finnish neutrality in regional crises has not, however, been absolute as Finland has taken stands in principle. Finland's basic approach in complex regional conflicts has been to look for a solution and to be as objective as possible; for this reason it has avoided taking rigid positions on any specific issues.

The new world order and the disappearance of bipolarity will naturally place Finnish neutrality in a new light. Finnish participation in the UN has not been based on neutrality alone. Expertise, initiative and competence guarantee Finland's future influence in the world organization.

In the structure of the UN Finland is grouped with the Nordic countries. The historical

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HELSINKI FINLAND

Classification:
4

and cultural links between the Nordic countries are manifest in the united Nordic stand taken on virtually all issues on the UN agenda. This, in turn, has led to close co-operation between the Nordic countries and to rotation in offices and electoral issues. The Nordic countries have a good reputation in the UN; the developing countries regard them as empathic to their problems and ready to offer untied aid while industrial countries see them as calm and sensible, but also strongly principled when necessary.

The changing world, particularly European integration and developments closer at hand to the East, presents new challenges to the Nordic countries. Although the forms of co-operation may vary even for pragmatic reasons, it seems clear that the ties between the Nordic countries will continue to hold fast.

The fear that growing Western support of the new European democracies will channel resources away from the Third World will probably prove to be groundless at least over the medium and long term. One of the basic prerequisites of development and integration in Europe as a stable, secure continent is that the social and economic gulf between East and West is narrowed. A healthy north is needed as an effective partner for the south.

While the importance of the Bretton Woods institutions is increasing in the Third World, the industrialized countries are now bringing up issues in various contexts which have thus far appeared almost exclusively on UN agendas. This poses a serious challenge for the UN, whose economic and social sector is in need of reform, and reappraisal of priorities. Having traditionally held that the UN should be supported and reinforced, Finland has taken an active part in this work. An extensive report entitled "The Nordic UN project" is the result of this work. The report stresses the organization's capacity for implementing operations independently and efficiently.

Finland is aware that there is an increasing number of important questions in the UN social sector that need to be addressed. These include poverty, migration, refugees and population growth, environmental hazards and needs to create conditions for sustainable development. In the promotion of human rights the UN holds a unique position. Finland also acknowledges the UN's importance in distributing and co-ordinating help in disaster areas.

Finland has participated actively and expertly in UN discussions on disarmament and international security. Security - which is a high priority in the UN Charter - is central to Finland's duties in the UN. In the UN, the New World Order is closely linked with the concept of collective security. As the UN takes effective counter-measures against the military violation of all its member nations, the organization can be seen as a collective security system, at the same time implementing international justice as specified by the UN Charter.

The best example of the stronger role of the United Nations is the liberation of Kuwait and the restoration of its independence. The Charter of the United Nations withstood a violent challenge to its authority. The Security Council acted promptly and effectively. Finland, being a member of the Council in the period 1989-1990, fully supported the actions of the Council in this regard. The United Nations is and must continue to be actively engaged in alleviating the suffering caused by the Gulf War. This is true of humanitarian and other assistance, peace-keeping as well as the elimination of Iraq's remaining weapons of mass destruction. Respect for international law and collective security remains the basis for protecting the security of all states - especially the smaller ones.

As Finnish foreign minister Paavo Väyrynen stated at the UN General Assembly in 1991, "the United Nations was born to prevent war. That primary responsibility remains valid. However, five decades ago it was not possible to foresee how extensive the present and future problems of development and environment would be. When the Charter of the United Nations was formulated, nobody knew what role economic and technical development would play and what effects they would have internationally. Now, as the Organization is approaching its fiftieth anniversary, there is ample reason for a thorough review of the challenges the United Nations is facing, and of the adequacy of its structures and mechanisms, including the Charter, to respond to them".

The UN has achieved its most concrete results in the security sector, particularly in peacekeeping. The co-ordination of national regional and global interests will

nonetheless remain one of the UN's greatest challenges.

The growing confidence member nations are vesting in the UN is reflected in their willingness to assign the organization more demanding tasks. Hopefully this willingness will also extend to providing sufficient funding to address these tasks. In this respect, Finland's contribution to the UN is invaluable. Finland has full confidence in the UN and its capacity for action, and provides its full backing in every respect - while carrying out its own UN duties in an exemplary fashion and without delay.

---

**Written by: Mr. Hannu Halinen, Director, Division for International Organizations, Political Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Helsinki**

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1991

# FINNISH FEATURES

## ETYK

You are advised to learn The Word right away. It will explain everything about your (foreign) presence in Helsinki to incredulous Finns. So here it goes: Etyk.

If you try to pronounce it properly, i.e. in idiomatic Finnish, it will sound like an imaginary French word 'etuc', but with the emphasis on both syllabies.

'Etyk' will open doors in Helsinki. Try it at restaurants if the doorman looks less than inviting. Flex your newly won verbal muscle with ladies or gentlemen of your choice.

If, however, the old magic doesn't work any longer – it did in 1975 and in 1985 – you just have more proof that times are not what they used to be, even in Finland's politics and media. And this is reflected in the behaviour of your ordinary Finn in the street.

And now – try again. Say 'Etyk'. If it sounds like a mantra, this should be perfectly all right. Because Etyk is both a mantra and an acronym. Etyk is an abbreviation – in Finnish – of 'Euroopan turvallisuus- ja yhteistyökokous', meaning the CSCE, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

Never mind the acronymic side of this entirely artificial (kryonic?) mot juste. Every man, woman and child knows its meaning today. Etyk is freely splashed across the front-pages of Finnish newspapers. It has grown deep roots in everyday headlines and it trops off the tongue of all radio and television newscasters. Say 'Etyk' to any Finnish politician and you will certainly want to know which knob will switch him off again. Such is the might of 'Etyk'.

But is Etyk still the genie of the lamp? If Finns rub the lamp, do they still expect Etyk to perform wonders?

Basically, Etyk still has a kind of immediate and thus, real relevance for Finns. It was a moment of crowning glory for this small nation when statesmen from 35 CSCE countries signed the Final Act in Helsinki in 1975. Of course it helps that the heady signing days provided some equally intense and glorious summer days and nights of unparallelled beauty and warmth.

Many Finns are prepared to recognize the intrinsic value of the CSCE in gradually transforming Europe beyond recognition. Etyk has made freedom possible for

countries which at the time signed the documents of the CSCE process with their fingers crossed and their tongue in their cheek.

So, Finns expect Etyk to be of real assistance in the future as well. Be it peacekeeping forces for the CSCE, a re-designed political and security architecture for Europe or a kind of regional security council for this old continent; whatever it is, the Finns are all for it.

But some of the lustre and power of the mantra might have vanished.

So much has changed in the world. Finns don't regard their security and foreign policy as a unique and earthshattering project any more. The days when complex political realities both at home and abroad were pressurized into simple catchwords, or so-called doctrines, are over. Most Finns certainly feel that sloganeering is not what European politics today are about.

It might be sad to see simple truths fade, to abandon cosy comforts and to realize how relentless change can be even for unparalelled success stories such as Finland's postwar development and remarkable achievements in her chosen, albeit small, field; national survival and subsequent blossoming into a prominent small-nation state.

Still, if I were you, and if you want in any way to improve your stakes in whatever enterprise you might find yourself engaged in during the CSCE exercises in Helsinki, I would try the magic word 'Etyk'.

---

**Written by Ambassador Ralf Friberg, former Director General of the Department for Press and Culture at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Helsinki. Mr. Friberg is also a well-known former journalist in Finland and Scandinavia. When he put pen to paper, Ralf Friberg was on his way to Athens as Finland's new Ambassador there.**

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**Finland**

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1992

# FINNISH FEATURES

## Address to the Finnish Parliament by Prime Minister Esko Aho on March 16, 1992

(Unofficial translation)

The decision to apply for membership of the European Community is one of the most important and far-reaching decisions ever taken by Finland as an independent state. Such an application is justified only if we are convinced that Finnish national interests are best served in the Community.

The Government has come to this conclusion after careful deliberation. Our position is presented in the report given to Parliament in January and in the communication now before Parliament.

These documents must be examined together. The report is an overall assessment of the development of the European Community and of the advantages and disadvantages of EC membership. The communication in turn concentrates mainly on the areas in which we can expect the greatest change as a full member of the European Community, over and above that resulting from implementation of the European Economic Area. In order for Finland to adjust to the requirements of EC membership, solutions must be found both in the negotiations and through national measures that will ensure balanced development for our society.

Debate on the issue has revealed positive expectations as well as uncertainty and fears about the impact of membership on our society. It would be a mistake to entertain the illusion that membership will pose no problems for us. It would be equally irresponsible to argue that remaining outside an expanding EC would not entail problems of its own.

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Finland is not joining Europe, for we have always belonged to it. Our values, our economy and our civilization are part of the common cultural heritage of Europe.

Finland's historical aim has been a Europe where all the nations and cultures live in fruitful interaction with each other. We have always sought to build a Europe in which security and prosperity are indivisible. Europe is now moving towards this historic goal.

Now that the Cold War division has vanished, this process will be based on common values: democracy, human rights, the rule of law and the market economy. These principles are enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter.

However, numerous problems remain unsolved. The future is clouded by the great

economic adversities facing the states of Eastern Europe, by a deteriorating environment and by acute ethnic conflicts. These problems can be resolved only through broad European cooperation, by peaceful means.

The political and economic integration of Western Europe is the main force shaping development on the European Continent. The European Community is expected to play the key role in the creation of a new, unified Europe.

The founding members of the Community stated in the Treaty of Rome, that they aim at "an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe" and called "upon the other peoples of Europe who share their ideals to join in their efforts". Finland is now taking a step towards full participation in this endeavour. We expect much from membership, but we are also prepared to make every effort towards achieving the common goals of the Community.

Historically, the integration process has meant channelling competition between nation-states into peaceful cooperation. Its ultimate task is the promotion of economic prosperity, common security and balanced social development.

Integration in the European Community has proceeded in stages, by broadening and deepening. In the Maastricht Treaty the member states entered a new stage towards economic and political union. In seeking EC membership, Finland approves the acquis communautaire, the content of the Maastricht Treaty and the finalité politique of the European Union.

The fundamental values of the Community are freedom and democracy. As a member of the European Community, Finland will, in a spirit of solidarity, participate in implementing the tasks and goals facing the Community.

The Community renews itself constantly. Finland has a positive contribution to make in this process, particularly in the enhancement of democracy and equality, the reducing of regional differences and the achievement of ecologically sustainable development.

Finland is a Nordic democracy, in which the ideals of freedom and equality are deeply rooted. Democracy is the foundation of Finnish society. It is also a powerful unifying force. The advancement of democracy will be a central issue as the European Community expands and gains stature. In the Maastricht Treaty, the Community members emphasize the importance of democratic principles in decision-making. New issues will not be transferred to the Community if they can be resolved more efficiently at the national, regional or local level.

Finland is a peripheral region in Europe. Successful competition requires special efforts of us, by virtue of our location and natural circumstances. It is important for Finland that regional differences in the European Community are reduced.

The Finnish economy is part of the advanced European market economy system, and it is vital for our economy to be able to operate on equal terms with competitors in our main markets.

Membership of the European Community will not solve the present serious problems of the Finnish economy. On the contrary, EC membership will urgently require restoration of an economic balance. The Government will seek to achieve this with a comprehensive programme of economic and industrial policy that will increase the contribution made by industry and exports to our economy and improve its functioning. The participation of every Finn is needed in this effort.

EC membership will obviously pose problems for some sectors of the Finnish economy. The greatest problems in adapting will be faced by the food production chain. In the view of the Government, these problems can be solved both through the negotiations and national measures.

Overall, Finland has a good foundation to become a member of the EC. We have a high standard of know-how and technology, a highly educated population and a society that functions. Our forests and other renewable natural resources and related technology constitute an important resource even by European yardsticks.

The European Community devises and carries out policies in the areas of the economy and industry, agriculture, environmental protection, social welfare and health, research, education, labour relations, consumer protection and the advancement of equality. All these have an impact on the entire continent. Finland has

both much to contribute to international cooperation in these areas and national interests to secure.

Nordic co-operation has a contribution to make in European integration. The Nordic countries are a very stable part of Europe. In entering broader European co-operation through EEA or as members of the EC, the Nordic countries will not be bringing unresolved social conflicts with them. On the contrary, we may be able to present solutions that are of value to others.

Finland supports reform in Russia, its eastern neighbour, in the other members of the CIS and in the Baltic region and eastern Central Europe as these countries strive to strengthen democracy and build a market economy. These goals can scarcely be reached without the participation of the European Community. As a member of the Community, new opportunities will open for Finland for increased co-operation with our neighbouring areas.

Finland has always pursued a policy aimed at stability and security in Northern Europe. On the basis of our location and historical experience, neutrality is our aim in any armed conflicts possibly arising in the proximity of Finland. The core of our policy of neutrality in today's Europe may be characterized as military non-alignment and an independent defence. We maintain an effective and credible national defence, commensurate with our security environment.

The Maastricht Treaty establishes a common foreign and security policy for the European Union, and provides for the development of a defence dimension and for the role of the Western European Union. Finland accepts the obligations of the Treaty, and is prepared to participate constructively in their implementation as agreed at Maastricht.

* * *

Mr Speaker,

By presenting the communication on application for EC membership the Government has aimed to enable Parliament to express its views on the issue and also to take a stand on the line of action proposed. The Government hopes to obtain the broadest possible support from Parliament for its objectives. National consensus would create a good foundation for the forthcoming negotiations.

Should the Government receive a vote of confidence from Parliament, it is for its part prepared to carry the matter through as rapidly as possible. In accordance with the Constitution, the President of the Republic decides on the membership application. The application would be submitted to the European Community on Wednesday, immediately after the vote on the communication.

We are now deciding on the application. Negotiations with the Community will follow the avis prepared by the Commission. The Government seeks to conduct Finland's negotiations in parallel with the other EFTA countries applying for membership. We hope that negotiations start as soon as possible, so that Finland could become a member in the middle of this decade. We would appreciate support in our endeavour from the members of the Community, with all of whom we already have excellent relations.

The Government will ensure that Parliament and its committees are kept well informed on the processing of our EC application and on the conduct of the negotiations. It is the intention of the Government to hold an advisory referendum on the matter before ultimate approval of the outcome of these negotiations.

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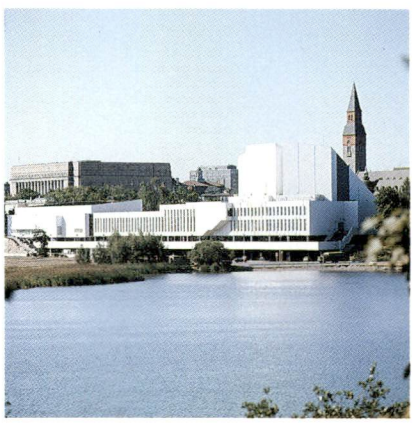
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# FINNISH FEATURES

## The Helsinki Process: A Success Story

### Record of achievements

Few, if any, of the representatives of the 35 European and North American States who gathered in winter 1972 for the preparatory consultations on a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki anticipated the enormous built-in power of the process they were initiating. In less than 20 years the community of basic human values – democracy, the rule of law, and human rights; the hallmarks of the CSCE – had overwhelmed the false legitimacy of totalitarianism and opened the door to freedom and unity for all of Europe. The dramatic events of 1989 and 1990 were consequences of the social and economic failure of the Communist system, but the Helsinki process accelerated this inevitable collapse. The CSCE not only survived the Cold War but also contributed greatly to its demise.



*The signing of the CSCE Final Act in 1975 took place at Finlandia Hall.*

Governments and people, organizations and individuals – all those who in past years prepared the ground for the radical changes – drew their strength from the rich potential of the Helsinki process. Helsinki symbolized a better future for countless

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people, and they were not misled in their expectations. The CSCE has stood the test of time effectively.

The Helsinki process legitimized the right of one country to expect, indeed demand, that the external behaviour of states to each other, and the internal behaviour of states towards their peoples, should conform with the Helsinki Principles and other CSCE agreements. How an individual country treats its own citizens is now a legitimate concern of other CSCE countries. Demonstrating concerned opinion no longer constitutes inappropriate intervention in the internal affairs of other states.

At the heart of the CSCE lay not only national sovereignty, non-intervention in the internal affairs of states and consensus, but also – and especially – human rights and the right of selfdetermination. Major CSCE achievements – the Human Rights Mechanism, the Mechanism on Unusual Military Activities and the Emergency Mechanism – have broken the ice of absolutism surrounding the sensitive area of sovereignty and consensus. The time may be ripe for further steps in this direction at the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting.

The Cold War divisions, antagonisms and threats have ended, and with them the peculiar kind of stability they created. In their place, a Europe full of potential for democracy, economic well-being and human rights has arisen. The competition between the superpowers has given way to dialogue and to a joint acceptance of both European and global responsibilities. Europeans are no longer afraid of massive military confrontation on their continent; European countries can now embark on the search for security in Europe on an equal footing, as free and democratic societies.

The CSCE was designed to bridge the East-West divide. It meant an alleviation, not a sanctioning, of the division of Europe, and played an immense role in the evolution of relations across the dividing line, the Iron Curtain. It helped to preserve dialogue and essential forms of cooperation during those difficult years. Now that there is no longer an East-West divide, different problems are appearing and the enlarged CSCE is facing new challenges. Its contributions will be very much needed during years ahead as well.

## Future potential and challenges

The Europe of today has succeeded in reducing military threats and means of conflict. At the same time, there is ample evidence that the use of military force is no less unthinkable in the new Europe than during the Cold War. Conflicts in Yugoslavia or in parts of the former Soviet Union may be containable, but they are more than just local or internal affairs. Many outstanding problems have become all the more visible with the disappearance of East-West confrontation. The actual and potential instabilities arising from economic, environmental and minority problems, nationalistic antagonisms and destabilizing ethnic claims and conflicts, all undermine the fragile new system of security, which is characterized by complexity, interdependence and unpredictability. The indivisibility of security and the interrelationship of the three baskets of the Helsinki Final Act – military security, cooperation in the economic, scientific and environmental areas, and the human dimension – have more significance now than ever before.

Europe is undergoing a fundamental process of reorganization, militarily, politically and economically. The elements in this new constellation – states, organizations and institutions – are redefining their relationships and functions in order to form a sound whole. The enlargement of the CSCE constitutes both a challenge and an opportunity. There is little reason to believe that the profound changes of 1989–90 will be consolidated in a short period of time. Rather, a fragile equilibrium, punctuated by outbreaks of instability, will continue. Europeans will thus need an effective political forum to which they can all belong.

The Helsinki process is a security system, but not in the sense of a military alliance. The CSCE is not a system of classical collective security, nor can it, in its present form, offer the degree of security that European states desire. States will continue to derive security from their own arrangements for self-defence, but a re-nationalization of security policies should not be the goal. The CSCE provides the basis for a system of cooperative security, and the cooperative security measures developed within the CSCE both complement the existing measures and offer new potential

in the military area. Thus, security with others overrides the need for security against others.

The new order in Europe permits states to create jointly, on a cooperative basis, new security and policy options which were not possible for individual states in the previous confrontational situation. But the new opportunities cannot be realized by one element alone, whether it be an institution, structure or process. Neither the CSCE nor NATO, NACC, WEU, EC, or any other organization for that matter can, by itself, provide the basis for stability and security in the new Europe. Real security can only be guaranteed jointly, through mutually supportive cooperation and interaction between all interlocking institutions and forums. We should use what works for as long as it works and add what is needed, if and when it is needed.

The CSCE can meet the new challenges, if it is permitted to develop existing and acquire new operational capabilities, e.g. by enhancing institutions and structures which were created to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts. This requires a clear division of responsibility between the Committee of Senior Officials in Prague, the Conflict Prevention Centre in Vienna and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw. The conflict prevention and crisis management capability of the CSCE can be improved through the use of clearly defined instuments. Fact-finding, observation and monitoring of the implementation of cease-fire or disengagement agreements are essential elements of conflict resolution.

Peacekeeping, in cooperation with the parties involved in the conflict, is a highly effective tool. The Helsinki Follow-up Meeting in 1992 must take decisions to enhance the CSCE's capability to meet future challenges. These decisions will be just as innovative as those taken in Helsinki in 1975.

The CSCE and its potential for contributing to stability and security in Europe – including crisis resolution and the development of cooperative economic, political and security arrangements – must be viewed from the perspective of complementarity rather than substitution in relation to other institutions. It is a mechanism for linkage and not replacement. The experience and capabilities of relevant European and transatlantic economic organizations must be utilized. Affluent members of the CSCE should meet their responsibilities for facilitating the historic transitions now taking place in the economies of some CSCE participating states. Europe must not become a continent in which a new division replaces the old. To overcome the obstacles to political and economic stability and development, those organizations and actors which are best equipped in their own areas of competence should lead the way. The unique advantage of the CSCE is that it includes the existing, and will equally include all the new, participating states, each contributing its weight to European affairs. The CSCE thus offers an overarching framework within which much can be accomplished.

The framework of regional cooperation will be an important part of the new comprehensive security setting. Regional cooperation will be able to respond more effectively to various local conditions and needs, allowing regions to tackle their specific problems together. Selective regional measures and solutions embedded in an all-European CSCE framework present considerable potential and may become a real innovation of the post-Helsinki security negotiations. Regional cooperation offers limitless possibilities in the economic and social areas as well. On the all-European level, the emerging system of security for Europe will have to take into account the political dynamics of West Europe integration, the security concerns of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the future roles of the great powers in Europe.

## Past is prologue

"Security is not gained by erecting fences; security is gained by opening gates", Finland's then President Urho Kekkonen said at the first CSCE Foreign Ministerial Meeting in Helsinki in June 1973. In March 1992 the Helsinki process will return to the Finnish capital where it began some 20 years before. With the disappearance of the old barriers, the CSCE is entering its second and more operational phase. As it had in its first phase, the CSCE in its next phase will have a unique and critical role to play in building a durable peace and a just

and equitable order in the new Europe.

There is nothing final about the Final Act. This historic document, drafted at a time when Europe was divided, embodies the principles which are even now shaping, and will continue to shape, an undivided Europe. While many commitments and pledges still remain empty and unimplemented, many more have had profound impact. The greatest strength of the CSCE will remain its moral strength, based on the Helsinki Principles and the fundamental human rights it supports for individuals in all the participating states. The Final Act is a reminder of what remains to be done and an unfailing source of inspiration for further endeavour and action. The Helsinki process will be judged by its success in providing the basis for the most profound concept of human rights – freedom, justice, equity and security. The Final Act of Helsinki and the Charter of Paris together present an open-ended vision for a new and better Europe, committing all the participants with equal force to each of their provisions.

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## CSCE: what next?

### The origins

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is a formal title for a process which began here in Helsinki nearly twenty years ago. The primary task in the early 1970s was to bridge the divided European continent, create a modus vivendi between the two German states, and open gates for humanitarian cooperation and contacts. This was the novelty in international politics: for the first time the participating states were ready to encourage and promote also individual activities parallel to the interstate cooperation.

The other basic difference from normal international conferences was, that the CSCE established a follow-up system with further meetings, and with a chance to review and assess the progress achieved. Nothing would be forgotten or bypassed in silence. All aspects of interstate cooperation, including the violations of human rights, were open to discussion and criticism. CSCE became a continuous endeavour, a process characterized by the changing opportunities.

The decision-making mechanism of the CSCE differs from that of other international bodies such as the United Nations. All participants are equal, and hence the consensus principle: All decisions must be made by the consent of all. There is only one category of decisions and all require unanimity among the participating states. Absence of a particular state or states from the meetings does not hinder others from going ahead with new decisions.

The CSCE currently has 48 participating States. The original number was 35; Albania did not want to join but did so after the Paris summit in November 1990. Germany was united on October 2nd 1990: The last time the delegation of the German Democratic Republic was present was at the foreign ministers' meeting in New York.

### Nature of this exercise

Nobody thought that Europe would become harmonized according to the principles of the Helsinki Final Act 1975 very quickly. The overall understanding was that progress might be rather slow and require patience. Nevertheless great strides have been taken: for instance despite all the bad omens the Madrid Follow-Up Meeting could decide upon a Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures. When this conference started in Stockholm in January 1984 it was the

only international channel between the nuclear powers.

It finished with a breakthrough in September 1986. A taboo was broken; military activities in the European part of the Soviet Union were made open for on-site inspections upon request by any of CSCE participating State.

The Vienna Follow-Up Meeting 1986-89 made the next major advance possible: within the framework of the human dimension one hotly disputed principle – interference in internal affairs of states- was marginalized. Individual and human rights got the upper hand, time frames within which requests should be decided on were shortened, and the commitments to the human dimension became central to interstate relations.

Those who expected no further progress after the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting were once again betting on the wrong horse. Less than a year later presidents Gorbatshev and Bush met in Valletta to begin preparations for an early CSCE summit to precede the Helsinki Follow-Up Meeting scheduled to open on March 24, 1992.

All European nations, the United States and Canada were anxious to participate in the reshaping of the post-Second World War Europe. Lessening of tension often requires as close cooperation among participants as situations of potential conflicts.

The time since the Paris summit has been historic in many respects. The pace of change has taken everyone by surprise. More than once there have been multilateral efforts to get these changes under control. But there is still no clear understanding about what form the new stability might look like.

The events inside the former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union demonstrate that problems inherited as a legacy of the Second World War do no longer present the most immediate danger.

Those related to the federal nature of former states, not traditional interstate conflicts, seem to be our main concerns today.

## Problems of definition

The preparatory consultations held in Helsinki 1972-72 set the basic characteristics of the CSCE process. Decisions are to be reached by consensus; all participating states are equal; the process is to take place outside military or other alliances; and the scope of agreements is, for the first time, to cover humanitarian cooperation in addition to the military security, and economic and environmental cooperation. Each participating state may choose which particular section or item to emphasize as long as they were ready faithfully to implement all the other joint commitments as well.

## It was strictly a European conference

In Helsinki in 1992, the enlarged group of participants will have a chance to define new priorities for their common efforts and future cooperation.

Although, in a purely physical sense, the area of the former Soviet Union has not grown, the zone of application of the CSCE seems to have been enlarged. We have more actors on the stage, new governments and more nations with fresh self-confidence. As a result Europe will be defined on a new basis.

At the same time the participants have to make up their mind on the proper definition of participating State. Responsibility for European security would perhaps not be enough as the only criterion. Concern about the implementation and respect of human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law, has united all the participants, irrespective of their previous record. Interstate relations have been multiplied in recent months. At the same time non-governmental organizations are actively preparing their contributions in different events.

New threat perceptions have arisen. The risk that economic inequality may pose a heavy burden is growing. The CSCE does not have mechanisms to react quickly; it has the power of words and political signals. Everyone is aware of the new risks looming. Many are concerned and many wary. The whole process is facing a great challenge. That is why so many people are sceptical and others are cautious about reshaping the basic established procedures.

As pointed out, procedure and substance go together. The problems of the new participating States will be shared jointly by all. A new learning process is before us. Once again we must forge the link between

realities and ambitions so that the political leaders of the participating States will have a common understanding of the challenges and opportunities posed by Europe today.

The time available in Helsinki has been limited to three months. In this respect, too, the CSCE process has modified its original character: before the negotiations actually start all know when they must be ready to present their common results. It may well be that the results will not be as mature and ready as they were in the past. Do the hectic finishing negotiations – before final compromises are agreed upon – belong to history?

The CSCE Minister Council has already decided to hold its next meeting in Stockholm in December this year. The end of the Helsinki meeting will thus not mark the end of further efforts. Let us hope that the results achieved in Helsinki will warrant greater confidence in the new potential of the CSCE and reaffirm the Helsinki process in its broadened, more positive meaning.

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## Finland Seeks Membership in the European Community

Finland is about to join Austria and Sweden on what is called "the first train" of new applicants heading for membership in the European Community.

The formal application will not be made before Parliament has voted on it on March 18, but since the main opposition party, the socialdemocrats, supports the ruling center-right coalition on this issue, the outcome is a foregone conclusion.

The Finnish application may well prod the Norwegians to make up their minds in time to begin membership negotiations parallel with their neighbours. Thus all the Scandinavian or Nordic countries, with the exception of Iceland, could be members of the Community in 1995.

This represents a momentous change for the region. By applying for membership the Nordic countries abandon their traditional aloofness from the affairs of the European continent and their belief in the superiority of the Scandinavian social model. They all look forward to membership as an external discipline to help them lighten the heavy burden of a bloated public sector and to bring down production costs, consumer prices and interest rates.

The Community, too, will be changed by the entry of an additional three northern protestant nations. They are likely to tilt the balance in favour of a cautious approach to political integration and a greater concern for what is called the social dimension.

They will also add a new geopolitical dimension: through the membership of Finland and Norway the Community will acquire a common landborder with Russia. The implications of this fact have not yet received much attention within the Community.

For Finland, applying for EC membership marks a sharp break with the past. Traditionally the Finns have maintained their independence and national identity by exclusion. The creed of the Finnish national movement in the 19th century was formulated by one of its leaders in one terse sentence: We are no longer Swedes, we do not want to become Russians, so let us be Finns. From this double negative grew a nation with a distinctive cultural identity and democratic institutions of original design that have functioned without interruption for a longer time than those of most European states.

Indeed, Finland is one of the very few European states that have survived intact through the upheavals of the first half of the 20th century. It survived by resisting foreign

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domination by whatever means suited to changing circumstances; by armed struggle, by saying no, or by avoiding to say yes.

But now the Finns are told by their president Mauno Koivisto to say yes to the Community, because in an interdependent world "it is better that we have a voice where the decisions are made".

Many Finns still worry about the possible effects of EC membership for the country's security. Russia remains a powerful neighbour which may well revert to authoritarian rule and militant nationalism. Might not membership then provoke Russian hostility making Finland once again, as happened 50 years ago, an exposed outpost - to be abandoned by the West in the event of a conflict?

Such fears persist. Yet a strong current in Finnish opinion now supports the view that, if faced again with an aggressive Russian regime, Finland would be more secure as a member of the Community than on its own and should seize the opportunity to join the western community of nations whose values the Finnish people has always shared.

Finland, like Sweden, will continue to stay out of military alliances and to maintain a national defence. Whether or not this should be called a policy of neutrality is a matter of debate. The Finnish government still prefers to use the term which has a powerful emotional appeal as a symbol of independence and self-reliance. But the substance of Finland's foreign policy has been adjusted to fit membership in the Community.

The adjustment in economic policy that lies ahead will be more painful. Farming in particular will face a tough test. The economy as a whole is suffering from a severe slump – the worst since the second world war. In 1991 GNP fell by 6%, while unemployment rose to 13%.

The decline in the Finnish economy has been caused partly by the collapse of trade with the Soviet Union. Last year the Soviet share of Finland's total exports fell to less than 5% from an historical average of 15%, and it is expected to go down even further this year. In contrast, exports to Germany increased in 1991 by 10%, making Germany Finland's number one trading partner.

The devaluation of the Finnish markka and a zero wage agreement reached between unions and employers at the end of last year have improved the competitiveness of Finnish industry. The slump is believed to have bottomed out. A cautious sense of optimism can be observed in the business community. The hope is that the decision to apply for EC membership in itself will revive confidence in Finland's economic prospects. But the country has a long way to go in order to qualify for membership in the planned European Monetary Union.

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**(Published in the International Herald Tribune)**

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## Åland, Finland and the EC

Åland cannot count on existing like some kind of reservation, outside the EC. It would be much better to join from the start. That is the view of Ragnar Erlandsson, Chairman of the Åland Executive Council, as expressed in an interview a few weeks ago.

In saying this, he was also expressing the general opinion of people in Åland. Getting on the EC train with Finland is seen as preferable to being left behind at the station.

Due to its autonomous status, Åland could choose to remain outside the EC even if Finland became a member. But in the Åland islands, this is not seen as a realistic alternative.

It might lead to Åland being surrounded by customs barriers to both Sweden and Finland, thus risking isolation which could in turn be fatal to the economic future of the islands, including the vital tourist trade.

The political spectrum from right to left, both government and opposition, takes basically the same view of the matter. Åland must join in the Finnish negotiations about EC membership, when and if Finland gets that far.

Finland, not Åland, will convey Åland's demands for special terms and rules to the EC. Åland must now make its demands and requests known.

There is disagreement about how to time this. According to the Åland Executive Council there is no hurry.

The exact demands will not be needed until Finland has received the go-ahead to start negotiating on EC membership.

The opposition sees every reason to speed up the proceedings, but at present it seems that the EC issue will not be debated by the Åland Parliament until March.

The Åland Executive Council claims that Åland cannot make any special requests until it is known what Finland will be asking

for. Åland and Finland have similar demands concerning issues like regional policy and agriculture. Other important issues for Åland include the capacity to sustain a dynamic archipelago community in the future. Agriculture is even more important in the regional perspective of the Åland islands than it is for mainland Finland.

Åland must have special rules concerning ferry services, since means of transport to and from Åland must be secured even after tax-free sales on the ferries have been eliminated, which is to happen in 1999. It must not become unreasonably expensive to travel to and from Åland, whether this means the Ålanders themselves, goods transport or tourists.

How the special rights included in the Åland Autonomy Act are to be adapted to the EC is a difficult question. It was made clear in the negotiations for the EEA agreement that the Åland Autonomy Act does not conflict with the European Convention on Human Rights.

The uncertainty concerns three things: the right to acquire and own property in the Åland islands, the protected minority status of the Swedish language, and the liberty of travel and residence in the islands.

During the EEA negotiations, the Åland Executive Council took the position that Åland is interested in joining in development of a common market, but, as is now the case with the EC, only on certain conditions. In the EEA agreement, Åland successfully established specification of the areas in which problems may occur and which therefore require separate rules.

In the agreement, Åland was thus able to retain the right to pass its own legislation on the acquisition and ownerships of property in the Åland islands, on the right to establish and run companies in the province of Åland, and about protection for the Swedish language in the islands.

Considering the exceptions Åland managed to get included in the EEA agreement, it is now thought that similar specifications should not pose an insurmountable problem in the EC negotiations.

The EC also raises the issue of security policy. Where Åland is concerned, this means what will happen to its demilitarized status, the ban on fortification, and the neutrality of the Åland islands, all of which derive from international agreements and form the cornerstones of Åland autonomy. The regulations which state that men from Åland are exempt from compulsory military service is another aspect of this.

Since the protection of minorities in the new Europe is an important issue in the EC, it is easier in some ways for autonomous provinces to win permanent opt-outs than it is for states. Åland puts its faith in this fact and in the understanding Finland has for the special needs of the islands.

It is difficult to say what position Åland should take. The general political attitude seems to be that it is best to make a virtue of necessity. Åland is a small province in a Nordic perspective, to say nothing of a European perspective. The islands depend on the world around them. Fewer obstacles to trade and increased mobility will be in the interest of the Åland islands, especially its trade.

But at the same time one must not forget that Åland became autonomous seventy years ago in order to be able to protect its culture, its traditions and its Swedish language. The people in the Åland islands want all this to continue, because without it, autonomy would lose both its foundation and its meaning.

The only way to preserve Åland's unique features in the Europe of the future is to safeguard its autonomy and thus help it live and develop.

**Editorial published in Hufvudstadsbladet newspaper on February 2nd 1992.**

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1992

FINNISH FEATURES

AUGUST 1991

# Finland's New Aliens Act

## There are not many aliens in Finland

Unlike most other countries, Finland's present population is ethnically very homogeneous. In earlier days the situation was different: in the 1920s, for example, there were more foreigners living in Finland than in the other Nordic countries. This was caused in part by refugees fleeing the Russian Revolution.

Today there are very few foreign nationals in Finland. In 1990 about 20,000 of Finland's 5 million residents, or about 0.4% of the population, were citizens of countries outside the Nordic countries. In 1989 the number of residence permits handled was 14,100 and that of work permits 10,200.

The flow of people is greatest between Finland and Sweden. About 5,000 people per year emigrate in each direction. In recent years the number of people moving back to Finland has been slightly larger.

A little over 1,000 Ingrian Finns have immigrated to Finland from the Soviet Union.

## Refugees and asylum seekers

Approximately 3,000 refugees have been admitted to Finland since 1973. In 1990 Finland received 841 refugees under the United Nations refugee quota. The official annual quota is 500. Refugees under the quota may include 'difficult cases' selected from UN refugee camps.

The number of people seeking asylum in Finland has grown rapidly. In 1990 a total of 2,743 people sought asylum in Finland. The largest group, 1,437 Somalis, entered Finland via the Soviet Union.

In the first four months of 1991, 788 people applied for asylum in Finland, 322 from Somalia.

## A clearer aliens policy

Finland's new Aliens Act came into effect on March 1, 1991. The aim of the Act is to simplify the processing of entrance permits (visas and residence permits) and work permits.

The power of Finnish diplomatic representatives abroad to make decisions on the granting of permits has been increased. Decisions regarding the extension of permits have been transferred almost solely to local police and labour offices.

The new Aliens Act strengthens the position of aliens in Finland. It also improves the position of refugees and seekers of asylum. The Act is also designed to speed up the processing of work and residence permits.

Other legislation has also been amended with a view to improving the position of aliens in Finland. The qualifications of public officials (state and municipal) have been changed so that Finnish citizenship and education in Finland are no longer prerequisites for application for a post.

Former Finnish citizens and persons at least one parent of whom is a former Finnish citizen, provided that they have been granted a limited period residence permit, need no work permit. This also applies to permanent residents in Finland and persons married to Finnish citizens.

The right to work without a work permit of foreign students studying in Finland and possessing a limited period residence permit is restricted to holiday and part-time work.

## Finnish citizenship in five years

The granting of citizenship does not come within the scope of application of the Aliens Act. Thus the new Aliens

Act does not affect the criteria for the granting of Finnish citizenship. The Nationality Act decrees that a person may be granted Finnish citizenship after he has lived in Finland for five years.

Former Finnish citizens or spouses of Finnish citizens can receive Finnish citizenship in a shorter period.

## Scandinavians do not need permits

The close integration of the Nordic countries extends to the rights of citizens. A common labour market has existed in the Nordic countries since the 1950s and movement between countries has not required special permits.

Citizens of Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark have the right to enter Finland without a passport and to live and work in Finland without a residence or work permit.

## Residence permits

The new Aliens Act contains provisions on entry into and residence in Finland. The Act recognizes two permits associated with entry: a visa and a residence permit. In addition, a work permit is required to work in Finland.

A visa is granted only for tourism or short periods of residence comparable with tourism.

There are two kinds of residence permits: limited period and permanent. Finnish diplomatic missions can only grant residence permits for a limited period.

A limited period residence permit is usually granted for a minimum of one year. An alien who is a former Finnish citizen or of whom at least one parent is or has been a Finnish citizen is granted a two-year limited period residence permit.

An alien who has lived in Finland for a period of two years consecutively is granted a permanent residence permit. A permanent residence permit carries the entitlement to work.

Under the new Aliens Act a limited period residence permit can be granted for one of the following reasons:

1. A close relative of the foreign national resides in Finland or he has some other connection with Finland.
2. The foreign national has been accepted to study at an educational institution in Finland and he has a guaranteed source of income.
3. The foreign national can be granted a work permit or he has some other reliable source of income.
4. There are pressing humanitarian reasons or other reasons which favour the granting of a permit.

Permanent residence permits and extensions of limited period residence permits are granted by the local police.

## Work permits

An alien must have a work permit to work in Finland. Work permits are granted by Finnish diplomatic missions after they receive a statement from the Ministry of Labour.

A work permit is granted for a specified field, and may be supplemented by restrictions concerning the employer, the permit's regional validity or the nature of the work.

## Appeals to the Asylum Appeals Committee

Non-refoulement has been added to the regulations on deportation and turning back foreigners at the border. No one can be deported to an area where he may become the victim of inhuman treatment or persecution or from where he may be sent to such an area.

The need for an organ to handle appeals against negative decisions affecting asylum seekers and refugees became obvious in the course of preparation of the Aliens Act.

The Asylum Appeals Committee is appointed for a five-year term by the Council of State. Its members include experts on international refugee issues. The Committee works in association with the Ministry of Justice and makes decisions independently.

**Written by Dr. Martti Häikiö**
**Executive Director of Finland Society**

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# FINNISH FEATURES

MAY 1991

## Reform of the Autonomy Act of the Åland Islands

One of the last laws to be passed in the previous term of the Finnish Parliament was the reform of the Autonomy Act on the Åland Islands. This small group of islands between Finland and Sweden has extensive internal autonomy which has been the subject of lively international interest in recent years. At the end of February 1991, the Finnish Parliament passed the new Autonomy Act almost unanimously, by a vote of 170–8 in favour.

The new Parliament elected in March of this year (1991) must repass the law by a 2/3 majority without amendments in order for it to be finally enacted. After that, the Åland Parliament must pass the law by the same majority.

At present, however, it is possible to examine, on the one hand, whether the goals set have been reached and, on the other hand, to see what changes the new Act entails over and above the present one, which dates from 1951.

The main question is whether the goal to strengthen the autonomy of the Åland Islands has been accomplished.

The following gives a brief outline of the contents of the reform, in the hope that the reader will then be able to formulate his own answer to this question.

The review of the new Act is divided into the following sections:

A. Status
B. Democracy
C. Legislation
D. Administration
E. Public economy
F. Effects on the status of the individual Ålander.

This is intended to be an overview, and therefore it only touches upon those details that are likely to be of general interest.

### Status

The reform is meant to uphold the autonomous status of the islands. The report of the Constitutional Law Committee, as accepted by the Finnish Parliament, makes the request that the government include mention of the islands' autonomy in the Constitution Act. Such mention will consolidate Åland's status in the Constitution Act, thus further reinforcing the constitutional nature of the autonomy. Subsequently, it would be possible to include mention of autonomy in the Autonomy Act itself, to the effect that it is valid as a constitutional law.

The new Act establishes Åland as a unilingually Swedish-speaking area (§36). This is not expressed in the present

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HELSINKI FINLAND

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5


SWEDEN
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BALTIC SEA
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HELSINGFORS
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## Democracy

The new Autonomy Act will entail considerably greater demands on those entrusted with handling the public affairs of Åland. This will involve raising the level of the political work in the province. Likewise, the liberalization of the economy will create entirely new opportunities for the province's democratic institutions. Åland's local democracy will be strengthened as a result of the greater opportunity for taking important decisions within the province independently of decisions and events in Helsinki. In addition to reinforcing local democracy, the new law also provides Åland with new means of influencing national-level policy. Åland will become a separate party in any negotiations concerning the province. This will be especially pertinent in cases of consultancy, as in §30. (The main issues are mentioned under the heading Administration).

The right to vote in Nordic municipal elections will be introduced in Åland (§67).

## Legislation

This aspect of the reform is intended to clarify and broaden Åland's legislative powers. The clarification of legislative powers will be achieved by complete transfer of responsibility – either to the province or to the State – for a number of matters which were previously handled by both authorities. In fact, however, the State will be on the receiving end in only one case; it will receive full responsibility for legislation on employment contracts. Responsibility for all other areas of legislation included in the present Autonomy Act will be retained by the Åland Parliament. The expansion of the province's legislative powers will result from new areas of legislative responsibility being defined by the new Act, or by new areas of responsibility being transferred to the province by national law.

**1. The Åland Parliament's new legislative responsibilities**

The new Act will grant the Åland Parliament powers of legislation over the following:

- rent and rent control as well as the law of adjoining properties;
- historical monuments;
- social services, the most significant being maternity benefits, family and child allowances and care of the disabled and disability benefits;
- alcohol licensing, in cases where the licence is vital to the province's tourist trade;
- record offices;
- postal services, including an independent policy on postage stamps;
- radio and television;
- inter-municipal affairs, e.g. boundary issues

**2. National law will grant the Åland Parliament authority over the following:**

- population registration;
- the trade register, register of associations and ships' register, the latter being of special importance to Åland;
- employment pensions and other forms of social insurance dealing with extensive funds;
- alcohol legislation in its entirety;
- banking and credit systems;
- employment contracts and cooperation within companies.

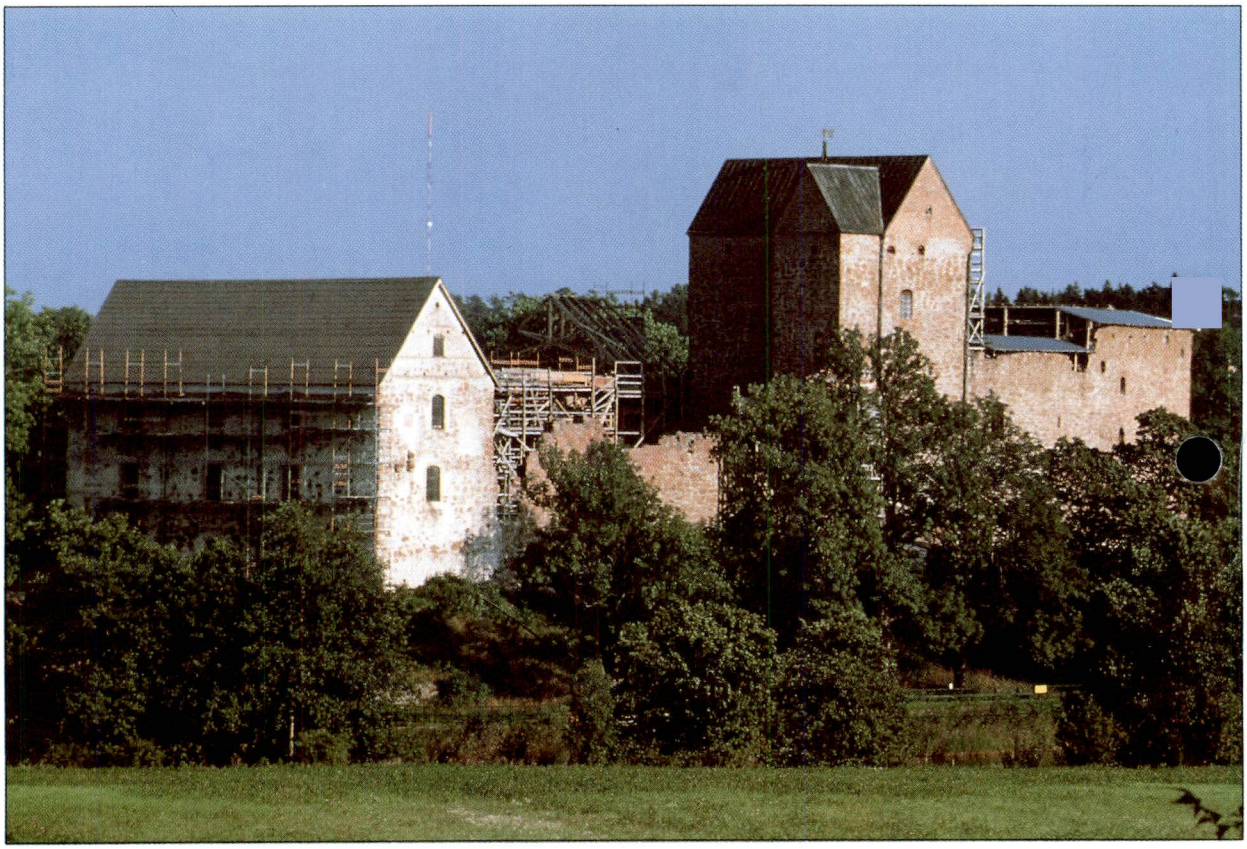
## Administration

Greater administrative powers will naturally accompany the expansion of legislative powers. It has been considered expedient for the province to handle the administration of even certain matters over which legislative power itself lies with the national Parliament. This is the case, for instance, with regulations on contagious diseases, internal air traffic and consumer protection legislation. The Åland Executive Council will appoint a consumer complaint board, and consumer guidance will be handled by the province and the municipalities of Åland.

The provincial authorities will be gaining new means of influence mainly through the establishment of a new consultancy procedure. In accordance with this concept, it will no longer be sufficient to merely *hear* the province in matters of concern to it. Instead, actual *negotiations* will take place, as the situation requires. In certain matters, however, it will remain sufficient for the province to be heard or to make its own statement.

§30 of the proposed bill lists 23 points in which the province is to be allowed its say in the decision. The following are some examples:









- In appointments to State posts in Åland, familiarity with Åland or residency in Åland must be assigned particular significance;
- The State shall ensure that Åland receives the use of radio and television frequencies;
- The Åland Executive Council shall decide on the competency of Nordic-trained health care staff for the purpose of practice in Åland;
- New merchant shipping routes within Åland territory must be approved by the Åland Executive Council;
- Decisions regarding cabotage (traffic by foreign vessels between Finnish ports) requires consultancy;
- The Bank of Finland shall consult the Åland Executive Council before making decisions of particular importance to Åland's economy and labour market;
- The Åland Executive Council shall negotiate with the State on matters of fishing and agriculture incomes policy and on the regulation of these industries;
- The State authorities shall hear the Åland Executive Council before making any decision on import protection for agriculture and fishing products;
- The Åland Executive Council must be heard before any State undertakings are withdrawn from Åland.

Any compilation of statistical data about Åland for State use must be carried out in cooperation with the Åland authorities. Provision has been made for an Administrative Court, common to Åland and mainland Finland, to be founded in Åland by national legislation. The provincial administrative court will then cease to exist, and the Åland Executive Council will relinquish its position as the instance of appeal.

## Public finance

The finances of the province of Åland, particularly the economic relationship between the province and mainland Finland, are treated in the eight paragraphs of chapter 7. Public interest has focused on the 'basis of calculation', i.e. the percentage of yearly State revenues Åland should receive to cover the expenses of autonomy.

The contents of the chapter are as follows:

§44 decrees the province's free budgeting right. This includes the right to independent allocation of funds. The paragraph contains a resolution to the effect that the Åland Parliament shall strive to keep the social benefits of Åland residents at least up to the standards prevailing in the rest of Finland.

§§45 and 46 specify the province's claim to State funds and how it is calculated, i.e. that State income for the budget year, excluding State loans, forms the basis of calculation.

§47 gives the figure of 0.45% as the province's claim to State revenues. The paragraph also stipulates the conditions under which this figure may be amended. It can be raised if

1) the province assumes new duties or undertakes to perform duties of national importance;
2) the administration of Åland's autonomy results in a considerable increase in costs;
3) costs emerge which were unforeseen when the law was passed.

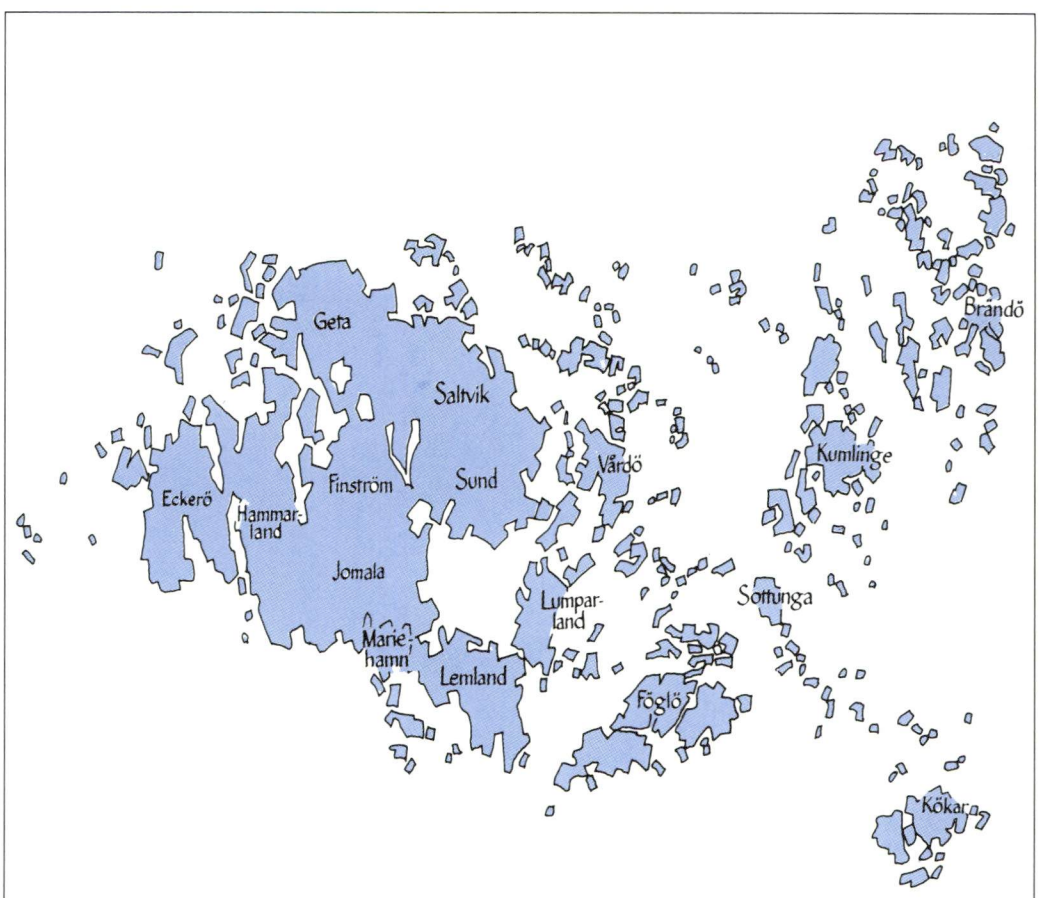
The claim on State revenues will be reduced in the event that responsibilities are transferred from the province to the national administration.

The content of §48 is completely new, and states that extraordinary funding will be reintroduced, but according to an entirely different procedure from that currently in use. The requirement that such allocations be made for "purposes corresponding to those in mainland Finland" has been omitted, thus allowing for the Åland Delegation to decide freely on such matters. The Åland Delegation shall also independently decide when extraordinary funding is to be granted. When extraordinary funding is deemed necessary, the Government shall be obliged to include the expense item in the State budget, and Parliament is bound by the Åland Delegation's decision. This is something truly unique. Finally, the use of extraordinary funding does not affect the Åland Parliament's budgetary powers according to §44.

§49 stipulates a system of tax credits, stating that if Åland provides more than 0.50% of the nation's income and property tax revenues in a single year, the excess shall be credited to the province.

§50 gives Åland the right to contract loans.

§51 provides for special subsidies, which shall be granted if




## Facts about the Åland Islands

Area: 6,739 sq.km.
– land area 1,481 sq.km.
– main island: 977 sq.km.
Number of islands: appr. 6,500
Population: appr. 24,000
Main town: Mariehamn (Maarianhamina)
Language: Swedish
History: 1200–1809: under Swedish rule
1809–1917: under Russian rule as part of Grand Duchy of Finland
1917: Finland becomes independent
1920: Autonomy Act passed
Government: the Åland Parliament (Ålands Landsting), consisting of 30 members, is elected every four years. In addition, there is a representative of Åland in the Parliament of Finland. The Åland Executive Council (Ålands landskapsstyrelse) is appointed by the Åland Parliament.

1) Åland is affected by disturbances in public-sector finances;
2) costs are incurred due to a natural disaster, nuclear accident, oil spill, etc.

§§47 and 51 outline an "economic safety net", which is more detailed than that included in the present Autonomy Act.

## Effects on the status of the individual Ålander

The individual Ålander will be affected by the practical application of the law, as decided by the Åland Parliament and the Åland Executive Council.

The new Autonomy Act, like the present one, remains dependent on the continued cultivation of good relations between the representatives of Åland and the national-level authorities. Åland can only enjoy maximal autonomy by maintaining contacts and engaging in constant discussions with the rest of Finland. This is particularly true of situations requiring consultancy.

We can list a variety of effects that will be felt on the practical level. The Ålander, whose passport expressly states that he is from Åland, shall receive his mail from the Åland Post Office, which will also decide which individual post offices are to remain in operation. Decisions regarding radio and television broadcasting will be made in Åland. Coast Guard stations will not be closed without the permission of the Åland Executive Council. The many ferries which maintain the vital connections between the various islands of the province will fly the flag of Åland.

Merchant vessels whose home port is in Åland will fly the same flag on the seven seas if the Åland Parliament so decrees. Åland representatives will participate in decisions on agricultural and fishing incomes policy. The same is true of import regulations on agricultural products and fish. A local consumer advisory service will finally be established. The Bank of Finland shall not devalue the Finnish mark without first consulting with Åland. Theoretically, devaluation could take place on the basis of a proposal from Åland. The Skiftet boat route shall not be built after 1992 against the decision of the Åland Executive Council and the Åland delegation.

Thus, in short, Åland will acquire a more distinct image and be more clearly defined as a unilingually Swedish-speaking area.

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**Written by Mr. Gunnar Jansson, MP, representative of the Åland Islands in the Finnish Parliament since 1983.**

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FINNISH FEATURES

SEPTEMBER 1981

# The Rule of Law in Finland

There is hardly any country in the world where more importance was given to the rule-of-law principle than the Grand Duchy of Finland at the beginning of this century.

Finland was then under Russian rule, but enjoyed a large degree of autonomy. Finland was governed separately from Russia and had its own constitution and laws, which the Russian Emperor, as Finland's Grand Duke and in this respect a constitutional monarch, had promised to uphold. Finland's constitution (inherited from Sweden, to which Finland belonged as an integrated part until 1809), Finland's codified laws (the Swedish Code of 1734) and other statutes, and its Scandinavian legal traditions were regarded as an important safeguard against assimilation with the great Russian empire.

As Finland – after a long period of good relations with the Russians, based on Russian respect for Finland's autonomous rights – saw its home rule endangered at the turn of the last century, the defence was mainly based on legal principles. Finland was in no position then to use other means of resistance.

The strong legalistic tradition in Finland goes back to these crucial years, when Finland's future as a nation was under constant attack. It is still very much alive in Finnish society, although it is less rigidly applied today than in earlier times.

## Historical background

The rule-of-law principle is much more a part of Finnish political ideology than in its Western neighbouring countries, where it has been self evident for such a long time. It is upheld not only by the lawyers, but also by other groups of society. Some of the political parties particularly stress their adherence to this principle.

The constitutionalist tradition in Finnish politics can be explained by Finland's historical past. During the last period of Finland's union with Russia, political life had become quite dynamic as a result of the parliamentary reform in 1906 which introduced general voting rights for all men and women. At that time, the constitutionalists formed an important political force in Finland.

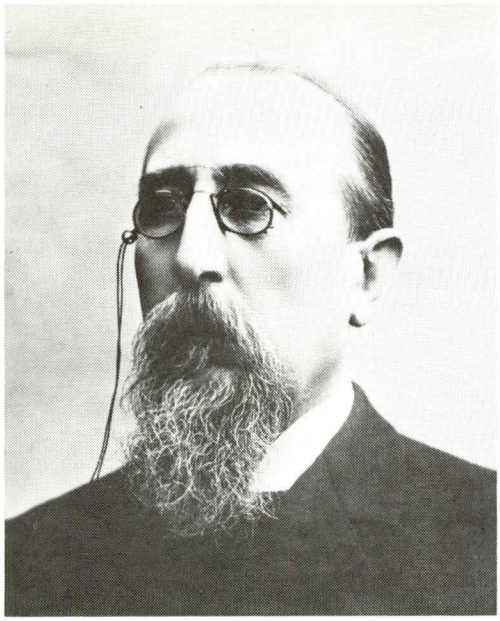
The leaders of this movement were ruthlessly suppressed by the Russians. Some of them were exiled, even to Siberia. These men are looked upon as Finnish freedom fighters. And the same honour is given to the numerous Finnish judges and governmental officers who were sentenced to prison or fined because of disobedience to unconstitutional Russian statutes and decrees.

Many of Finland's old statesmen had a legal background. Legal arguments were very much a part of political discussion at that time. The rule-of-law principle was a uniting idea for the

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5.1



**Senator Leo Mechelin (1839–1914)**

men who liberated Finland from Russia in 1917–18, which was possible as a result of Russia's defeat in the war, followed by revolution and decomposition.

* * *

These Finnish lawyers, who had struggled with legal means for Finland's autonomy and later its independence, became the leaders of independent Finland. The rule-of-law principle continued to be the pole-star of Finnish politics even during subsequent years. This was also a consequence of the Finnish war of independence in 1918, when the Red revolution had spread to Finland. The other side – the victors of the civil war – saw the revolt as a threat not only to Finland's independence but also to its legal order and democratic constitution.

A few names should be mentioned. Senator Leo Mechelin (1839–1914) was the leader of the constitutionalist movement. He was also a law professor specialised in constitutional and international law. His version of Finland's constitution act, drafted in 1907, served as a basis for further constitutional reform work, taken up by K. J. Ståhlberg (1865–1952). Ståhlberg was professor of administrative law and served in various governmental offices. He actively promoted the idea of setting up a supreme administrative court in Finland as a means of strengthening the rule-of-law principle in governmental action. He also became the Court's first president in 1918, but was soon elected Finland's first President of the Republic. Senator P. E. Svinhufvud (1861–1944), who later was elected President of the Republic, had been exiled to Siberia for disobeying unconstitutional Russian decrees. He is also among the Finnish freedom fighters with a legal background who in his later political career served independent Finland in its highest office.

* * *

The rule-of-law tradition in Finland was eloquently expressed by the national poet, Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–1877), whose poems on the Finnish war of 1808–09 are known by heart by many Finns and have given moral strength to them to resist outside pressure during various periods in Finland's history. Particularly popular is his poem "The Governor", which describes the attitude of Olof Wibelius (1752–1823), governor of the province of Savo-Karelia in 1803–1809, when told by the Russian conquerors of his province to punish the families of those who still carried arms against the Russians:

Then stood Wibelius at his judgment board,
Where Sweden's lawbook lay.
He weighty laid his hand upon the book,
And, fixed upon it, shone his glances clear:
"Sir General, upon the shield you look
Of those you threaten here.

"Here lies our weaponless security, –
Our law – our treasure great in joys and needs.
Your ruler to revere it did agree;
For his support it pleads.

"Herein for ages the decree has stood:
The criminal shall bear his guilt alone;
No man for crime of wife shall be pursued,
Nor she for his atone.

"If 'tis a crime to fight for native land,
To which all noble hearts reply, 'not so',
Take vengeance then on men with sword in hand,
On babes and women, – no!

"You won. The power belongs to you to-day.
I am prepared; do with me as you will!
But law preceded me; when I am clay,
'Twill hold dominion still."
– – –"

## The Constitution Act

Finland's Constitution Act was signed by General Gustav Mannerheim in his capacity as regent of Finland on July 17, 1919. It is still in force, except for some minor modifications. The act contains several articles concerning the principle of the rule of law.

The general rights and the legal protection of Finnish citizens are prescribed in Chapter II of the Constitution Act. Article 5 proclaims that all Finnish citizens are equal before the law. Article 6 states that every citizen shall be protected by law in matters of life, honor, personal liberty and property.

The Constitution Act contains the principle that the judicial power shall be exercised by independent courts and particularly mentions the two highest tribunals: the Supreme Court of Justice and the Supreme Administrative Court. The independence of the courts is guaranteed by the irremovability of the judges. The Constitution Act expressly prescribes that no judge shall be deprived of his office except by a lawful trial and judgement. Without his own consent he cannot be transferred to another post, except in the case of reorganization of the judiciary.

The principle of the rule of law is clearly expressed in article 92 of the Constitution Act, which reads as follows:

"In the exercise of public functions the law must be strictly followed under penalty of law.

"If a provision in a decree is contrary to a fundamental or other law, it shall not be applied by a judge or other official."

The Constitution Act also contains provisions regarding the office of the Chancellor of Justice, the successor to the Procurator of the Russian period. According to article 46, he must see that authorities and officials comply with the law and perform their duties so that no person shall suffer injury to his rights.

The Chancellor of Justice was supplemented in 1920 by another surveyor of the law: the Ombudsman of Justice (the Parliamentary Ombudsman). According to article 49 of the Constitution Act he is to supervise the observance of the laws in the proceedings of courts and other authorities. The Chancellor is appointed by the President of the Republic and the Ombudsman is elected by Parliament. The Chancellor is a State official until retirement age, the Ombudsman for a period of four years. They both investigate, upon citizens' request or on their own initiative, into the activities of the courts of law and governmental authorities and may, as public prosecutors, demand the indictment of criminal or negligent officials by a court of law or, in minor cases, demand that an official be reprimanded by his superior. The Chancellor and the Ombudsman present their annual reports to Parliament, with their observations on the rule of law. The Chancellor also serves as the legal expert of the Government and the President of the Republic.




**Lex statue**

## Parliamentary control

Another important guarentee of the rule of law in Finland is the control of the constitutionality of the parliamentary acts exercised by Parliament itself, particularly by its Speaker and its Constitutional Committee. It is obvious that such control is supplemented by similar actions taken by the Government, the President of the Republic and the Chancellor or Justice during various stages of the drafting of a statute, prior to and following the parliamentary process.

But once confirmed by the President of the Republic and published in the official gazette, a parliamentary act must be obeyed. No court can annul a statute passed by Parliament. Only statutes of a lower degree, ordinances and decrees, can be set aside by the authorities if found contrary to the law. There are thus some cases where the Supreme Administrative Court has disregarded administrative ordinances as being contrary to the Constitution Act and other acts passed by Parliament.

**Supreme Administrative Court, May 13, 1980.**
A muncipal court had fined some people who had sold pamphlets on the streets without permission. The decision was upheld by the Provincial Court. The Supreme Administrative Court, however, quashed the sentence, since the Constitution Act guarantees the right of Finnish citizens to print and publish written and pictorial representations without interference. And the Freedom of the Press Act entitles the author or the publisher to sell or otherwise distribute printed matter. A muncipal ordinance may not, consequently, prescribe that permission must be obtained for the purpose of selling pamphlets. Therefore the decision of the municipal court, based on a municipal ordinance containing such a clause, was set aside by the Supreme Administrative Court.

The lack of court control of parliamentary acts is made up for by the usually thorough way in which Government bills concerning citizens' rights and other constitutional matters are examined by the Parliament's standing Constitutional Committee. Experts on constitutional law are frequently heard by the Committee. The reasons behind the Committee's decision are always published in the Parliamentary Papers.

According to the Parliament Act, a bill can be passed by Parliament even when contradictory to the Constitution Act and its articles guaranteeing protection of the citizens' rights. But in such cases the bill must be passed by a qualified majority in Parliament: the procedure is the same as if the Constitution Act itself were to be changed.

There are frequent examples in Finnish parliamentary practice of governmental bills passed by Parliament with a majority of 5/6, because they concern regulative measures on trade or labour relations. The present price control system in Finland is based upon such a temporary statute. The same is true for rent control, considered a restriction of constitutionally guaranteed property rights.

The requirement of a qualified majority in Parliament for passing such acts can be regarded as an important means of protecting the citizens agains misuse of legislative power. A majority of 5/6 cannot be attained except in cases of emergency or almost universal approval for restrictive measures.

* * *

The rule-of-law principle as applied by the Finnish courts of law has been subject to very little criticism. The stability of Finnish society has reflected also on the administration of justice. The impartiality of the judges has never been seriously doubted.

The extension of the administrative court system during recent decades has improved the situation of the citizens in their dealings with governmental and administrative authorities. The creation of the provincial courts in the 1950s and their strengthening due to more recent reforms contribute to the enforcement of the rule-of-law principle in the field of governmental action. The members of these courts do not, however, enjoy the status of judges. This is only the case for the Supreme Administrative Court, founded in 1981, which is responsible for the whole sphere of the administration of justice in such important areas as taxation, building regulations, social and health administration and local government.

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**Written by Dr. Tore Modeen, Professor at the Helsinki University Law School.**

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Helsinki 1981. Government Printing Centre

FINNISH FEATURES

# The Military Doctrine of Finland

## 1. Finland's security situation

While pursuing a policy of neutrality, Finland is an active participant in the CSCE (Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe) process. The core aspect of Finland's neutrality is non-membership in military alliances. This national security arrangement enables Finland to effectively protect her own interests and contribute to regional and international stability.

In September 1990, the Finnish Government announced that the stipulations of the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty concerning Germany and those limiting Finland's sovereignty had lost their meaning.

As a consequence of the end of division of Europe and owing to the profound changes in the Soviet Union and its republics, Finland will be negotiating a new contractual basis for relations with its eastern neighbour. It is our objective to conclude agreements that will satisfy the interests of the different parties, in accordance with the principles jointly agreed in Europe, and confirm continued good neighbourly relations.

The basic tenets of Finland's geostrategic position have remained unaltered, while new opportunities and challenges have emerged in our security environment.

The CFE (Conventional Forces in Europe) Treaty has made a historic contribution to eliminating the threat of surprise attack and reducing the danger of superpower conflict in Europe. While the CFE Treaty focuses on the security problems of Central Europe, it is in Finland's interest that the Treaty be fully implemented on the northern flank as well. We expect that our northern subregion will fully benefit from future arms control treaties.

The Nordic region has managed to retain its traditional stability. Every opportunity should be taken to strengthen the security of all states in the Baltic Sea region.

The recently concluded START Treaty will have a positive effect on global security. From the Nordic perspective, we must note that the Treaty appears to increase the relative importance of the airborne and maritime legs of the nuclear triad.

This will underline the continued strategic significance of the northwestern part of the Soviet Union and the adjacent northern waters – areas in Finland's vicinity.

## 2. The tasks of the Finnish Defence Forces

The tasks of the Finnish Defence Forces can be divided into two major categories: (1) protection of Finland's territorial integrity and (2) the defence of the country in the event of aggression. As far as various non-military threats - for instance, major disasters and uncontrolled mass migration - are concerned, the role of the Defence Forces is limited to supporting other authorities.

Naval and air defence have gained increased importance in territorial surveillance and protection of territorial integrity. The Finnish Army, for its part, plays the decisive role in defending the country and repelling aggression.

The objective of our military defence is to

render planned exploitation of Finnish territory or attack against Finland prohibitively costly in relation to the expected benefits. Thus, our military defence aims at preventing attacks and keeping the country out of war.

## 3. Territorial surveillance and protection of territorial integrity

The Defence Forces bear the main responsibility for surveillance and protection of the country's territorial integrity. The Frontier Guard and other authorities perform complementary functions in this respect.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force is responsible for air surveillance. The information based on radar systems is complemented by optical and electronic means. Unidentified intruders are identified and intercepted by fighter planes in constant readiness.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Navy is responsible for sea surveillance, involving the use of radar, other electronic and optical observation equipment as well as underwater surveillance systems. Naval and Coast Guard vessels as well as Air Force aircraft are employed in identifying and repelling targets.

## 4. Defence of the nation

Finnish military doctrine is non-offensive. In the event of serious aggression, however, the defence of the country will begin at its very borders.

Territorial defence is the mainstay of Finnish military doctrine. The central objective of this mode of defence is to retain control of the most strategically important areas. If necessary, we would take advantage of the depth of our territory, in order to delay and wear down the aggressor so that conditions for repelling and defeating the enemy could eventually be achieved. Enemy units would be engaged in both forward combat and full-scale guerilla warfare in the rear, thereby creating the opportunities for obtaining our defence goals.

The objective of Finland's air defence, carried out by the Air Force in conjuction with anti-aircraft units, is to prevent any eventual aggressor from achieving air superiority and to protect our most important military and other nationally significant targets.

Our maritime defence seeks to fully utilise the defensive advantages inherent in the unique Finnish archipelago. The main elements of this defence are fixed coastal artillery and effective mine-laying backed up by mobile units. The focal points of our naval operations are the entrance to the Gulf of Finland and the Åland Islands area.

Overall defence has been planned in regard to three main types of attack: (1) a surprise attack to subjugate the Finnish state, (2) an offensive against a third party through Finnish territory, and (3) a large-scale attack to invade the country. By maintaining military readiness and defensive capability flexibly corresponding to each hypothetical threat situation an attempt by an aggressor to use our territory for their own purposes can be prevented or repelled.

## 5. Development of Finland's military defences

The military doctrines of the CSCE States are now under critical examination. Finland, for its part, has not felt a need to change its strategic thinking. Our doctrine continues to fulfil the requirements of our military security and seems to meet the expectations of Finland's neighbours as well. It gives a clear signal that we are capable of preserving the integrity of Finnish territory.

Finland is in the process of rationalizing the command and administrative system of its military. As of the beginning of 1993, the country will be divided into three regional commands and, subordinate to them, 12 military districts. This re-organization will reduce the total number of regional staffs from 30 to 15.

The Air Force command and administrative system will remain essentially unchanged. There will continue to exist three air force wings, whose areas of responsibility will coincide with those of the regional Army commands. The Navy will have two operational flotillas.

The Army remains the largest arm of the Finnish Defence Forces. Of its 27 wartime brigades, two armoured and ten jaeger brigades have been highlighted for development. The mobility, fire-power and protection of these operational units are pres-

ently being significantly improved.

Starting in the mid-1990s, the Air Force interceptors currently in service will be phased out. Authorization for replacing these interceptors is included in the Finnish Government's budget proposal for 1992. The radar surveillance system is now being updated with sophisticated long-range equipment.

Our naval development programme continues to focus on mine-laying capacity. We are also improving our Navy's attack-repelling capability by procuring fast attack craft and surface-to-surface missiles.

## 6. Military service and defence motivation

Finnish defence is founded on thoroughly effective system of obligatory national military service. Our defence also relies on the maintenance of extensive reserves created by this system, and on the Finnish population's traditionally strong motivation to defend the country.

## 7. UN service

Finnish soldiers continue to contribute to UN peacekeeping operations. Since 1957, more than 27,000 Finns have served in the UN forces. We have also trained peacekeepers in co-operation with other countries. We are convinced that this expertise can be useful in the CSCE context as well.

## 8. Support for the CSCE process

Security can be – and has been – improved by joint international efforts and agreements. Nevertheless, we in Finland believe that a small country has to take care of itself by maintaining a credible defence.

As the only body of its kind bringing together all States responsible for the continent's security, the CSCE has a key role to play in transforming the structure of European security. We are committed to participating in this transformation.

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**Based on the statement by Admiral Jan Klenberg, Commander-in-Chief of the Finnish Defence Forces, at the Second Seminar on Military Doctrine, Vienna, 9th October 1991.**

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1991

# FINNISH FEATURES

## Peacekeeping and Finland

Finland became a member of the United Nations in 1955. In the following year the first Finnish peacekeeping force – a company of over 200 men – was placed at the UN's disposal in Sinai. This company was replaced twice during the period of that mission.

Since that time Finland has been involved in all the UN's peacekeeping missions, either by providing troops and/or by helping finance their presence.

Decisions on Finnish involvement in peacekeeping missions are made in response to official requests from the Secretary-General. The decision is made by the President of Finland on the basis of submissions by the Council of State and the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament.

### Finland's role in peacekeeping today

Since 1956 a total of 28,000 Finnish troops have served on UN peacekeeping missions. In 1991 Finland placed the following personnel at the UN's disposal:

- FINBATT/UNDOF 414 men
- FINBATT/UNIFIL 543 men
- military observers
  - UNTSO 21 officers
  - UNMOGIP 5 officers
  - OSGAP 1 officer
  - UNIKOM 7 officers

There is also a 7-man Finnish detachment with UNFICYP in Cyprus.

At the time of writing (October, 1991), Finland has 15 military observers on standby for departure to the Western Sahara (MINURSO). They have been at the ready since August.

Thus 998 (+15) men from Finland are currently involved in UN peacekeeping.

The maximum number of 1986 Finnish peacekeepers serving in UN operations at one time was in 1989–1990, when Finland also had a battalion in Namibia.

### Training Finnish peacekeepers

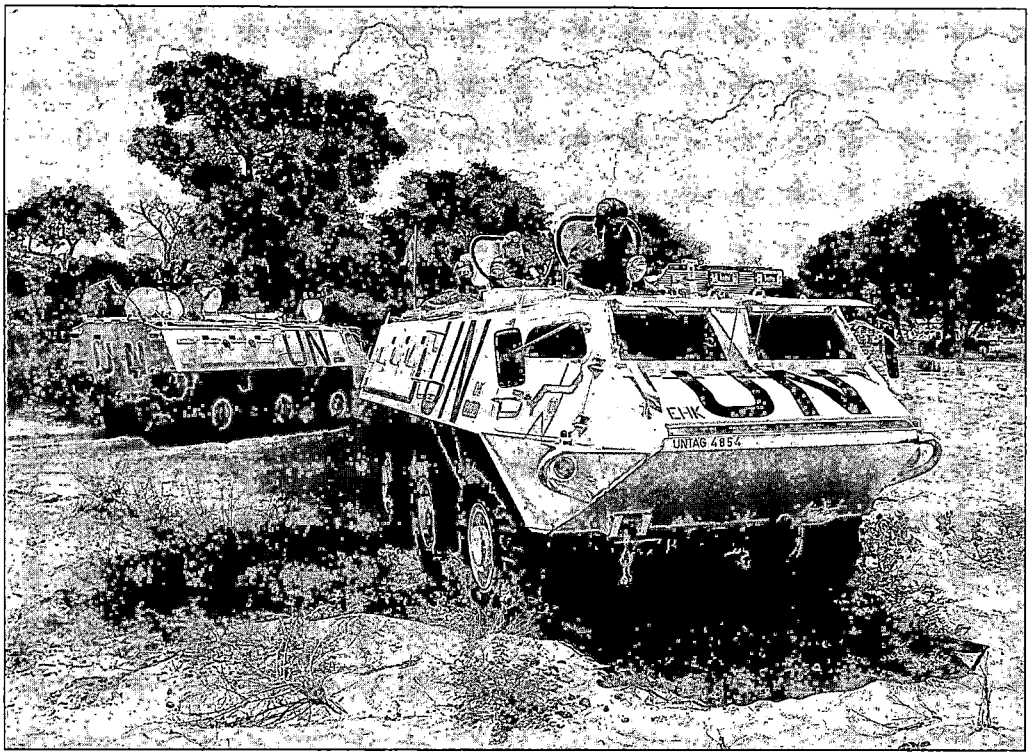
All the personnel supplied by Finland for UN duties have had proper training. Peacekeeping training comprises the basic four-week period, which has been the standard practice for earlier peacekeeping missions, following which the troops proceed to their destination.

This basic training is given at the UN Training Centre in Finland, which was set up under the Ministry of Defence. The training is divided into two main groups, "general" training and "special" training.

### General training

This training covers all the general topics important for all UN peacekeepers, irrespective of their personal duties and location. They include:

- background information about their duties
- information about the area and population




*Finnish peacekeepers took part in the successful UNTAG-operation in Namibia in 1989–1990. Finnish SISU armoured personnel carriers in Rundu, Northwest Namibia.*




*A young Namibian meets a Finnish captain. A trusting relation between the local inhabitants and the UN-force is established.*

– weapon and target practice
– guard training.

The main emphasis is on guard training, which covers the basic mechanics and practice of peacekeeping duties. This includes exercises for the following types of situations and duties:

– setting up a guard position
– setting up a check point
– making observations and reporting
– closing off an area
– guarding a particular point
– protection and escort operations.

The training needed for the particular task in hand begins in Finland and goes on without a break on arrival at the destination. At this point what has been learned in theory can be applied in practice to the current situation, and to events as they occur.

## Special training

One important selection criterion for Finnish UN peacekeeping forces has always been the individual's civilian job and education. Modern technical equipment and instrumentation calls for a high level of skill, both from users and maintenance personnel. Special training concentrates on teaching familiarity with equipment.

## Military observers

Military observers, who are either regular military personnel or reserve officers, are trained separately on special courses not included in peacekeeping troop training. The number of men trained is designed to meet the following year's needs. The military observer courses are for all Nordic personnel, and are held at the UN Training Centre in Finland. There are three courses a year, in winter, spring and autumn. They last three weeks and teach the basic information and skills needed by military observers. Several theoretical and practical exercises are also held. The military observer training is in English, and aims to ensure that military observers can cope with any UN operation.

## Nordic UN training

Every year staff officers, logistical officers, and military police officers and NCO's (Non Commissioned Officers) are trained on Nordic UN courses in Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

## The Finnish UN Stand-by Force

### Recruiting

All Finnish UN personnel, men or women, regardless of rank and appointment, are volunteers. Some eight per cent of them are regular personnel of the Finnish Defence Forces, which are also responsible for their recruitment.

The vast majority, over 90 per cent, of the Finnish UN soldiers are civilians in the reserve. The men have already completed their compulsory national service of eight or eleven months, and have volunteered for UN service. These personnel are directly recruited from civilian life by the UN Training Centre, while the regular force members are recruited in close co-operations with Finnish General Headquarters.

The personal records of Finnish UN personnel are kept in the UN Training Centre.

### Mobilization

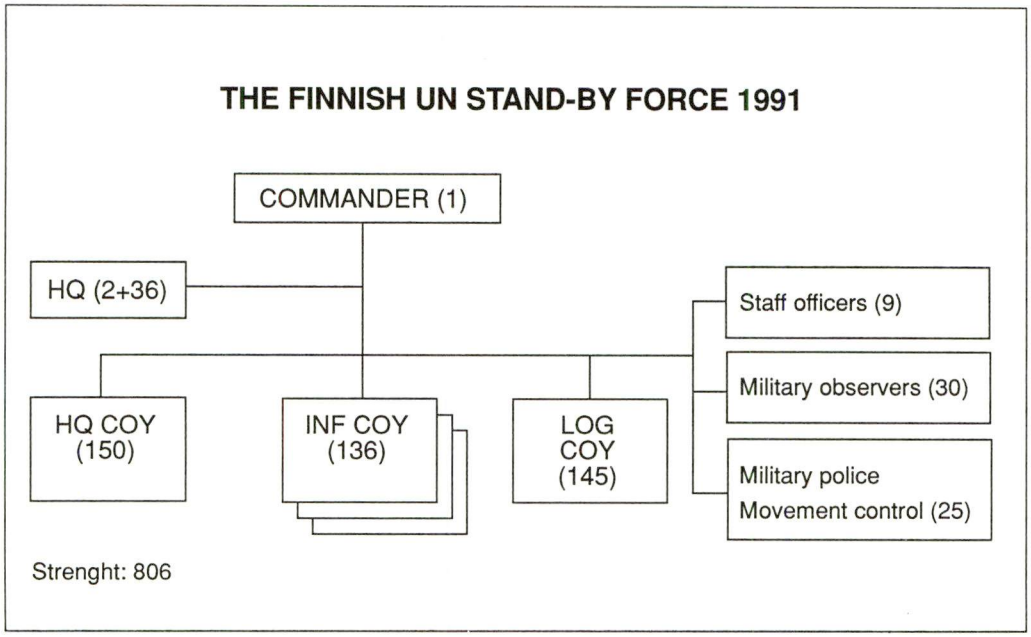
It is the duty of the UN Training Centre to mobilize the Stand-by Force for training prior to service with a UN peacekeeping force or observer mission. Three recruiting rounds are organized annually by the UN Training Centre. A total of appr. 9,000 applicants respond to advertisements for UN personnel published in Finnish newspapers.

Roughly 50 per cent of all applicants get through the stringent selection process, and are then committed to be in readiness for a period of one year. They are then on call and able to arrive for training within seven days.

At the UN Training Centre, well over 2,000 men or women accepted are assigned to various Stand-by Force duties, taking into consideration their civilian education and occupation.

The Stand-by Force shown in the picture, with its large number of surplus personnel, can be considered a UN Peacekeeping Force reserve, from which personnel can be called up and trained as replacements for Finnish UN battalions abroad.

Stand-by Force training is similar to normal rotation training, but personnel are divided into three parties:




- advance party 1 is prepared to leave on the new mission in three days,
- advance party 2 is prepared to leave in one week and
- the main body is ready to leave after a training period of two weeks if necessary.

## Equipment and material

The Stand-by Force will be suitably equipped for carrying out the duties outlined by the Secretary General. The Finnish Defence Forces provide the necessary special equipment, such as weaponry and cross-country vehicles. The total weight of material is about 1,500 tons and the volume is some 10,000 cubic metres.

## In conclusion

Finland's participation in UN peacekeeping activities demonstrates her active role in the work of the United Nations.

Peacekeeping is considered to be well suited to Finland's peace-oriented foreign policy.

From the military point of view, there are certain essential aspects which deserve mention:

Working in a peacekeeping organization provides valuable experience of operation during crises. Experience of practical leadership can be acquired. Experience can be gained in guarding, patrolling, surveillance and sheltering, and observations made on the use of transport and other military equipment.

At the same time, every UN soldier has the opportunity to see for himself that Finnish national military training bears comparison with that of the other countries contributing troops.

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**Written by B. Ahlqvist, Lieutenant Colonel, Ministry of Defence, Chief UN-Division, Helsinki**
**Pictures by Arto Laitinen**

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1991

FINNISH FEATURES

NOVEMBER 1990

# Nuclear safety in Finland

By the end of 1989 the Finnish nuclear power plants had accrued a combined operating experience of 43 years. All of the four units, two of them at the Loviisa site and the other two at the Olkiluoto site, have operated in a reliable manner and with an excellent safety record.

## Operating results

The annual load factor is the indicator most commonly used for describing the overall plant performance. It tells the ratio of the energy actually produced to the theoretical maximum production, i.e. operation at full power throughout the year. The average load factor at the Finnish nuclear power plants has every year since 1983 been higher than 85 %. Since 1985, Finland has every year recorded the highest average load factor among the countries using nuclear energy.

A few operational disturbances have occurred at each plant, as can be expected, but the number and severity of those incidents have been exceptionally low in comparison with nuclear power plants elsewhere. No event has ever occurred that would have required the operation of the standby safety systems. Neither has there been a loss or significant degradation of the safety systems.

The releases of radioactive effluents have been so low that the consequent radiation doses to the most exposed members of the general public have been much less than one thousandth of the average dose caused by the natural radiation in Finland. The occupational dose limits have never been exceeded by a worker at the Finnish nuclear power plants. The integrated doses of all workers are at both plants among the lowest in the world.

## Preparations for the nuclear era

The good results in operations and safety have not been reached by chance but are based on national industrial traditions, development of early domestic expert knowledge, and commitment to quality work in all organizations involved.

Preparation for the nuclear era begun more than ten years before the first concrete nuclear power plant projects were launched.

The legal framework for the regulation of the use of nuclear energy was created in 1957 when the Nuclear Energy Act and the Radiation Protection Act came into force. One year later, the predecessor of the Finnish Centre for Radiation and Nuclear Safety (STUK) was established. STUK is the authority responsible for the regulation of radiation and nuclear safety.

The key scientists were trained abroad in the late 1950's, and a stronghold for training nuclear engineers was gathered around a Triga type research reac-

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HELSINKI FINLAND

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tor which was commissioned in 1962. The research reactor was operated in close co-operation with the Helsinki University of Technology which also provided courses in nuclear engineering.

In the late 1960's, when planning of a nuclear energy program and discussions with the nuclear steam supply system vendors were started, there was already a good amount of nuclear expertise both within the utility and the regulatory organizations. At the same time the nuclear energy research was quickly expanded, and the research activities were assigned to the different laboratories of the Technical Research Centre of Finland (VTT).

## Learning from the worldwide experience

The active efforts to learn as much as possible from the experience in other countries are continuing. Finland has established intensive international co-operation both through multinational organizations and on a bilateral basis.

The work within the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) framework involves participation in the Incident Reporting System, contribution to the development of the safety codes and guides, and assignment of experts to missions such as Operational Safety Review Team (OSART) visits to nuclear power plants in different countries.

In the nuclear safety research field the most important contacts are through the OECD/NEA committees and the working groups under those committees. Regional co-operation between the Nordic countries has long traditions: common research programs in five year periods have been planned and implemented for twenty years. Some experimental projects are carried out together with research institutes in the USSR and in the SEV countries.

The leading regulatory officials of the OECD countries exchange views and experience in meetings held twice a year. Finland has participated in those meetings since the 1970s. In addition, there is continuous co-operation between the regulators within the IAEA and the EC.

The international co-operation is not limited to short term meetings. The regulatory and the research personnel are routinely assigned to work extensive periods in foreign organizations, mainly in the USA and the FRG. The utilities frequently send their staff to visit power plants in different countries, and they, in turn, receive visits from abroad.

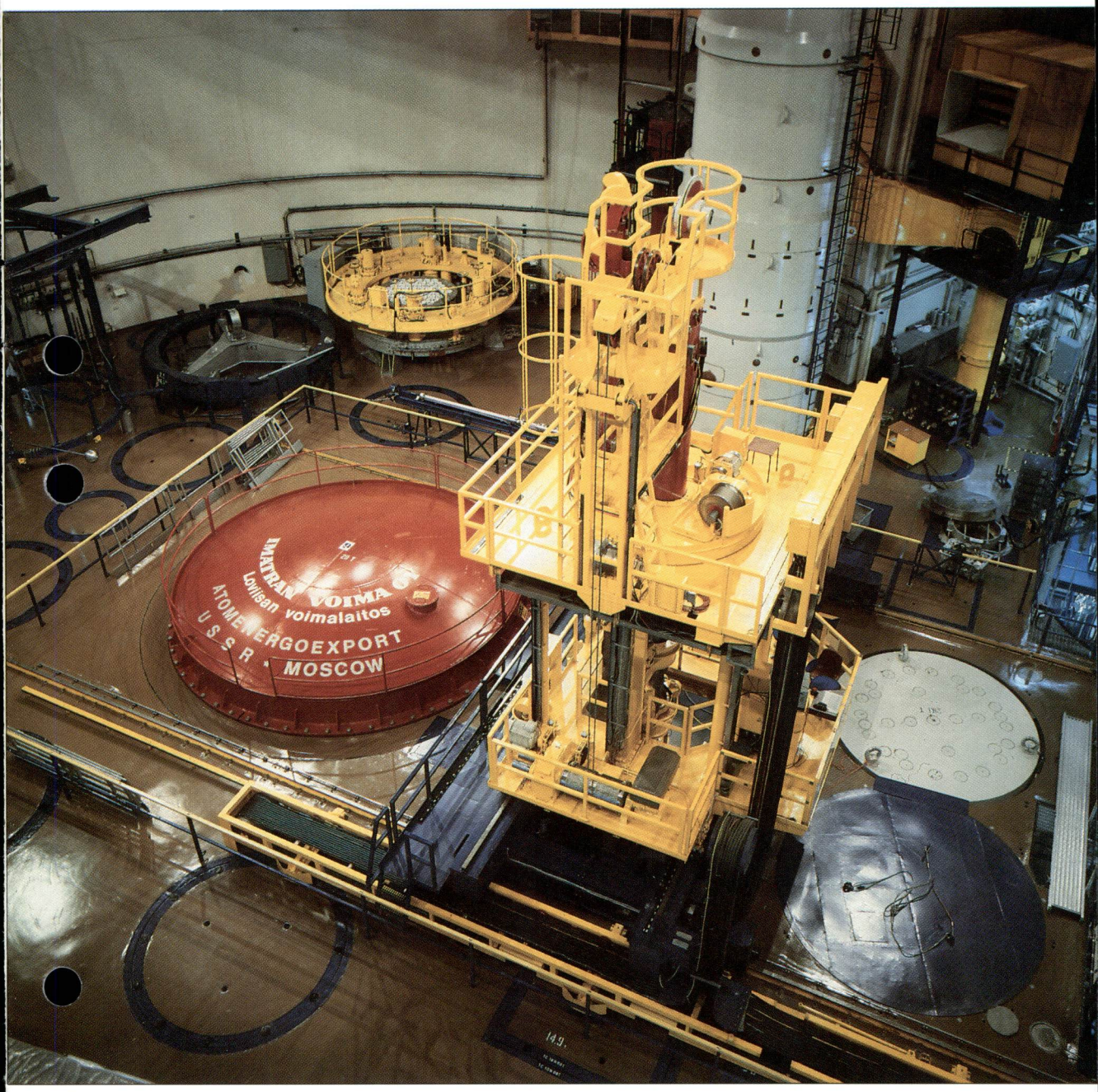
## Construction of the Loviisa plant

The first contract on a nuclear power plant was signed in 1969 with Atomenergoexport (AEE) of the USSR. The plant, consisting of two 465 MW units, was built at Loviisa. The basis for the station is the VVER plant constructed in Novo Voronesh. However, it was required by Finnish authorities that the Loviisa plant had to meet the US General Design Criteria written in the Code of Federal Regulations, Title 10, Part 50, Appendix A. This meant that the plant had to be equipped with an Emergency Core Cooling System and a Reactor Containment Building. It also meant that some of the plant lay-out had to be redesigned to provide adequate physical separation of the redundant safety support systems.

The instrumentation and control systems were not part of the main contract but were separately contracted to Siemens of the FRG. Know-how and computer programs for the containment design and for the analysis of accidents, postulated as the design basis, were acquired from the USA. Responsibility for the electrical systems and plant construction was kept by the utility itself, as well as overall coordination of the project.

During the Loviisa project it was learned that the VVER design has significant safety merits of its own. The reactor core is stable and easy to operate, and the nuclear fuel is not strained as much as in the western light water reactors. The plant behaviour is quiet, and the transients caused by equipment malfunction are mild. The main reason for this is the high ratio of cooling water mass to the reactor power. The large amount of water also provides a passive buffer that would even permit complete loss of active safety systems for several hours, without challenging the integrity of the nuclear fuel in the reactor core.

The knowledge gained since the Loviisa plant startup, indicates that some parts of the plant could have a bette design.




**Picture of the Loviisa nuclear power plant reactor room.**

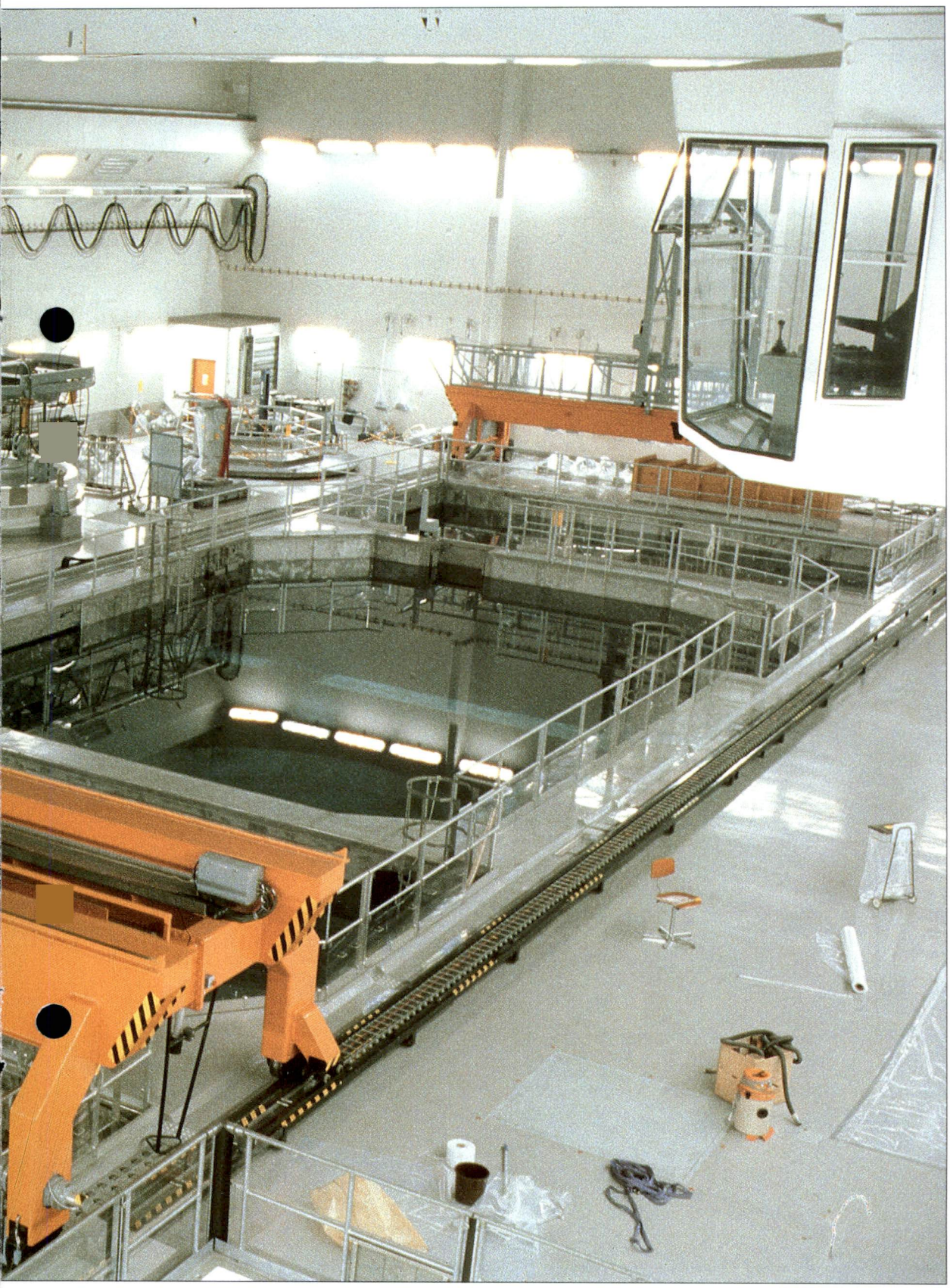
The main concern is the radiation embrittlement of the reactor pressure vessel. At Loviisa it was observed already in 1980 that this phenomenon proceeds faster than predicted by the previous research results. Several remedial actions were promptly taken to limit the embrittlement rate and the probability of events where the pressure vessel integrity could be endangered. Thanks to these early actions the situation is under control, in contrast to some other VVER plants. However, in the long term this phenomenon may limit the safe operating age of the plant.

In conclusion, the VVER plant, as implemented in Loviisa, is basically a healthy design from the safety point of view.

A good design is only one part of safety.




**Picture of the Olkiluoto nuclear power plant reactor room.**



Another point of equal importance is the high quality of components that the plant is composed of.

As part of the Loviisa main contract, the representatives of the utility and the regulatory body had access to the factories supplying the main components. Thus it was possible to verify the quality of the components before they were shipped to the construction site. Additional quality control was done on site before and after the installation.

Some of the most sophisticated equipment, such as the in-core instrumentation, process computer, safety valves and containment isolation valves were purchased from well known western suppliers.

## Construction of TVO plant

Construction of the second nuclear power station, TVO, at Olkiluoto was less demanding than the Loviisa project, both for the utility and the regulatory organisations. The plant vendor, Asea Atom, had adopted from the very beginning the US regulations as the basis of its safety design. In addition, the designers interpreted the regulations in a more conservative manner than the US vendors, and they added a fair safety margin to the minimum level required.

The TVO plant, consisting of two 710 MW units, was based on an evolutionary development of Asea Atom BWR design. It can be said to represent the fourth generation of plants, where each generation is a step towards more maturity and safety.

The TVO plant supply was a turn-key project. However, from the beginning of the construction the utility had the goal of developing a strong in-house expertise, in order to be able to assume full responsibility for all plant operations. This goal had a beneficial side effect: all supplies were supervised in a detailed manner by the utility personnel.

## Nuclear regulation

STUK, the nuclear regulatory body, was developed to its current size during the first half of the 1970's. The personnel turnover has been small and today STUK has a strong, experienced staff.

Many of the detailed requirements for the nuclear power plant projects were initially based on the US regulatory guides and standards. However, the regulatory authorities thought that a high level of safety and reliability in the nuclear power plant operation is even more important for a small country than for a country like the USA. Consequently, Finland aimed at more stringent requirements of its own. A program was started in the early 1970's for writing domestic regulatory guides, called YVL guides. Ten years later these guides covered quite well all areas relevant for safety. Plant construction, commissioning and early operation had taken place in parallel with the YVL guide development, and a good compliance with the requirements had been reached.

Since the very beginning the regulatory work by STUK has emphasized inspections down to the component level. A component inspection starts from a detailed review of the design plan and ends with the approval of the completed installation. The component inspections have forced the utilities to conduct careful supervision of their suppliers, and have no doubt contributed to the quality and reliability of the equipment.

Another characteristic of the work of STUK is combination of the theoretical and the practical knowledge. The same persons who review the design calculations and the safety analysis also conduct site inspections and examine the knowledge of the plant operators. This ensures that the relevant safety issues are paid attention to, and that the utility and the regulatory personnel speak the same language.

## Nuclear safety research

VTT, the research organization, has served the needs of the utility and the regulatory body equally.

Valuable support in the quality control, especially in the Loviisa project, was provided by the Metal Laboratory of VTT. It made material research and developed the domestic capability for nondestructive examinations.

The Electrical Laboratory of VTT made an important contribution to the verification of instrument and control systems quality. It also investigated the operational features of those systems before their actual commissioning. Knowledge of the reliability and risk assessment methods was created within the laboratory.

In the systems level inspections STUK has received support from the Nuclear Engineering Laboratory of VTT. The laboratory has on-the-job trained the senior reactor physicists in the country and has developed computer codes for reactor physics calculations for each of the Finnish reactors. In addition, the laboratory has independently conducted thermohydraulic calculations that are an essential part of the in-depth accident analysis. This has facilitated the assessment of similar analyses required from the plant vendors. In recent years the duties of VTT have turned towards developing the calculatory tools while the actual calculations are done by the experts within the utility and the regulatory organisations.

## Maintenance of the safety level during operations

A successful construction project is not enough to ensure good operating results. During the operating stage continuous efforts are needed to maintain and improve the reliability of plant equipment, the knowledge and skills of plant personnel, and the methods used to plan, conduct and control the work.

At both of the Finnish nuclear power plants the pursuit of excellence is driven by the active management policy that encourages initiatives and proposals on potential improvements. The safety authorities contribute to the development by promoting research programmes, and by reguiring a more advanced safety approach wherever it is found useful and reasonable.

One way of upgrading the safety level is to construct new safety systems and to replace the old systems with new and better. Major retrofitting projects, costing tens of millions of US dollars, have been carried out at each plant. The Loviisa plant especially is today quite different from the original design that was commissioned in 1977. Minor modifications have also been frequent: their annual number is typically more than one hundred per plant.

Reliability statistics for individual components have been collected during normal operation and during tests of the standby safety systems. The components with less than satisfactory performance have been replaced by new parts that have shown better results in similar conditions.

Reliable maintenance work and fast repairs are ensured by the generous spare parts policy. The stocks of spare parts contain complete replacement sets for practically all vital equipment of the plants.

The procedures for operations and maintenance have been improved and new procedures have been established to utilize the experience gained in the practical work. Also, a new generation of emergency operating procedures has been developed. These new procedures ensure correct actions even in complicated situations where the diagnosis of the event is not immediately evident to the operating staff.

Experience has shown that the reason for an industrial accident is often a human error. The administrative rules and procedures have been carefully studied and improved to ensure correct and timely communications between the operating staff, and to provide enhanced control over the actual plant states.

The outage planning and management is an area where the Finnish plants are widely recognized as world leaders. Well coordinated work during the maintenance outage is crucial for future safe and reliable operation, and it also minimizes the personnel radiation exposures.

Personnel training is another key element of succes. The staff typically spends two weeks each year in continuing training. The majority of the investments have been made for training of the control room operators. Each plant has on site a simulator which is a full-scale replica of the main control room, and can be used to practis operations in both normal and anomalous plant conditions.

## Preparedness for future projects

A preparedness to start new nuclear power plant projects has been maintained throughout the 1980s, both by the utilities and the safety authorities.

A complete revision of the Nuclear Energy Act was carried out in 1987. It was based on the experience gained, and gave a more formal status to the practices implemented until then through separate construction permits and operating licenses.

The regulations have been updated to accommodate the developments in the

state-of-the-art in the nuclear safety field. The requirements concerning the reliability of the safety functions have been upgraded and the limits for radioactive effluent releases have been tightened.

In 1982, STUK took a position that the time was ripe for requiring protection against severe core damage. Until that time a core meltdown accident had been regarded as highly improbable, and it had been left outside the design basis. However, the research which had been started worldwide in the 1970s, and intensified after the TMI accident in 1979, had shown that there is a good chance of preventing major offsite releases even during such an event. The prerequisite is that the containment is made strong enough, and the phenomena specific to the core meltdown are properly addressed already in the design phase.

Initially it was intended that the new requirements would concern future projects only. Later on it was realized that many of the ideas could be implemented also at the old plants. Retrofits ensuring good compliance with the new rules have already been accomplished at the TVO plants. At Loviisa, the containment type is not optimal for severe accidents, and it will take further work to prove that the environmental consequences would be small even after a potential core meltdown accident.

The utilities have kept in touch with the potential nuclear power plant suppliers, and in co-operation with them have designed plant versions that are appropriate to the special Finnish conditions. If a new project is ever started, the safety arrangements of the plant will be at state-of-the-art level.

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**Written by Mr. Jukka Laaksonen, Director of the Department of Nuclear Safety, Finnish Centre of Radiation and Nuclear Safety**

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FINNISH FEATURES

NOVEMBER 1990

# Environmental radiation monitoring in Finland

The atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons in the 1950s and 1960s led to the organization of a nationwide radiation monitoring system in Finland. An extensive network for monitoring external radiation was set up during the series of large-scale nuclear tests carried out by the Soviet Union at the Novaya Zemlja test site in 1961-62. Since then the network has been operated on essentially the same basis. Sampling and analysis of environmental radioactivity has also been in operation since the 1960s.

The organization for national radiation monitoring involves several authorities and institutes:

– **The Ministry of the Interior** operates a net of 351 external radiation monitoring stations, in most cases located at the municipal fire stations. At about 60 stations, located at the district alarm centres, the dose rate is measured continuously and displayed on a control panel.

– **The Defence Forces** supplement the external radiation net with 94 continuously operating stations. Units of the Air Force collect dust samples from the upper atmosphere when called upon.

– **The Finnish Meteorological Institute** (FMI) is an essential partner in the radiological emergency preparedness organisation, forecasting the transport of windborne radioactive material and evaluating the dispersion. In addition, the FMI operates 12 stations that measure continuously airborne radioactivity collected on filter paper. These stations trigger an alarm in response to an increase in airborne radioactivity. The sensitivity is much better than that required to activate the external radiation network.

– **The Finnish Centre for Radiation and Nuclear Safety** (STUK) is the central authority and research institute of the radiological monitoring organization. It carries out a wide range of environmental measurements, sampling and laboratory analyses. In an emergency the Centre obtains all the results from the other authorities and institutes, and recommends appropriate protective measures.

In 1992 at the latest, the Ministry of the Interior, STUK and the FMI will each have remote data acquisition for at least some of their monitoring stations. The radiation situation in the whole country can then be presented in real time at the central locations. Alerting levels are already in use, and each authority participating in the national monitoring must specify in its own guides and manuals the appropriate dose-rate levels or other reference criteria that are required to alert their own station net and to inform other authorities (cf. Table 1).

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**Table 1. Reporting levels of the national radiation monitoring system.**

| Organization | Reporting level |
|---|---|
| The Ministry of the Interior and the Defence Forces | 0.7 uSv/h external radiation |
| FMI | 1 Bg/m3 increase in aerosol radioactivity |
| STUK | Any unusual observation of environmental radioactivity |
| The Seismological Institute of the University of Helsinki | All nuclear explosions and all earthquakes near nuclear plants |

The net of stations measuring radioactivity in air is shown in Figure 1. There are two main types of stations, aerosol monitoring stations ( ▲ ) with continuous measuring and alarm capability, and aerosol sampling stations ( ● ) that collect samples on filter paper or charcoal cartridges for analysis in the laboratory.

The environmental sampling and measurement programme includes rain water, river and lake water, sea water, bottom sediments, fish and certain algae. The radioactivity of liquid and dried milk has been controlled for the last 30 years. The condition of grain, beef, pork, vegetables and fruits is also studied.

Gamma spectrometry is the most important method of assessing the radioactivity in samples. Almost all radionuclides, or radioactive substances, emit gamma radiation and can therefore be determined from the spectrum. Sometimes the gamma spectrum may be very complex; air samples collected during the first days of the Chernobyl fall-out contained about 40 different radionuclides.

The amounts of radioactive substances in the human body are measured using whole-body counters. STUK has two such instruments; one is installed in a special measurement vehicle (Figure 2).

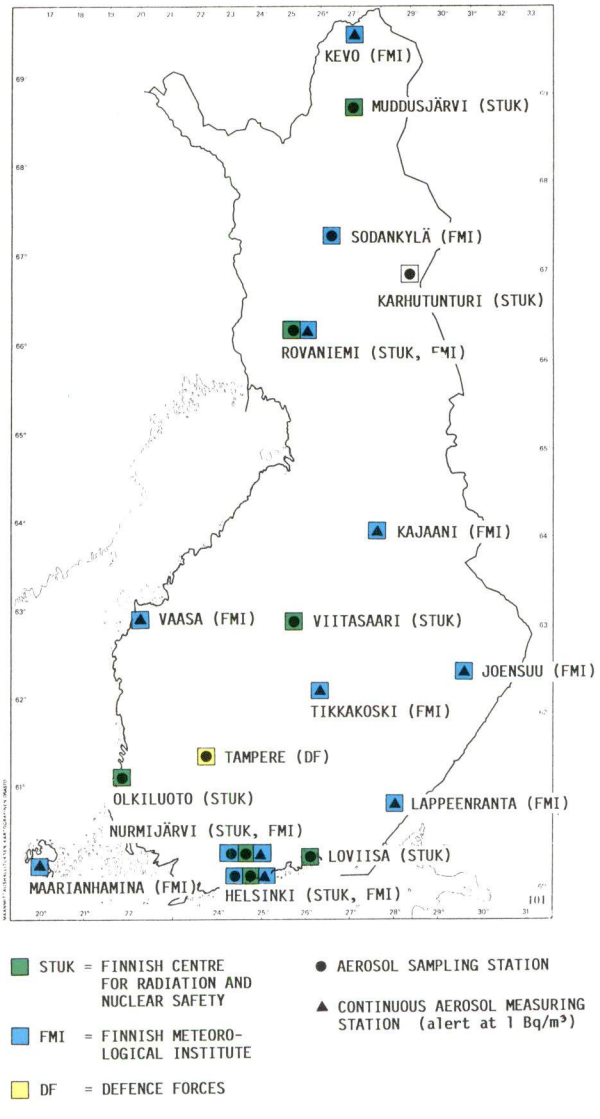



**Figure 1. Net of stations measuring radioactivity in air.**

## Nationwide monitoring

Fortunately, the large-scale testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere ended in 1963, when the USSR, the USA and the UK signed the Moscow Test Ban Treaty, prohibiting tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. The concentrations of cesium 137, stron-

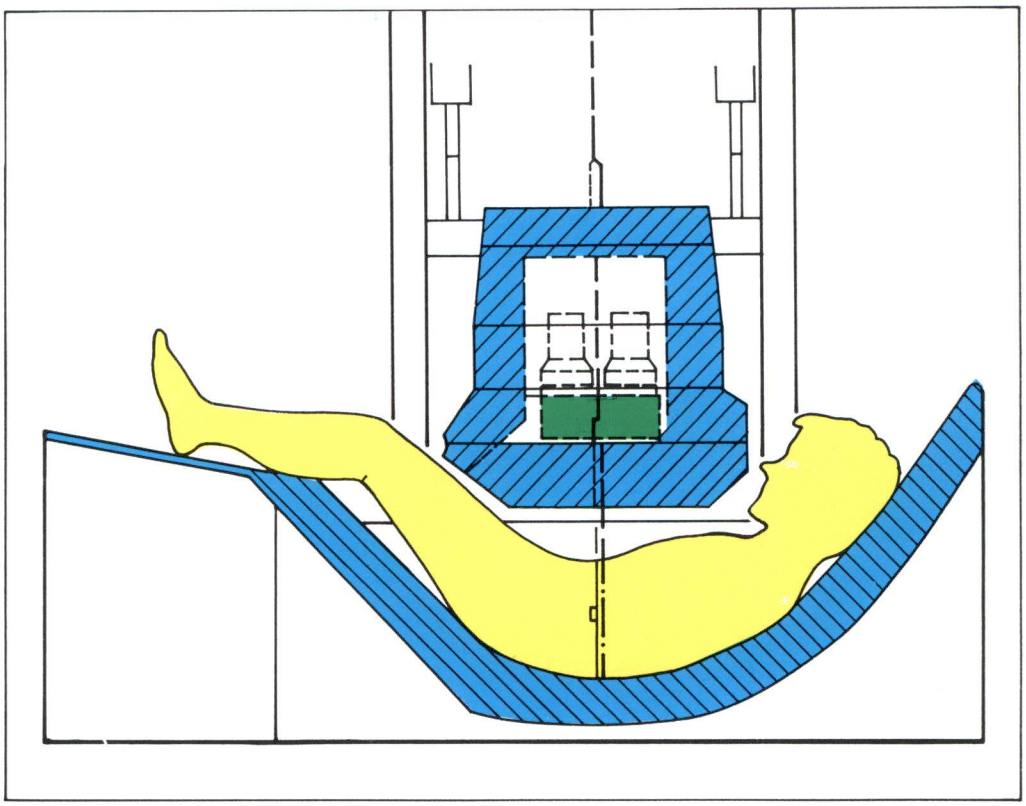


**Figure 2. Whole-body counter installed in a measurement vehicle.**

tium 90 and other artificial radionuclides in the atmosphere began to decrease. The fall-out on the ground decreased much more slowly. The highest concentrations in foodstuffs and man were reached in 1964-65. Furthermore, some dust from bombs in the megaton yield range had risen to high altitudes, into the stratosphere, and downward streams caused a new increase in the fall-out, each spring in particular.

France and the People's Republic of China never joined the Moscow Treaty but started their own tests in the middle of the 1960s. China conducted altogether 20 atmospheric tests in the Lop Nor desert, the last one in October 1980. France conducted its tests in the Southern hemisphere.

Improved aerosol monitoring equipment enabled STUK to detect radioactivity from all the Chinese tests. The largest radioactivity concentrations were generally caused by the small tests. The debris was transported in the atmosphere, to reach Finland the long way around the globe in 10-15 days. The stratospheric debris from the large tests was seen only the next spring.

Nuclear testing continues underground. Occasionally these tests result in leaking craters, and volatile radioactive substances can be carried across national borders. The origin of such radioactive debris can often be accurately traced to a specific explosion. The ratio in which radionuclides occur reveals the age of the debris. This information can then be combined with meteorological trajectories and seismological observations. The Seismological Institute of the University of Helsinki is part of the radiological monitoring system and has organized its measurements to serve radiological purposes.

Leaks from underground tests in the USSR have been detected at least in 1966, 1967 and recently from a test at the Novaya Zemlja site in 1987. In 1968-69 rain water contained tungsten 181, an unusual radionuclide which was attributed to a leak from a US test in Nevada.

Despite efforts, some observations of artificial radioactivity in air remain of unknown origin. With the present sensitive methods of analysis this happens on the average once a year. Especially iodine 131 is often involved, and it can

iodine 131 is often involved, and it can come from many sources, such as local hospitals, research institutes and, of course, nuclear reactors. Even if there is no significant health effect attached, the detection of these events is important from a preparedness viewpoint. International collaboration and personal contacts are also invaluable in establishing the extent of contamination.

The Chernobyl accident illustrated the importance of maintaining a well-functioning environmental monitoring system and competent personnel. The extensive environmental contamination is a subject of another article in "Finnish Features" (H. Arvela).

A special case of radiological emergency is the re-entry of a nuclear powered sattellite into the atmosphere. Since the first such accident, which occured over sparsely populated regions of Canada in 1978, there have been two occasions on which the Finnish authorities have established alerts, in 1983 and 1988. Accidental re-entry of a nuclear reactor or a radioisotope type generator (RTG) can cause a wide dispersion of radioactive items ranging from large pieces to particles of submillimeter size. The potential radiation hazard requires special search strategies and equipment. The Geological Survey of Finland has an aircraft equipped with large, sensitive gamma detectors, normally used for aerial radiological surveying.

## Monitoring nuclear power plants

Finland has four nuclear power plants, two 440 MW pressurized water reactor units at Loviisa and two 710 MW boiling-water reactors at Olkiluoto. They went into operation in 1977-80. An extensive radiological environmental surveillance programme is required for both stations. To provide relevant reference data, the survey was started in full scale at each site one year before the fuel loading of the first reactor. In order to evaluate the dose to humans, the sampling includes foodstuffs, water and aerosols. In addition, some indicator organisms are sampled, which are known to take up radiological substances from the terrestrial or aquatic environment.

The routine monitoring has revealed very few measuring results attributable to releases from the power stations. The airborne releases are discharged trough a high stack, and the aquatic releases are diluted by the sea water coolant. Cobolt 60, manganese 54 and silver 110m are regularly measured in sedimenting material and in aquatic indicator organisms. These radionuclides are activation products formed in the reactor, and they do not enter food chains to any significant extent.

The environmental monitoring programme for the nuclear power stations ensures that the assumptions used in setting the release guidelines are valid, i.e. that there are no unexpected dose pathways. The operator is responsible for the implementation of the monitoring programme, and the results are reported to the regulatory authority on a quarterly basis. The power companies and the surveillance department of STUK have contracted for most of the environmental sample analyses.

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Finnish Centre for Radiation and Nuclear Safety. Programmes for monitoring radioactivity in the environment of nuclear power plants. YVL-Guide 7.7. Helsinki, 1982.

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FINNISH FEATURES

NOVEMBER 1990

# Occupational exposure control in Finland

The Decision of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health (594/68) requires that radiation doses are monitored and special health control is arranged for people who are exposed to radiation in their work. The Decision is in accordance with the Agreement 115 of the International Labour Organization (ILO).

A licence (safety licence) is needed for the use of radiation. The licence is issued by the regulatory body, the Finnish Centre for Radiation and Nuclear Safety (STUK). The organization using radiation must present the arrangements for dose measurement. A safety officer is named, who takes care of monitoring and registration of personal doses.

In accordance with the Decision of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, the occupational exposure must be monitored continuously if the work takes place under circumstances where the dose may exceed one third of the annual dose limit. Such work may be e.g. medical X-ray examination, radiotherapy, industrial radiography and work in the controlled area of nuclear power plants (dose rate above 8 μSv/h). Continuous dose monitoring is not necessary in a routine dental X-ray examination and in a medical X-ray examination when the operator of the equipment is in the control room during exposure. Persons who work alternately with others for short periods in the same place may in some cases share a dosimeter.

STUK publishes guides to monitoring personal doses.[1, 2] The guides describe the objects and give detailed information on how to arrange the monitoring.

The annual dose limit for the whole body in the radiation work is 50 mSv. In addition, specific limits[3, 4] are defined for certain organs. The dose during a quarter of a year must be less than half of the annual limit.

The radiation legislation will be reformed soon. The regulations will cover e.g. medical examination of radiation workers, dose register and the duty to report doses from radiation work in a foreign country. The dose limits will be prescribed separately in the government order.

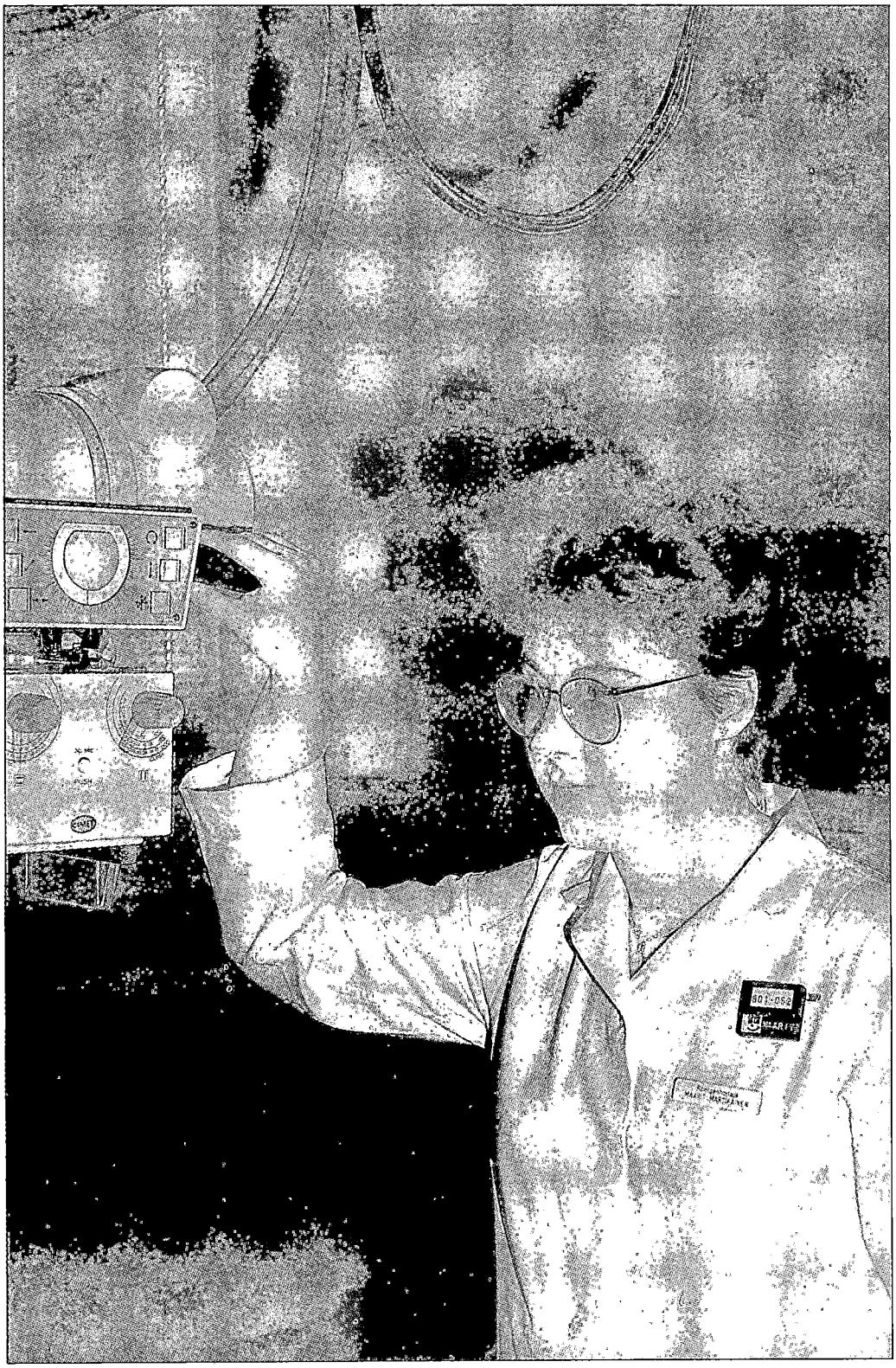
## External radiation exposure

The users of the radiation can themselves perform dose measurements in a manner approved by STUK or they can order service from STUK. The administrative data and dose data are transferred to STUK´s register. The operators of nuclear power plants measure the doses of their own workers whereas STUK gives service for other users of radiation. Nuclear power plants report monthly doses to STUK.

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**The external radiation exposure is measured by personal dosimeter worn on the chest.**

The monitoring service of STUK sends the dosimeters by post to the users. The external radiation dosimeter is a film cartridge developed at STUK. A thermoluminescent pellet (LiF) may be attached to the reverse side of the film; it is sensitive to high energy gamma radiation. The ring dosimeter is a LiF pellet hermetically sealed inside a plastic cover. Separate thermoluminescent dosimeters and albedo neutron dosimeters are used for special purposes.

If the measured individual dose is high compared to the earlier measurements or significantly higher than the corresponding dose of the other persons in the same work, STUK will send to the safety officer an inquiry about working conditions.

The background radiation dose is subtracted from the dose measured. The correction is done in each site by exposing some dosimeters to background radiation only. The laboratory background is used, if no site-specific measurements are available. The monitoring period in the service of STUK is three months and the recording level is 0.3 mSv.

## METHODS OF THE MONITORING SERVICE IN STUK

### Dosimeter

- film: Kodak Personal Monitoring Film Type 2
- TL-pellet: LiF, attached to the reverse side of the film under the open field when needed

- filters:
  - open field (no filtration)
  - 1 mm Al (270 mg/cm$^2$)
  - 1 mm lead-tin -alloy (930 mg/cm$^2$)

- measuring ranges

| | gamma | beta |
|---|---|---|
| - energy: | 20–2000 keV | 400 keV – 1.7 MeV |
| - dose (film) | 0.1–1000 mSv | 0.3–1000 mSv |
| - dose (TL) | 0.01–2000 mSv | |

### Dose assessment

- The background radiation is subtracted

- Calibration in the standard laboratory of STUK
  - 80 kV X-rays, mean energy 35 keV
  - 60 Co -rays, mean energy 1250 keV
  - beta rays, 90 Sr
  - calibration is made to all film batches
  - special calibrations can be done for other types of radiation
  - TL -pellets are calibrated using 60Co- radiation and the individual sensitivity of each pellet is determined

- Quality assurance
  - correction for the developing process can be done by the control films that were in the same process as the films exposed to radiation
  - stability of the TLD reader is monitored daily
  - individual sensitivity of TL pellets is monitored

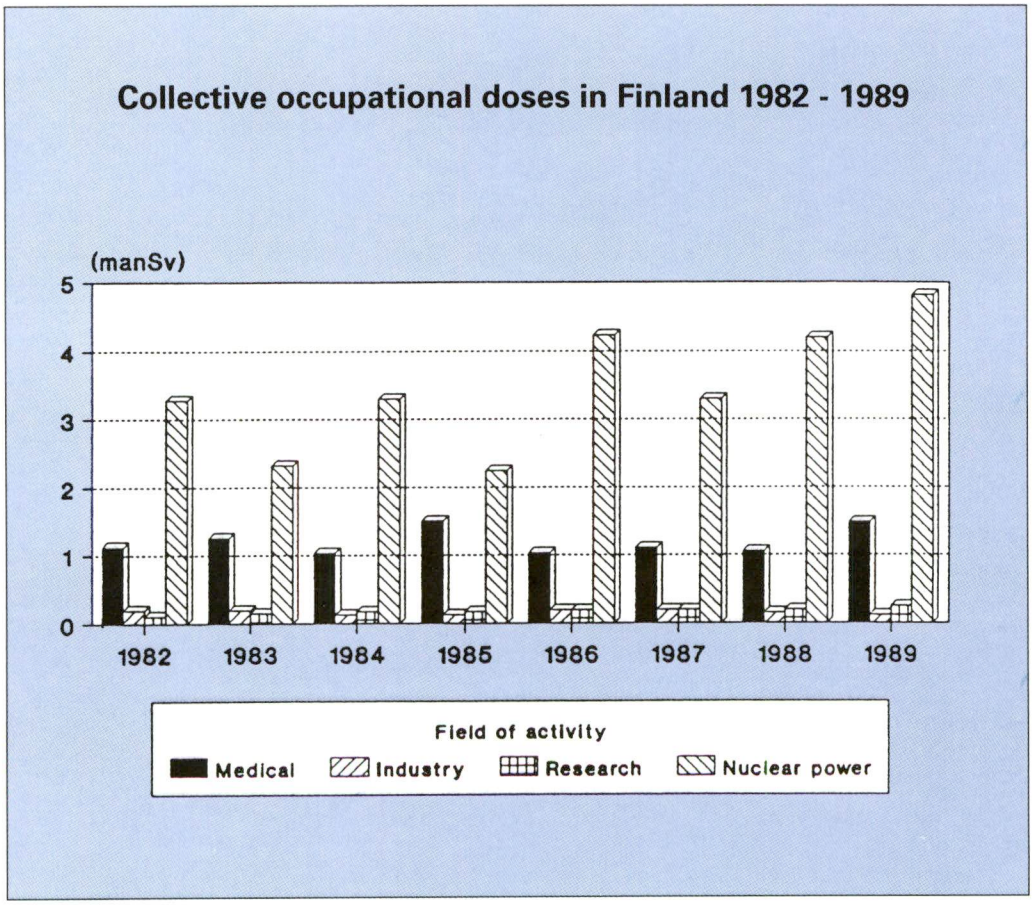
The dose received in a foreign country is registered by STUK on the basis of a written declaration. The Finnish and Swedish authorities have made an agreement to report the doses automatically to each other.

## Dose measurement in nuclear power plants

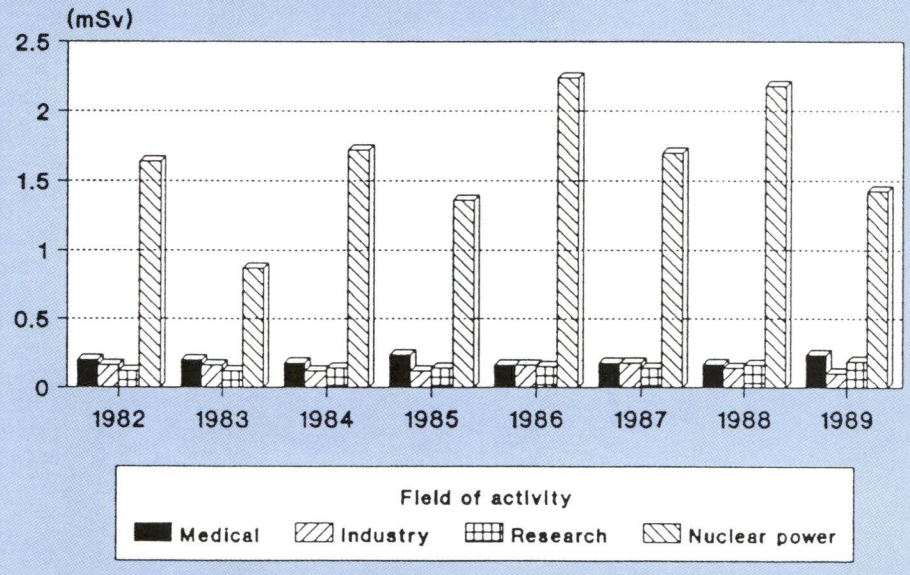
Nuclear power plants measure the personal doses, using their own systems approved by STUK. They use thermoluminescense dosimeters that have four TL pellets. The monitoring period is one month and recording level 0.1 mSv. In addition, the computerized real-time measuring system, including electronic pocket dosimeters and a reader, gives reports e.g. on daily doses or task-specific doses; the reporting period can be freely selected. Workers are identified by an ID-number at the entrance to the controlled zone or the working area. In the Olkiluoto plant about 330 and in the Loviisa plant about 100 electronic dosimeters are in use.

## Internal radiation exposure

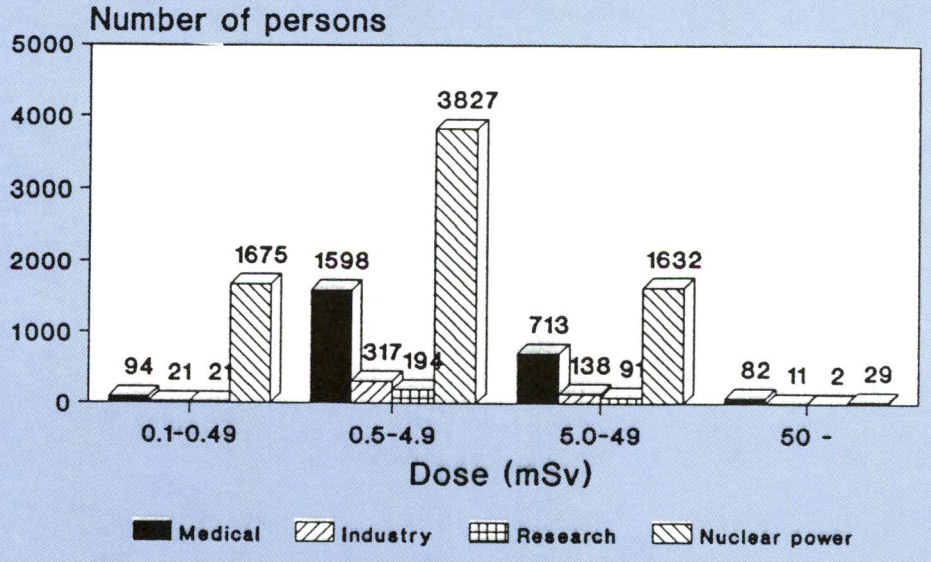
Internal exposure originates from the radioactive materials inside the body. Radioactive materials enter the body of a worker through contaminated breathing air, tools or laboratory room surfaces. If the working methods have been chosen correctly and regular contamination measurements are carried out in the working areas, the determination of radioactive materials inside the body is necessary only in special cases. The obligation to conduct monitoring of internal radiation is laid down in the safety licence or in the inspection protocol on a case by case basis. The internal contamination can be measured directly or indirectly from the body fluids or excreta. A whole-body counter or gamma camera is used to estimate the activity of radioactive materials inside the body. In nuclear power plants surface contamination is measured by walk-though monitors. These monitors can also to some extent uncover internal contamination.

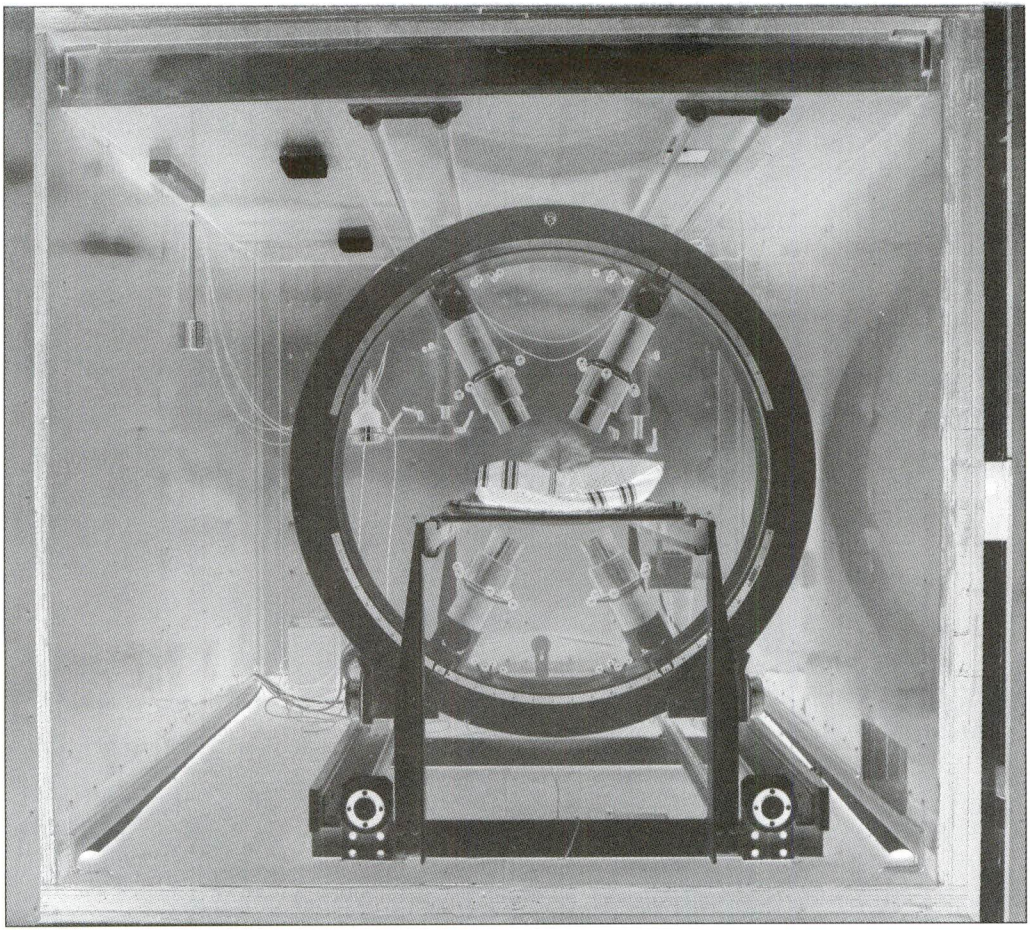


## Average occupational doses in Finland 1982 - 1989




## Occupational lifetime doses in Finland





**The whole-body counter of STUK. Measuring time is typically 30 minutes and the detectors slide longitudinally over the person within this time.**

STUK has a mobile system and a fixed measuring laboratory for internal contamination measurements. The minimum detectable activity is typically about 50–100 Bq. The doses from internal contamination are usually very small compared with the external doses. The internal doses are typically below 0.1 mSv.

The annual intake, the amount of radioactive material entering the body during one year, is not allowed to exceed certain limits. The nuclide-specific limits for intake, ALI values (Annual Limit on Intake), have been calculated by the International Commission on Radiological Protection, (ICRP Publication 30 and its supplements). These intake limits have been derived from the primary dose limits.

If it is suspected that a person has received an exceptionally large dose, STUK demands the use of biological dosimetry, i.e. chromosome analysis. The dose evaluated in this way represents cumulative exposure during several years. The detection limit in chromosome analysis is about 100 mSv.

## Registration of doses

The dose monitoring database of STUK is the national register of the personal doses of occupationally exposed persons. The database supports the dosimetry service in functions such as periodic dispatch and dose calculation. The data is used for inspections and for the identification of the key areas in radiation protection. The database is also suitable for epidemiological studies.

The database contains occupational radiation doses since 1964. All doses that have exceeded the recording threshold are registered. The dose data

from the nuclear power plants are transferred to STUK through the common data network or through a modem connection. The power companies have direct access to a subregister, which is updated once a month.

In 1989 a collective dose of 6.7 manSv was registered. The largest part, 4.8 manSv, came from the nuclear power plants; temporary workers received about 85 % of the collective dose. The largest individual and average doses were recorded among the radiologists, nurses and assistants in the interventional radiology. X-ray and gamma radiography were the dominating sources of radiation in industry. More than one half of the monitored persons had no doses above the recording limit. In March 1990 thirty three persons had a lifetime dose above 100 mSv.

The registered doses are the readings of the dosimeters representing the dose equivalent in a certain point of the body. The measuring procedure gives an upper limit for the effective dose equivalent.

At the beginning of 1990 detailed work codes were introduced. They allow a more accurate estimation of the effective dose equivalent. The detailed classification of work types makes it possible to have statistical information on exposures in different occupational groups. This provides an effective means to control doses in various occupational groups and to compare occupational hygiene between various sites.

**RADIATION MONITORING STATISTICS 1989**

**Number of monitored persons**

| | Workers | Employers |
|---|---|---|
| - Medicine | 6238 | 718 |
| – Industry | 1132 | 157 |
| – Research | 1310 | 142 |
| – Nuclear power | 3404 | 440 |
| Total | 12053 | 1457 |

**Personal doses above the recording level**

| | Workers | Employers | Recording limit (mSv) | Monitoring period (month) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| – Medicine | 548 | 152 | 0.3 | 3 |
| – Industry | 104 | 30 | 0.3 | 3 |
| – Research | 94 | 27 | 0.3 | 3 |
| – Nuclear power | 1992 | 192 | 0.1 | 1 |
| Total | 2738 | 401 | | |

| Collective dose (manSv) | |
|---|---|
| – Medicine | 1.48 |
| – Industry | 0.12 |
| – Research | 0.25 |
| – Nuclear power | 4.81 |
| Total | 6.66 |

## References


1 Monitoring of personal radiation doses SS 5.5, Government Printing Centre, Helsinki 1990.

2 Monitoring and reporting of personal radiation doses YVL 7.10 Government Printing Centre (in Finnish).

3 Nuclear energy and radiation protection. Nuclear liability. Law series, Government Printing Centre 1988 (in Finnish).

4 Annals of the ICRP, ICRP Publication 30, Limits for Intakes of Radionuclides by Workers and its supplements.

5 Annals of the ICRP, ICRP Publication 51. Vol 17, No 2/3, 1987, Data For Use in Protection Against External Radiation.



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# FINNISH FEATURES

NOVEMBER 1990

## Chernobyl and Finland

A nuclear accident occurred at Chernobyl in the Ukraine in the western USSR on 26 April 1986. The consequences of a large nuclear accident, analyzed theoretically, were suddenly reality. As a result of the numerous environmental studies, we have learned much about how a single, extreme accident may change the radiation environment where we live.

### Reactor accident at Chernobyl

The reactors of the Chernobyl nuclear power station are graphite-moderated, water-cooled systems known as RBMK-1000. The electrical power of each unit is 1000 MW. The accident happened while a test was being carried out on a turbine generator during a normal scheduled shutdown of unit four. During the test, safety rules were not followed and consequently, the power of the reactor increased rapidly. Attempts to stop the chain reaction were too late. Energy released in the fuel by the power excursion ruptured part of the core into minute pieces. Small, hot fuel particles caused a steam explosion.

The heavy cover plate of the reactor was lifted, cutting all the cooling channels on both sides of the reactor cover. After two or three seconds, another explosion occurred, and hot pieces of the reactor core were ejected into the environment. The damage to the reactor permitted a free flow of air, which then set fire to the graphite. Vast amounts of radioactive substances were released into the air over a period of ten days.

### Transport of radioactive substances to Finland

At the time of the accident, surface winds at the Chernobyl site were weak and variable in direction. However, at the altitude of 1500 m the winds were 8-10 m/s from the south-east. The initial explosion and heat from the fire carried some of the radioactive materials to this height, and then they were transported towards Finland and Sweden. A portion of this plume at lower altitude was directed to Poland and Denmark. The arrival of radioactive material was first observed on the evening of 27 April in Kajaani in central Finland, where rain showers increased the radioactive deposition. Later studies of continuously recording radiation monitors showed that the cloud arrived on the south-western coast of Finland at noon on 27 April.

The weather in Europe changed on the day of the accident; 20 hours after the event the emission was no more towards the Nordic Countries. During the following ten days the effluents were transported everywhere in Europe, resulting in a very complex dispersion pattern. On 7-8 May the direction of wind was again towards the Nordic Countries. The release reached Finland

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on 10-12 May, increasing early deposition only slightly.

## Fall-out

The initial radioactive plume moved beyond Finland towards the east. This plume contained small fuel fragments, i.e. uranium and its non-volatile fission products. The map in Figure 1, based on mobile measurements of the Finnish Centre for Radiation and Nuclear Safety (STUK), shows how fuel fragments containing zirconium 95 were distributed in Finland. The distribution is closely related to the passage of the initial explosion plume over Finland. Rain increased deposition in eastern Finland.

The main fall-out in Finland originated from the initial release on 26 April. The radioactive plume spread over Finland between Sunday 27 and Tuesday 29 April. Iodine and cesium were the dominating radioactive substances. The main deposition of these nuclides was caused by intermittent rain on 28-30 April. On 30 April and finally on 1 May a cold northerly airstream spread into the whole of Finland and gradually purified the atmosphere.

Figure 2 shows the amount of cesium 137 deposition in Finland. The map is based on a mobile survey by STUK. On the first of October 1987 the mean deposition for the 461 municipalities was 10.7 kBq $m^{-2}$.

## Hot particles

The Chernobyl fall-out is characterized by an unexpected feature. The nuclear fuel fractured into powder and escaped from the power plant in particles of different sizes. The largest lumps fell onto the power plant site and its surroundings. Smaller particles were carried by air over long distances, up to Scancinavia. These 'hot' particles could readily be found in the environment (Figure 1). An epidemiological follow-up study has been started to establish the potential health hazard caused by these particles.

## External radiation

The dose rate monitoring network in 1986 comprised about 390 stations, operated by the Ministry of the Interior, the Defence Forces and the Frontier Guard. The first signal about the unusual radiation situation was received through this network.

The highest dose rate measured by the network stations was 5 microsieverts (μSv) per hour. This is 30-50 times higher than the normal background radiation in Finland (0.1-0.2 μSv/h). By August 1986 the level of radiation was only one tenth of the peak value measured at the beginning of May.

Assessment of environmental gamma radiation was initiated by STUK on 28 April. Sensitive radiation detectors were used. In autumn 1986 STUK carried out a wide spectrometric survey of dose rates (radioactive substances were identified) in areas south of 65° N. The fall-out in the north of Finland was low and could be detected only with special sensitive instruments. The survey in Lapland was carried out in 1987. Figure 2 shows the results of the survey.

A total of 19 000 km were scanned by a mobile unit. While driving the instruments were measuring, giving a more representative estimation on radiation level than single measurements along the route.

The average dose from external radiation caused by Chernobyl fall-out in 1988 was 0.1 mSv (note that the annual external dose due to natural origin is 0.8 mSv, Figure 5). From October 1987 the dose rate is decreased by 30 % in two years.

The dose rate due to natural environmental gamma radiation in Finland varies locally. The increase caused by the Chernobyl fall-out is comparable to the variation in natural background.

## Foodstuffs

Many radioactive substances are transferred from the environment to foodstuffs but only three nuclides, iodine 131, cesium 134 and cesium 137, are important. In the fall-out they were in soluble form and could thus enter the metabolism of plants and animals. The fall-out contained only small amounts of radioactive strontium, which is one of the dominating nuclides in the nuclear detonations.

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The health hazard of radiation is described by radiation dose. The unit is sievert (Sv), or more often millisievert (mSv, 0.001 Sv). The total radiation dose consists of internal dose, caused by radioactive substances transferred into the human body, and external dose, caused by radiation received from sources outside the body, such as radioactive substances on the ground. The unit of activity is becquerel (Bq). One becquerel means one nuclear disintegration per second.

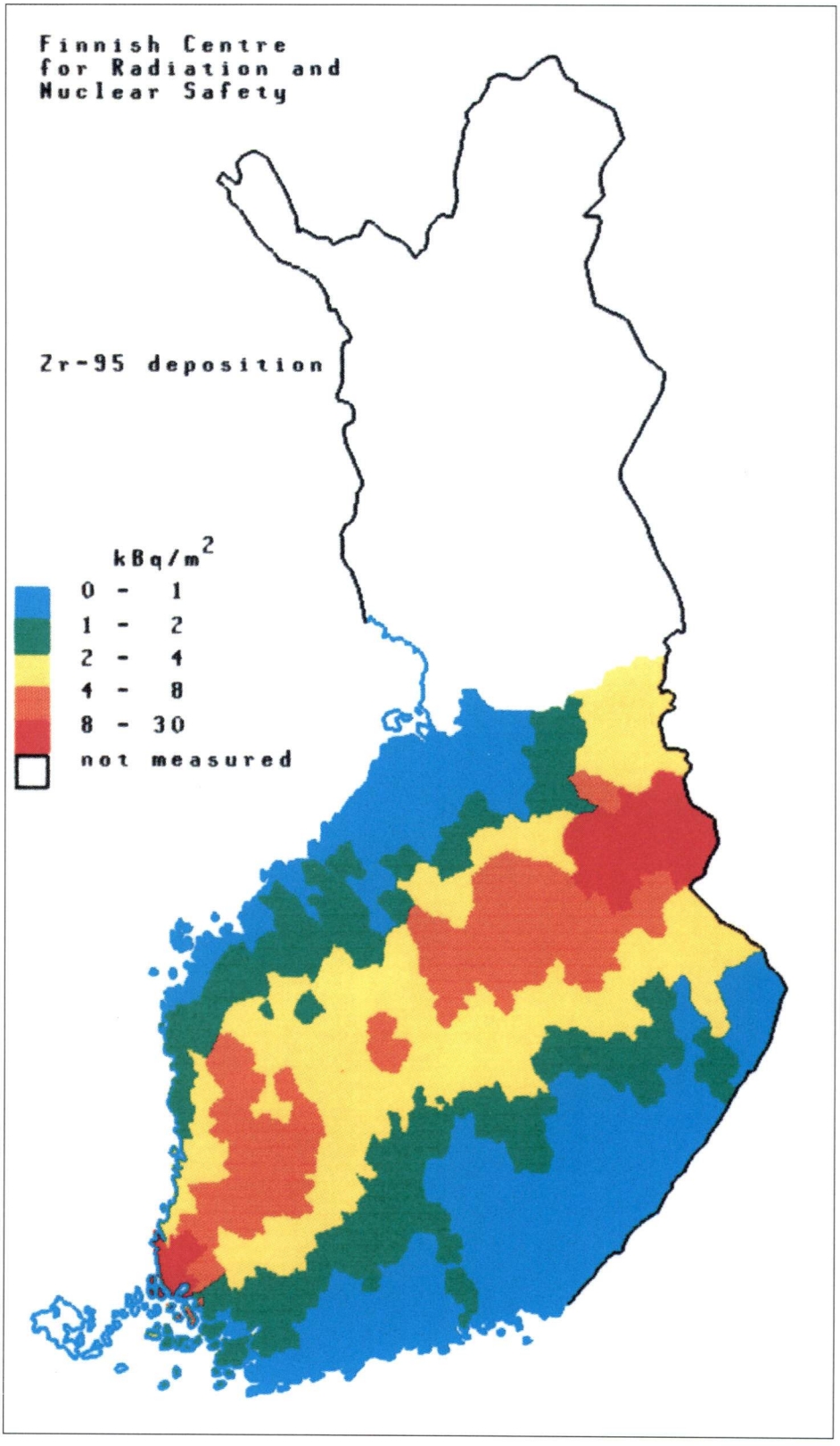



**Figure1. Distribution of zirconium 95 in Finland after the Chernobyl accident. Activity is decay corrected to April 26, 1986.**

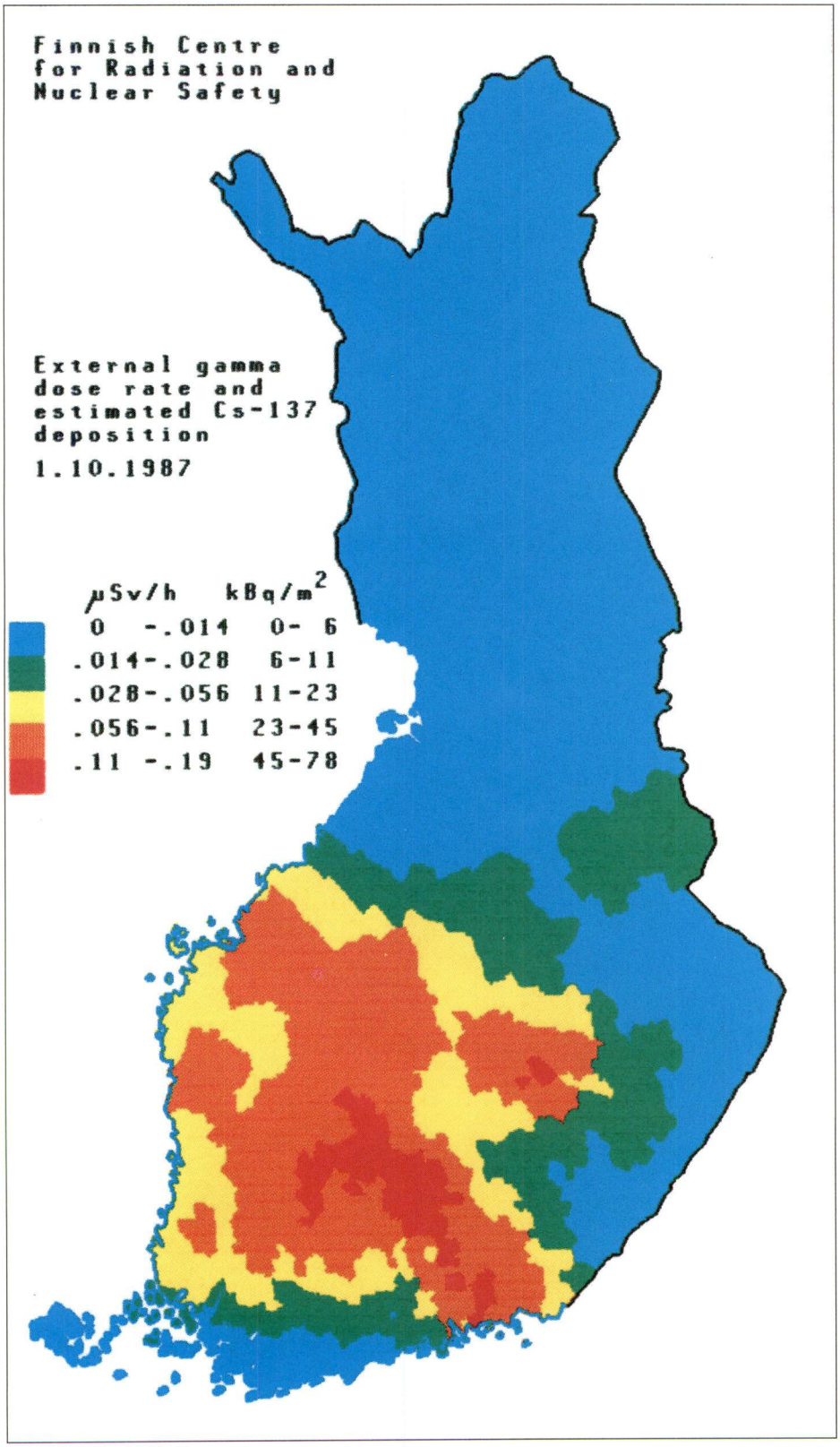



Figure 2. External dose rate (µSv/h, microsieverts per hour) and estimated cesium 137 deposition caused by the Chernobyl fall-out in Finland, reference date October 1, 1987. The mean dose rate in 461 municipalities was 0.027 µSv/h (range 0-0.19 µSv/h). The population weighted mean value was 0.037 µSv/h.

The gamma activity of 5000 samples were analyzed in the continuing foodstuff programme of STUK in 1986-1988. The ordinary research programmes were expanded to meet the requirements of the new radiation situation.

**Milk and meat.** Small amounts of radioiodine were detected in milk during May 1986. The indoor feeding of cows continued until May 26. This made it possible to avoid a considerable increase of iodine in milk as the cows were not permitted to eat any contaminated grazing grass. At its highest, at the beginning of May, the average concentration of iodine 131 in milk was 30 Bq/l. Ten times higher concentrations were measured in continental Europe where the cows were freely grazing.

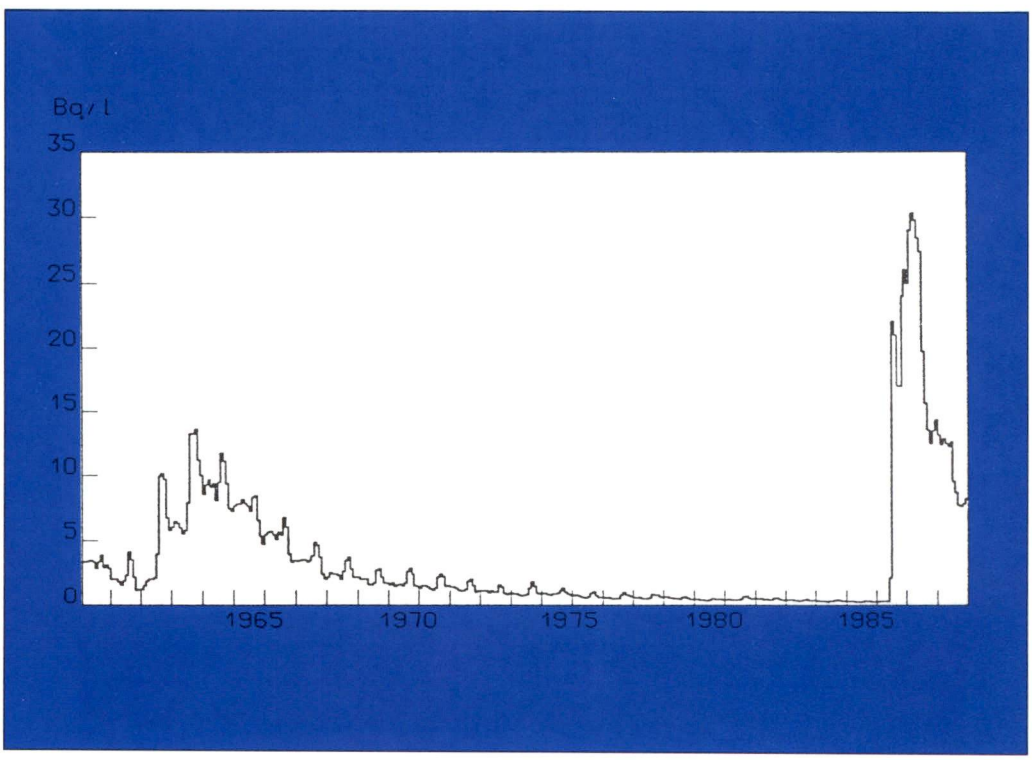
Figure 3 shows the cesium content of milk in 1960-1988. The maximum concentration was about 30 Bq/l in 1986. Thereafter, the concentration decreased annually. This behaviour is typical of other agricultural products too. The seasonal variations in Figure 3 are connected with the change in forage at the beginning and at the end of the grazing season. The cesium concentration in 1989 in beef was 20-40 Bq/kg and in pork less than 10 Bq/kg.

**Game and reindeer.** The game meat contains more activity than that of domestic animals. The average concentration in elk and reindeer meat in 1986-1989 was about 200 and 650 Bq/kg, respectively (before 1986, 30 and 300 Bq/kg.)

**Fish.** Increased cesium activity was found in fish as early as June 1986. The contents were first elevated in nonpredatory fish, which eat directly contaminated plankton. Predatory fish reached maximum values of cesium in 1988. For all type of fish environmental factors cause variation in the cesium content. In 1989 a fish contained typically 100-4000 Bq/kg of cesium (a big lake in the area of the highest fall-out). In areas of low deposition the concentration is ten times smaller.

**Countermeasures and recommendations.** During the first days of the Chernobyl fall-out it became evident that no large scale restrictions were needed. Dose levels presented by the ICRP (Inter-

**Figure 3. Cesium 137 concentration in milk in 1960-1988. Production-weighted monthly means in units of Bq/l.**



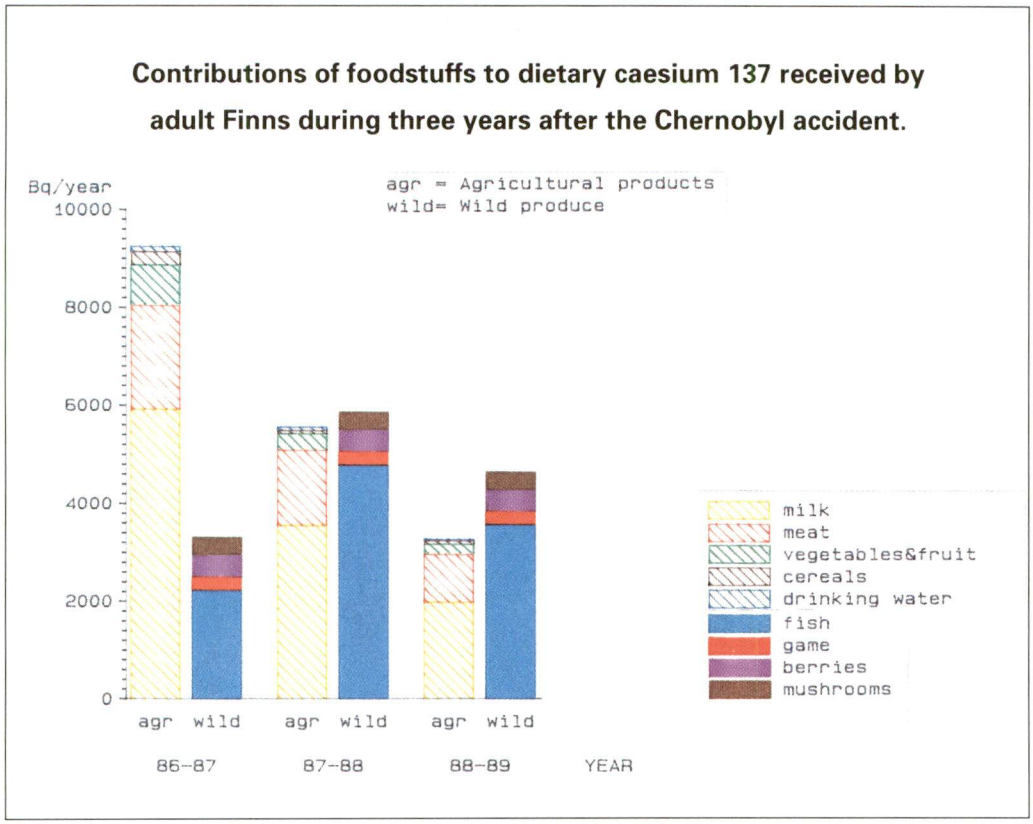



**Figure 4. Dietary intake of cesium 137 of agricultural and wild origin in Finland in three years after April 1986. Internal dose due to intake.**

national Commission of Radiological Protection) were used to determine the derived intervention levels in the foodstuffs. Thus the annual radiation dose received by a critical group should not exceed 5 mSv or, the dose to an individual organ should not exceed 50 mSv during the first year. On this basis the intervention level of cesium 137 in milk is 1000Bq/l and in beef and pork 1000 Bq/kg.

The agricultural products in the whole country were only sligtly contaminated. The activity concentrations were well below the intervention levels. In most cases cesium 137 activity was less than one tenth of the intervention level. Some non-agricultural products like game meat, reindeer, lake fish and mushrooms contained occasionally higher concentrations.

The public has been advised by STUK about the use of mushrooms. Lactarius mushrooms should be boiled twice. The cesium is effectively removed by this treatment to about five percent of the original concentration.

The reindeer breeding area is in the north of Finland, which was not seriously affected by the Chernobyl fall-out. However, when the reindeer slaughtering season started in October 1986, it became evident that a small area in southeast Lappland (Kuusamo) had received a large fall-out. The cumulative number of condemned carcasses was about 500 of the altogether 130 000 slaughtered reindeer in 1988 and, the cumulative compensation paid by the Finnish government to reindeer owners was about 300 000 FIM.

The lake fish were, and still partly are, the greatest concern for high cesium concentration. People eating lake fish every day, could accumulate cesium so much that the annual doses would rise above the level of 5 mSv. Thus, STUK gave a recommendation that fish taken from lakes in the highest fall-out areas should not be eaten as a main dish more than two or three times a week. In 1988, this recommendation was modified to cover only predatory fish.

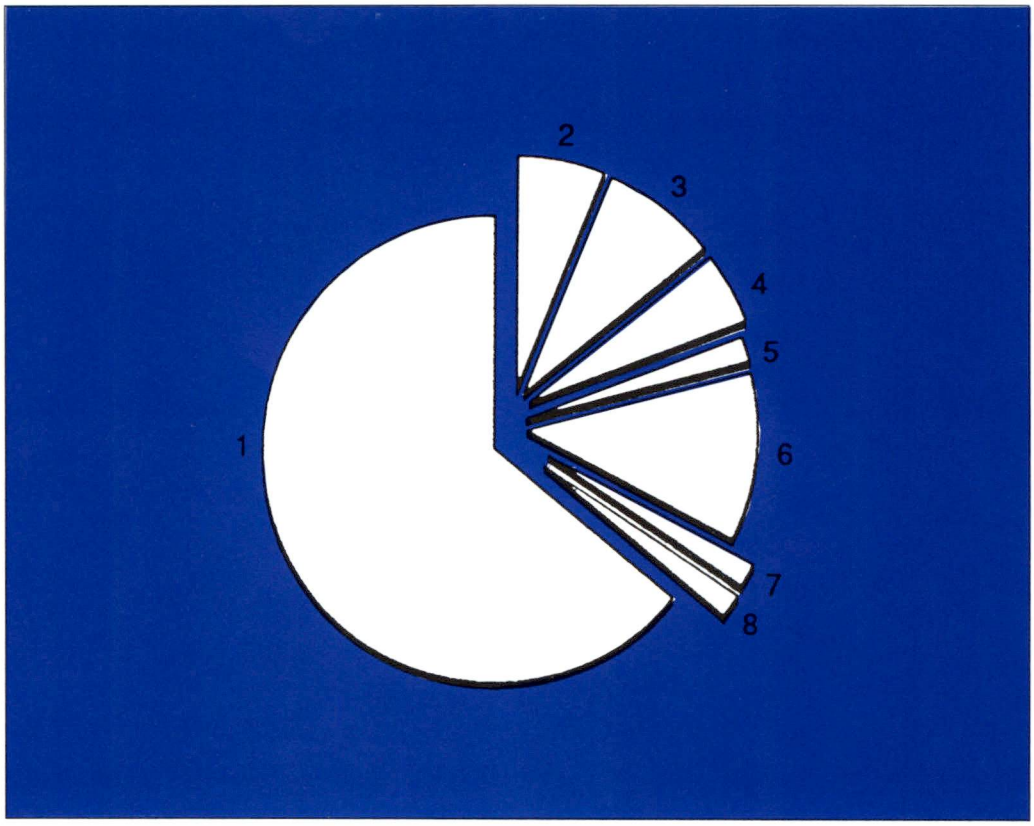



**Figure 5. Sources of radiation received by Finns in 1988.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Radon | 4 | **mSv** |
| 2. | Natural radioactive substances in the body | 0.4 | **mSv** |
| 3. | Natural radioactive substances, external radiation | 0.8 | **mSv** |
| 4. | Cosmic radiation | 0.3 | **mSv** |
| 5. | Use of radionuclides | 0.1 | **mSv** |
| 6. | Medicine, x-ray | 0.7 | **mSv** |
| 7. | Chernobyl, external dose | 0.1 | **mSv** |
| 8. | Chernobyl, internal dose | 0.1 | **mSv** |

## Activity in Humans

The internal radiation dose to human is established by measuring the amount of radioactive substances in the body. These measurements are made with a whole-body counter. The amount of cesium in Finns has been studied since the middle of the 1960s. After the Chernobyl accident these studies were expanded through measurements of a reference group of people that represent the whole Finnish population.

In autumn 1989, the average amount of cesium 137 in Finns was 1200 Bq. At its highest, in summer 1987, the activity of the body was twice as high. The contribution of nuclear tests is about 100 Bq. In the middle of the 1960s, the amount of nuclear test cesium in Finns was about 1000 Bq.

In 1989 the internal dose caused by cesium was about 0.1 mSv. This is about 2 % of the dose due to radiation of natural origin (Figure 5).

## Information demand

The demand for information after the accident was enormous. Informing the public and the media, recommendations and restrictions and reactor safety in general were the key issues in the discussions and in the work of the authorities. This apparently permanent state of affairs presents the Finnish Centre for Radiation and Nuclear Safety and other authorities with a new challenge. International cooperation on these issues is extensive. In 1986, Finland signed the Convention on Early Notification of a

Nuclear Accident. In addition, bilateral information exchange has been improved through agreements between the Nordic countries and the Soviet Union.

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FINNISH FEATURES

NOVEMBER 1990

# Radon in Finland

In most countries, the highest contribution to the average radiation dose of the inhabitants is made by radon, a radioactive gas occurring everywhere in nature. In houses and other closed spaces, radon accumulates in indoor air, the concentration being several times higher than in outdoor air. In certain circumstances, the concentration in dwellings may be so high that the annual radiation dose arises to a value several times higher than the maximum dose permitted in radiation work.

## Early research

In Finland, the large contribution of radon to the radiation risk was gradually understood during the 1970s. Private drilled wells with sometimes very radon-rich water were first recognized as potential sources of high radon gas concentration in indoor air. Other sources were not regarded as notable, until new measurement methods for radon in indoor air made large scale surveys in dwellings possible. In 1980, several houses were found in which the annual radiation dose exceeded the limit set for radiation workers. High concentrations were found independently of whether there was a drilled well in the house or not. Now, for a decade it has been known that the major contribution to radon in indoor air comes directly from the ground.

The new methods were soon applied in a survey of a potential highrisk area. In the 1955-70 lung cancer statistics, the municipalities with the highest lung cancer incidences (more than $10^{-3}$ per annum in men) were clustered in a rural area in eastern Finland known for its minor uranium deposits. In a survey conducted in 1981, the radon concentrations there were not elevated as compared with other parts of the country. Vice-versa, in an area in southern Finland where the highest concentrations were found, the lung cancer incidence was slightly lower than the average.

An indoor radon concentration higher than 10,000 Bq/$m^{-3}$ was first discovered in autumn 1981. The residents were informed and advised on how to decrease the concentration. Even in the worst case in which instantaneous radon concentration up to 100,000 Bq/$m^{-3}$ was measured, no drastic action was taken. The house was mitigated in connection with a mitigation research programme several years later.

The scientists, however, did not ignore the problem. Numerous houses were found where the action level of 800 Bq/$m^3$ was exceeded. Although the media had published the news about sensationally high radiation doses, most people did not react because no health effects could be seen. Therefore, survey and research were seen as the only way

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of promoting a rational solution to the problem.

## Administrative action

In 1986, the National Board of Health sent the local public health authorities a directive on radon in dwellings. According to this, the municipal public health authorities are obliged, in cooperation with the Finnish Centre for Radiation and Nuclear Safety (STUK), to identify the dwellings in which the annual average radon concentration exceeds 800 $Bqm^3$.

The Ministry of the Environment has funded a civil engineering programme on the incorporation of radon aspects in building legislation and practice. The large-scale survey conducted by STUK has made the radon problem known through the media. Guides and information booklets have been published by the authorities in house building, radiation protection and public health.

## Measurement and data collection

The early research with the large-scale surveys taught how easy it is to lose the perspective in the evaluation of indoor radon measurements. What is high in one area may be low in some other area. Measuring instantaneous concentration, a practice common in earlier radon control of mines, may lead to unnecessary confusion, because the temporal variation is very large. Therefore, a minimum integration time of two months is demanded in the sanitary evaluation of dwellings. The same method is used all over the country to obtain comparable results. The radon dosimetric service of STUK can satisfy the demand. The capacity of this service, using mailed alpha track dosimeters, has been gradually raised to 20,000 measurements a year.

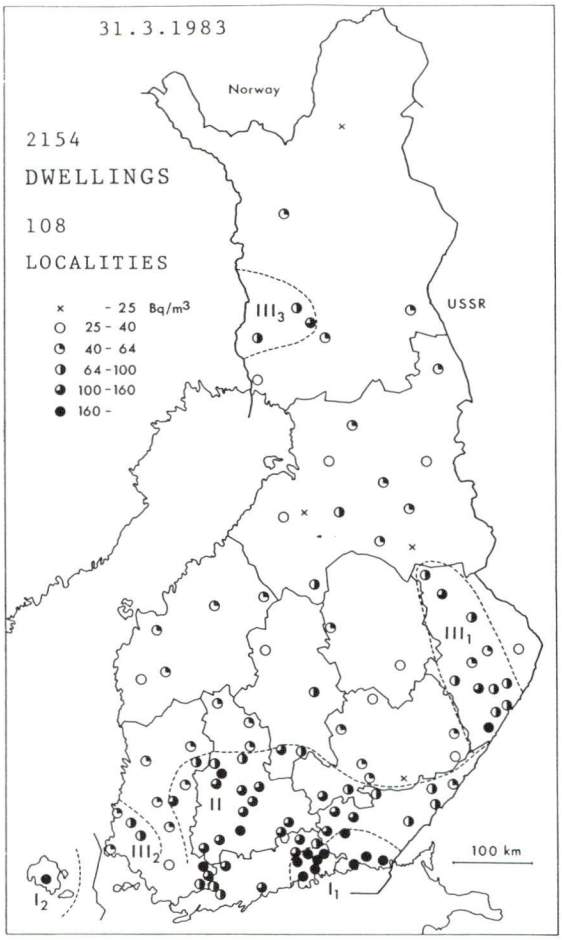
STUK has a database on radon concentrations in more than 30,000 Finnish houses. The coordinates and supplementary information on the constructional details are known for about 20,000 houses. The results of radon concentration measurements are seasonally adjusted to represent annual averages. The residents or owners are not registered. The data processing system makes it possible to draw maps of the results in any scale and form and to find the geological properties of the location from geological maps. STUK helps the municipal health authorities by devising radon measurement plans and radon prognosis maps. The former helps the local health authorities to find the dwellings where 800 $Bq/m^3$ is exceeded. The radon prognosis map helps the municipalities to take radon-prone areas into account in their physical planning. Both the measurement plan and the prognosis maps are based on the results from existing houses in the area and on the geological information. For the prognosis maps, it is sometimes necessary to perform field measurements or analyze local samples in the laboratory.

The first map on the geographical distribution of radon in Finland was published in 1983 and showed the salient features of the distribution. The later measurements have not changed the overall impression (Figure 1 ). There are large differences between the municipal mean concentrations in different parts of the country. The individual concentrations vary within a municipality, the highest concentrations being sometimes a hundred times higher than the mean.

## Reasons for high radon concentrations

Uranium in the bedrock is the origin of radon, but the differences between different parts of the country cannot be explained by the uranium concentration in the bedrock alone. The existence of a uranium mineralization or mine is an equally misleading factor. The bedrock around a mineralization often has a low uranium concentration and thus the indoor concentrations are low. In most cases the most apparent geological parameter is the air permeability of the ground on which the house has been built.

During the heating season the pressure of the indoor air is lower than that in the ground air or outdoor air. The underpressure sucks ground air into the house. The radon concentration of the ground air is normally more than a hundred times higher than that of the indoor air. Houses on very permeable ground types, e.g. coarse sand, suck in ground air efficiently and therefore their indoor radon concentration is high. In Finland, the most permeable geological formations are the eskers, long ridges of sand stretching across the whole country. They were formed by sand and gravel deposited in the bottom of streams in



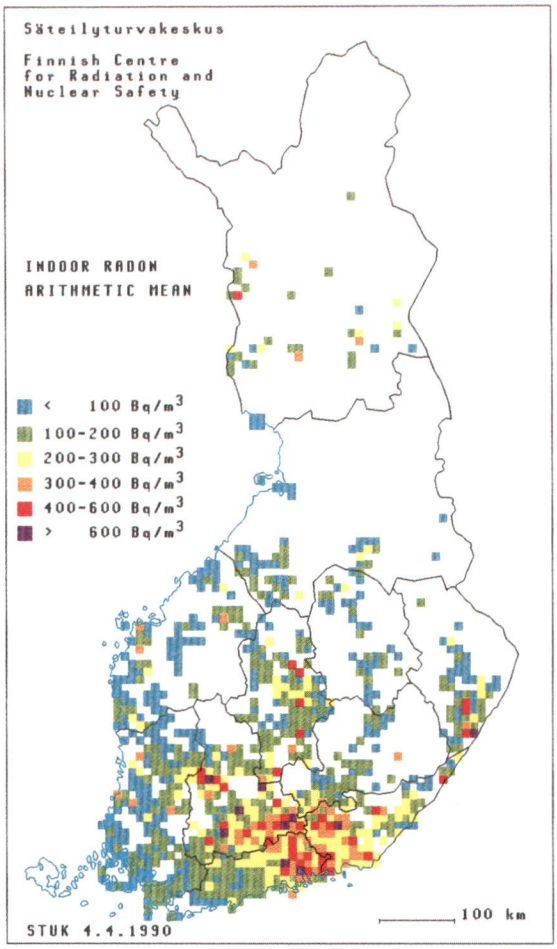
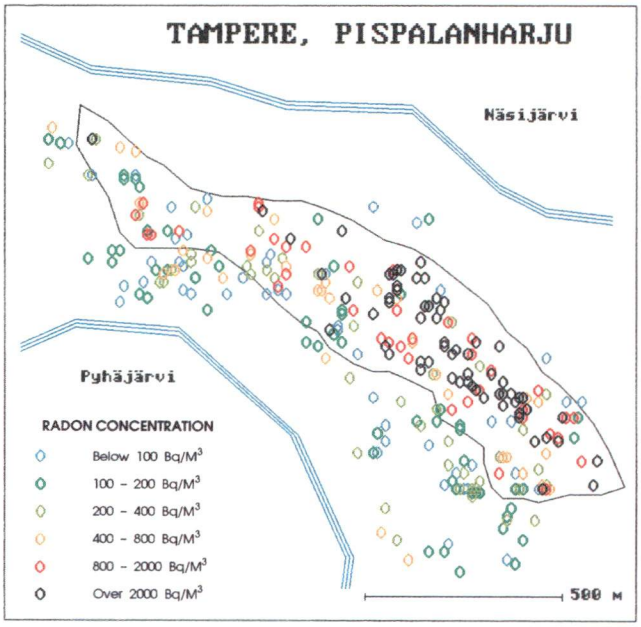




**Fig. 1 Radon maps of Finland in 1983 and 1990. The former presents the geometric means of indoor radon concentration in 108 municipalities and is based on measurements in 2154 detached houses.**
**The map for 1990 is based on measurements in about 20000 detached houses, the geographical coordinates of which are known, and gives the arithmetic mean of houses in 10x10 km² squares.**

**Fig. 2 Maps of results of measurements are provided for the municipalities. The colours of the symbols indicate the level of indoor radon concentration in an esker area.**



the continental ice during the last Ice Age some 10,000 years ago. The Finnish equivalent of the word esker, "harju" is also used for sand formations which were deposited along the margin of the ice during the periods when melting temporarily stopped. The ice-marginal formations may also be very permeable, although sometimes clay layers act as barries.

The eskers and ice-marginal formations have a great impact on the Finnish radon map. Some of the big inland towns have been built on these formations, and consequently, the largest clusters of houses exceeding 800 Bq/m$^3$ can be found there. In the past, the low level of ground water in the eskers did not favor building on them, but now they are ideal development areas for the growing towns.

There are 20,000 - 30,000 Finnish houses needing mitigation according to the 800 Bq/m$^3$ action level. So far, about 2,000 have been found, but the number of mitigated houses is hardly more than 150.

## Present attitudes

An epidemilogical case-control study has been performed in Finland on radon as a possible cause of lung cancer. The statistical power of the study was lower than expected. The preliminary results in 1987 could not show a positive connection between radon and lung cancer. The media presented this finding as a proof that radon is quite harmless and does not cause lung cancer. This may have been the crucial message that stopped many mitigation and measurement projects. However, the experts said that the result does not prove anything and is not in conflict with the risk estimates of the International Commission on Radiological Protection. These statements were not taken into account because the public had expected the effect to be more evident. Simultaneously, the possible effects of the Chernobyl accident causing hundred times lower effective doses in Finland were taken very seriously.

Dose estimation seems to be the weakest point in the epidemiological studies performed so far. Further mapping and research in STUK helps to reconstruct the past exposures more accurately than earlier. Thus, it may simultaneously serve as a basis for both mitigation activities and further study on the significance of radon.

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FINNISH FEATURES

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# International agreements - a prerequisite for the use of nuclear energy

Finland has used nuclear energy in the electricity production since 1977 when the first commercial nuclear power plant unit, Loviisa 1, was taken into operation. Three other nuclear power plant units were commissioned by 1980: TVO I in 1978, TVO II and Loviisa 2 in 1980.

The nuclear power plant units at Loviisa are pressurized water reactors, and the two units at Olkiluoto are boiling water reactors. The supplier of the Loviisa 1 and 2 units was V/O Atomenergoexport, the Soviet Union. However, an essential part of the design and construction work was carried out by the owner of the plant, Imatra Power Company Ltd. The supplier of the TVO I and II units was Ab Asea-Atom, Sweden. The owner of the plant is Industrial Power Company Ltd. Loviisa 1 and 2 units are situated on the southern coast of Finland, and TVO I and II on the western coast (see Fig. 1). In addition, a research reactor, TRIGA MARK II, is operated by the Technical Research Centre of Finland in Espoo, near to Helsinki.

All the nuclear power plant units in Finland are designed and constructed in accordance with the Finnish safety regulations, which are generally consistent with the regulations in other western countries. The regulatory body for the safety of the use of nuclear energy is the Finnish Centre for Radiation and Nuclear Safety (STUK).

The use of nuclear energy has many international aspects. First of all, the worldwide use of nuclear energy shall not increase the number of the countries having nuclear weapons. Another international aspect is the safety and security of the use of nuclear energy.

## Nuclear energy for peaceful purposes

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was established in 1968 and it came into force in 1970[1]. The Treaty became valid in Finland in 1970, too.

Based on the Treaty, the agreement on the safeguards control of nuclear materials was signed by Finland and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)[2]. This agreement was the first one for the implementation of the IAEA safeguards controls based on the Treaty: The agreement is consistent with the IAEA document INFCIRC 153[3].

The main purpose of the safeguards controls based on the agreement is to verify that nuclear material in peaceful activities is not diverted to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. According to the Finnish nuclear energy law, STUK is the authority responsible for the national safeguard controls. STUK reports to the IAEA on the use and transport of nuclear materials. The IAEA evaluates the reports

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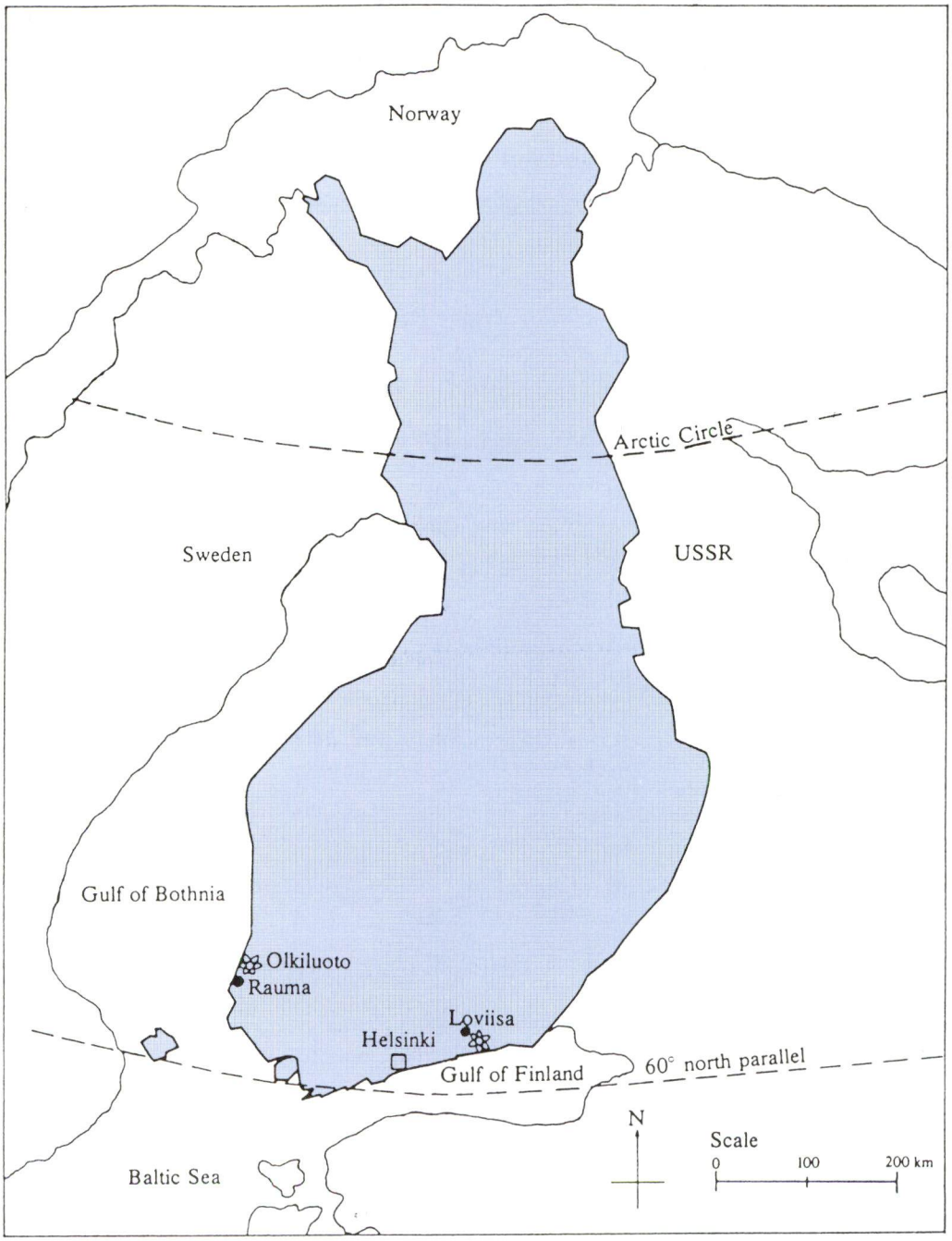



**Figure 1. Olkiluoto and Loviisa Nuclear Power Plants in Finland**

and carries out inspections at the Finnish nuclear facilities. In 1989, the IAEA carried out 22 inspections in Finland.

Since 1988 Finland has had a Support Programme for the IAEA safeguards. The purpose of the Support Programme is to help the IAEA in its safeguards control. The main areas in the Support Programme are the development and field testing of the nuclear material measurement methods, and the training of the IAEA inspectors.

Finland has bilateral agreements in the field of nuclear energy with the United Kingdom (since 1969), the Soviet Union (since 1969), Sweden (since 1969), the United States (since 1970), Canada (since 1976) and Australia (since 1980)[4–9]. These agreements restrict the use of the materials and information exhanged under

the agreement in question to peaceful purposes. They also aim to enhance co-operation in the field of nuclear energy.

The countries with a developed wide nuclear industry agreed in 1978 on the guidelines they follow in the international nuclear trade. These guidelines, so called London guidelines, are published by the IAEA, document INFCIRC 254[10]. Finland observes these guidelines.

An important aspect of the peaceful use of nuclear energy is the security of the international transport of nuclear materials. For this purpose, the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials was drawn up under the IAEA auspices[11]. Since 1989, the Convention has been valid in Finland.

## International co-operation is required for assuring nuclear safety

Ensuring the safe use of nuclear energy is of high importance. The task is, however, very demanding and requires close international co-operation.

STUK, the regulatory body in Finland, is actively involved in international co-operation, mainly through the IAEA and OECD/Nuclear Energy Agency. It has also close bilateral co-operation with the safety authorities in the Nordic countries, the Soviet Union and the United States. The nuclear safety in Finland is discussed in detail elsewhere in "Finnish Features" (J.Laaksonen)

## Nuclear accidents may have transboundary radiological effects

The Chernobyl accident in the Soviet Union in 1986 clearly indicated that nuclear accidents may have radiological consequences in other countries. Therefore, early information on such accidents should be available. It is also important that international assistance in the case of a nuclear accident is provided, if needed.

Under the IAEA auspices, the Convention on Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident and the Convention on Assistance in the Case of Nuclear Accident or Radiological Emergency were established in 1986[12–13].

Finland joined the Early Notification Convention in 1987 and will join the Assistance Convention in 1990. The Early Notification Convention covers accidents in nuclear reactors, nuclear fuel cycle facilities, radioactive waste management facilities, transport and storage of nuclear fuels or radioactive wastes, manufacture, use, storage, disposal and transport of radioisotopes, and use of radioisotopes in space objects. Other nuclear accidents may also be reported in according with the Convention. The Convention applies to any accident from which a release of radioactive material occurs or is likely to occur and which has resulted or may result in an international transboundary release that could be of radiological safety significance for another state.

In addition to the Early Notification Convention, Finland has made agreements with the Nordic countries and the Soviet Union concerning the notification of a nuclear accident and the exchange of information on nuclear facilities. The agreement with the Soviet Union[14] requires direct notification to the other party on the accidents specified in the Early Notification Convention. In addition, other nuclear accidents must be notified if they may cause a transboundary release of radiological safety significance to the other party. Furthermore, other exceptionally high radiation levels, which may have radiological safety significance to the other party, are to be notified if they occur within 300 km from the border between the parties. The agreement also requires the exchange of information on nuclear facilities within 300 km from the border between the parties. This covers information on the design data and on the operation experience of the facilities concerned.

The agreements between the Nordic countries[15–17] require direct reporting on exceptionally high radiation levels or abnormal safety related incidents at nuclear facilities, which are reported to the public or which increase the preparedness of the authorities. Such accidents which reguire reporting based on the Early Notification Convention are also to be directly reported. In addition, these agreements require exhange of information on the design data and on the operation experience of the nuclear facilities.

## Third party liability is necessary in the case of a nuclear accident

Liability and compensation for damage caused by a nuclear accident are important issues that had been recognized

throughout the world, even before the accidents at Harrisburg and Chernobyl. Transboundary effects from the Chernobyl accident indicated, however, many issues where liability and compensation aspects raised much international discussion.

Since 1972, Finland has been a party to the Paris Convention on Third Party Liability in the Field of Nuclear Energy of 29th July 1960[18], and since 1977 to the Brussels Convention,Supplementary to the Paris Convention[19]. According to the nuclear liability law in Finland, the licensee of a nuclear facility is required to compensate for damage caused by an accident in his facility up to 100 Million Special Drawing Rights, definied by the International Monetary Fund. Above this, damages are to be paid by Finland and by other parties to the Paris and Brussels Conventions up to 300 Million Special Drawing Rights, as the 1982 Amendment to the Brussels Convention has stipulated.

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## Environmental Policy in Finland

### DEVELOPMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Before the 1960s, environmental protection in Finland was seen very much in terms of nature conservation. Since the end of the decade, however, both public and political decision-makers came to see environmental protection in a wider context. The 1960s saw the first attempts to promote pollution control through the enactment of new legislation concerning waters, public health and chemicals. Finnish environmental policies began to take shape in the early 1970s. European Nature Conservation Year in 1970 and the United Nations Environmental Conference in 1972 may well be said to have marked a turning point in the development of Finnish environmental policies.

The early 1970s were a time for debate and pamphleteering, but during the 1970s concrete progress was also made, especially in water pollution control. Legislation was enacted and an efficient control organization, the National Board of Waters (since 1986 the National Board of Waters and Environment) was established in 1970. Eutrophication, however, still remains a major problem, especially in the Gulf of Finland, which is a part of the Baltic Sea. Finland also contributes to the nutrient load, although the loads from Russia and Estonia are bigger. $BOD_7$ (Biological Oxygen Demand) discharges originating from communities fell by about 70 per cent between 1970 and 1986 and their phosphorus loading by about 75 per cent. In 1988, about 85 per cent of municipal waste water was treated by biological-chemical methods and 13 per cent by chemical methods. According to the general classification, about 80 per cent of Finland's total lake area is excellent or good quality. Apart from eutrophication, the lakes are also threatened by acidification due to deposition of air pollutants, mainly of transboundary origin. The water quality of rivers is not so good. Along about 45 per cent of their total length it is excellent or good, and along about 30 per cent adequate or poor.

In the 1970s new legislation was drafted on, for instance, the prevention of oil pollution and the conservation of certain rare animal species. In 1978 the Waste Management Act was enacted and in 1982 the Clean Air Act.

Economic growth and prosperity in the early 1970s contributed to the demands for environmental protection. The working environment was also improved significantly through new organization and legislation. During the economic recession of the mid-1970s, however, investment in pollution control decreased. The oil crises promoted energy-saving measures, thus initiating a trend beneficial to environmental protection for several years to come.

The Ministry of the Environment, responsible for both environmental protection and for building and housing, was established in 1983. Since then new environmental acts regulating noise abatement, control of

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chemicals, hazardous wastes, extraction or quarrying of soil and bedrock materials and the protection of scenic rivers, wilderness areas, several specific natural areas and the built environment, have been passed. Regional and municipal environmental protection institutions have been greatly strengthened.

During the late 1980s, environmental issues became one of the primary topics in public debate and policies. Serious global threats such as ozone depletion and global warming came to dominate the headlines.

At the beginning of the 1980s, environmental protection was still seen as a separate sector of government policy, further divided into sectors such as air and water pollution control, noise abatement, and waste management. However, in the course of the decade it became obvious that environmental policy should be integrated with policies concerning the economy, energy, industry, transport, agriculture and forestry.

## Environment and economics

Since the beginning of the 1980s the total annual expenditure on environmental protection has ranged between 0.8 and 1.1 per cent of GNP, and government expenditure between 0.3 and 0.4 per cent of total national budget expenditure. The decisions made on the reduction of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxide emissions, implementation of the Water Pollution Control Programme and other improvements in environmental policy are expected to increase annual expenditure on environmental protection to between 1.5 and 2.0 per cent of GNP during the 1990s.

Economic instruments used in Finland have taken the form of either government subsidies (e.g. interest subsidies, loans and guarantees) to investments in public or private pollution control, or environmental charges or taxes (e.g. oil combating charges, charges on non-recyclable packaging, pesticide charges and water protection fees). The subsidies have not been substantial and the charges and taxes have normally been rather modest. The excise duty on unleaded petrol was reduced in the late 1980s and an additional charge, based on the carbon content of the fuel, was imposed on all fossil fuels and peat in 1990. A tax on fertilizer phosphorus has been levied since 1990. This tax has also applied to nitrogen from the beginning of 1992.

## Environmental protection in different sectors of the economy

The environmental effects of agriculture on watercourses were recognized during the 1970s, but it was not until the 1980s that the importance of these effects was recognized more widely. As the pollution load caused by industry and communities has been reduced, the relative importance of agriculture and fish farming in the eutrophication of surface waters has increased. Groundwaters have remained fairly unpolluted so far, but in some agricultural areas higher concentrations of nitrates have been observed. Agriculture accounts for about 30 per cent of the total atmospheric emissions of nitrogen in Finland.

According to present goals, non-point source pollution caused by agriculture, forestry, and fish and fur farming will have to be reduced in the same proportion as other activities polluting inland waters and the sea.

The means being used are economic instruments and education, training and information, e.g. guidelines on good agricultural – including animal husbandry – practices. Regulatory measures have been taken to reduce loading caused by cattle and pig farms. The Central Union of Agricultural Producers has recently published an environmental protection programme for farmers.

The Finnish economy has always relied on forestry and, consequently, forest management is based on the concept of sustainability. Research on forestry and forestry practices has long traditions in Finland, and forest owners are obliged to renew their forests after felling. Regeneration is carried out annually on approximately 200 000 – 250 000 hectares of forest, some 120 000 hectares of this being regenerated artificially. The proportion of artificially regenerated, i.e. man-made, forests is thus increasing slowly. However, since native species are used, the man-made forests differ only slightly from managed, naturally regenerated stands.

Legislation and control of forestry practices have also succeeded in preventing the destruction of Finland's timber; in fact, the growth and yield of Finnish forests have increased since the 1950s. This is mostly thanks to more efficient forestry practices, such as forest fertilization, ditching and draining of bogs and felling of old and unproductive forest. Some scientists have even attributed this growth to the fertilizing effects of nitrogenous emissions. The State, companies and private forest owners nowadays show growing concern for environmental factors in forest management. The recommended methods include natural regeneration, use of light machinery in soil preparation, a mixture of hardwoods with conifers, and a use of buffer zones around areas undergoing regeneration cutting and soil preparation. Logging, which is based on cut-to-length methods, enjoyed a period of rapid advance in the 1970s and especially in the 1980s. Ecologically and ergonomically sounder machines and methods were developed, resulting in less damage to the remaining trees in connection with thinning.

Despite the fact that production, and both private and public demand, grew markedly during the 1970s and 1980s, industrial pollution decreased substantially. During the 1980s, sulphur emissions were cut by nearly 60 per cent and discharges of oxygen consuming substances, mostly from the pulp and paper industries, by some 50 per cent. Although total consumption of industrial energy increased during the 1980s, energy efficiency improved. Fully halogenated chlorofluorocarbons will be phased out by the end of 1994, the necessary measures being well under way.

This progress is largely a result of the development of new technologies, i.e. better purification techniques and cleaner processes producing less waste and emissions, and the investments made by industry in these technologies during the 1980s. Development has been guided by the new environmental legislation and more stringent enforcement of existing legislation, and also by the international agreements that Finland has signed.

Important examples of cleaner technology developed in Finland are several improvements in kraft pulp and paper production, the latest achievement being chlorine-free bleaching. The flash smelting process, regeneration of pickling acid in metal industries and fluidized bed combustion are also worth mentioning.

Since the early 1980s, more and more attention has been given to the development of new process technologies, or clean technologies rather than traditional end-of pipe treatment techniques. In 1988 the Confederation of Finnish Industries issued new guidelines for environmental care and protection in Finnish industry. The guidelines emphasize a holistic approach according to which natural resources are used economically and the adverse effects of production minimized.

It seems that the development of environmentally sound consumer products, in which the entire life-cycle is taken into account, will be the next step in the production sector. Public authorities are trying to help increase the demand for and production of these products by setting up an environmental labelling system in co-operation with other Nordic countries. The first authorizations for use of the Nordic environmental label were given to three Finnish paper products at the end of 1991.

The Finnish economy is more energy-intensive than that of most other industrialized countries, mainly due to the climate and the structure of industry. Finland has a rather diversified energy supply.

Most fossil fuels are imported. Less than one-third of primary energy consumption is covered by indigenous energy sources. Nuclear energy accounts for 15 per cent of total energy consumption.

Combined heat and power generation is widely used in Finland. About 30 per cent of all electricity is generated together with steam for district heating and industrial purposes. District heating systems serve about 60 per cent of all flats.

Environmental problems associated with various energy production methods in Finland include emissions from the use of fossil fuels, the damage caused to ecosystems by hydro-electric schemes and the harm caused by peat extraction.

The use of hydropower can no longer be raised in Finland, as almost all the potential that might still be harnessed is protected. The use of peat has been criticized for contributing to the greenhouse effect through combustion and drainage of bogs.

At present, Finland has four nuclear power plants. Debate on the possible construction of a new plant has reawakened during the past few years, partly because of industry's growing energy needs in the 1990s and partly due to the need to reduce $CO_2$ emissions.

Environmental policy and energy policy are becoming increasingly integrated. For Finland, the premises for its energy economy include the following commitments through international agreements and declarations or decisions of its own:

- reduction of sulphur dioxide by 80 per cent from the 1980 level by the early years of the 21st century;
- reduction of nitrogen oxides by 30 per cent from the 1980 level by the end of the current decade; and
- carbon dioxide emissions must not grow towards the end of the 1990s, and must gradually decline.

Finland has an efficient system of public transport. Long distances and sparse population prevent rail traffic from playing a more significant environmental role, considering the technological standard and potential of the Finnish State Railways.

Today's traffic in Finland accounts for some 50 per cent of all nitrogen oxide and hydrocarbon emissions and for almost 30 per cent of carbon dioxide emissions.

Motor vehicle exhaust gas emissions have been restricted since 1981. Emission limits for new passenger cars were tightened in 1988. The emissions of passenger cars are expected to fall by some 80 per cent from the present level.

The first restrictions on gaseous emissions from heavy-duty diesel engines came into force at the beginning of 1989 and were tightened at the beginning of 1991 (ECE 49/01). More stringent emission standards are coming into force in stages in 1992–93 and 1995–96.

## Waste management

Total annual waste generation in Finland amounts to 65-70 million tonnes, of which nearly half is recycled.

Municipal waste management services handle 3.1 million tonnes of waste annually. Approximately one-fifth is recycled. Some four-fifths is deposited in landfills normally managed by local authorities.

Other wastes generated can be estimated as follows:

- industrial waste 11.5 million tonnes
- sewage sludge 1 million tonnes
- construction and demolition waste 5–10 million tonnes
- waste from mining, digging, excavation and the like 21 million tonnes
- waste from agriculture and forestry 23 million tonnes.

Some 50 per cent of industrial waste is utilized, whereas 65 per cent of sewage sludge, 15-20 per cent of construction waste, 10 per cent of mining, digging and excavation waste, and 85 per cent of agricultural and forestry waste are utilized.

Some 165 000-170 000 tonnes of hazardous waste is generated annually, 60 per cent being utilized as raw material or energy. About half the annual amount of hazardous wastes generated is treated at the national hazardous waste treatment plant Ekokem Oy Ab, which was set up in 1984. About one-fourth of the hazardous waste is treated at source, generally in industrial establishments. When the recent extension to the national Ekokem plant goes into operation only a negligible portion of hazardous wastes will remain untreated. The emissions and discharges from the plant are extremely low.

## Nature conservation

Conservation of biological diversity is one of the main objectives of protection of natural resources and nature conservation in Finland.

The total coverage of the different types of nature reserve established under the Nature Conservation Act of 1923 or the Wilderness Act of 1990 is (1.4.1991) 2.84 million hectares (land areas 2.64 million hectares of this), i.e. 8.4 per cent of the country's total area.

Most of the nature reserve network in Finland is a product of long-term nature conservation planning. It was set up primarily in the 1970s. This planning first dealt

with national parks and strict nature reserves, then with peatlands and wetlands. Of late, national conservation programmes, e.g. for rich deciduous forests and coastal areas (inland lakes and sea coast), have intensified. Through implementation of the conservation programmes, the size of the areas protected will increase by a further 330 000 hectares. Over 8 000 kilometres of lake and coastal shoreline (about 5 per cent of the total) will be kept free from building and in a natural condition. Some gaps still exist. It is, for instance, obvious that the protected area of old forest in southern Finland is too small to effectively maintain its unique fauna and flora.

Individual trees, groves of trees, geological formations and other such objects of conservation value can be protected as natural monuments under the Nature Conservation Act.

Wild species of flora and most fauna are also protected under the Nature Conservation Act. Special attention has focused on the conservation of endangered species. It has been possible to assess the status of nearly half the 40 000 species of wild organisms (not including unicellular or other true micro-organisms) found in Finland. The number of endangered species is about 1,670, i.e. 9.5 per cent of the total studied.

Measures taken to conserve endangered species include sophisticated rescue plans specific to one species or group of species. At present, ten such rescue plans have been approved and 100 are under preparation.

## INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Finland recognizes the responsibility that is borne by the affluent industrialized nations in the present global environmental situation. The industrialized countries use the bulk of the world's natural resources and are also the main sources of atmospheric and oceanic pollution.

In international efforts concerning global environmental problems Finland stresses two issues: the protection of global commons and environmental protection in the context of North-South co-operation.

In global issues Finland's priorities have been to establish firm international commitments for the protection of oceans, the stratospheric ozone layer, biodiversity and the forest cover, and for combating climate change. More regional issues of special importance for Finland in its international co-operation are protection of the Baltic Sea and reduction of long-range transboundary air pollution. Finland is an initiator of most of these, together with a number of other international activities which are sooner or later likely to take the form of international environmental law.

The most important sectors in Finland's contributions to development assistance are forestry, water supply and sanitation, demographic issues, and basic services in the fields of health, education and human settlement.

In Europe (and North America) Finland considers the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) an important forum for the promotion of environmental issues. In the implementation of environmental policy, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD; this organization is also a forum for co-operation between European and Northern American countries and Japan, Australia and New Zealand) will, in the Finnish view, continue to play a major role alongside many other bodies. In European integration in Western Europe, the objective of the Finnish Government is to promote more stringent and more uniform environmental restrictions and norms, harmonization of energy and environmental taxation, and the development of European environmental administration. Together with the other EFTA countries, Finland is striving for full participation in the work of the European Environment Agency.

Nordic co-operation in environmental protection has long-standing traditions and is of particular importance to Finland.

As early as the 1970s, the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden) concluded agreements on co-operation in environmental protection and nature conservation (oil pollution 1971, right of equal access in environmental matters involving a transboundary element to legal and administrative authorities by the citizens and public institutions of a neighbouring country 1974, general co-operation 1974, nuclear power plants

1976). The Nordic Programme for the Environment formulated by the Council of Ministers and approved in Helsinki in January 1989 emphasizes cross-sectoral integration of the principles of sustainable development into the work of the Council.

Central and Eastern European countries are engaged in major political and economic reform. The alarming state of the environment in these countries has now come to light. Because rebuilding their economies will not be helped by short-term solutions, the conditions for sustainable development will have to be created gradually, e.g. simultaneously with renewal of their production facilities.

The Government of Finland has a special East European Strategy, with special budgetary resources allocated to support the economic transformation of Central and Eastern European countries. Environmental co-operation is an important element in this strategy.

Co-operation in environmental protection plays a key role in the Strategy. An Environmental Review and Priority Action Programme for St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg region, Karelia and Estonia has been drawn up to determine the main environmental problems and the main ways of reducing them. Finland has a vital interest in reducing emissions of industrial pollutants in the Kola industrial region. The first and therefore most important agreement to this effect was concluded in 1989.

Finland has close contacts with Estonia in environmental matters. Environmental co-operation with Estonia will be strengthened further and promoted with Latvia and Lithuania.

Environmental co-operation between Finland and the Soviet Union was active and covered a multitude of issues. It will continue between Finland and Russia and be formalized and extended as soon as possible.

Inspired by the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment, Plenipotentiaries of the littoral states of the Baltic Sea signed the Convention on the Protection of the Marine Environment of the Baltic Sea Area in 1974 (the Helsinki Convention). The Convention covers all human activities which may have an impact on the marine environment. Although tangible improvement in the environment of the Baltic Sea has resulted from co-operation within the framework of the Convention, the present state of this body of water gives cause for great concern.

In consequence, the Prime Ministers of the Baltic region met in Ronneby, Sweden in September 1990 and adopted the Baltic Sea Declaration. The Declaration calls for the elaboration of a Joint Comprehensive Programme to restore the Baltic Sea to a sound ecological balance. A high-level task force was established to prepare the programme, which will be considered at ministerial level in April 1992.

Following a Finnish proposal made in 1989, the first Ministerial Meeting on the Protection of the Arctic Environment was held in Rovaniemi, Finland, in June 1991. The ministers adopted and signed a Declaration on the Protection of the Arctic Environment. They also adopted an Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy and agreed upon follow-up work, which focuses on four main areas: the protection of the Arctic Sea areas, the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP), emergency prevention, preparedness and response, and conservation of Arctic flora and fauna.

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## The Finnish Initiative for the Protection of the Arctic Environment

International cooperation is an essential part of Finland's foreign policy. In recent times, the environment has been given a high priority in international cooperation; one could even deem it a new dimension in international politics.

With due regard to the enormous global environmental threats, Finland is quite naturally interested in the protection of her own environment especially and, at the same time, in the identification of the sources of pollution in her neighbouring areas.

In international cooperation, the Arctic environment has been largely ignored until quite recently. In January 1989, the Finnish Government took the initiative for the protection of the Arctic environment.

In a letter to the six other Arctic countries, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, the United States and the Soviet Union, the Finnish Government expressed its deep concern for the rapid deterioration of various parts of the Arctic region. The alarm caused by this development is underlined by the extremely fragile ecosystems prevailing in that region.

The Finnish Government believes that the problem of pollution in the Arctic calls for multilateral cooperation and that the eight Arctic countries should assume the primary responsibility for finding a solution to the problem of protecting the Arctic environment, regardless of the fact that pollution of air and sea in the Arctic often originates in countries beyond this circle of eight.

The new era of detente between the superpowers made it possible to take this initiative concerning a strategically sensitive area. But the political momentum was there and Finland began to move on.

The Finnish proposal was favourably received by the other Arctic countries. The

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first consultative meeting was held in Rovaniemi, in September 1989, the second one in Yellowknife, Canada, in March 1990 and the third one in Kiruna, Sweden, in January 1991.

A ministerial conference on the protection of the Arctic environment was held in Rovaniemi, the capital of the Finnish Lapland, in June 1991. The conference was opened by Dr. Paavo Väyrynen, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and chaired by Ms. Sirpa Pietikäinen, Minister of the Environment.

Besides the eight Arctic countries, the Federal Republic of Germany, Poland and the United Kingdom attended the conference as observers. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and the UN Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) were also represented as observers, as well as the International Science Committee (IASC), the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), the Nordic Saami Council and the USSR Association of Small Peoples of the North.

The conference was a historic occasion in the sense that it was the very first time that all the Arctic countries had an internal meeting at a governmental level. On the whole, the conference turned out a success.

The ministers adopted and signed a **Declaration on the Protection of the Arctic Environment**. Moreover, they adopted an **Arctic Environmental Strategy** and committed themselves to take steps towards its implementation and to consider its further elaboration.

The Strategy concentrated on six pollutants of special concern: oil, acidification, persistent organic contaminants, radioactivity, noise and heavy metals.

According to the Strategy, the Ministers commit themselves to implement the following measures:

- Arctic Monitoring and Assesment Programme (AMAP) to monitor the levels of anthropogenic pollutants in all components of the Arctic environment,
- protection of the marine environment in the Arctic,
- emergency prevention, preparedness and response,
- conservation of Arctic flora and fauna.

The Rovaniemi Conference was not an end as such, vice versa, it was a starting point for a continuing process which may, in the future, spread to other areas of peaceful cooperation in the Arctic for the benefit, above all, the indigenous peoples living in that unique region.

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## Social Security in Finland

The objective of Finnish social security is to guarantee people a uniform level of basic services and a minimum income security regardless of the individual's place of residence or economic status. In general, entitlement to basic services and financial benefits is contingent upon permanent residence in Finland – and not upon a person's employment status or citizenship. Social and health services are provided by local authorities, either free of charge or at a reasonable fee.

The Finnish social security system involves a number of unique characteristics. For example, fathers are granted a paternity leave that allows them to help care for newborns. Parents may choose to place their children in municipal daycare centres or, without losing their jobs, to care for their children at home with the help of a home care allowance provided by the State. Severely disabled individuals enjoy a statutory right to housing, transport and interpretation services.

The recession of the early 1990s has given rise to lively debate about social and health services, and of the possibility that free provision of those services may have to be discontinued or the scale of subvention paired down. In draughting the 1992 budget, plans were initially made to introduce fees for certain health services that had hitherto been free of charge. These plans have now been temporarily abandoned, but certain benefits, such as the earnings-related daily unemployment and national sickness allowances, were trimmed slightly.

The greatest challenge facing the Finnish security system is how to meet the increasing pension outlays foreseen for the 21st century. Although the statutory retirement age is 65 years, the average age for early retirement and disability pensions is now 58. It is important to raise this average retirement age, as the population will be aging rapidly and the labour supply shrinking considerably after the year 2000. The shortage of manpower and the concurrent rapid increase in pension expenses present a threat to the country's economy, to the continued funding of pensions and to the availability of essential services.

### Bulk of services funded by tax revenues

The provision of social and health services is the responsibility of Finland's local authorities. They may choose to arrange for these services on their own or jointly with neighbouring authorities, or they may contract to buy them from outsiders. Private services complement those that are publicly provided, but account for only a small portion of the total. For instance, three-quarters of consultations with physicians take place at municipal health centres, the remaining one-fourth being at private practices.

Local authorities are responsible for covering the bulk of the costs out of their own tax revenues. The central government, in turn, pays for 29-66 per cent of the real costs of municipal services, in accordance with the economic resources of the local authority in question. Certain social contributions,

such as child allowances and home care allowance, are paid entirely by the central government.

On average, fees paid for services cover 10 per cent of the real costs. The largest revenues accrue from daycare services and from institutional and home care for the elderly. Fees for these services are scaled according to the user's ability to pay. Consultations with a physician, laboratory tests and X-rays are free of charge at municipal health centres. Daily hospital rates (FIM 115 in 1992) cover everything, including tests, surgery and medication, food, hygiene and other upkeep.

General sickness insurance and general pension insurance is paid for by employers and employees, the central government and local authorities. Earnings-related pension insurance is funded by employers. The costs of unemployment insurance are paid for by employers, the central government and, to a lesser extent, by employees.

## Paternity leave proves popular

Childcare has been the focus of a great deal of attention in Finland, as nearly 80 per cent of mothers with children under school-age work full-time. Only 12 per cent of women in Finland are employed part-time. Consequently, childcare is heavily subsidized by central and local government.

Parents – either mother or father – care for their children at home until the age of 11 months. A parent staying at home with a child is granted parental leave, after which she/he is entitled to return to her/his regular job. The national sickness insurance system pays a parenthood allowance, usually equivalent to 75 per cent of the recipient's normal earnings, for the duration of the parental leave. If a parent has not been employed prior to taking parental leave, she/he receives a minimum daily allowance of FIM 63.

Parenthood allowances are paid for a period of 275 weekdays. Of this total, 100 days are reserved for the mother's use immediately prior to, and following, childbirth. How the rest of the leave time is spent is left to the parents' discretion. The father may take 6-12 days of parental leave at the child's birth, thus enabling him to get acquainted with the new family member alongside the mother. In addition, fathers are entitled to take a further six-day paternal leave at any time during the parental leave period.

When a child is born, parents receive a State-funded maternity package, including baby clothes and other childcare necessities.

Alternatively, parents may choose to take the value of the maternity package in cash. The vast majority choose the package, because its real value far exceeds the nominal value (FIM 700 in 1992).

## Municipal daycare or home care allowances

After the parental leave, parents have a statutory right to choose between municipal daycare or child home care allowance, the latter facilitating the care of children by their own parents. Local authorities are responsible for providing daycare for all families requiring such services.

The choice between daycare and a home care allowance is now available to parents of children under three years of age. According to plans, the same opportunity will gradually be made available to parents of all children under seven years of age by 1995. In 1993, the entitlement will be extended to all families with children under four years of age.

It is quite common for parents to first care for their children at home, with the help of a home care allowance, for several months to a year. After the initial period, they are still entitled to place their child in a municipal daycare centre. Parents retain their jobs throughout the period spent at home with their infant.

In 1992, the basic home care amount is FIM 1951 per month. A sibling increase of FIM 390 is granted for each additional child under the age of seven. Low-income families are entitled to a supplementary home care allowance of up to FIM 1,561 per month. In addition to this State-sponsored allowance, many local authorities pay an extra municipal allowance for home childcare; they do so in the hope that more families will themselves tend their infants and children who need more looking after.

The monthly charge for daycare varies according to the size of the family, the number of children and the family's income. Full-day childcare normally costs

between FIM 300 and FIM 1300, whereas low-income families may qualify for day-care free of charge.

Childcare is available either at daycare centres or in 'family daycare'. At daycare centres, children are looked after by trained pre-school teachers, social educators and child nurses. Family daycare workers are employed by local authorities. Training is available for family daycare workers.

Parents of children under seven years of age are entitled to shorten their working day to six hours or their work week to 30 hours. The central government pays parents choosing to work fewer hours FIM 488 per month as partial compensation for loss of earnings. Nevertheless, rather few parents choose to take advantage of this benefit.

## Public health services

The objective of public health care is to provide equal access to health care services independent of the individual's place of residence or economic status. Health services are divided into two main categories: primary health care and specialized care. Local authorities or federations of them provide the bulk of health services in Finland. Private health care complements the country's public health service.

Municipal health centres, which are charged with providing all primary health services, form the backbone of the primary system. Hospital care in Finland is mainly provided by local authorities and federations thereof, but there are also a number of private hospitals and nursing homes.

The system of national sickness insurance promotes the health of all citizens. National sickness insurance provides partial compensation for the use of private medical services and covers the costs of tests, treatment, medication and transport. National sickness insurance pays an earnings-related allowance, generally corresponding to some 75 per cent of the recipient's earnings. In 1992, persons with no income are entitled to a daily sickness insurance allowance of FIM 63. The entire population is covered by national sickness insurance.

## Two types of unemployment benefit

During a recession, unemployment benefits take on added importance. Finland has two types of unemployment security: the State-sponsored national unemployment allowance and earnings-related unemployment benefits. The latter are provided through unemployment insurance. The basic daily allowance is FIM 116. Because payment of such benefits is contingent upon need, a spouse's earnings may render a person ineligible.

Most employees are covered by their own sector's unemployment fund, in which case they are entitled to an earnings-related daily allowance corresponding to about 60 per cent of their normal pay.

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## The Finnish Orthodox Church

### History

The roots of the Finnish Orthodox Church lie in the missionary work done at the beginning of the second millenium in the easternmost area settled by Finnish tribes, that is, the province of Karelia. This primarily originated from the monasteries, and was carried out by Orthodox monks. The monastery at Valamo, founded according to tradition by the Greek-born monk Sergius and his younger assistant Herman, was the most important base. As time went by, several other monasteries were found to back up the Church's work. The Orthodox parts of Karelia did not form part of Sweden-Finland politically until the latter half of the 16th century, and even more extensively in the 17th century.

In 1809–1917, when Finland was a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire, a separate diocese was established for the Orthodox parishes (1892), centred on Vyborg (Karelia). When Finland became independent in 1917, the Church's administrative links with the Russian Church were broken. After various intermediate stages, the Orthodox Church's standing in Finland was formalized through government action: in 1923 it canonically became an autonomous Orthodox church under the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, gaining extensive self-government in internal matters. As early as 1918 the Finnish Government had endorsed, through a special decree, its status as the second national church, the other being Evangelical Lutheran. The Current Act on the Orthodox Church of Finland dates from 1969, with a supplementary Decree the following year.



*A Finnish icon painted by Petros Sasaki. It shows Sergius and Herman, the missionaries of Karelia, with the New Valamo Church in the background.*

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*SYNDESMOS, the World Fellowship of Orthodox Youth, held its General Meeting at Uusi Valamo Church in 1980.*

## Church administration and economy

Administratively, the Finnish Orthodox Church, which has about 56,000 members, is divided into three dioceses: Karelia, Helsinki and Oulu. The bishop of the diocese of Karelia is also archbishop, the other bishops being metropolitans. There is also an assistant bishop, called Bishop of Joensuu, in the diocese of Karelia.

The dioceses are further divided into 25 parishes, many of which cover an extensive geographical area. There are some 140 churches and chapels, and 104 clergy, 22 of whom are in retirement. There is one monastery and one convent.

Most parishes use only Finnish for services, though Church Slavonic is also used regularly in Helsinki and occasionally in some other places under certain conditions, as are Swedish and Greek, for instance.

The Church's supreme decision-making body is the General Assembly, made up of representatives of the clergy and laymen, to which the bishops belong by right. Decisions on doctrines and canons must be ratified by the Bishops' Synod. General Assembly decisions can only become acts and decrees following approval by the Finnish State.

The Church is primarily financed out of the 'church tax' collected with the other national taxes and paid to the Church by the State on a monthly basis. The salaries of the Orthodox clergy, for instance, come out of this money. The central and diocesan administrations are financed by the State.

## Training of the clergy and religious instruction

In 1918-88 the Orthodox clergy were trained at a seminary maintained by the State. In 1988, however, this was placed under the University of Joensuu, which has a Department of Orthodox Theology for the purpose. There is also an Orthodox seminary subordinate to the Church, which is responsible for service rituals and liturgical practices. The University trains teachers of religion and cantors as well as Orthodox priests.

Religious instruction in public schools is confessional, and if there are enough of them, Orthodox pupils are entitled to separate instruction. In other cases, the Church usually arranges Orthodox teaching for groups too small to warrant this.

Orthodox services get their own share of television coverage and a very substantial proportion of radio time. The Orthodox periodicals with the biggest circulations are *Aamun Koitto* and *Ortodoksiviesti.* A theological yearbook and a periodical on Orthodox culture are also published. The

Church's own publications committee takes growing responsibility for all Orthodox literature published.

## Extensive international contacts

The foreign and ecumenical contacts of the Orthodox Church of Finland have been growing steadily ever since the '60s. The Church is now a member of the World Council of Churches and engages in numerous theological dialogues with other churches, and with Orthodox churches in other countries.

Since the Second World War, in particular, there has been a growing interest in reviving the tradition of icon painting and there are several active groups at the moment in various parts of the country. This art form has awakened interest outside the Orthodox Church, too, like many other manifestations of Orthodox tradition and culture.

Despite many serious problems caused by the last war, the Orthodox Church has won an established standing as an integral and highly respected part of Finnish spiritual life and society in the post-Independence period. In a country which belongs to the Western world, it strives to uphold and promote the age-old heritage of the Eastern church.

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**Written by John, Archbishop of Karelia and All Finland.**

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1992

# FINNISH FEATURES

MARCH 1989

## Churches and religion in Finland

### Historical background

*The Middle Ages.* Christian influences from both East and West reached Finland a thousand years ago. Missionary efforts on the part of the Western church were, however, stronger, and by the beginning of the 14th century most of Finland was under Swedish domination and the *Roman Catholic Church.*

The Catholic Church brought European civilization to Finland. It united dispersed tribes into a single nation and provided an advanced system of administration. The church ministered to the destitute and infirm by maintaining houses for the poor and hospitals. It fostered learning and the arts. Eighty stone churches, their frescoes, wood carvings, sacred relics, altar cloths and vestments remind us of the high standard of both Finnish and imported art. The church was responsible for higher learning and for teaching the common people as well. By the end of the Middle Ages Finns had learned to live with the church and its sacraments. The Bishop of Turku was the most powerful man in medieval Finland. He also represented the Finns in the Royal Council of Sweden. Most of the 140 Finns registered at medieval universities embarked on their studies with the support of the cathedral chapter.

There were six monasteries in Finland during the Middle Ages. The *Dominicans,* who arrived during the period of conversion, built one in Turku in 1249 and another in Viipuri the following century. The *Franciscans* did not establish themselves in Finland until the 15th century; their monasteries were in Viipuri, Rauma and the busy harbour on the island of Kökar. Saint Bridget of Sweden, perhaps the most important religious personality of Scandinavia, founded an order for women, which included the convent established in Naantali at the end of the 15th century.

*The Reformation.* The Protestant Reformation reached Sweden and Finland by the 1520s. Its strength derived not from the people or the clergy but from the fact it was instituted by royal decree. One aspect of Luther's doctrine especially interested Gustavus Vasa: it entitled him to break the secular power of the church and transfer its income and property to the state.

The first step towards reformation was taken at the Västerås Riksdag in 1527. Unfortunately, culture suffered along with the financial position of the church since the only university in the realm was closed and schools went into a decline. Sweden accepted the Confirmation of Augsburg at Upsala in 1593. Lutheranism had become a *state religion.* It also guaranteed the unity of the realm and tolerated no deviation.

The Reformation severed all ties to Rome. The Pope's power was replaced by that of

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the King of Sweden, who stripped the church of its income and property. *Mikael Agricola* translated the New Testament into Finnish and created the written Finnish language. Divine services gradually became more Lutheran and were conducted in the vernacular. The monasteries were closed, and priests allowed to marry.

In the period of *orthodoxy* at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries the church again had a similar cultural monopoly to that of the Middle Ages. The church preached loyalty to the state, instilled a strong sense of Christian morality in the people and taught the Finns to read.

*Pietism,* which emphasized the individual and appealed to the emotions, gained a foothold at the beginning of the 18th century. Based on pietism, traditional revivalist movements emerged at the beginning of the last century. These were *Pietism, Evangelism,* and *Laestadianism.* They have remained typical features of religious life in Finland.

Arising as they did during the first half of the 19th century, these movements were opposed by both the state and the clergy. It was feared that they would cause political unrest and arouse Russian suspicions. The leading clergy also suspected that they opposed the established church and were spreading heresy. They were denied the right to assemble, and the movements of their leaders were restricted.

*The 19th century.* Swedish domination of Finland came to an end in 1809, when Finland became a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. Although the ruler was now an Orthodox emperor rather than a Lutheran king, the Lutheran Church remained the state church of Finland. The *Ecclesiastical Act of 1869* loosened the bonds between church and state and increased the independence of the church. The supreme decision-making body of the church, the synod, was founded.

*The church in independent Finland.* Finland endured civil war before independence became a reality. Virtually the entire clergy supported bourgeois Finland. Ties between the church leadership and the organized working class remained distant, while the victors began to see the church as the protector of the legal order, the national tradition and Western culture. It was expected to foster moral citizens, loyal to the state.

*The church as a pillar of the nation.* The Winter War against the Soviet Union (1939—40) has been characterized a struggle for home, faith and fatherland. The church was a source of support and unity in this struggle. The will to defend one's country had religious overtones. The administrative and financial independence of the church increased during the war with the establishment of the *Central Fund of the Church* (1941) and the *Ecclesiastical Board* (1944). Links with the *labour movement* were also improved during the Second World War.

The church took on new tasks after the war, for example family counselling. Other *lay counselling* expanded rapidly, as did work with young people.

In the mid-sixties Finnish culture was shaken by migration from rural to urban areas, immigration, growing influences from abroad, the pluralistic image of the world conveyed by television, and the universal crisis of authority. The church, too, was branded undemocratic and conservative. From the 1970s on discussion of ethics and way of life and interest in religion have increased.

## The position of churches and religious denominations

Up to the end of the last century every Finn had to belong to either the Lutheran or the Orthodox Church. It was not until the *1889 Act on Nonconformity* that the position of other Protestant Churches was made official and membership in them permitted. The Baptists and Methodists were the first religious denominations to gain official recognition.

*Freedom of religion* was guaranteed in 1923. It granted citizens the right to freely found religious denominations or to remain entirely outside them. The state no longer affirmed the Lutheran faith, thereby assuming a neutral attitude to religion. The rights and duties of citizens do not depend on the religious denomination to which they belong or on whether they belong to such a community at all.

Schools give religious instruction according to the confession of the *majority of the pupils* in the school. If at least three pupils belong to a particular denomination, their parents or guardians can demand instruction *in that confession.* Pupils who do not belong to any denomination study *various*

*world views,* if their parents or guardians so desire.

The Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland has more independence vis-à-vis the state than the Lutheran Churches of the other Nordic countries. The legal status of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church is defined in the *Constitution* and in a *separate Ecclesiastical Act.*

In independent Finland the state has taken over some of the functions that formerly belonged to the church. Nevertheless, the Evangelical-Lutheran and Orthodox Churches still have duties that could in principle be performed by either the state or local government. The parishes keep local population registers of their members, and people belonging to other denominations and those listed on the civil population register are buried in the more than one thousand cemeteries maintained by the Lutheran parishes. The relationship of the Orthodox Church to the state is virtually the same as that of the Evangelical-Lutheran.

## The Evangelical-Lutheran Church

*Membership.* In 1987 the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland had more than 4.6 million members, of whom 4.4 million, or 88.6 % of the population, are registered with a parish.

*Administration.* The Evangelical-Lutheran Church comprises eight dioceses and approximately 600 independent parishes. The average parish has 7000 members, with the smallest parishes comprising only a few hundred members and the largest tens of thousands.

The *church council* is the supreme decision-making body in the parish. All confirmed members of the parish over the age of 18 have the right to vote and hold office.

The supreme decision-making body for the entire church is the *synod,* which determines the doctrines, policies and finances of the church. Dioceses are headed by a bishop and a cathedral chapter.

*Finances.* The parishes obtain 90 % of their income in the form of a church tax levied along with state and local taxation. This tax is paid both by individual parishioners and by companies and associations. In 1987 the parishes had income from taxes totalling FIM 2,493 million. The state bears the cost of the work done by the church in the armed forces and prisons.

*Personnel.* The diverse activities of the Lutheran Church are reflected in the structure of its personnel. It is unlikely that there are many churches in the world where only one in ten employees is a parish priest. In 1987 there were some 18,000 employees.

*Activities.* Active members of the Lutheran Church attend services at least once a month, take communion somewhat less often, participate in small group activities and vote in parish elections. Although the majority of church members seldom take part in such functions, they still prefer to marry in church, have their children baptized, send them to parish nursery schools and have them confirmed. They also want a Christian burial for themselves and relatives.

The church best reaches its members through various church services, and

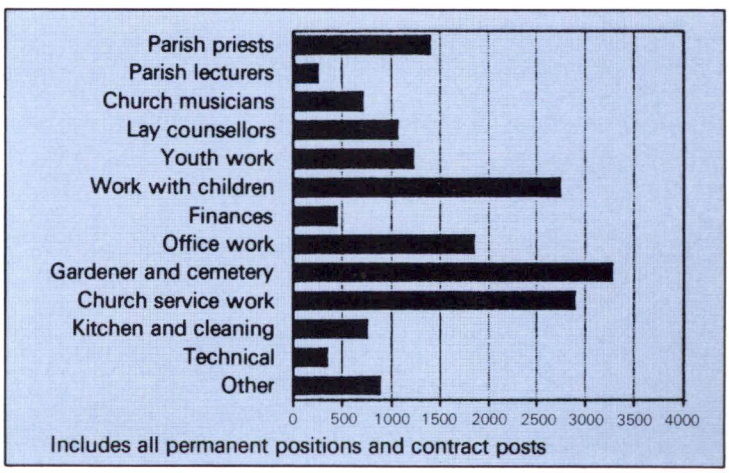



**Figure 1. The number of Lutheran parish employees by function, 1987.**

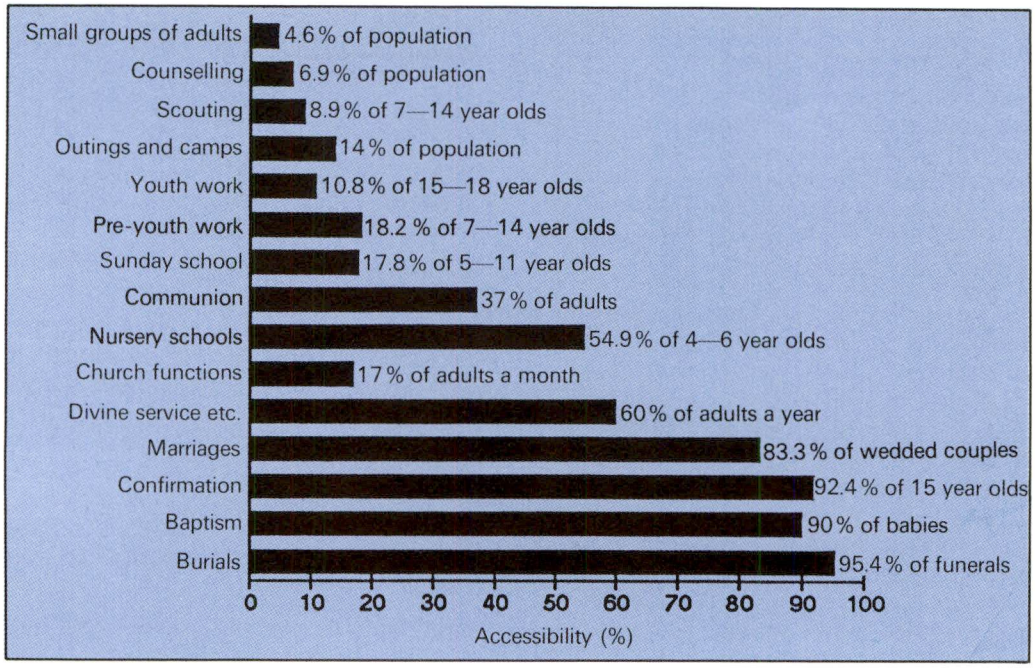



**Figure 2. Accessibility of church activities, 1987**

every Finn attends an average of at least one service every year. More than 90 % of all babies are *baptized,* and an even higher percentage of children are *confirmed.* Only about 1 % of Finns are buried without a church service, and as many as 80 % of couples are married in church.

In the last few decades the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland has started to show far greater awareness of its *international responsibility.* This is reflected in increased support for missionary work and development aid and in a greater interest in ecumenical work. Support for missionary work has more than doubled since the mid-1970s, and the proceeds of church collections for foreign aid have increased many times over.

The church has a wide net of international contacts. These are officially handled by the Council for Foreign Affairs under the chairmanship of the Archbishop. The most far-reaching connections are those that have been forged with inter-church organizations, primarily the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council of Churches. Links with individual churches are strongest with those in the Nordic countries and with the Russian Orthodox Church.

In 1987 the *missionary organizations* of the Lutheran Church were working in a

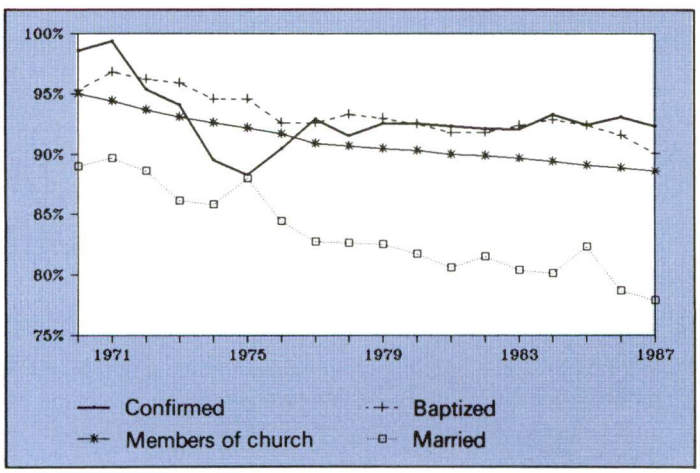



**Figure 3. Percentage of people baptized, confirmed and married and of those belonging to the church, 1970—1987**



**On January 7, 1985 Pope John Paul II received in private audience the heads of the churches in Finland: Paul Verschuren, the Catholic Bishop of Helsinki, John Vikström, Archbishop of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland; and Paul, Archbishop of the Finnish Orthodox Church.**

total of 27 countries in Africa, Asia, Oceania and Europe, but the focus is increasingly switching to Asia. The total number of Lutheran missionaries was 606 in 1987. Other churches had somewhat more than 400 missionaries.

According to a report by the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Finnish Lutheran missionaries and lay workers are much appreciated for the work they do to help people at the grass roots level, and their projects are considered worthwhile in both financial and practical terms.

*Christian organizations* have largely been responsible for missionary and evangelical work, but they have also been involved in a certain amount of work with children and young people, counselling and related activities, and publishing. The bulk of the professional training of church employees is seen to by these organizations.

*Revivalist movements* are now an accepted element of the Lutheran Church and national culture, and the previously negative attitude of these movements towards many areas of culture has mellowed. They are now seen as part of the church's heritage, with a considerable impact on decision-making within the church. Support for them is strongest in rural areas, which explains why they tend to be politically aligned towards the centre and moderate right.

## The Orthodox Church

Christian influence reached the easternmost part of Finland, Karelia, from Novgorod in the 12th century. The word of God was spread by monks and their monasteries developed into bastions of the faith. From 1809 Finland was a Grand Duchy of Imperial Russia, and the Orthodox Church was the Emperor's church and a part of the Russian state church. Orthodox Christianity spread to western Finland chiefly through Russian soldiers and merchants.

In the late 19th century attempts were made to use the Orthodox Church as a vehicle of Russification. In the aftermath of the Russian Revolution and Finnish Independence, the church's ties with the *Patriarchate of Moscow* were broken, and in 1923 it received autonomous status under the *Patriarch of Constantinople.* The early years of independence saw an increasing tendency towards Finnishness in the Orthodox Church in this country.

During the Second World War the church lost its monasteries and 90 % of its assets, and more than two-thirds of its members had to flee their homes. The end of the war ushered in a period of vigorous re-

building, with the state funding the building of new churches, chapels, vicarages and cemeteries. *Valamo monastery* and *Lintula convent* were reopened at Heinävesi.

Membership of the Orthodox Church has fallen off as a consequence of the large proportion (close on 90 %) of marriages between Lutherans and Orthodox; the children of these marriages are usually baptized Lutherans. The Orthodox Church currently has 56,000 members.

Membership of the Orthodox Church may have decreased, but interest has grown, particularly in the Orthodox traditions of Karelia and in the worshipping life of the church. Valamo and Lintula have become important centres of both pilgrimage and tourism, and Valamo alone attracts more than 100,000 visitors a year.

## Other churches and religious communities

*Catholic Church.* After the Reformation, the Catholic Church disappeared from Finland for centuries, finally being officially reinstated in 1929 when it was registered as the Catholic Church in Finland. It has a membership of around 4,000, the majority of whom live in Helsinki and the other major cities of southern Finland. There are five parishes and one *independent diocese* that covers the whole country. The majority of the priests and nuns are from the Netherlands and Poland. Finland has diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

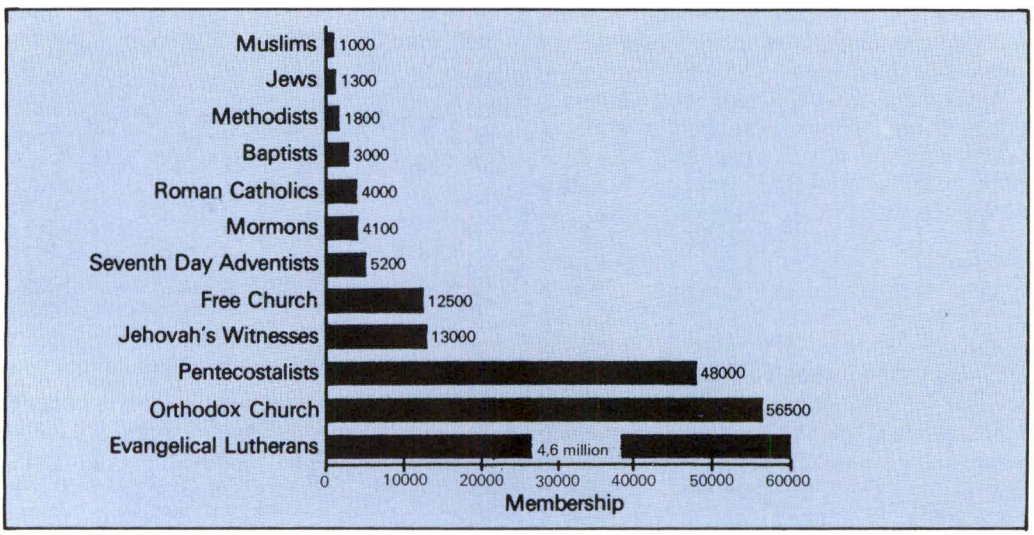
*Protestant minorities.* Anglo-American Christianity spread to Finland in the second half of the 19th century, and a number of Protestant denominations, among them *the Baptists, Methodists, Salvation Army and Adventists,* became established in the country. Although support for these churches has gradually increased, their membership remains under 1 % of the total population. Growth has been greatest in the Pentecostal movement, which reached Finland at the beginning of the present century and now has a membership of 48,000.

*Judaism.* Judaism was brought to Finland in the early 19th century by merchants and by men serving with the Imperial Russian army. By the end of the century the number of Jews had risen to 1,000, which is roughly what it is at present. In the early years of the present century, Helsinki, Viipuri and Turku got their own synagogues.

*Islam.* The first Muslims also came to Finland with the Russian army. The foundations of the present community of a thousand or so Muslims were laid by the arrival of Tartarian merchants from Turkey at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The majority of Finnish Muslims, who are *Sunnites,* live in the metropolitan area and belong to the Finnish Islam congregation, which was registered in 1925.

*Other religious communities.* There are about 30 other registered religious communities in Finland besides those mentioned above.

**Figure 4. Total membership of major churches and religious communities, January 1988**



## Ecclesiastical art

*Medieval ecclesiastical art.* In the Middle Ages, when reading was a rare skill, wall paintings, sculptures and textiles played an important role in teaching. The *wall paintings* usually depict events in the liturgical year, scenes from the Bible and the lives of the saints. The oldest paintings preserved in Finland date from the early 14th century.

*Altarpieces and frescoes.* Many of the 17th and 18th century altarpieces and frescoes are the work of untrained Finnish masters. The foremost 18th century church artist, *Mikael Toppelius* (died 1827), decorated as many as forty churches, most of them in Ostrobothnia. Renowned church artists of more recent times include *Hugo Simberg* (died 1917), who painted the frescoes in Tampere Cathedral, and *Magnus Enckell* (died 1925) and *Lennart Segerstråle* (died 1975), both of whom painted numerous altarpieces.

*Orthodox ecclesiastical art.* The finest examples of Orthodox ecclesiastical art in Finland are from the churches and monasteries that Finland lost to the Soviet Union after the last war. A unique collection of over 2,000 items, including icons, textiles and sacred objects, is housed in the Orthodox Church Museum in Kuopio.

*Medieval stone churches.* The majority of Finland's medieval buildings are stone churches. The oldest, dating from the 13th century, are in Åland. These are rectangular and built of natural stone.The only cathedral from the Middle Ages is Turku Cathedral, which was consecrated in 1300.

*Old wooden churches.* It was not until the 17th and 18th centuries that the church, impoverished by the Reformation, was able to create new architecture, mainly in wood. The builders rarely had any formal training, and yet were often the founders of whole dynasties of builders. The first cruciform churches with belfries date from the 18th century.

*19th century.* The churches built in the last century were mainly in *Empire style* (Neoclassicism), for example, C. L. Engel's Helsinki Cathedral, or *Neogothic,* which became dominant in midcentury and is represented by the church at Kerimäki, said to be the biggest wooden church in the world, which seats up to 5,000 people.

*20th century.* Known as *National Romanticism,* the Finnish equivalent of *Jugend* flourished in the early years of the present century. The ideals of this artistic trend are embodied in the churches designed by Lars Sonck (died 1956) — Tampere Cathedral, Kallio Church in Helsinki and St. Michael's Church in Turku. *Functionalism,* which arose in the 1930s, strove for clarity and efficiency of design. Its most celebrated exponent is *Alvar Aalto* (died 1976), whose churches include The Church of Three Crosses at Vuoksenniska, the Cross of the Plains in Seinäjoki and the Church of the Cross in Lahti.

*Orthodox church buildings.* None of the Orthodox churches within Finland's present territory are older than 200 years. The oldest ones, which were usually built of wood, have either been destroyed or are in the part of Karelia that now belongs to the Soviet Union. There is a strong flavour of *Byzantium* and *Russian Nationalism* to the Orthodox churches built in this country. The small village chapels and *tsasounas* built in recent years, though, have a closer affinity with the wooden architecture of Karelia. The redbrick Uspensky Cathedral in Helsinki is the biggest Orthodox church in Western Europe.

## Features of Finnish religiosity

Since the last war, *secularization* has taken an increasingly strong hold on all Nordic countries, and there is a clear demarcation between the sacred and the profane. Values based on religion are losing their status in society, and are being replaced by whole new sets of values and morals that have only tenuous links with religion and the church. Secularization has made the greatest inroads in the big urban centres such as Helsinki and Tampere.

The traditional Lutheran and Orthodox Churches have seen a steady decrease in the proportion of the population they represent, whereas the total membership of other denominations has risen slightly. Nevertheless, the greatest increase has been in the number of people without allegiance to any church or faith.

Recent years in particular have seen a *reawakening of interest in religion.* Contrary to expectations some years ago, revivalist movements are now stronger than ever, and the number of new sects has multiplied. The media, too, are showing greater

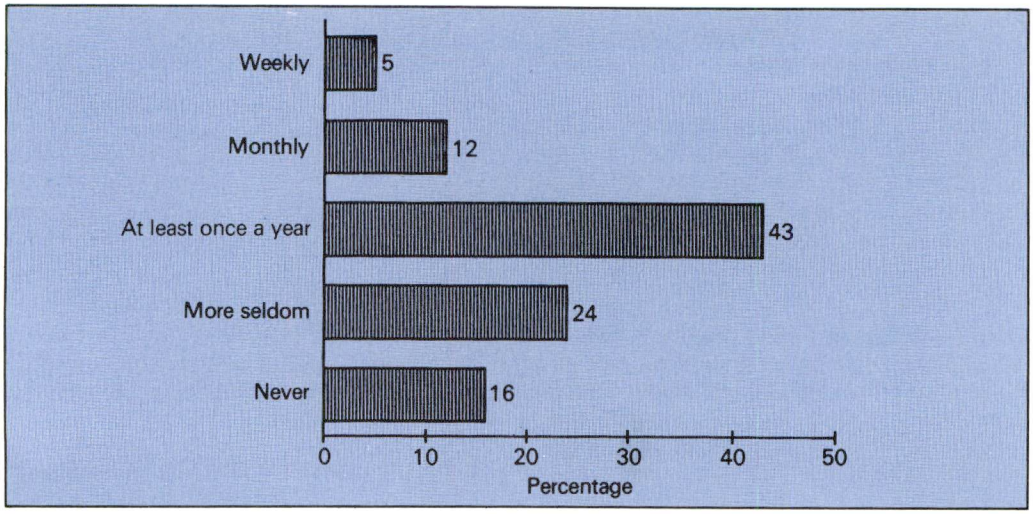



**Figure 5. Church attendance rates, 1987. (Survey by Research Institute of Lutheran Church and Finnish Gallup Ltd.)**

interest in religious life, and big religious gatherings and conversions of public figures are reported in the press. Ethical questions and problems related to daily life are perceived as issues affecting the future of the human race, an awareness that has spurred the church to open a dialogue between different ideologies and schools of thought. Although many of the traditional functions of the church have weakened, they have been replaced by others, often by entirely new ones.

Ever since the Second World War, attendance at divine service has been low by international standards, with only 3 or 4 % of the population going to church every week. According to a recent survey, 17 % of Finns go to church at least once a month and 60 % at least once a year. The typical Finnish churchgoer attends divine service a few times a year, particularly on the big feasts. A far greater number of people follow the services on radio and TV than actually go to church.

## Ecumenicalism and international responsibility

*The Finnish Ecumenical Council.* This council acts as the *cooperative organ for all churches and Christian communities* in Finland. The Pentecostalists are the only Christian community completely outside it.

## Members of the Finnish Ecumenical Council, 1987

The Evangelical-Lutheran Church
The Orthodox Church
The Catholic Church in Finland
The Swedish-speaking Mission Covenant Church
The Swedish-speaking Baptist Mission
The Finnish-speaking Methodist Church
The Swedish-speaking Methodist Church
The Salvation Army
The Olaus Petri Congregation (a Finland-based congregation of the Lutheran Church of Sweden)
The Anglican Church
The Seventh-Day Adventist Church, the Evangelical Free Church and a number of Christian organizations are observer members.

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**Written by Harri Heino, Director of the Research Institute of Lutheran Church**

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# FINNISH FEATURES

JANUARY 1985

## The ancient religion of the Finns

### The Finno-Ugric languages

The unlettered culture of the Finnish people was for the historians of the ancient world a complete *terra incognita* until Tacitus, in the year 98 AD, mentioned in his *Germania* a people called the *Fenni*, living somewhere in the northeastern Baltic region "in unparallelled squalor and poverty". The northern area referred to by Tacitus was at that time already inhabited by peoples of various ethnic and historical origin, and it is questionable whether the barbarians of whom he spoke were in fact the forefathers of the present Finns or the Lapps.

### History of Finnish settlement

Recent archeological research findings prove that there has been continuous settlement in Finland since the mesolithic Suomusjärvi culture, i.e. for about 9,000 years. It is nowadays commonly agreed by linguistic researchers that a Finno-Ugric or Uralic language had spread to Finland by the time of the neolithic comb pottery period at the latest (c. 4 200—2 200 BC). During the Iron Age (c. 500 BC—400 AD) five different areas of settlement emerged, cultural elements of which can still be discerned in modern Finnish society. The most important area was the coastal region from Porvoo to Vaasa. This area, called Finland Proper, witnessed numerous cultural innovations that gave Finland her own individual character. This was the nucleus area of the Proto-Finnic language, of folk poetry in Kalevala metre, of agricultural methods, and so on. It was from these new areas of settlement that the peasant way of life spread north and east and integrated the nomadic hunting and fishing communities. Numerous layers of folklore reflect the interaction of cultural phenomena from three ecological regions: the Arctic, the Woodland and the Steppe.

### Finland: meeting place for eastern and western cultural influences

The position of Finland as the most northerly meeting point for eastern and western European cultural influences was already established by the Bronze Age, when the Scandinavians reached the southwest coast of Finland. The hunting and fishing economy continued in the central regions, this having been the predominant way of life of the early Finno-Ugrians. Contrary to former hypotheses, the Finno-Ugric peoples probably never had a common home in the region of the Volga. They inhabited far wider areas, from the Urals to the Baltic.

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A nomadic way of life was a necessity imposed by their economy.

In the historical era Finland remained a crossroads for two cultures. Christianity came to Finland from two directions from the 11th century onwards. One was Karelia, which had in the Viking era been under the influence of the Byzantine-Russian Church of Novgorod. In many periods of history the province of Karelia proved significant as a cultural bridge between East and West, and also between North and South. The position of Karelia between conflicting groups was not easy in the 16th and 17th centuries in particular, when Russia and Sweden were repeatedly at war. The people of Karelia were split by political, economic and religious disagreement and pushed the borders of the traditional Karelian way of life further to the east. The Greek-Orthodox tradition, which had its roots in Byzantine culture, gradually became adopted as the religion of the Karelians. A sort of symbiosis developed that was quite the opposite of the western form of Christianity.

Three crusades were made to the southwestern part of Finland, in 1155, 1238 and 1293. Over the centuries a syncretistic religiousness emerged. Present-day life in both eastern and western Finland displays clear relics of a pre-Christian religion. In the Orthodox region it was still known as late as about 1900 for the head of the household to execute the traditional rites immediately after the Orthodox priest had blessed a new home; the purpose of the rites was to make the guardian spirits favourably disposed towards the new inhabitants.

## Rock paintings and animal ceremonies

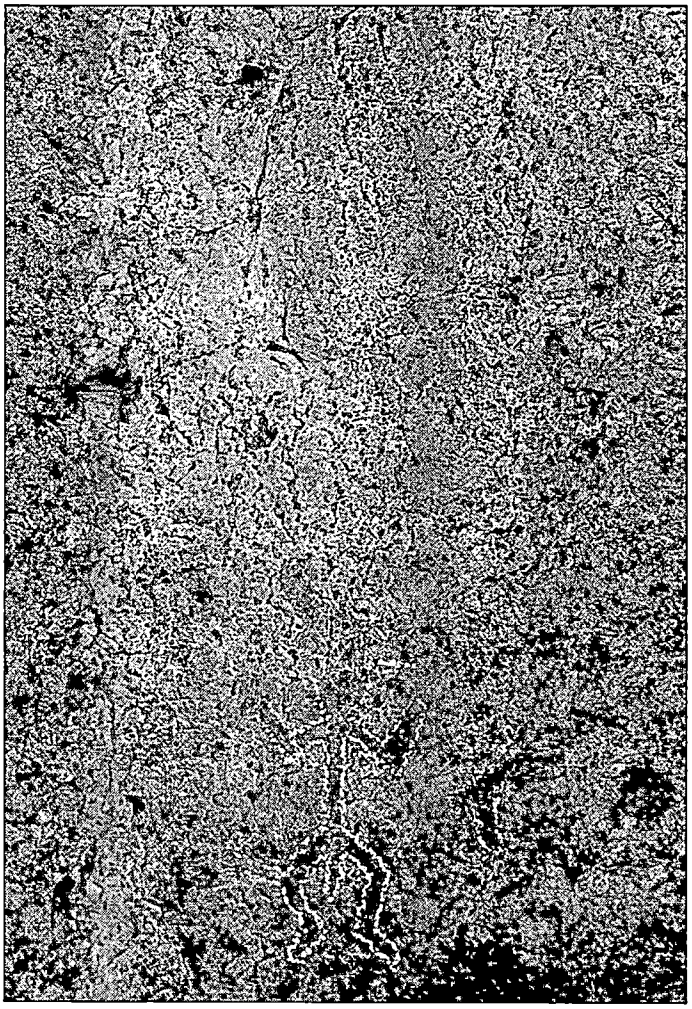
Finnish rock paintings represent the philosophy of Stone and Iron Age man and his life as a hunter. The drawings on vertical rock faces reflect his world view, in which elks play a central role. Close on 70 % of the motifs in a total of 33 prehistoric rock paintings discovered in 1978 show elks and human figures. Comparison with corresponding material from north Eurasian hunting cultures indicates that the Finnish rock paintings are manifestations of animal ceremonies and the shamanistic tradition associated with them. This embraced the idea of souls in contact with one another. According to this both humans and animals had guardian spirits. These spirits were contacted in ceremonies before and after hunting. The shaman, on behalf of the community, conducted a ceremony during which he fell into a trance and became his own guardian spirit, his *alter ego*, then seeking the guardian spirit of the game in question. Every species of animal had its own guardian spirit, which had to be consulted by the shaman in order to ensure success in hunting. The purpose of the ceremony after the hunt was to guarantee a sufficient supply of a particular game species in the future too, by returning a game animal to the keeper of its species.

The points at which game was most easily accessible can be concluded from the location of the rock paintings, along the waterways. The paintings referred to sacred places at which it was possible to contact the keeper of a game species and to request success in the hunting of this species. Similar to these are e.g. the sacred places of the Lapps with their *seita* idols. The rock paintings with elks depict the guardian spirit and the keeper of the elk. Pictures might be painted before the hunt, to guarantee success, or afterwards, to guarantee future luck in hunting. The anthropomorphic figures could represent a shaman, a person capable of contacting the spirits. Other pictures, different living creatures and abstract symbols represent the shaman's animal helpers.

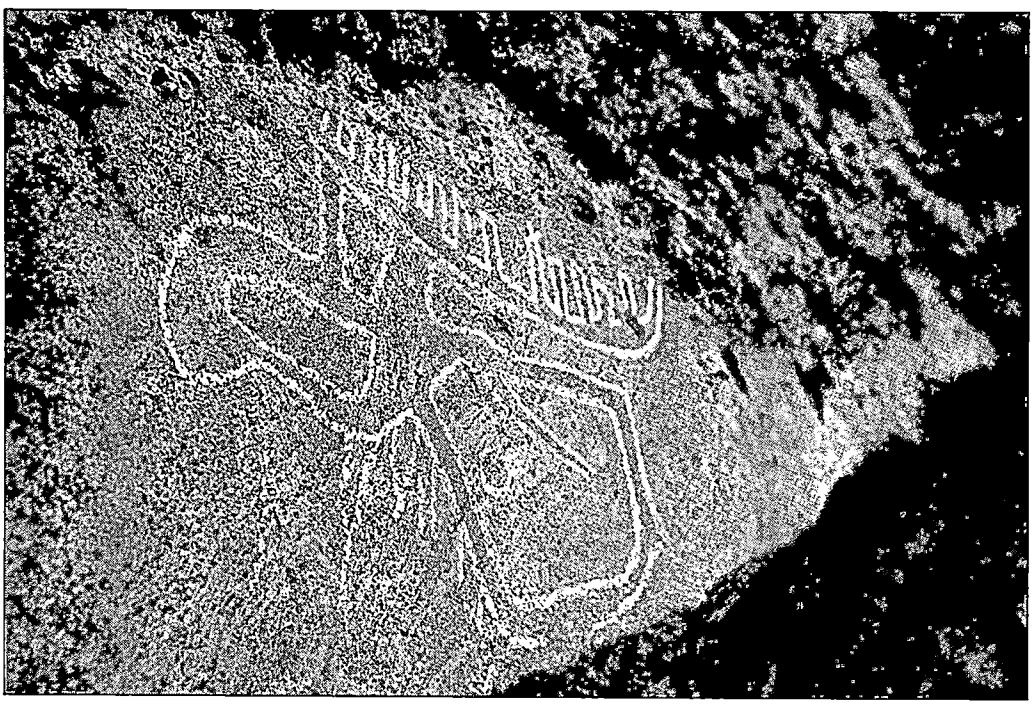
## Oral tradition

The basis of folk material on Finnish mythology and world-view is to be found in the old Finnish poems. Inspired by the epic the Kalevala, systematic collection was caried out in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Between 1908 and 1948 material from the archives was collected in the 33 volumes of the Ancient Songs of the Finnish People. Other folk material, either published or in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society, consists of beliefs, legends, myths, all in prose form, and the poetic genres of incantations and laments. These genres of the oral tradition contain mythological motifs, from which it can be concluded that they extend back to the

Kuusankoski, Pakanavuori.
Rock painting enhanced with chalk. Human figure with other figures only partly visible.
(Museovirasto)



Ristiina, Astuvansalmi.
Part of a rock painting. Elk and boat figures. The elk's heart is marked. The legs have broken off.
(Museovirasto)



Proto-Finnic era. The epic poetry has thematic corespondences with many old myths of other peoples. Of greatest significance here is a cosmogonic myth in the song of the creation of the world, in which the hero, Väinämöinen, enters the primaeval waters and then creates the cosmos from the broken pieces of an eagle's egg. Variants of this song contain many other cosmogonic motifs, such as the forming of the primaeval seabed and the freeing of the sun and the moon from the belly of a fish. The demiurges and heroes of the oldest myths of origins of the Proto-Finnic people were theriomorphic. In later periods of cultural development they were replaced by anthropomorphic equivalents, the most important being Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen. Väinämöinen is described in folklore as the patron of marriage and as a shaman who achieved his goal by ritual techniques. In Ilmarinen two layers of tradition are combined: the older represents him as a deity, the younger as a cultural hero, a smith who forged the firmaments.

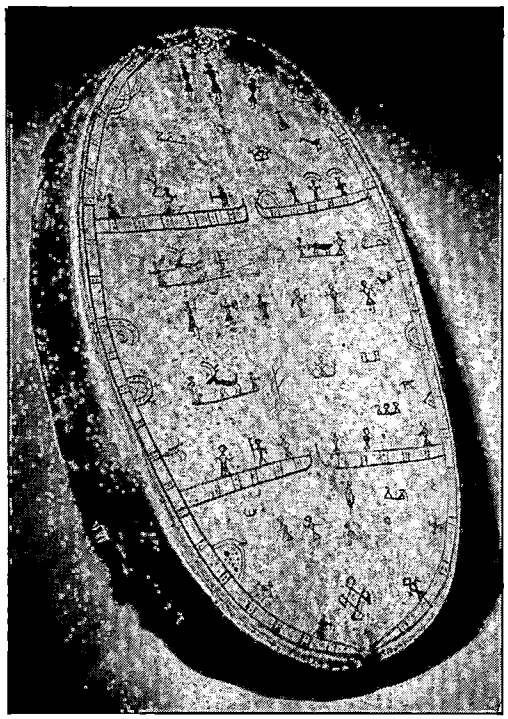
Incantations are another rich source of Finnish mythology. At healing ceremonies the disease is diagnosed by reverting to its origins, from which all present forms are derived.

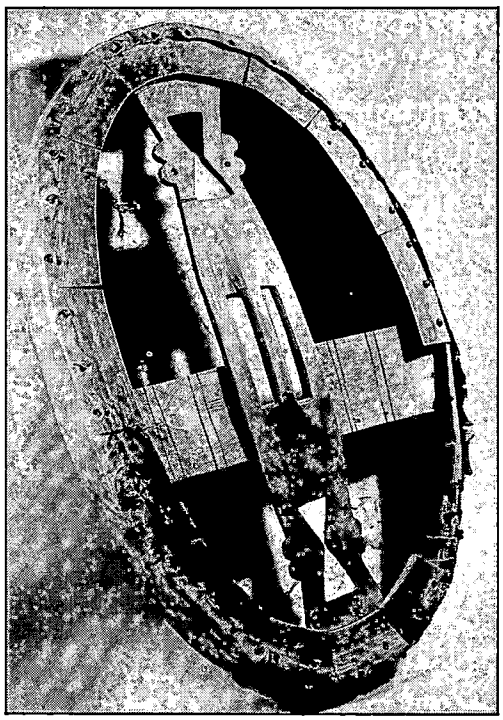
The origin of convulsions, for example, is an incantation that tells in the prologue of a mighty oak tree that stretched up to heaven, masked the sun and the moon and restricted the free movement of the clouds. A woodcutter is required and sought in heaven and earth. Finally a dwarf is found who fells the tree with a single blow, and the light of heaven shines again. This myth was used in healing ceremonies because of the results of the felling: convulsions spring from the splinters that fly about as the oak falls into the sea. The oak in the prologue to the incantation symbolises the cosmic tree, the tree of life or the column through the centre of the earth.

## First literature references and mythological studies

The first literary source of Finnish folk religion was by the Finnish Lutheran reformer, Bishop Mikael Agricola (1508—1557), who in 1551 published a translation of the Psalms of David. Appended to the foreword to this book is a short list of the deities worshipped by the Finns in the regions of Häme and Karelia. The list contains eleven deities from Häme under the sub-heading of *piru*, the devil, and twelve Karelian gods. The Häme list appears in the light of subsequent tradition to be thoroughly heterogeneous; it contains cultural heroes (*Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen*), the guardian of the home (*Tonttu*), wealth (*Kratti*), the forest (*Tapio*), and water (*Ahti*). Also included are spirits belonging to the realm of etiological tales, e.g. the ghost of a slain child (*Liekkiö*). There are two spirits of nature, those of the forest (*Hiisi*) and of water (*Weden emä*). The other ten deities belong to the Karelian calendar, i.e. they are actualised in the domain of a given occupational group in given situations, such as at the beginning or end of a given period of time. The deities that belonged to the pre-Christian tradition were the supreme god *Ukko*, his wife *Rauni*, and above all *Kekri*, whose feast was celebrated at the end of the agricultural and cattle-breeding year. The seven other names on the list are of Byzantine origin, but free from their Christian connotations. They were saints of the Christian church year that had lost their original character to such an extent that Agricola took them for heathen deities.

Agricola's list of deities was not only the most important but for two hundred years also the only literary basis for Finnish folk religion. Following Agricola it was 1766 before any new material came to light, when Henrik Gabriel Porthan, professor of rhetoric at the University of Turku, published the first volume of his work *De poesi Fennica.* The influence of Porthan is also recognisable in the dissertation by Kristian Lencqvist entitled *De superstitione veterum Fennorum theoretica et practica* of 1762, and in Kristfrid Ganander's *Mythologia Fennica* of 1789. In his dictionary Ganander lists all Finnish and Lapp mythological names and concepts in alphabetical order. This work also has explanations, so it replaced Agricola's list as the basic source of pre-Christian Finnish belief and became the most important work before the publication of the Kalevala, the masterpiece by Elias Lönnrot, in 1835. The Kalevala can be considered from three angles. To begin with it is a portrayal of Finnish mytholoy





**Shaman's drum. Pictures 1 and 2 show the front and back of the same shaman's drum from Lapland. The back is a wooden frame with a handle in the middle. Leather was streched across this frame and decorated with various magical figures.**
**Drums like this were primarily used for telling the future. The shaman would hold the drum in his lap (picture 3), place a copper ring on the leather cover and then beat the drum with his drumstick. The copper ring would begin to jump, and the shaman would predict the future according to which figures it touched.**



through the epic poems collected by Elias Lönnrot; secondly, it represents the mythological dream of the Finnish people, and finally it is, in the compilation of Elias Lönnrot, a statement of the world-view of the Finnish people.

## Cosmology

The Finnish cosmology contained in sources displays the symbolic structure characteristic of most northern folk cultures. The region inhabited was regarded as an island surrounded by a stream. The earth was round, and above it stood the mighty vault of the heavens. The circular stream surrounding the world was regarded as the border between the living and the dead. The idea that the dead must cross this stream in order to reach *Tuonela*, the kingdom of the dead, is not, however, of Finnish origin and is part of the mythical tradition of the eastern cultures. According to the belief of the northern peoples the dead cross this stream in the far north. There lies the village of Pohjola with its iron gate, on the other side of the terrible waterfall of Tuonela, which turns everything upside down. Tuonela is thus a reversal of the world of the living. Before the gates of Pohjola lies the intersection of heaven and earth. This intersection, opposite Pohjola on the south side, was the realm of the dwarf *lintukotolainen* (dweller in the land of birds) or *taivaanääreläinen* (dweller of the horizon). This was also regarded as the destination of migratory birds.

The cosmos was divided into three zones: the upper world, the middle world and the underworld. This tripartite structure is one of the oldest north Eurasian folk beliefs. The three cosmic planes were joined together by the cosmic tree, the cosmic column or the cosmic mountain located in the centre of the world. The top of the column was attached to the North Star, about which the heavens rotated. The Finns also likened the North Star to a hinge and spoke of the "heavenly hinge", likewise the "north pin", the "celestial keeper", the "pole star" and the "heavenly pole".

## The ancestor cult

The worship of dead ancestors was a fundamental part of Finnish folk religion. Its basic features were also evident in many other traditional acts, in the calendar rites, the Kekri festival celebrated on around November 1, and in the various rites of passage.

Uno Harva writes of the social role of ancestors in peasant-agrarian society: "There are countless examples to prove that those who had passed on into the underworld played a particularly important role in the beliefs of the ancient Finns. The object of worship proper was not, however, the dead person himself but all the dead of each individual family, whose descendants were entrusted with the sacred duty of continuing their work and fulfilling their wishes. This custom lay at the base of the ancient Finnish community. The dead were the guardians of morals, the judges of customs, and they maintained the order of society. In this respect not even the god of the upper regions could compete with them." (Harva 1948, 510—511). The Finns conceived of the family as a unit, regardless of whether its members resided on earth or in the underworld. The vital point of burial customs was to afford the dead the rites of separation, transition and incorporation into the fellowship of the family dead, and furthermore reorganisation of the remaining community. The dead had a dual function in ancient Finnish society: they were cared for so that they would protect and watch over the prosperity of the family, but they also aroused fear, because it was accepted that they would punish anyone who neglected the rites or who did not conform with the customary norms. In former times the worship of the dead used to take place at sacrificial trees or stones. The first fruits and the first newborn cattle would be sacrificed to them as their share of the annual harvest. The sacrifice was in the nature of an obligatory offering. The family also organised the burial ceremonies and the periodic memorial festivals. There were, however, major differences between the Lutheran and the Orthodox regions. In the Lutheran region the final departure of the dead took place at the burial on the third day after death. No memorial feasts were held. In the Orthodox region of Karelia the old tradition of holding memorial ceremonies in the cemetery continued until the 19th century. Death was followed by a critical period, until the *kuuznedäliset*, the

"six-week festival". Six weeks after the death of a *pokoiniekka* (a person not yet incorporated into the fellowship of the dead) the family would by night hold the "final wedding", granting the deceased his or her new status among the non-living members of the family. In addition there were two calendary memorial feasts. One was in spring, on the second Tuesday after Easter and was called *ruadintsa*. The other was called *muistinsuovatta* (Memorial Saturday) and took place in the autumn, on the Saturday before October 26. One special memorial feast was the *piirut*. This was arranged by the family in honour of a very important ancestor, such as a former head of the family. It was a general feast for the whole kin, it was not tied to a specific date and would be held whenever the relative felt it was necessary.

One special group of ancestors in Finnish folk religion consisted of those who had no place at all in the community of the dead. These were called *sijattomat sielut* (restless souls). Their restlessness was caused by inadequate or missing rites in preparation for their journey to the land of the dead. It was believed that they haunted the house, for no fault of their own or because they were guilty.

## Hunting rites

The first description of a Finnish bear feast was given by Bishop Isak Rothovius, who founded the University of Turku in 1640. He criticised the Finns for their myths and said in a sermon: "When they kill a bear, they hold a feast, drink out of the bear's skull and imitate its growling in order to ensure successful hunting and plenty of game in the future." The sources providing information about bear feasts contain detailed descriptions of all the rituals and epic poems and incantations referring to the mythical origin of the bear. These etiological poems and incantations were recited either during the bear feast or when the cattle were put out to pasture in summer. In the latter case the aim was to protect the cattle from the bear.

According to one description from the 17th century the bear feast consisted of three consecutive acts: the killing of the bear, the feast proper (*karhunpeijaiset* or *karhuvakat,* i.e. a bear-drinking feast in honour of the slaying of the bear), and the bear skull rite. These acts were symbolic for the death of the bear, its burial and its resurrection. Hunting rites have structural similarities with the cult of the dead, in which the emphasis lies on the preservation of the existing social order and its institutions. Like the death ritual, the bear ceremony was also called a "wedding", *kouvon häät.* During the cult drama a bride was chosen for a he-bear, a bridegroom for a she-bear.

## Gods and guardian spirits

Finnish mythology has no divine hierarchy, although incantations address Ukko as the supreme god in heaven. Ukko was primarily the god of thunder, as is indicated by the Finnish word for thunder, *ukkonen*. In his list of deities Agricola gives a valuable indication of the cult of Ukko: "And when the seeds had been sown in spring, a toast was drunk to Ukko. This was to seek Ukko's bushel; both maidens and women drank freely. Many disgraceful things were performed, as could be both seen and heard." The 17th century report thus gives an interpretation of the reference to the "holy wedding" that is missing in Agricola.

The *tietäjä*, the seer corresponding to the shaman of the hunters in the agricultural community, called on Ukko not only as the god of rain and storm. Ukko was also called on in many difficult situations, such as confinements, curing the sick, when luck in the hunt was vital, and so on.

Another deity was *Ilmarinen*, who according to Agricola was the ruler of peace and the weather. The name Ilmarinen is a derivative of the word *ilma*, meaning weather or air, in some dialects also storm, thunder storm, hurricane and sky. According to one report from the 17th century Ilmarinen was the god of wind. This report is the oldest evidence of Ilmarinen, who can be traced back to the Perm god *Inmar*, the god of the Votyaks. The syllable *inm* in his name is the etymological counterpart to the Finnish *ilma*. As has already been mentioned, folklore describes Ilmarinen as a cultural hero and also as a smith.

Finnish folk belief refers to many local guardian spirits called *haltijat*. The word denotes male or female guardian spirits in the role of occupants, owners or rulers. Every guardian spirit normally possessed a

special domain over which it had command and from which it also took its name, such as forest spirit. The guardian spirits of the various buildings and localities watched over their domain and the economic or other activities conducted here. The domain of the house spirit embraced the house and yard, the spirit protecting the cows the cowshed, the *riihi* spirit the threshing and drying sheds, and so on. The specification of the roles and the allocation of the fields of responsibility attributed to the spirits was continued in the Catholic calendar of the saints. As patrons of various economic activities the saints entered into the former system of guardian spirits.

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## Education in Finland

### General education

The general education system in Finland comprises comprehensive school and senior secondary school. The nine-form comprehensive school is compulsory; pupils not earning a leaving certificate in the requisite nine years attend an additional tenth year. The curriculum is intended to provide all pupils with a largely standard education; a leaving certificate qualifies pupils for all courses of further study for which a standard education is required.

Comprehensive school is divided into a six-year lower level and a three-year upper level. The lower level is taught by class teachers who are currently required to have a university degree. The upper level is taught by subject teachers who have completed a degree in their own field plus teacher education at a university.

Finland currently has around 5,000 comprehensive schools, with a total of 600,000 pupils; 6–7% of these schools teach in Swedish. The central government subsidizes some 70% of the cost of comprehensive education. State subsidies are scaled in accordance with the tax revenues and budgets of each municipality. Comprehensive education is free of charge for all pupils. Since 1983 Finland has no longer made exemptions from compulsory education, whereafter municipalities have been obliged to make provisions for the disabled. Only 0.04% of comprehensive school pupils leave without a certificate which shows that Finnish schools provide care and education with an outstanding success rate.

In 1990 there were 480 senior secondary schools in Finland, 17 of which were evening schools. Senior secondary schools provide pupils with a general education leading to national matriculation examinations. Finland's senior secondary school network covers the entire country. Over 90% of all pupils who complete comprehensive school immediately apply for senior secondary school or vocational training. There are currently some 100,000 pupils enrolled at senior secondary schools.

Secondary education is developing towards the "formless" senior secondary school, which is already in operation on an experimental basis in some localities. These schools have already gone over to flexible groupings based on the individual pupil's study programmes. For example, all senior secondary schools specializing in sport are formless. There are also senior secondary schools specializing in languages, music and art subjects. There are plans to increase collaboration between senior secondary schools and vocational schools so that different subjects can be combined into a single course of study, and also so that these courses of study can be taken in both senior secondary schools and vocational schools. All these systems are currently under trial.

Teaching in senior secondary schools is free of charge, and pupils also get free school meals. Schools can arrange transportation to school for their students, or pay travel expenses for journeys to and from school. Pupils are also supported by a state grant. Because senior secondary

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HELSINKI FINLAND

Classification:
11



*A comprehensive school class*

schools do not award vocational qualifications, matriculated students have to apply for further education either at universities or for courses at vocational schools requiring the matriculation examination.

## Higher education

The Finnish higher education system consists of 20 universities. The universities are widely distributed throughout the country, and have study places for over a fifth of each age group. The Finnish university model is based on the link between teaching and research. Finland's universities are also the country's most important research institutes. Their role is of primary importance, particularly in basic research. All the universities have the right to award doctorates.

Ten universities teach more than one discipline. The oldest and largest is the University of Helsinki. It was originally founded in 1640 in Turku, the former capital of Finland, and was moved to Helsinki after the Great Turku Fire.
Other multi-disciplinary universities are the University of Turku, the Åbo Akademi, the University of Tampere, the University of Jyväskylä, the University of Joensuu, the University of Vaasa, the University of Kuopio, the University of Oulu, and the newest and most northerly university – on the Arctic Circle – the University of Lapland.

There are seven universities with only one branch of science: the Helsinki University of Technology, Tampere University of Technology, Lappeenranta University of Technology, Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration, Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration, Turku School of Economics and Business Administration, College of Veterinary Medicine.

The educational institutes which provide the highest level of teaching in music, drama and the applied arts are the Sibelius Academy, the Theatre Academy and the University of Industrial Arts. The highest level of art teaching is provided by the Academy of Fine Arts, which will be incorporated into the higher education system at the start of 1993 .

Occupational trends and an attempt to raise the general level of education are the main principles underlying the decision to develop vocational education to a level comparable with the current university system: the first pilot Higher Institute of Vocational Education opened in the autumn of 1991.



*The University of Helsinki*

*The Helsinki University of Technology*
*Architect: Alvar Aalto*



All the universities are state universities, and are directly answerable to the Ministry of Education. They nevertheless have a great deal of autonomy in internal matters. The resources for universities are allocated in the State Budget. Universities account for about 3% of the State Budget and about 15% of expenditure on education.

The whole age group finishing comprehensive education and senior secondary school is eligible to continue studying at a vocational institute or university. Each year the universities take in 17,000–18,000 new students. Competition for university places is high. There is 'numerus clausus' in all disciplines. Universities select their own students.

Universities do not charge tuition fees, so in this respect studying in Finland is free. A special financial aid system has been set up to cover study expenses.

The total number of students attending universities is 120,000. There are 8,000 teaching staff and a total of 13,000 staff altogether. Each year 9,000 first degrees and over 1,000 postgraduate degrees are completed. Over half of university students are women. Men are still in a clear majority only in technical and scientific subjects. The proportion of women doing postgraduate research has risen in recent years, and is now nearly 40%.

The universities currently arrange courses in different disciplines to produce around 150 different study programmes. These courses lead to an M.A. level first degree, which extends to 160–180 credit weeks and takes 5–6 years of full-time study. The quality and the development requirements of the degree system are now being assessed.

Postgraduate research has been rationalized by creating postgraduate research programmes for all disciplines which are to be implemented as a collaborative effort by the different universities. International contacts, and co-operation with industry and other areas of business have been increased. The practical goal has been to reduce the time taken to complete doctoral degrees.

Increasing international contacts is also an important goal from the educational point of view. The aim is for as many university students as possible to spend time studying at foreign universities or other institutes. In addition to exchange programmes, further inter-university collaboration is needed. In order for student exchanges to succeed the number of internationally compatible courses offered by the universities will have to be increased.

The development of a more efficient adult education system will increase the work load of universities. All universities now have separate further education centres. The education provided by the open university system has multiplied in recent years as has the basic adult education. The higher educational levels of the population and rapid changes in occupational trends are increasing the demand for adult education in universities.

Research and development is an area of society where rapid changes have also taken place in recent years in Finland. Universities have paid particular attention to safeguarding basic research side by side with rapid technical and other applied scientific research and product development. More than half of the universities' research is basic research. Environmental research and bio sciences are another area which will gain priority in the next few years. Many universities have also established centres providing research and development services, particularly in the fields of technology and bio sciences.

In a country like Finland the importance of education and universities is particularly

pressing. Mental and material welfare is largely dependent on the research results of Finland's universities, and on the expertise under and postgraduate and the further education programmes can provide. Universities are a central part of Finland's national effort to encourage innovation.

## Vocational education in Finland

In Finland the concept of vocational education is used in a broad sense to describe educational courses needed for an occupation, trade or profession. Thus, the concept also covers education provided by a higher institute of vocational education other than a university. Finnish vocational institutes offer a wide range of educational programmes of varying length and level leading to different diplomas and degrees.

Vocational training is usually provided in institutes. However, almost all occupational sectors include a period of practical training in study-related employment. Another characteristic of the Finnish system is that the various educational sectors have their own separate teaching facilities. Commercial and business administration subjects are taught in commercial colleges and forestry and wood processing subjects in their own teaching units. Legislation permits the establishment of joint vocational institutes and this is in fact becoming more common.

There are a total of 540 vocational education institutes in Finland, and 50 of these teach in Swedish. In 1991 a total of 165,000 students attended these institutes. There are enough study places for all who wish to study in a vocational institute and have completed their comprehensive school education. Opportunities to study are equal throughout Finland.

Some 45% of the vocational institutes are owned by local authorities and 35% by the State; 20% are privately owned. The majority of vocational institutes owned by local authorities are maintained by a federation of two or more local authorities. The privately-owned institutes are also subject to public supervision and receive substantial state subsidies. The education is free for all students and the financial and social benefits are the same regardless of the institute's ownership.

Those who have finished their comprehensive school or senior secondary school are eligible to study at a vocational institute, and more than half of those who have completed their senior secondary education continue their studies in a vocational institute. The structure of studies, the study programme and length of study time depend on the student's basic education, although all students are entitled to sit for the same vocational diplomas regardless of educational background.

There are three levels of diploma courses. The student can complete a school, an institute or a higher institute level diploma. The lowest diploma is the school level diploma and takes an average of two to three years to complete. The completion of an institute-level diploma takes 3–5 years. The highest vocational education diploma is a higher institute diploma and 5–6 years on average are needed to graduate. The two higher diplomas require a 12-month traineeship. The courses for matriculated student have a syllabus which is 0.5–1.5 years shorter than the corresponding courses for comprehensive school leavers.

## Adult education

There are more than 100 institutes and a total of 1,000 organizations engaged in adult education. They offer citizens ample scope for self-improvement and promotion of their professional skills, for obtaining information, and for hobbies. Some 1.6 million people make use of this service.

### General adult education

General education is the oldest form of adult education in Finland. The first educational organizations were set up to rectify shortcomings in the educational system at a time when only a small minority of the nation was privileged enough to go to elementary school. Now these same organizations provide up-to-date teaching in general subjects, as well as in social studies, and hobby-related subjects and vocational skills. They allow people to develop their own cultural identity, to understand and to make their own impact on the changes now taking place in the world.

Adult education institutes have the most comprehensive network. Local authorities operate 278 of these institutes. The institutes organize courses in music and other art subjects, foreign languages, practical subjects and physical education. Some 60,000 students study in these institutes.

Study centres are maintained by cultural organizations and offer citizens an opportunity to study general and civic subjects. They arrange study circles, courses and lectures and train instructors. There are 11 study centres in Finland with 650,000 students taking part in their education programmes every year.

Folk high schools are boarding schools, and are usually privately owned. The organizations that maintain them are indicative of the diversity of Scandinavian society. Finland has 93 folk high schools which provide teaching in social studies and hobby-related subjects, in addition to comprehensive and senior secondary school courses and open university teaching and vocational training. Folk high school study programmes range from short courses lasting only a couple of days to extended study periods. Some 70,000 people study in folk high schools every year.

Summer universities offer open university type courses and career training. Their syllabi also include language courses and general education. There are 20 summer universities in Finland. The summer universities are regionally organized and privately run, with 60,000 students a year.

Evening schools teach a senior secondary school course of study providing those who work daytime an opportunity to complete the comprehensive or senior secondary school syllabus or take individual courses. There are 47 such schools in Finland with 20,000 students a year. As a rule, these schools are run by the local authorities.

## Vocational adult education

Vocational adult education centres provide basic, further and in-service training. There are 42 of these centres with some 80,000 students using these services every year. One-third of the students are at the basic level and two-thirds in further and in-service training. Vocational adult education centres are operated by local authorities.

There are some 540 vocational education institutes in Finland. They provide vocational training for the young, but are increasingly engaged in providing vocational training for adults as well. Some 150,000 students attend their adult education courses annually, 10% are in basic training and the rest in further or in-service training. The state, local authorities and private organizations maintain these vocational institutes.

Special vocational institutes, of which there are 56, are owned by the business sector and provide corporate staff training. They also arrange long-term further training and short-term in-service training. The annual number of students is about 130,000.

Vocational correspondence institutes and apprenticeship training programmes are also engaged in vocational adult education. There are also exams which provide vocational qualifications.

The state, the local authorities, sponsoring organizations for vocational institutes, employers and students all contribute to the funding of adult education. General and self-motivated vocational training for adults in Finland are mainly funded by the state, but also by the local authorities. The state is responsible for the costs of adult training as a mean of manpower policy and employers for staff training.

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**Ministry of Education, Helsinki**

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1991

# FINNISH FEATURES

## Wind Energy in the Arctics

Wind power technology has seen rapid advances in the last decade. The world's wind turbines generate over three TWh of electricity a year, and in some countries wind power now makes a substantial contribution to local power supplies. In the l990s the competitiveness of wind energy is expected to improve sufficiently for it to become a viable alternative technology.

Finland has made a late start in research and development on wind energy. The first official research project was launched in 1988 under NEMO[1], in which the feasibility of harnessing wind power in Finland has been subject to close scrutiny.

Finnish wind conditions offer good prospects for the large-scale harnessing of wind energy – possibly even the best in Europe. Until now we have seen only 'the tip of the iceberg' as far as Finland's northernmost polar region is concerned. Although Arctic Lapland now shows great potential as a source of wind power, the prospect is challenging: Arctic winds are strong, but local conditions are severe. If a workable technology can be developed to withstand these icy and snowy conditions, there is nothing to prevent Lapland from generating enough power for the whole of Finland, and possibly even for export.

### Wind energy technology

Wind power is generally harnessed at stations with an average output of 200–400 kW. The output of the world's largest wind power stations currently exceeds 1 MW. Wind power stations are often built in groups as wind 'farms' with gross outputs of up to several dozen megawatts. Finland's few wind stations have an average output of slightly more than 200 kW. Finland's first wind farm is currently under construction in Korsnäs, a municipality on the west coast, some 40 km south of Vaasa. The farm will comprise four 200 kW units.

Although complete wind power stations are not manufactured in Finland, we are an important exporter of key parts for wind technology; Finland specializes in transmission equipment, generators and rotor blades. One in ten wind turbines has Finnish 'innards'. Moreover, Finnish industry has wellestablished expertise in offshore and Arctic technology, which is of great value for the development of wind power in the 1990s.

### Wind conditions in Finland

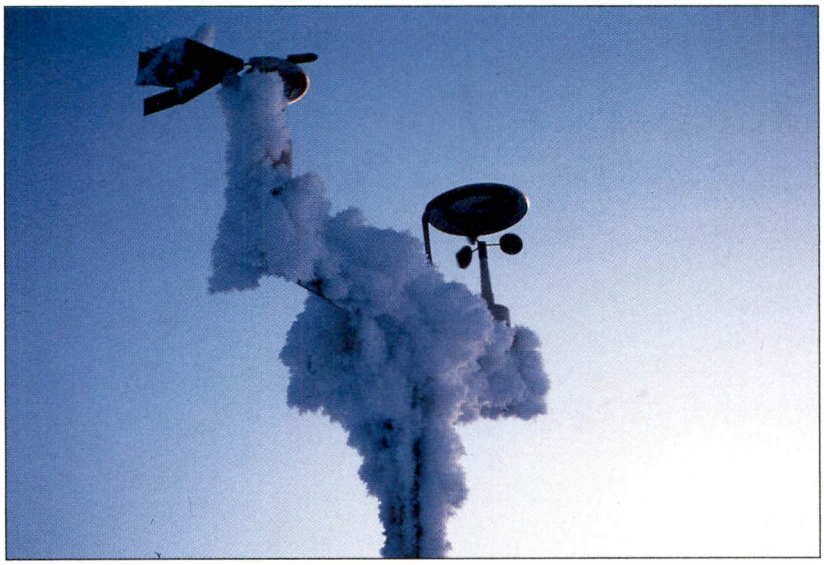
The output of wind power stations is proportional to local wind velocity: wind power (P) equals to wind velocity (v) cubed ($P=v^3$).

1. The NEMO research programme is an official energy technology research project initiated by the Ministry of Trade and Industry. NEMO researches and develops new energy production technologies, such as solar and wind power, energy storage and hydrogen technology. The five-year programme was launched in 1988. Its total budget is FIM 65 million. Industry has sponsored and taken an active part in the programme.

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12



*Freezing in winter presents the major obstacle for exploiting wind power in Arctic conditions. Wind gauges at Pyhätunturi in December.*

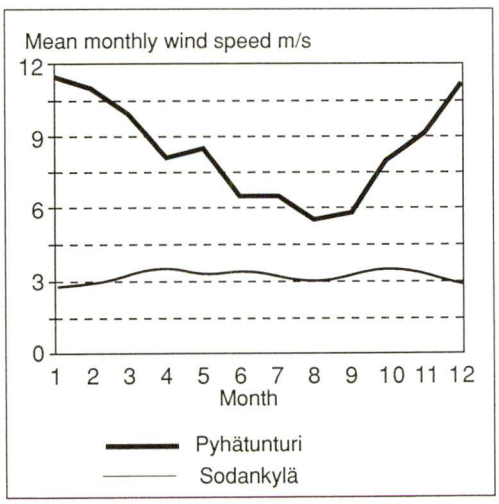
If, for instance, the wind velocity doubles the power station's electrical output increases eightfold. The costeffectiveness of wind power is therefore contingent on careful siting of the turbine.

Wind conditions in Finland's offshore, coastal and archipelagic regions are excellent. The average velocity of coastal winds is 5-6 m/s, of archipelagic winds 7 m/s, and of offshore winds up to 9 m/s. A 200 kW coastal wind turbine can generate 300-400 MWh of electricity a year, which is adequate for around a hundred households.

The NEMO research programme has assessed Finland's potential for producing wind energy. In terms of siting, there is approximately 2000 km$^2$ of land on the coast and in the archipelago (2% of the combined surface area of the coastal strip and islands) where it is sufficiently windy and there are no constraints on usufruct. The best coherent area for harnessing wind power lies on the west coast. This region alone could produce 6–8 TWh/yr, which corresponds to 10–15% of Finland's annual electricity generation.

Future wind power stations could be sited offshore or on skerries as lighthouses and navigation marks are. Owing to the good wind conditions, a 10 km x 10 km marine area can generate about 1 TWh of electricity a year. Finland has over 50,000 km$^2$ of suitable offshore territory, which is enough to generate ten times more electricity than Finland needs. Offshore wind turbines would be powerful, with a capacity of not less than 1–3 MW.

Wind power has good potential in Finland. Where lack of space is a problem on the Continent, Finland's major obstacle is the limitations set by existing power networks. Power generation and consumption have to be carefully coordinated. In winter, just when power consumption is at its peak, the likelihood of windless periods is greatest. As long as wind power contributes no more than 10–15% of Finland's total electricity generating capacity, interruptions can be compensated for by other power stations in the network, i.e. wind energy will have to be stored away for windless periods. The 10–15% limit roughly corresponds to the gross wind power capacity of the west coast of Finland.




*Velocity readings taken at two stations in Lapland north of the Arctic Circle. Sodankylä is typical low-lying land, Pyhätunturi is fell terrain. In winter winds can blow up to four times faster on the fell summits.*

## Arctic wind power

The wide-scale harnessing of wind power calls for careful siting, with due consideration to limitations set by existing power supply networks. The combined use of wind power and hydroelectric power offers a potential solution. During windy periods, water can be saved; hydroelectric power in turn can compensate for calm periods. Lapland meets the requirements for an arrangement of this kind. Low wind readings have, however, previously precluded the option of siting wind power stations in polar regions.

The terrain in Lapland is dominated by fellsand fell chains. Fells are not mountains but hills typically only 300–700 m high. Anemometric readings have generally been taken on flat land between the fells where the winds are weak, reaching an average of only 3 m/s. In 1988–1990 NEMO took readings on the peaks of the fells, and the results were surprising: on fell summits 400–600 m above sea level the wind blows at an average of up to 8–9 m/s. This is accounted for by the 'speed-up' effect, which occurs when a weak wind blowing over low-lying land and gains momentum as it is forced through the space between two fells. A wind power station sited on the summit of a fell would thus generate 10–20 times more power than a station only a kilometre away on low lying land.

A single fell could generate 5–15 GWh wind electricity a year. The fells of Lapland have several summits and form chains. Ounastunturi alone has capacity to generate over 1.5 TWh electricity, and Pyhätunturi 0.4 TWh. The total wind power potential of the Lapland fell area is about 14 TWh/yr. This would correspond to about 10,000 fell-top wind stations. Considering the vast size of Lapland (a third of Finland's total area, i.e. 100,000 km$^2$) wind turbines are unlikely to cause a visual intrusion in the last of Europe's wildernesses. Wind energy constitutes a very small ecological hazard, provided strict attention is paid to the environment right from the start.



*Typical fell terrain in Lapland. On fells the average wind velocity reaches up to 8–9 m/s, on low-lying land only 3 m/s.*

Aside from its promising wind power potential, Lapland has a well-established hydroelectric network to its advantage. Kemijoki Oy and Oulujoki Oy, local hydroelectric power producers, generate a valuable 6 TWh supply a year. The Hydroelectric power capacity is over 1,200 MW. Wind stations would thus have a convenient reserve and distribution system at their disposal, right next door. Energy storage is thus unlikely to present a problem in Lapland.

Lapland produces hydroelectric power for southern Finland. The same network could be used for wind power. Lapland is also linked to Sweden's and Norway's electricity networks, which would allow Finland to export wind electricity.



*Kemijoki Oy's 70 kW trial wind power station at Enontekiö.*

## New technology under development

Lapland doubtless has excellent potential for harnessing wind power on a large scale; it meets the natural requirements and has an existing energy supply network. Environmental conditions nevertheless set rigorous standards for technology. Regrettably, the wind power stations now in use have not been designed for Arctic conditions. The technology needs to be developed for greater weather-resistance, so that wind farms can eventually be erected in these windiest parts of Europe.

The main risk is in the stations freezing over and in snow jamming the rotor blades. In winter, the rotors are liable to be coated in snow up to one metre thick, which could damage the power station or, at worst, ruin the rotor.

To solve these purely technical problems, northern Finland's major hydroelectric power company (Kemijoki Oy) and NEMO are making a concerted effort to develop wind power stations for Arctic conditions. Finland's well-established expertise in Arctic technology is being put to good use. Joint projects are under way: the freezing of rotor blades is being investigated and ice repellant blade materials are being developed. A 70 kW trial wind power station has been erected in Enontekiö to test the suitability of a full-scale power plant in local conditions. There are plans to build a 1–2 MW wind farm in a few years' time after further experience has been gained.

In parallel with technological development, NEMO has conducted research on Arctic winds and their properties. Factors such as velocity, gustiness, water content, temperature and other physical factors all have an effect on freezing and electricity generation at wind stations.

Undaunted by the winds and snows, research teams have made good progress in Lapland. The ultimate goal is to set up an Arctic wind power plant. If this succeeds, Finland will have the option of a new, cost-effective, reliable and ecologically sound domestic source of energy.

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1991

# FINNISH FEATURES

## Finnish Cultural Policy

Cultural policy in Finland has evolved in close connection with the rise of national awareness and the nation-state. From the 19th century onwards, the main aim of cultural policy has been to ensure the future of Finnish elite arts by safeguarding their structure.

There have been many sources of cultural policy in Finland, one of the most important being government, which long considered sound cultural development impossible without regulations and standards. Reactions to this attitude have been political on the one hand and an outgrowth of increasing internationalization on the other. Furthermore, market forces have established themselves in the popular music and TV sectors in particular.

The identity created by a uniform national culture is now eroding or at least becoming less strictly defined. The technology increasingly linked with different forms of culture demands and favours pluralism, an absence of standards, and a 'pick and choose' approach. However, the strength of the national cultural heritage is apparent in how imported elements are screened, approved or rejected.

A powerful thrust towards internationalization has been a salient feature of social development. This phenomenon is particularly conspicuous in popular culture, although more general criteria for quality and success have also become increasingly international. Pressure to conform also contributes here.

### Regional distribution and financing of culture

Cultural policy has been defined gradually through legislation and this process continues, partly in close cooperation with educational reform. An extensive proposal on the division of duties and expenses between central and local government, in preparation throughout the 1980s and now finished, is being debated by Parliament. If this proposal is enacted, it will convert government from policy planner and source of financing into a virtually automatic source of funds whose contribution would be based mainly on local population and on the tax base of the local authority.

This will mean that the responsibility for development already borne by the municipalities will be further decentralized with the duties of the central government concentrating on higher education, grants to artists, and on a few state cultural institutions and major cultural events. The control network required by change on this scale is still in the planning stage, with new statistical methods serving as the foundation.

In the future, it is also conceivable that government officials will leave their desks and go see where cultural growth is strongest. At present, such field observations and data are collected in the main by only two small but active research centres. One of these, the research and publication unit of the Arts Council of

Finland, operates under the Ministry of Education. It has concentrated on a horizontal survey of the status of artists in Finland, which is now being conducted for the second time (the first such study was made in the 1970s). The other research centre is the Research Unit for Contemporary Culture at the University of Jyväskylä; as its name implies, it focuses on cultural sociology, attitude changes, reception processes, the significance of criticism and the links between culture, art and market forces.

The advice of experts system on the National and regional Arts Councils is a crucial factor in support of the arts. The purpose of the National Arts Councils and the Arts Council of Finland, which were founded in 1968, is primarily to promote the creative and performing arts by awarding personal grants and by advising the Ministry of Education. The regional Arts Councils have a similar brief within their respective regions. Support for amateur pursuit of the arts is channelled through the regional Arts Councils, since they have a better view of the microstructure in which the various amateur groups in their region function. The aim has been to shift decision-making authority from the Ministry to lower levels and also to create contacts between segments of public administration.

The sectoral orientation of National Arts Councils and the procedure by which nominations preceding appointments are made favour the organized arts and well-established forms of activity. In Finland, however, the areas outside the official arts administration have increased steadily. The rigid division of councils by section seems unwittingly to reinforce a territorial jealousy that is damaging to art itself. Hence, the status of young artists, new art forms frequently arising from international trends and multi-media productions have been cited as areas worthy of special support.

Cultural activities incorporating local features are primarily the responsibility of the municipalities. Legislation which came into effect in 1980 provides state support for local cultural activity and also requires local authorities to promote such efforts. The basic cultural services were defined as public libraries, adult education institutes, music schools, cultural and art institutions and general municipal cultural activities. On average, some 40% of the funds come from the central government and 60% from local tax revenues. The coming reform of state subsidies will be more effective than the present system in gauging communities' attitudes towards the arts. Local government will then be able to focus on an important sub-area of culture. Municipal culture officials believe strongly in everyday 'latent creativity', which can revise perspectives while still relying on the existing cultural heritage. Emphasizing the importance of regional cultural identities and the responsibility they entail is thereby taking precedence over rectifying imbalanced regional development.

## Building for culture

One of the basic requirements for local cultural endeavours is the availability of proper premises. Although all manner of experiments in bringing culture to the great outdoors, be it exhibitions, drama, concerts or meetings, can be arranged in summer, there must also be provisions for winter. An important goal in the construction of cultural facilities has been to interconnect different functions, making the premises easy to approach and promoting synergy. Some 200 libraries, 30 culture centres and many community and sports buildings were built in the 1980s. Schools are often designed to serve as functional centres in their catchment area. Cultural building projects have raised Finland's national profile, and even on the local level such buildings are often splendidly appointed and uniformly impressive. In times of scarce resources, the construction of expensive new buildings is not feasible, and resources are now being channelled to the renovation of existing premises to cater for a variety of events.

The most significant government construction project is the new opera house in Helsinki. This project was motivated by the increasing national and international importance of Finnish opera and ballet. The state has also subsidized construction of new theatres in Tampere, Lahti and Jyväskylä, and renovation of the oldest theatre in Finland, the Swedish Theatre in Turku.

## The role of literature in Finnish culture

Throughout our history as a nation, Finnish arts and culture have been dominated by organizations. These organizations were first formed by sponsors and patrons, and subsequently by professionals. Sponsorship organizations founded in the 19th century had both language and political party affiliations. One of the oldest of such organizations is the Finnish Literature Society, founded in 1831 to cultivate the Finnish language, promote literature in Finnish and disseminate information on Finland and its history. The Society published the Kalevala and Kanteletar, the classic symbols of Finnish literature compiled by Elias Lönnrot, but also commissioned translations into Finnish of such world classics as Shakespeare and Schiller. The Society now concentrates on publications and research, and the Finnish Literature Information Centre, which maintains international literary contacts, organizes seminars and visits, and commissions translations, operates under its auspices.

Literature, reading and the availability of books have always been important elements of Finnish cultural policy. Current central government subsidies to literature total FIM 30 million, of which authors receive 80%. This does not include the public library subsidies, which amount to FIM 900 million. In 1988 the 500th anniversary of printing in Finland was celebrated under the theme *Per libros ad conscientiam*, 'Awareness through books'. Finland is one of the leading countries in Europe in titles published per capita.

The number of books lent by public libraries is increasing; in 1986, total circulation exceeded 80 million books. This has inevitably affected book sales adversely, and 10% of the appropriations for library acquisitions is nowadays set aside for grants to authors to balance the gap between the number of books sold and the number of books read.

Finnish reading habits have remained remarkably constant even at a time when many other sectors of culture show a division by social group into separate cultures. The works of Väinö Linna and Mika Waltari in particular are favourites of Finns from all walks of life. In contrast, the many important Finnish women authors enjoy no such universal appeal; research shows that men usually read only works by men, whereas women read works by men and women fairly equally.

## Audio-visual culture

Literature now risks erosion of its strong position due to the profusion of TV and video. The status of these media was examined in great detail in an extensive series of committee reports on topics ranging from film production subsidies to training in communications and production archiving. It is unfortunate that the proposals, which aim for the best possible solutions, apparently face insurmountable obstacles in the present economic situation.

Interaction between the audio-visual media and culture will remain one of the major issues of cultural policy in the near future; this also applies to public subsidies. Audio-visual communications have a strong influence on all levels of society. For example, a decision was recently taken to set up a third national TV channel, the idea being to promote domestic programme production. Transnational audio-visual communications are also an important factor in developing international relationships.

On the local level, video workshops have been established to promote amateur video production and as a part of municipal cultural activities for adolescents. Progress in communications has led to new professions; these have been included flexibly in planning for education policy. Although people involved in branches of the arts making use of new technology are establishing themselves as artists and have been admitted to the grant system for the arts, open minds and fresh outlooks are still needed to break down traditional prejudices.

Effective copyright protection is essential in the new international culture and communications policies. The Nordic countries have cooperated in reforming their copyright legislation since the 1970s and a national committee was set up in Finland for this purpose. The status of copyright organizations has improved, thereby facilitating cooperation between artists, cultural workers and organizations of the culture industry. In 1990, annual copyright royalties totalled over FIM 200 million. Part of this amount comes from a fee included in the price of blank audio tapes; part of the

income from these fees goes directly to artists and part promotes programmes of benefit to them.

## The culture of Finnish speakers of Swedish and of other minorities

Apart from Finnish-language culture, the status of the Swedish-speaking minority and their culture in Finland has always been upheld. The significance of the Swedish cultural heritage to the entire nation is well understood. Music and literature are traditionally strong in Finland's Swedish-language culture. The principle of language equality has been implemented in many organizational culture and leisure activities. In the same manner, the culture and education opportunities of the Finnish-speaking population of Sweden and the preservation of the special features of their culture have been supported.

The Saami people are the oldest ethnic group in northern Europe. They speak a Finno-Ugric language and have a culture of their own. Preserving their language and culture and finding opportunities to develop and practice traditional trades such as handicrafts are the Saamis' main concern. Saami can be used as the teaching language in school, and Saami arts organizations receive joint Nordic subsidies.

The Romanies are the only other significant ethnic minority in Finland. The average educational level of the Romany people is lower than that of the rest of the population; low educational motivation fosters a high rate of illiteracy. However, appreciation for the uniqueness of minority cultures is connected to a broader understanding of multi-cultural reality. As the significance of national frontiers declines and Europe integrates, people have greater mobility and societies open up ideologically as a result. This will also encourage initiatives on the part of individual citizens and communities.

As a long-established European cultural region, Finland has the means to both understand the need to protect uniqueness and the self-esteem necessary for even a small cultural community to make contacts and maintain cultural cooperation with others. Participation in Nordic cooperation is the forum closest to us historically, but other contacts in the Baltic region and Russian Karelia have been important for stimulating the development of folk culture, tradition and the arts, despite political vicissitudes over the years.

The cultural policies of the Council of Europe and the EC also concern issues which we find current and challenging. Without any false pride we may say that culture and the arts are still seen as everyman's right in Finland. Their users are not screened by wealth or background and the purpose of culture is, on many levels and in many ways, to help people enjoy a richness of thought and a full life.

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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1992

# FINNISH FEATURES

## George August Wallin (Abd al-Wali) – Finnish Orientalist



*Abd al-Wali in an Arabic costume. The portrait hangs in the main hall of the University of Helsinki.*

Relations between Arabs and Scandinavians date back to the eighth century AD. This fact is confirmed by the famous Arab explorer Ahmed Ibn Fadian in his travel account from the year 922 AD (edited by D. Sami al-Dahhan, Damascus, 1959), which is considered by academic institutions and experts in the field to be one of the most important available sources on the Vikings. Finnish museums provide further proof of these relations in the form of small antiquities, coins in particular, which date back to the Abbasid period. These coins were brought to the North by the Vikings who travelled on trade routes through the Arabic-Islamic empire in the eighth century AD.

Oriental studies were instituted in Finland back in 1640, when the first university was founded in the city of Turku, the capital of Finland at that time. Throughout its history a number of scholars at Turku University have researched various fields of Arabic and Islamic culture and language. Today these studies also form a core syllabys in the Department of Asian and African studies at the University of Helsinki.

Certain Scandinavian orientalists took an interest in the Arabic-speaking area, especially the Eastern part of it, which they recorded and described on the basis of first-hand experience.

They have made an invaluable contribution to Arabic studies in Finland by conveying an accurate picture of the Arabic-speaking area through their research, investigations and expeditions to a variety of locations and through their study of Arabic culture and Islam.

They instituted the teaching of Arabic language and culture at the University, inspiring new generations of orientalists to carry the banner on. For the Finnish orientalists, exploring and researching the Arab-Islamic heritage was a purely academic exercise, unclouded by fanaticism or prejudice, and free from expansionist or colonial motives. Furthermore, Finnish and Scandinavian museums do not contain any objects or antiquities that have been plundered from the Arabic region.

Finnish orientalists have previously been treated unfairly or overlooked by other researchers. Now two historians, Yousef Yazbik and Samir Chibli have published a book about George August Wallin (Abd al-

Wali) called "Suwar min shamali jazirat al-Arab", in the Arabic language.

George August Wallin, arabist and the most famous of the Finnish orientalists, was born in 1811 on an island in the Åland archipelago between Finland and Sweden. At the age of six Wallin moved with his family to Turku in southwest Finland, where he went to school. In 1829 he moved to the new capital of Finland, Helsinki, and began his study of Oriental languages, specializing in Arabic language and culture. His first dissertation, written in 1839, and entitled "A comparison between literary and spoken Arabic", qualified Wallin for the University of St. Petersburg in Russia. At that time Finland was a Grand Duchy of Russia following Russia s defeat of Sweden in the 1809 war. Wallin stayed on at St. Petersburg for two years, deepening his knowledge of Arabic under his Egyptian professor, sheik Muhammed Ayyad al-Tantawi. Tantawi was one of the most distinguished professors ever to have taught Arabic in St. Petersburg. Wallin also set about studying Arabic poetry and "Maqamat al-Hariri" (a well-known work of rhythmic prose by al-Hariri from the eleventh century) and "A Thousand and One Nights".

Curiosity and thirst for knowledge about Islam and life on the Arabic Peninsula offered perhaps the main incentive for Wallin to leave his native country, in spite of the hazards of travelling at that time, especially in the desert, without any comforts or modern conveniencies, under a burning sun and exposed to the bites of insects. Camels and donkeys were the only means of transportation and the traveller was often forced to proceed by foot.

After receiving a scholarship from the University of Helsinki, Wallin embarked on his journey in July 1843. Following a brief soujourn in Paris he proceeded to Cairo in January 1844, where he stayed one year. In April 1845 he left Cairo to travel through the Sinai and the al-Jawf. After four months he reached Mecca, where he performed the ceremonial rituals of pilgrims. He also recited ritual prayers and named himself al-Haj Abd-al-Wali. In March 1846 he returned to Cairo, resting briefly before setting out on his second trip in 1846, this time to Palestine. He returned to Cairo in June 1847. At the end of the year Abd al-Wali made his third trip, his longest, setting out from Egypt to the Red Sea, then on to the port of Muwaylih on the west coast of the Arabic Peninsula, and from there across the desert to Baghdad, Ispahan and Shiraz in Persia. He then returned to Baghdad and went on to Damascus, Beirut and to Alexandria by sea. He arrived in Cairo in June 1844 and from there he returned to Alexandria and Europe, passing through London to receive the Royal Geographical Society prize in 1850, in recognition of his having been one of the first Europeans to cross the North of the Arabic Peninsula. On returning to Helsinki Wallin defended his second dissertation on Ibn al-Farid. Abd al-Wali was appointed to the chair of Oriental studies at the University of Helsinki. His tenure was to be sadly brief, as Wallin died on the October 23, 1852, one day before his 41st birthday.

Abd al-Wali brought back some Arabic manuscripts and his own diaries, in which he copiously recorded his impressions and experiences during his trips. These documents are preserved in the library of the University of Helsinki. Wallin's untimely death prevented him from publishing the material, which is widely regarded as a cultural and scholarly treasure trove. Nevertheless, a catalogue of this material has been published by Jussi Aro, a latter Finnish orientalist/together with two Lebanese historians, Samir Chibli and Yousef Yazbik.

The book "Suwar min shamali jazirat al-Arab" ("The View of the Picture of the Arabic Peninsula") covers a wide range of the Arabic-speaking world, in particular the Arabic Peninsula, its topography, people, language, civilization and religions. It also assesses this area's contribution in promoting culture and civilization in the entire world.

Wallin is buried in Helsinki, where his gravestone is engraved with his Arabic name, Abd al-Wali, in Arabic script.

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FINNISH FEATURES

MAY 1991

# Finland Builds for Music

An astonishing number of concert halls were built or begun in Finland during the 1980s. Some of these are separate buildings; others are incorporated into cultural centres which also house a library, art exhibition rooms, a cinema and the occasional adult education institute. Many municipalities have constructed such buildings, having completed their sports centres; the current trend is towards investments in more intellectual culture, which is a good thing.

But why concert halls? We Finns consider ourselves a musical nation. In this we do not merely build on the reputation of Sibelius; a strong tradition of composers and performers has evolved since his time as well. The belief in the existence and vitality of musical culture explains the effort which is, after all, required for an undertaking on the scale of a concert hall.

These buildings are really quite large, since the size of the main hall must be such as to accommodate symphony orchestras. However, small municipalities with no orchestra of their own have also constructed concert halls. One example is the main hall (500 seats) in the House of Culture, designed by Anna Brunow and Juhani Maunula, in Kuusankoski, an industrial community in southeastern Finland. Local authorities have found it worthwhile to build venues of such a size that guest performances even by large orchestras from Helsinki or abroad can be arranged. However, these halls are mainly used for functions such as conferences which require a large space, and they are usually equipped for theatrical performances as well.

In concert halls and cultural centres, architecture and other art forms can be found in happy union. Architecturally, these buildings are better than average, since the architect is without exception in a position to use unusually expensive materials and also to adopt bolder forms in his design.

In the case of many of these buildings the design was commissioned on the basis of a competition. In Finland, general design competitions provide young architects with an opportunity to design large projects. This was the case with the Kajaani Cultural Centre (500 seats); the designers, Sinikka Kouvo and Erkki Partanen, were still students when they won the competition. There is of course, a certain risk involved in designing an enormous cultural centre as one's first design project, since inexperience tends to manifest itself visibly in detailing.

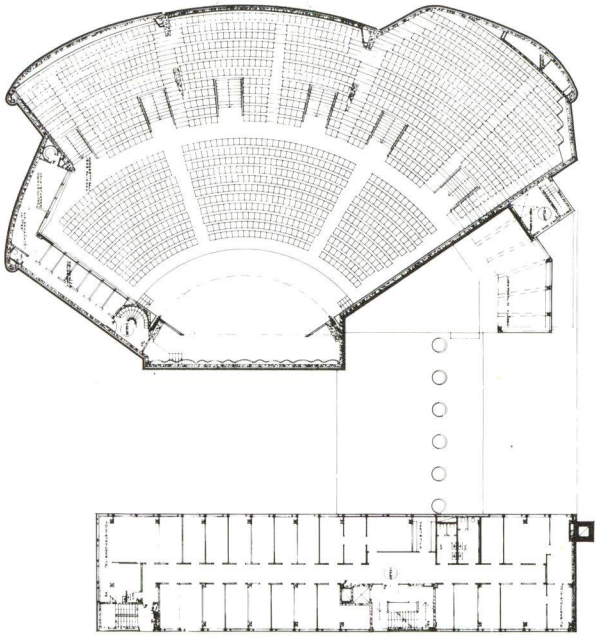
The most original building architecturally is Kouvola Hall, built in 1982 (300 seats). Architect Erkki Valovirta wanted to harmonize the building with the surrounding low-rise housing, and it resembles a hilly landscape. However, the most common style of expression is the kind of Modernism that has its roots in the 1930s.

## The acoustical school

These new concert halls have well-known predecessors: the House of Cul-



Anna Brunow and Juhani Maunula: Kuusankoski Cultural Centre, 1985



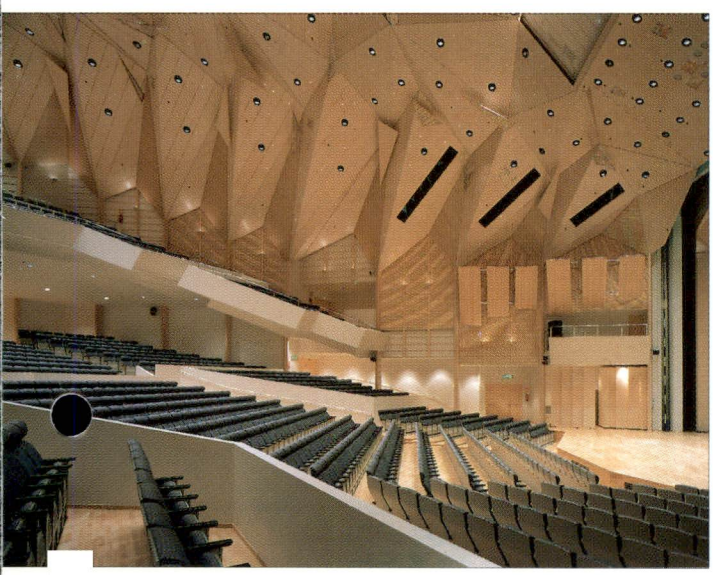
Alvar Aalto: The House of Culture, 1958



Erkki Valovirta: Kouvola Hall, 1982
Photo: Simo Rista



Alvar Aalto: Finlandia Hall, 1975
Photo: Kari Hakli



**Sakari Aartelo and Esa Piironen: Tampere Hall, 1990. Photo: Simo Rista**



**Arto Sipinen: Espoo Cultural Centre, Tapiola 1989**

**Eero Hyvämäki, Jukka Karhunen, Risto Parkkinen: Opera Building for Helsinki. Under construction, will be finished im 1993**



ture (1958) and Finlandia Hall (1971–75), both in Helsinki and both designed by Finland's most famous architect, Alvar Aalto. The House of Culture has an unusual shape; in order to fit a concert hall on the restricted plot, Aalto made use of the ancient Greek amphitheatre layout. With Paavo Arni as consultant expert, Aalto managed to create an acoustically excellent hall, which the Finnish Radio Symphony Orchestra still use.

The large hall at Finlandia Hall, seating 1.750, is also fanshaped. However, Aalto did not succeed as well with the acoustics as he did in the House of Culture. Major repairs have been necessary to correct the acoustics, and though it is now possible to control the acoustics electronically, it has been discussed, whether to leave the Finlandia Hall for conference use and to build a completely new concert hall. The first meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was held at Finlandia Hall in 1975, and the tenth anniversary meeting of foreign secretaries in 1985.

Aalto's designs were perhaps primarily architectural rather than primarily acoustic. Subsequently built concert halls are almost invariably rectangular in shape. This layout has proved its value in many older concert halls abroad. All the new concert halls in Finland have employed the same person as consultant acoustics expert, making one wonder to what extent this expert's opinions affect the architecture of the buildings.

The fact is that Finland's concert halls are strikingly similar in appearance. They are all oblong rooms, with spatial drama visible only in the vertical dimension, in the design of the seating and the ceiling. The panelling in the walls is there for acoustical reasons, and it seems as if the architect has had very little leeway in each case. Nearly all the halls have similar light 'Finnish' wood panelling, with rather little of the architect's personality visible. Compared with Alvar Aalto's bold experiments with the House of Culture and Finlandia Hall, these new halls are competently but diffidently designed.

The acoustics expert referred to above is architect Alpo Halme. He worked initially as assistant to Paavo Arni in designing the acoustics at Finlandia Hall, but has since become an expert in his own right. Halme claims that he uses more models than anyone else in the world for acoustical tests. He says he tries not to influence the architecture of the concert

halls,which is why he gives the architect only a schematic diagram of the floor plan. It is not his fault, he says, if every architect shows a predilection for light-coloured wood.

An original exception to this category is Tampere Hall, designed by Sakari Aartelo and Esa Piironen on the basis of their winning entry in the design competition; the building was completed in 1990. The concert hall seats nearly 1.900, and is thus the largest in Finland. Tampere is a fairly large city, and it is now increasing the size of its Philharmonic Orchestra to 90 members. The concert hall is a free-form shape, far from the conventional box form: to enter it is almost like going into the belly of a whale.

## Concert halls as a calling

Specialization is common in many fields of architecture. Hospitals, for example, require a lot of experience from the designer. What about cultural centres and concert halls? Architect Arto Sipinen has designed three large buildings, two culture centres and one concert hall, and it is not surprising that they are similar in architecture. They all feature airy foyers giving onto the surrounding landscape in contrast to the enclosed space of the concert hall proper.

The earliest, the Imatra Cultural Centre (550 seats, completed in 1986), still shows a certain hesitation in the architect's style. However, the materials typical of Sipinen, white quartz sand blocks and large glass surfaces are already there. In his later works, Mikkeli Concert Hall (694 seats) and Espoo Cultural Centre in Tapiola (812 seats), Sipinen makes use of Finnish Lapp marble or Italian travertine. His architectural style also proceeds towards a sound control of the whole, with simple materials counterbalancing rich forms.

## The opera house

The new opera house is a special case in the list of concert halls. It is the most ambitious project of all both in size and in artistic aims. The building, scheduled for completion in 1993, already dominates the view over Töölönlahti bay in the heart of Helsinki. The tower over the stage stands 52 metres high. The large, traditionally horseshoe-shaped auditorium will seat nearly 1.400, while the studio stage seats 200 to 500.

The opera house, designed by architects Eero Hyvämäki, Jukka Karhunen and Risto Parkkinen, is comparable to the new Opéra in Paris, the design competition for which was organized a few years ago. Both buildings represent a kind of technically-inclined Post-Modernism. Hyvämäki feels that the building incorporates the architectural ideals of the past; after all, the design competition was held some fifteen years ago. The results of a competition organized now would be quite different.

The present Helsinki opera house was originally a Russian theatre; it dates from the late 19th century. How can an art form as conservative as opera feel comfortable in a modern building? Perhaps the traditional operas lined up for the future – Strauss, Wagner and Verdi – would be better suited to the existing building. On the other hand, the large-scale Finnish operas written in the past few years will finally have a decent setting.

Finnish composers have been remarkably active in contributing to opera. The major component in this phenomenon is probably the success of the Savonlinna Opera Festival. The works, most of which have been performed abroad as well, have hitherto been based on Finnish historical subjects. It remains to be seen whether a modern state-of-the-art opera house will inspire such heights of 'Avant-Garde' as were experienced in the early days of Modernism in the1920s.

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**Written by Mr Asko Salokorpi,**
**Architectural historian**

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## The Finnish Art Grant System

The State art grant system is based on an act from 1967 pertaining to the promotion of art and on an act from 1969 on honorary professorships and State grants for artists. The Ministry of Education, the Arts Council of Finland and National Arts Councils distribute grants on the national level, and regional arts councils on the regional level.

The primary goal of the State art grant system is to promote the development of Finnish art.

### ART GRANTS

### Type and number of grants

Artists from different fields are sponsored in their work and studies with one, three and five-year grants. There are also 15-year grants available to provide artists with long-term financial backing for continuing their work. The total number of grants distributed annually is 182, but the actual number of artists receiving grants is greater, because one-year grants can be divided between two artists.

In addition, a sum equivalent to at least fifty art grants is annually allocated as special project grants for individual projects.

The grants are tax-exempt and correspond to State wage class A 9 (FIM 5,556/month in 1991). In 1991, 438 artists received this grant. In the national budget FIM 30.9 million was allocated for art grants and FIM 3.2 million for project grants. There is a special statute prescribing how the annual grants are to be apportioned between artists from different fields, translators and critics. Each field's share of the grants in 1987-90 is presented in the figure below.

### Grants awarded by regional arts councils

Regional arts councils are entrusted to award one, three and five-year grants and project grants; in 1969-88 they distributed a total of FIM 65 million in grants. Within a set budget, these committees can themselves determine the respective proportions of money spent on grants and State subsidies awarded to organizations. During the last 20 years, there has been a clear leaning towards grants, i.e., the promotion of the professional arts. This trend has been consistent, especially after an act on municipal cultural activities (1981) was passed and municipalities began receiving State subsidies to finance art societies.

Entrusting grant distribution to regional arts councils furthers regional equality and facilitates swift detection of new talent and innovative art.

### Recipients and prerequisites

Long-term State grants are awarded to accomplished full-time artists who are neither employed nor occupy a permanent post in the field of art. As a rule long-term grants are awarded to artists under 40 years of age for exceptional reasons only.

Other State grants and project grants are awarded to artists and critics and, in recognition of special achievement, to teachers working at art schools, and other art instructors and scholars specializing in art or art history. For the three and five-year grants, priority is given to artists who have already distinguished themselves in the creative arts, but are neither employed nor

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occupy a permanent post in the field of arts.

An arts council may stipulate that the grant recipient not be allowed to seek salaried employment. Other conditions may also be set to ensure that the grant money be used for suitable purposes only.

Linguistic and regional equality must be given due consideration in the awarding of grants.

Grants can be awarded to provide artists with sufficient financial backing for continuing their work or, with the exception of long-term grants, to sponsor studies and follow-up training either in Finland or abroad.

Project grants can also be granted as fixed-term or lump sum grants and artist allowances, and joint grants can be awarded to two or more artists or teams comprising one or more artists and their assistants. Grant applications can be submitted for specific projects, for covering working costs, for performance, display and publishing costs and for research in the field of art. In 1991 the grants ranged from FIM 5,000 to 50 000 (the average was FIM 20,000).

The applicant shall give an account of how the grant money is to be used in a manner specified by the arts committee in question.

## Expert committees

A set of expert committees has been set up under the Ministry of Education to award grants and give expert opinions. There are National Arts Councils for the following fields: literature, the visual arts, music, drama, architecture, the applied arts, film, photography and dance. The chairmen of the committees and four members appointed separately by the Council of State form a central committee. Each province has its own arts committee responsible for the advancement of local arts.

Members of National Arts Councils should be distinguished artists or experts in the field in question. Members of Regional Arts Councils should be experts in a special artistic field or on regional cultural policy.

Members of National Arts Councils are appointed for a three-year term by the Council of State from among candidates nominated by central art organizations and institutions representing the field in question. The Provincial Governments observe a corresponding procedure.

The National Arts Councils award one, three and five-year grants in their respective fields. They also give expert statements on the awarding of all the other grants. The Arts Council of Finland is responsible for awarding critics' grants and project grants, and the Ministry of Education for long-term grants based on the proposal of the Arts Council of Finland.

## Honorary Arts Professorships

From candidates nominated by the Arts Council of Finland the President elects an Honorary Arts Professor, either for a five-year term or permanently. There are currently 11 Honorary Arts Professors, two of whom have permanent tenure.

An appointed candidate has to be an outstandingly accomplished artist. Honorary Arts Professors are required to practice actively in their field. They alternatively lecture at institutions of higher education and give expert advice to working artists. The salary of an Honorary Arts Professor corresponds to State wage class A 24 (averaging FIM 13,500/year in 1991) and is classified as taxable income.

## Other grants

Aside from statutory grants, artists are promoted and sponsored through profits from State betting and lotteries distributed through the State budget and used for children's art project grants and awards, State awards, refunding of library expenses and supplementary artist pensions.

In 1991, the sum appropriated for children's art project grants and awards totalled FIM 700,000, State awards FIM 750,000 and library expense refunds FIM 17.5 million. A sum corresponding to 65 total pensions is distributed to artists in the form of either total or partial artist pensions annually. The pension is calculated according to State wage class A 14 (FIM 5,206/month in 1991), and is taxable income. Supplementary artist pensions were granted to some thousand artists in 1991.

Artists also receive grants from royalties paid to channelled foundations specifically founded for this purpose.

Several private foundations and funds in Finland award grants to artists. Their support accounts for one third of the total sum of grants and awards.

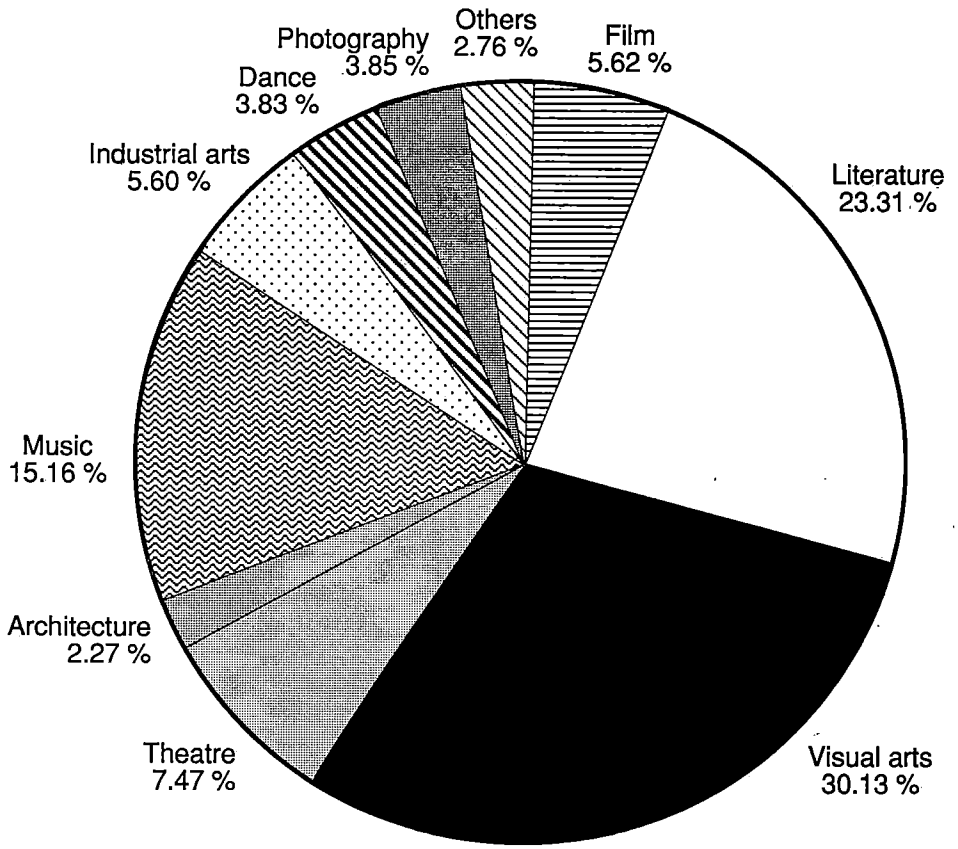
In the sponsorship of artists commercial

organizations have, at most, accounted for somewhat less than 10% (FIM 52.6 million in 1987) of State support of the arts. The share distributed to individual artists is not, however, easily comparable with the grants system.

Municipalities contribute a substantial share in sponsoring culture and the arts and in providing jobs for artists in art institutions. Supporting artists through grants is not, however, a common practice in municipalities.

**Tuulikki Karjalainen**
**Chair of the Arts Council of Finland**

***The portion allocated for each field of the arts from total grants awarded in 1987–90.***




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Kainuun Sanomain Kirjapaino 1991

# FINNISH FEATURES

SEPTEMBER 1985

## History of Finnish Literature

### I Pre-Christian era

Finland has had an unwritten literature: epic and lyric poetry, spells, songs of mourning etc, preserved by oral tradition. The oldest Baltic Finnish writing was found in the Novgorod area. It is the Lightning Spell, written on birch-bark and dating back to the early 13th century. The collecting of folk poetry on an extensive scale started at the beginning of the 19th century. The results of the work of collecting have been published in a 33 volume work called *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (The Old Poems of the Finnish People 1908—1948), which contains a total of some 1 270 000 lines.

### II Era of Swedish rule 1155—1809

Written literature was chiefly in Latin or the Swedish language. The earliest Finnish writer whose name and identity are known in Jöns Budde, a monk, and the earliest information about his literary work goes back to 1469. He translated religious literature and parts of the Old Testament into Swedish. His *Jöns Budde's bok* (Jöns Budde's Book 1487—91), written in Swedish, contains sacred writings, but also tales a little resembling short stories.

The father of the Finnish written language is Mikael Agricola (c. 1510—57). He was a priest, later a bishop, who gained his degree of magister as a pupil of Luther and Melanchton at the university of Wittenberg. When he returned to Finland he completed his Finnish translation of the New Testament (1548). Before that he had published a Finnish-language primer (1543 or 1544) and a *Rucouskirian Bibliasta* (Prayerbook form the Bible 1544).

Finnish-language literature consisted of modest psalms and occasional poetry. Swedish-language literature developed further, thanks to such poets as Jacob Frese (c. 1691—1729) and Gustaf Filip Creutz (1731—1785). The most important writer of this era is Frans Mikael Franzén (1772—1847). He is a pre-Romantic, the most important poet during the period of Swedish rule, whose significance is underlined as a pioneer whom the great poet J. L. Runeberg admired. Franzén finally moved to Sweden where he became a bishop.

### III Era of autonomy 1809—1917

When Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire, this meant in the words of Czar Alexander I that she rose to become a nation among nations. The era of autonomy marked a tremendous development in both Swedish- and particularly Finnish-language literature in Finland.

The rise of Swedish-language literature was based especially on the works of Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804—1877); in the mid-century Runeberg was the most highly esteemed writer in the Nordic countries. He was influenced both by Classicism and Romanticism, writing lyrical poetry, idyllic epics in hexameter form, and heroic epics on Scandinavian themes. His influence extended far into the twentieth century, owing to his *Fänrik Ståls sägner* (Tales of Ensign Stål I—II 1848, 1860), idealistic, patriotic narrative poems extolling Finnish bravery and endurance. The growing national consciousness was

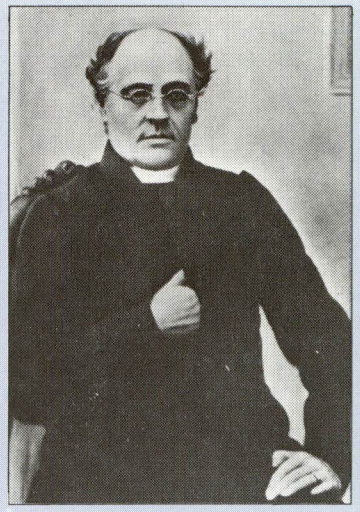
MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HELSINKI FINLAND

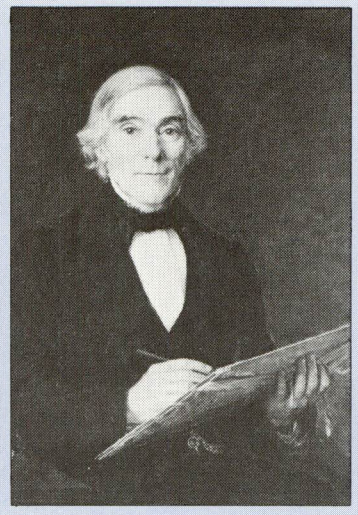
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Mikael Agricola



J.L. Runeberg



Elias Lönnrot

given a heroic and tragic background in these verses about Finnish wars.

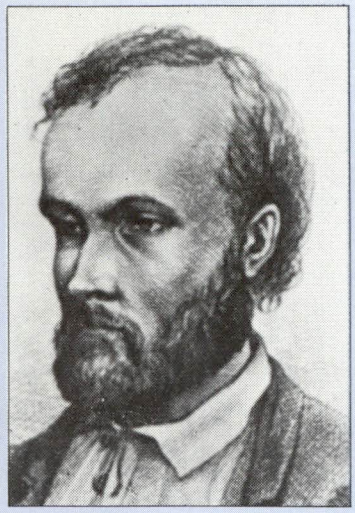
Of more enduring significance to Finnish culture than Runeberg was Elias Lönnrot (1802—1884). During his journeys collecting Finnish poetry 1828—45 Lönnrot gathered some 65 000 lines of folk poetry. From his material he composed, with some personal additions, the *Kalevala,* the Finnish national epic (1835—36, second expanded edition 1849). The *Kalevala* is the result of Lönnrot's work, for no ancient Finnish epic ever existed, though Lönnrot in the spirit of the Romantics believed it had. In addition to the *Kalevala,* Lönnrot published also a collection of lyric Finnish folk poetry called *Kanteletar* (1840—41). The influence of both these works in the whole of Finnish culture has been fundamental.

The most important philosopher and statesman in Finland in the 19th century was Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806—1881). He was a student of Hegel's thought and demanded a literature that would create and express the Finnish language and the Finnish nation. The writer who fulfilled these demands was Aleksis Kivi (1834—1872). He wrote the first Finnish-language tragedy, the first comedy, and the first novel, his chief work *Seitsemän veljestä* (Seven Brothers 1870), classic of Finnish and world literature. In his main works Kivi is a realist and a humourist, using as his material the peasant farmers' and craftsmen's life of his home district, Nurmijärvi in southern Finland. Kivi's status in the history of Finnish-language literature cannot be compared with that of any who came after him, for his work is the foundation of Finnish literature.

At the end of the 19th century, Finnish literature received powerful impulses from the Scandinavian, Russian and French realism of the time. In the novels and plays of Juhani Aho (1867—1921), Minna Canth (1844—1897), Teuvo Pakkala (1862—1925), Arvid Järnefelt (1861—1932) and the Finland-Swedish August Tavaststjerna (1860—1898) the new social criticism concentrated particularly on questions concerning the poor, workers, women and sexual problems. Literature came down on the side of social progress, especially against the church.

The period of programmatic realism was comparatively brief. By the turn of the century it was being replaced by neo-Romanticism, influenced by Symbolism, and thanks to Eino Leino (1878—1926) and Otto Manninen (1872—1950) poetry forged ahead of the novel. In Leino's work neo-Romanticism developed into a national form, stimulated by the *Kalevala,* the mythical past of the Finnish people and Karelianism. This national neo-Romanticism culminated in Leino's *Helkavirsiä (Whitsun Songs I—II 1903, 1916), collections of ballads and legendary poems, in which he adapted the metre of the Kalevala* to his artistic purposes and combined impulses from the *Kalevala* world and the ideas of Nietzche. In the 1910s neo-Romanticism gradually gave way to the classical poetry of V.A. Koskenniemi (1885—1962) and the concise expression of ethical individualism of Juhani Siljo (1888—1918).

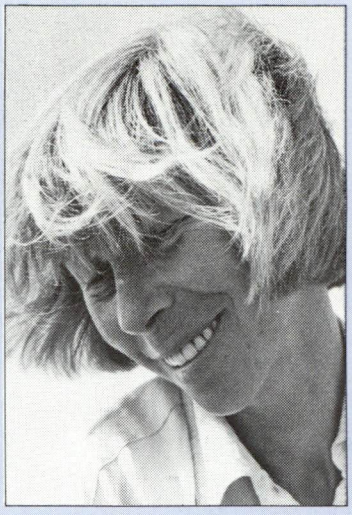
In the novel, critical realism replaced neo-Romantic ornamentation, and national idealism and admiration of simple folk came under analysis and were shown to



Aleksis Kivi



Mika Waltari



Tove Jansson

be out of date. Materialism and egoism are displayed in the short stories and plays, often dealing with marriage, of Maria Jotuni (1880—1943). The idealized picture of ordinary folk fostered by the bourgeoisie was examined in a humorous and critical light by Ilmari Kianto (1874—1970) and Maiju Lassila (pseudonym of Algoth Untola 1868—1918). The development culminated in a novel called *Putkinotko* (1919—20) by Joel Lehtonen (1881—1934), after *Seven Brothers* the most significant Finnish novel when it was published.

Independence in 1917 and the civil war between Reds and Whites that ensued in 1918, ending in the suppression of the attempted revolution, are a decisive turningpoint in Finnish history, and had their influence in literature also.

## IV The First Republic 1917—1944

At the end of the 1910s Finland-Swedish poetry first introduced a new modernist generation of writers with a new concept of literature. Finland-Swedish poetry led the way in Scandinavia, with the poets Edith Södergran (1892—1923), Elmer Diktonius (1896—1961) and Gunnar Björling (1887—1960) in the forefront. Poetry dispensed with regular metre and rhyme, creating a new kind of imagery and finding influences from German expressionism and later Dadaism and elsewhere.

The renewing of Finnish-language poetry was not so radical, though modernist tendencies can be perceived in for example the poetry of Aaro Hellaakoski (1893—1952) and later of members of the younger generation: Katri Vala (1901—1944), Uuno Kailas (1901—1933) and P. Mustapää (pseudonym of Martti Haavio, 1899—1973). Along the prose writers of the new generation, the most significant included Pentti Haanpää (1905—1955), satirist and ironist, a master of the short tale, the working class writer and individual thinker Toivo Pekkanen (1902—1957) and Mika Waltari (1908—1979), portrayer of the modern middle-class, who won his chief renown after World War II with his historical novels, such as *Sinuhe* (1945).

In prose writing between the world wars the focus, however, was on the works of the older generation, of writers such as Lehtonen, Jotuni and Järnefelt already mentioned. A vital contribution was also made by F.E. Sillanpää (1888—1964), whose novels *Hurskas kurjuus* (Pious Misery 1919) and *Nuorena nukkunut* (Fallen Asleep While Young 1931) are coloured by a sense of proportion based on a biological view of life. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1939. The chief work of Volter Kilpi (1874—1939), *Alastalon salissa* (In the Parlour of Alastalo 1933) describing the Finns of the southwestern archipelago, marks the advent of the internal monologue to the Finnish novel and is one of the high points of the genre.

At the end of the 1930s the left-wing intelligentsia began to organize politically, and to produce working-class, antimilitarist and anti-Fascist literature. In poetry these writers included Arvo Turtiainen (1904—1980) and Viljo Kajava (born 1909), while the new social prose was represented by e.g. Helvi Hämäläinen (born 1907) and Elvi Sinervo (born 1912).

## V Period after World War II

After the war two lines in both poetry and prose are visible: the one resorting to traditional form and expression, the other chiefly influenced by European modernism. In poetry the post-war works of e.g. Hellaakoski, P. Mustapää and V. A. Koskenniemi represent the former. In prose the most influential traditional novelist has been Väinö Linna (born 1920) with his *Tuntematon sotilas* (Unknown Soldier 1954) and *Täällä Pohjantähden alla* (Here Under the North Star I—III 1959—62).

The so-called modernism of the fifties brought a great number of both poets and prose-writers to the fore. Poetry now abandoned regular metre and rhyme almost completely and often expressed itself in unconventional imagery. Poets who have achieved a significant position include Helvi Juvonen (1919—1959), Paavo Haavikko (born 1931), Eeva-Liisa Manner (born 1921), Tuomas Anhava (born 1927), Lassi Nummi (born 1928), and Mirkka Rekola (born 1931), together with the Finland-Swedish Bo Carpelan (born 1926). In volume, versatility and quality, and from the international recognition he has received, Haavikko can be considered the leading writer of this modernist generation.

Among the most significant novelists of this generation are Antti Hyry (born 1931), master of economical expression, Marja-Liisa Vartio (1924—1966), with her sharp-eyed psychological description, Paavo Rintala (born 1930), who has experimented with the documentary and collage novel, and Veijo Meri (born 1928), whose novels abound in grotesque events and absurd humour, and whose war novel *Manillaköysi* (Manilla Rope 1957) in particular has aroused considerable response from translations into several languages.

In the 1960s literature became more socially conscious and political, while shifting from the often expressionless ambiguity of the previous decade to a style both more direct and more resembling everyday speech. In poetry this is reflected e.g. in the works of Pentti Saarikoski (1937—1983) and the less political poetry of Väinö Kirstinä (born 1936). Among the Finland-Swedish poets who started in the sixties, one of the most significant is Claes Andersson (born 1937), who has brought social and psychological themes more openly to Swedish-language poetry.

In the novel social realism became more common, often combined with an attempt to disclose the tensions, political, sexual and religious, beneath the surface both in individuals and society. Among the most important writers are Marko Tapio (1924—1973), Samuli Paronen (1917—1974), Lassi Sinkkonen (1937—1976) and Timo K. Mukka (1944—1973), along with Hannu Salama (born 1936), who in his novel *Siinä näkijä missä tekijä* (Where There's a Deed There's a Witness 1972) and his *Finlandia Series* (1976—84) has powerfully influenced Finnish social realism. Among Finland-Swedish novelists some of the most significant are Christer Kihlman (born 1930) and Jörn Donner (born 1933); they have written novels examining the way of life of the Finland-Swedish bourgeoisie, but also social reports. The Finnish writer who has won the most international fame is the Finland-Swedish Tove Jansson (born 1914) with her *Muumi* books, published from the forties to the seventies.

In the novel of the 1970s broad and generally conventional narration was popular both among writers and their readers. The past and present of Finnish society was charted and the problems of the welfare society and urbanization examined, as e.g. in the works of Eila Pennanen (born 1916), Alpo Ruuth (born 1943), Eeva Joenpelto (born 1921), Kalle Päätalo (born 1919) and Eino Säisä (born 1935). Psychological and social problems have been combined in new ways by e.g. Kerttu-Kaarina Suosalmi (born 1921), Antti Tuuri (born 1944), Matti Pulkkinen (born 1944), Olli Jalonen (born 1954) and the Finland-Swedish Johan Bargum (born 1943) and Henrik Tikkanen (1924—1984), expert in the satirical autobiographical novel. Erno Paasilinna (born 1935) is also a sharp satirist, as well as achieving important results in the field of the broad historical documentary. Leena Krohn (born 1947) has established her own niche in the field of miniature works with philosophical colouring and precise prose, rare in Finland.

Poetry did not develop in the seventies as strongly as did prose. It preserved the spoken quality but dropped the political content of the sixties, and in their stead came either an intimate individualism or expression seeking its impulses from urban life, rock and pop culture.

**Written by Pertti Lassila, University of Helsinki, Department of literature**

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FINNISH FEATURES

MARCH 1988

# The Birth of Finnish Literature

## 500 years since the publication of the MISSALE ABOENSE

In 1988 Finland celebrates the fifth centenary of the Finnish Book — 500 years after the publication of the first book printed for Finland. The book was the **Missale Aboense**, printed by Bartholomeus Ghotan at Lübeck in 1488.

## Literature in medieval Finland

From the end of the 12th century Finland was part of the Swedish realm and sphere of influence of the Roman Catholic Church. The common culture that held the Church together extended even as far as Finland. In fact the Latin language culture achieved a considerable florescence in Finland in the last centuries of the Middle Ages. Young Finns studied eagerly at European universities; virtually all the holders of important cathedral offices from the beginning of the 15th century were graduates from some European university. The urge to study was increased by the fact that a clergyman had priority to be appointed to an office in his home bishopric if his merits were equal to those of outsiders competing for the office. In addition to noble birth, a university degree was counted as a merit. The leaders of the Turku bishopric succeeded in keeping foreing aspirants at a distance.

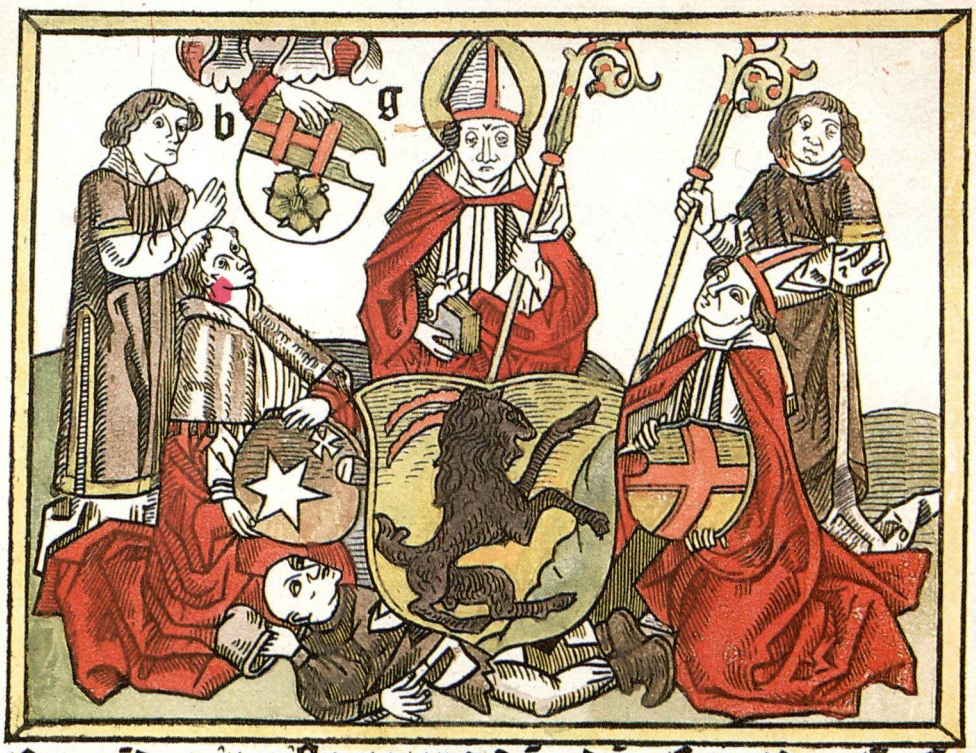
The most important place of study for Finns in the 14th century was Paris. In the 15th century the trend changed, first to Prague and then to Leipzig, then to Rostock and Greifswald. But what kind of literature did medieval Finland have? Unfortunately an overall picture is no longer available. Wars, unrest and fires destroyed cultural achievements. And what was preserved from destruction met a hard fate at the end of the Roman Catholic era. When the Lutheran Reformation, abetted by King Gustavus Vasa, spread through the Swedish realm, "Papist" books lost their significance, and began to be considered downright injurious.

Fortunately not all books were destroyed, though those printed on paper were most likely burnt. But parchment did not burn, while in Finland, poor in raw materials, other uses could be found for parchment pages. King Gustavus Vasa had organized an efficient tax system. The bailiffs responsible for taxation had to send their accounts to the king in sturdily bound books. Large-size parchment pages were particularly suitable as covers for these volumes. A considerable part of the literature current in medieval Finland has been preserved because of this — in the form of torn fragments of separate pages it is true. This was discovered in the 1840s, and scholars succeeded in assembling some 10 000 parchment pages, originating from about 1 000 different books. These books were among the most

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HELSINKI FINLAND

Classification:
13.6.




Reuerẽdus in cristo pater ⁊ dñs. dñs Conradus Bystz dei et apl̃ice sedis grã p̃sul ecclie Abwen̄ Attendens in sua dioc̃esi librox missaliũ paucitatẽ eozundẽq; corrup tiõz nõ modicã. Et ex hoc q̃ũdem sacerdotũ celebrãtiũ cõsurgẽ turbacõz et indeuotionẽ. Hos libros missales scõm verũ ordinariũ sue ecclie ꝑ eximiũ virũ Danielem de egher|alme vniũsitatis parisien̄ sacre theologie ꝓfes soz̃ insignẽ|optime correctos. Ac mgrãlit ex inspiratiõe dina P honorabilem virũ Bartholomeũ Ghotan ꝑ gl̃a cristi ihesu|cũ sũma diligẽtia In inclita ciuitate lube cen̄ impressos. Auctoritate ordinaria approbauit ⁊ cõfir mauit Et singulis sacerdotibz sue dioc̃es ex eisdẽ libris missas legẽtibz et celebrãtibz totiensq̃tiens De omipotẽ tis dei misc̃dia Et auctte bt̃õx Petri et Pauli cõfisus. quadraginta dies indulgẽtiax de iniũctis sibi penitẽcijs miseric̃ordit relaxauit. Anno dñi Millesimoq̃dringẽtesi mooctuagesimooctauo|die vero. xvij. mens̄ augusti.

The woodcut on the initial page of the Missale Aboense is a symbolic representation of the Cathedral of Turku.

important church and spiritual works of literature of the Middle Ages. The collection, which is kept today in the Helsinki University Library, clearly shows that there were extensive and diverse libraries of books in medieval Finland.

On the other hand, there was little literature created in Finland. The most significant writer was Jöns Budde, from the Brigittine monastery at Naantali, who lived in the latter part of the 15th century. He is the earliest writer known by name in Finland. His work included the translation of whole books of the Bible into Swedish. No evidence of the literary work carried on in Dominican and Franciscan monasteries in Finland has been preserved.

## Missale Aboense

The first book printed for Finland, the **Missale Aboense**, is as its name suggests a prayer book used for Mass. It follows the tradition of the Dominican liturgy, which around the year 1330 was adopted as the official liturgy of the see of Turku. This poor bishopric could not afford to have its own missal printed, but its Dominican tradition came to the rescue. At the same time as the **Missale Aboense** was printed, a simultaneous printing appeared for Dominican needs elsewhere in the Scandinavian countries. In the **Missale Aboense** the only main difference from this were the necessary local features of the Turku see in the calendar of saints.

The **Missale** was commissioned by Bishop Konrad Bitz from the Lübeck printer Bartholomeus Ghotan. Bitz dated his introduction to the book, Turku, 17 August 1488, and it was published in the same year. The Missale was printed on both parchment and paper. This first-born of Finnish literature ran to some 550 folio pages. With regard to beauty of typography, it still competes successfully for a leading place among Finnish books. A facsimile edition of the work was brought out in 1971.




**The Missale Aboense was printed at Lübeck in 1488 by Bartholomeus Ghotan, whose printer's mark appears at the end of the book.**

## Manuale Aboense

Finland's second book was also intended for church use. The **Manuale Aboense** was a manual for offices to be performed outside the normal church service (baptism, marriage etc.). It was printed by Laurentius Stuchs at Halberstadt in Germany, in 1522. The **Manuale** is considerably smaller in size than the **Missale**. It is not so impressive typographically as the **Missale** either.

The story of the **Manuale Aboense** is exciting. It is probable that the book was never used in Finland, and it is uncertain how many copies of the printing in general reached Finland. It was commissioned by the Bishop of Turku, Arvid Kurki, the last Finnish Roman Catholic bishop; he drowned during a time of war while fleeing to Sweden in July 1522. But the Reformation was also at the door then. The just completed **Manuale** lost its importance, and the book disappeared for over 300 years. It was not until 1844 that pages were found in the covers of tax accounts coming from a hitherto unknown book. This unknown book was the **Manuale Aboense**. A fine facsimile edition of it was published in 1980.

## Literature of the early Reformation period: Michael Agricola

Finnish connections with the culture of continental Europe continued when the Lutheran Reformation was revolutionizing the German spiritual landscape. The Finnish reformer Michael Agricola (ca 1510—1557) had studied at Wittenberg under Luther and Melanchthon. Wittenberg remained for decades the principle seat of learning for Finns.

One of the chief aims of the Reformation was to bring the Bible to the common people by translating it into their own language. Agricola was sent to Wittenberg in 1536 with the express purpose that he should be trained to translate the Bible into Finnish. Even before he left he had started to translate the New Testament into Finnish. This task was not, however, completed until twenty years later, in 1543; it was printed in 1548 under the title **Se Wsi Testamenti.** Agricola managed to publish a translation of almost a quarter of the Old Testament. This appeared in three volumes between 1551 and 1552.

Vital as the aim of translating the Bible into Finnish was, Agricola was compelled to work on other basic literature in the language of the people. He was indeed a productive writer: a good 1 500 pages coming from his pen were published in printed form. Between 1543 and 1552 he published nine books in total, all of them printed in Stockholm by Amund Laurentsson.

Agricola's first publication was a primer called **Abckiria**, the first edition of which may have appeared in 1543 — only some twenty years after the publication of the **Manuale Aboense**. The publication year of the first edition of the primer is unknown because only pieces of two pages have been preserved. The second edition probably appeared in 1551; eight pages of this edition still exist.

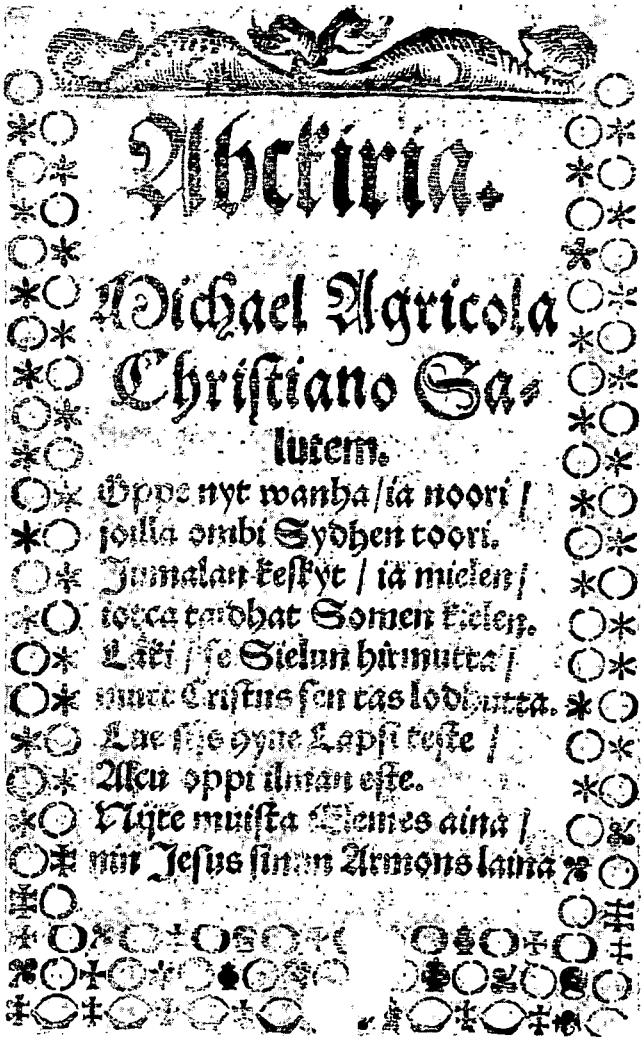
The find of the century was made in 1966. In that year 8 missing pages of Agricola's primer were discovered in the library of the Västerås see in Sweden. This meant that the complete text of the primer was now available. Furthermore, the Västerås pages revealed a hitherto unknown third edition of the primer, published in Stockholm in 1559, two years after Agricola's death.

Agricola's greatest creative contribution was a prayer book, **Rucouskiria Bibliasta** (1544), a beautifully printed work of 877 pages. It was primarily intended for the clergy, as can be seen for instance in the ample liturgical material. Other publications by Agricola include a manual of church offices, **Käsikiria castesta ja muista christikunnan menoista**(1549), and a missal, **Messu eli Herran echtolinen** (1549).

Agricola, who became Bishop of Turku in 1554, is known as the father of the written Finnish language because of his extensive literary production; his influence is apparent even to this day. Of the 8 500 Finnish words he used, 4 500 are still in use.

## Paulus Juusten

Paulus Juusten (1516—1576) was appointed Bishop of Viipuri in 1554 in the same connection as when Agricola became Bishop of Turku. He followed Agricola as Bishop of Turku in 1563, remaining in that office until he died. Juusten also studied at Wittenberg, and


Abckiria.

Michael Agricola
Chriſtiano Sa-
lutem.

Oppe nyt wanha / ia noori /
joilla ombi Sydhen toori.
Jumalan keſkyt / ia mielen /
iotca tardhat Somen kielen.
Läki / ſe Sielun hirmutta /
mutt Criſtus ſen tas lodhutta.
Lue ſie nyne Lapſi teſte /
Aku oppi ilman eſte.
Nijte muiſta Miehes aina /
nin Jeſus ſinun Armons laina
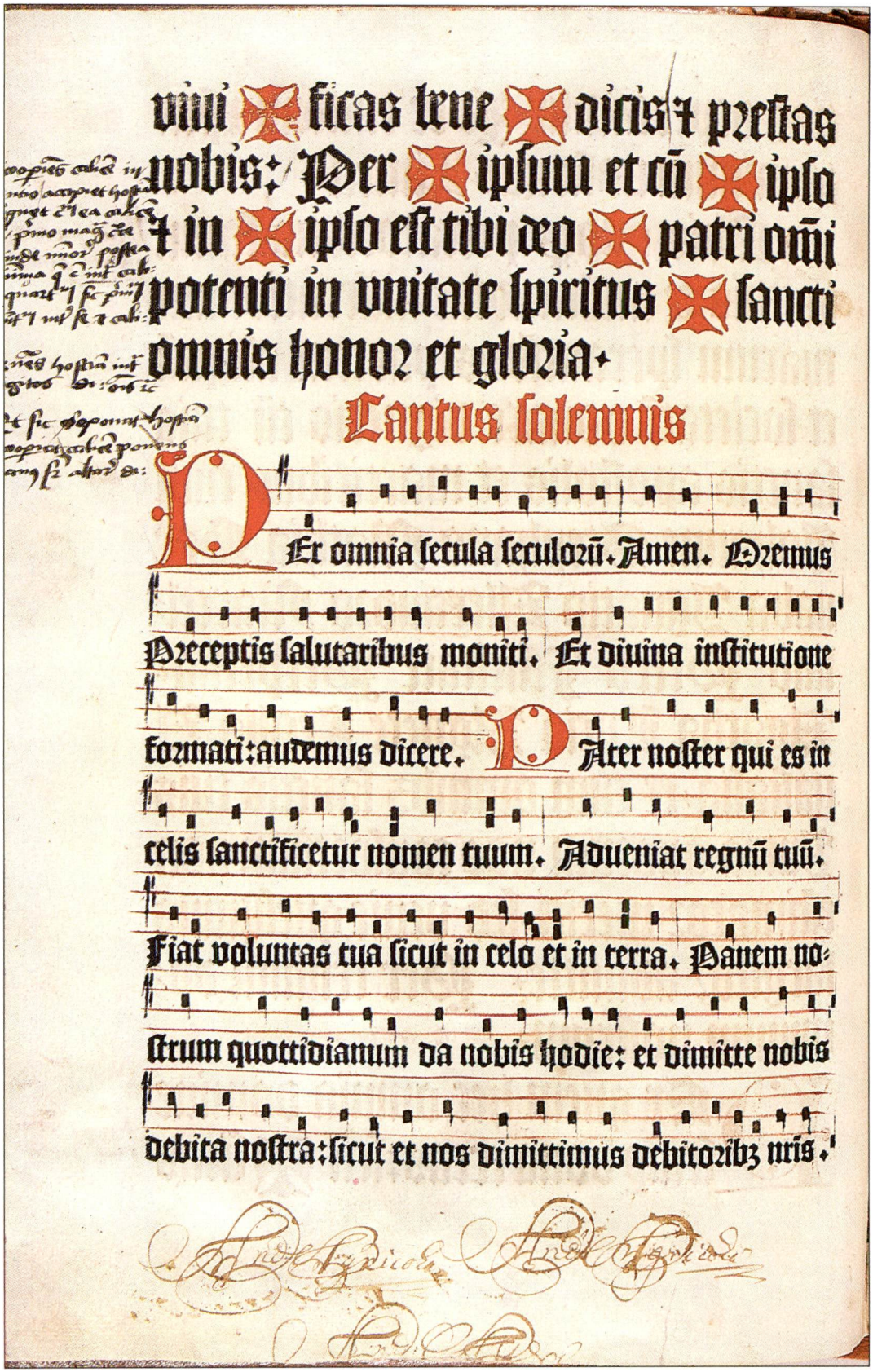
**The beginning of Finnish-language literature was marked by Mikael Agricola's Abckiria, which was published in 1543. It was printed in Stockholm by Amund Laurentsson.**

completed his studies at Rostock and Königsberg. His period as a bishop was one of unrest. Agricola had already had to participate in the peace negotiations with Russia in 1556—1557, and died from the strain of the journey. King Johan III ordered Juusten to be a member of the peace negotiations whith Ivan IV (the Terrible), and Juusten was forced to spend almost three years (1570—1572) in Moscow, for some of the time even in prison.

During his period of imprisonment, Juusten wrote an extensive book of homilies in Latin, intended for the clergy, **Explicationes evangeliorum dominicalium et praecipuarum feriarum totius anni**. It contained explanations of gospel texts for Sundays and holy days. But Juusten did not get his work printed. The manuscript was kept in the Turku University Library, where in 1827 it burnt along with other collections in the library.

A second work by Juusten while in Russia was a catechism, printed in Stockholm in 1574. Although the catechism was a printed publication, not a single copy of it has been preserved. Fortune did not smile upon Juusten's literary work otherwise either. He did not live to see the publication of his most important work, a Finnish language missal, **Se Pyhä Messu**, as it appeared three weeks after his death in 1575. This missal appears to have been used so much that only two copies with all the pages intact have been preserved. A facsimile edition was published in 1978.

Posterity knows the name of Juusten best for his chronicle of Finnish bishops, **Chronicon episcoporum finlandensium**. This was published in 1784—1800 together with an exhaustive commentary by Henrik Gabriel Porthan.


viui ficas tene dicis t prestas
nobis: Per ipsum et cũ ipso
t in ipso est tibi deo patri omñi
potenti in unitate spiritus sancti
omnis honor et gloria.
Cantus solemnis
Et omnia secula seculorũ. Amen. Oremus
Preceptis salutaribus moniti. Et diuina institutione
formati: audemus dicere. Pater noster qui es in
celis sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adueniat regnũ tuũ.
Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra. Panem no-
strum quottidianum da nobis hodie: et dimitte nobis
debita nostra: sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribz nris.

Missale Aboense; the parts of the Mass intended to be sung were marked in the printed book by hand by using Gregorian notation.

## Jacobus Petri Finno

Jacobus Petri Finno (ca 1540—1588), known as a hymnist, also studied at Wittenberg and Rostock. For a long period he was principal of Turku school. At the command of King Johan III he was responsible for having "some necessary books" published in Finnish, including a hymn book which appeared in 1583 and remained the basis for the Finnish hymn book for three centuries. Only one copy of the first edition is known; this is kept in the Uppsala University Library. Another of Finno's publications was a prayer book, **Yxi wähä Rucous Kiria**. This was also published in 1583. It was the first Finnish-language prayer book intended for the common people, and it created the foundation for all the later 17th century prayer book tradition. At the beginning of the 1580s, Finno's **Catechismus** also appeared. The first edition has vanished, and only the second edition of 1615 has been preserved.

Finno also brought to publication the **Piae Cantiones**, a collection of songs in Latin inherited from the Middle Ages and sung in Finland. These 74 songs were published at Greifswald in 1582. A second edition was printed at Rostock in 1625. Several new editions of the collection have been printed both in Latin and in Finnish.

## Ericus Erici Sorolainen

Paulus Juusten's successor to the bishopric of Turku was Ericus Erici Sorolainen (ca 1546—1625). He had completed his university studies at Rostock. He was appointed Bishop of Turku in 1583. Ericus Erici Sorolainen is one of the most important influences in Finnish literature. His work is a vital part of the flourishing period of Finnish literature at the beginning of the 17th century.

His first literary work was printed in 1614; it was a translation into Finnish of a church manual, **Käsikiria Jumalan Palveluxesta ja Christilisestä Kircon menoista**. Another of the works he put together for practical church needs was a catechism of over 500 pages, **Catechismus eli Christilisen opin päácappalet**, printed in Stockholm in 1614. This thorough presentation of Christian doctrine was primarily intended for the clergy and students.

His concise catechism, **Wähä Catechismus**, on the other hand, was intended for the common people. Our knowledge concerning this book is deficient. The oldest known edition was printed in 1629 — after Sorolainen's death. But this edition was probably not the first; the earliest printing seems to have vanished beyond recall. This concise catechism, which was taken more or less directly from Luther's text, was highly successful in its purpose. During the 17th century it ran to 11 editions, and it was for a century the most important religious textbook of the Finnish people.

The big achievement of early Finnish-language literature was, however, Sorolainen's two-part **Postilla**, a book of sermons. The parts of **Postilla** were published in Stockholm in 1621 and 1625, and their pages together number as many as 2 300.

**Postilla** was read right up to the middle of the 18th century. Its importance has been great, as its influence has been felt both as a book to be read and orally through the sermons of the clergy. Sorolainen's **Postilla** was the first extensive independent literary work published in the Finnish language. It was also in its time the only extensive collection of sermons to be published in Scandinavia.

## Development of literature after the Reformation

Latin, which had been the language of literature during the Middle Ages, maintained its position as the language of scholars even long after the Reformation. But in Lutheran countries the language of the common people became the language of the Church and of popular education. In Finland Swedish was also used as the language of government, but since the majority of the population had Finnish as their mother tongue, literature intended for popular use was also published in Finnish.

Up to the beginning of the 17th century, little literature was published. Agricola's work as a writer was an exception. For a long time even in the 17th century, the literature appearing in Finland was almost solely religious. It was not until Finland's own university was founded in 1640 that academic literature began to appear alongside religious writings.

Thanks to the university, Finland's first printing press was established in 1642. The first fruits of Finnish literature were printed over a period of a good 150 years, from the appearance of the **Missale Aboense** up to the publishing of the first Finnish-language Bible in 1642, chiefly in the capital of the kingdom, Stockholm, which was only a short sailing distance from the centre of Church and government in Finland, Turku.

## The first complete Bible in the Finnish language, 1642

Many years passed before Finns could read the Bible in its entirety in their own mother tongue. In 1638 the government set up a new committee to translate the Bible; its work was completed in 1641. According to its commission, the committee was to write good and pure Finnish that could be understood by Finns all over the country. The importance of the Bible as a unifier of the language was in fact greater than any other factor; even the mass media of today could hardly dream of having a comparable influence.

Since it proved that Finland could not obtain a printing press that could print the entire Bible in folio size, the work was done in Stockholm at the printing press of Heinrich Keyser. The Bible appeared under the title of **Biblia, Se on: coci Pyhä Ramattu suomexi** in 1642, in an edition of 1 200 copies. Typographically the final result was splendid. The Bible of 1642, together with the **Missale Aboense**, is the undisputed gem of Finnish literature.

The early period of Finnish literature, which began with the publication of the **Missale Aboense** in 1488, ended in 1642. The appearance of the first entire Bible in Finnish and the founding of the printing press in Turku form a clear watershed in the history of the book in Finland.

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**Written by Esko Häkli, Director of the Helsinki University Library**

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Helsinki 1988. Government Printing Centre

# FINNISH FEATURES

## Music Competitions in Finland

There are nowadays almost 20 different music competitions in Finland, of which three are international: The Jean Sibelius International Violin Competition, the Mirjam Helin International Singing Competition, and a newcomer, the International Paulo Cello Competition.

The oldest and most famous Finnish competition is the Jean Sibelius Violin Competition, created by the Sibelius Society. When the competition first took place in 1965, only one other regular Finnish music competition existed: the Maj Lind Piano Competition, which began in 1945.

In music circles the Jean Sibelius Competition was welcomed with enthusiasm. When the well-known mathematician and academic Rolf Nevanlinna was asked for his opinion on the first Sibelius Competition, he said: "The fact that a violin competition of very high standard is now competing with the eternal local basketball and wrestling competitions or Eurovision contests, is unique to our experience".

Nineteen-year old Oleg Kagan, a Soviet prodigy, won the first competition. Thirty-five violinists from 17 countries participated, among them one Finnish contestant, Jorma Rahkonen, then concert master of the National Opera and now concert master of the Radio Symphony Orchestra.

In 1970, Liana Isakadze and Pavel Kogan, both representing the Soviet Union shared first place in the competition. On that occasion there were 26 competitors from sixteen different countries, including four Finnish participants.

In 1975, Yuval Yaron of Israel triumphed over a strong field of 50 participants, four of them Finnish. Other prize winners were Ilja Grubert, representing the Soviet Union, and Eugen Sarbu, representing Romania – both famous violinists.

In 1980 the prizes went again to the Soviet Union: 21-year old Viktoria Mullova won and Sergei Stadler took second place. For the first time there were Finnish finalists: Pyry Mikkola and Kaija Saarikettu. The first place in the 1985 competition was shared between Ilja Kaler from the Soviet Union and Leonidas Kavakos from Greece. Benita Nordell of Finland reached the final.

By 1990 the Jean Sibelius Violin Competition had attracted strong contestants for 25 years, and was rightly proud of its roster of winners. In that year, however, the field was weak, and no first prize was awarded. Cristina Anghelescua from Romania was considered the best, and received second prize. 16-year-old Jaakko Kuusisto of Finland was placed fourth – the highest place any Finn has achieved in the Sibelius Competition.

Among possible reasons for the decline in the quality of the violinists are, first, the small amounts awarded to prize-winners: 5,000, 4,000 and 3,000 US dollars for lst, 2nd and 3rd places respectively. Second, the number of world violin



**Oleg Kagan, 19, winner of the 1965 Jean Sibelius International Violin Competition and Mrs. Aino Sibelius, 94.**

competitions has dramatically increased. And third, Helsinki is not at its most inviting in December, although the traditional Finnish hospitality has always pleased the competitors.

When the Mirjam Helin International Singing Competition was being planned, the natural choice was August, during the Finnish summer. Any other season might have presented a risk for the singers' voice. Mirjam Helin is a Finnish singing teacher and patron of music, who conceived the idea of a competition when she was over 70. The Finnish Cultural Foundation accepted its organization.

Sixty young singers participated in the first competition in 1984. The prizes were remarkable: 60,000 FIM (appr. 12,000 US dollars) for the winner, 40,000 FIM (appr. 8,000 US dollars) for the runner-up and 25,000 FIM (appr. 5,000 US dollars) for the contestant who took third place, in both the men's and the women's categories. A stellar jury was assembled: Kim Borg, Sena Jurinac, Matti Lehtinen, Jevgeni Nesterenko, Birgit Nilsson, Aase Nordmo-Lövberg, Anna Reynolds and Irmgaard Seefried.

The singers from People's Republic of China were the great sensation of this first competition. It was a surprise to see how well the western song tradition is represented in China. The winner of the women's category was the mezzo-soprano Liang Ning (nowadays Ning Liang). The coloratura-soprano Dilbér placed second. Both of these ladies were from the Peoples Republic of China. The winner of the men's category was Vladimir Tshernov from the Soviet Union. The East-German Olaf Bär placed second and the Chinese Fu Hai-Jing was awarded third prize. All three were baritons.

The Mirjam Helin Competition has, as was its intention, brought Finland considerable international publicity. In the second competition which took place in August 1989, Finland was not represented in the final round. The Hungarian soprano, Andrea Rost, won the women's category and René Pape from East Germany triumphed in the men's competition. Both received 80,000 FIM (appr. 21,000 US dollars). This time Asia was represented in the final by the Japanese baritone Satosi Mizuguchi. A total of 57 competitors took part. The competition is held every five years and the next one will be in 1994.

Good prizes are also used as a lure for the first International Paulo Cello Competition, which will take place in Helsinki in November 1991. The first, second and third places are worth 20,000, 12,000 and 8,000 US dollars. Professor Arto Noras, Artistic Director of the Naantali Music Festival and Finland's most famous cellist, is responsible for setting up the competition. The competition is financed by the Paulo Foundation. Its International jury is of great authority and the programme is demanding.

Finnish pianists get their chance in the national Maj Lind Piano Competition, which began in 1945. Maj Lind (1876-1942) was a wealthy patron of music and a skilled amateur pianist who had stud-



**Mirjam Helin International Singing Competition 1984, Liang Ning and Vladimir Tshernov.**

ied the piano in St. Petersburg. In her will she bequeathed a fifth of her estate to the Sibelius Academy "for developing piano playing".

The Maj Lind Competition is designed for 15 to 30-year-old pianists. In the beginning it was held every year, and every important Finnish pianist stood a chance of winning. Yet, there was difficulty in finding enough competitors. During the sixties there were often only 3 or 4 competitors annually.

In 1963 the winner of the Maj Lind Competition was Juhani Raiskinen, who subsequently raised the Finnish National Opera to international fame as its Director from 1974 to 1984. The fact that he did not play in the final round was noted by the music critic of Helsingin Sanomat: "Because the winner didn't appear in the event announced as being the final, there was no possibility of further evaluating his playing", the critic complained.

In 1970 the Maj Lind Piano Competition was reorganized. It would be held every three years, and no longer be a one-day event. Any participant who bypassed the final round would forfeit his or her right to first prize. As a result of these changes, public and media interest increased. Nowadays the competition is an important Finnish musical event which does not suffer from shortage of participants.

Many top level Finnish pianists have won prizes in the Maj Lind Piano Competition, for example: Eero Heinonen, Risto Lauriala, Arto Satukangas and Juhani Lagerspetz. Nevertheless, the internationally most succesful Finnish pianist, Olli Mustonen, only shared second prize in 1982. Matti Raekallio, perhaps the most virtuoso pianistic talent in Finland today, was also awarded second prize in 1973.

Young singers have been raised to national fame by two competitions: the Lappeenranta National Singing Competition and the Timo Mustakallio Singing Competition. The Lappeenranta Competition is held every three years. Men and women each have their own category. Jorma Hynninen was the men's category winner in the first Lappeenranta Competition in 1969. Soprano Karita Mattila and bassbaritone Petteri Salomaa won the competition in 1980. Both are now internationally famous Finnish singers. The previously unknown cantor-organist, soprano Soile Isokoski, was the winner of the women's category in 1987. Thus the competition boasts the discovery of perhaps the most beautiful Finnish female voice of our time.

The Timo Mustakallio Singing Competition at the Savonlinna Opera Festival began in 1974. The operatic tenor Mustakallio (1929-1984; after 1979 Artistic Director of the Opera Festival) donated the competition prize, a scholarship intended to support further studies abroad. Its goal is to reward not the technically superior singer, but the one who possesses the greatest and most promising talent, whose voice quality merits speedy development.

The Mustakallio Competition lasts one day and its results are often given out in record time."Martti Talvela will an-

nounce the results in five minutes" the speakers used to say firmly. Talvela, Finland's outstanding basso, was a mainstay of the two-person jury for the competition for many years. "Success depends on the singer's personality, the ability to endure solitude, and the mastering of one's self", Talvela advised the winner of the 1983 competition.

A number of major talents have been uncovered via the Mustakallio Competition. Its first winner was the mezzosoprano Leena Kiilunen, nowadays a well-known singer in Holland. Walton Grönroos, future Director of the Finnish National Opera, made his breakthrough in the competition of 1975. Soprano Raili Viljakainen was the winner the following year. Since 1989, the Timo Mustakallio Singing Competition has become a biennial event. Despite a significant number of participants, there was not enough new talent to justify an annual competition.

Of the national competitions, the most important are the Kuopio Violin Competition (every five years) and the Turku Nordic Cello Competition (since 1978 every four years). Hannele Segerstam was the winner of the first Kuopio Violin Competition, held in January 1967. Finalists also included Jorma Rahkonen, Seppo Tukiainen, Olavi Pälli, Ilkka Talvi and Erkki Kantola – all important Finnish violinists. The competition proved what had been hoped for: in the face of general Finnish prejudice talented violin solists were coming of age. According to the competition commentator, Professor Erik Tawaststjerna, these prejudices were "only nonsense". The Turku Cello Competition, arranged by the Musical society of Turku, was held for the first time in January 1972. Martti Rousi (1982) and Riitta Pesola (1986) are the best known winners of the Turku Competition. In 1990 at attempt was made to make the competition Nordic, with little success: there were only two participants from abroad and neither reached the final.

Organists have their own competition in the Lahti International Organ Festival. In 1980 the competition was national, the winner being Olli Porthán. In 1984 the Nordic competition was won by Maija Lehtonen, and in the international 1989 event no first prize was awarded.

The Crusell Week of Uusikaupunki has been arranging competitions for woodwind instrumentalists every second year since 1982. Nordic clarinetists, oboists and flutists have all been able to measure their talents. Clarinetist Anna-Maija Korsimaa has won the competition twice. In July 1991 the first national viola competition was held in Sotkamo.

During the Kangasniemi Music Festival, a song competition has been held every year since 1987. A newcomer is the Tapiola Competition, which occurs during the Lappajärvi Music Days. This competition is designed for singer/pianist duos from Finland and abroad. The large number of participants in this August competition has surprised its organizers.

A considerable proportion of youth competitions are concentrated in Jyväskylä. The Ilmari Hannikainen Piano Competition has been held there every three years since 1975, together with the Juhani Heinonen Violin Competition, (since 1977) and the K. V. Leino Guitar and Accordion Competitions (since 1986). The Jyväskylä Conservatory has arranged all these competitions, designed for music school students. In the piano and violin competitions there are prizes for the top participants in two age categories: 15 and younger, and 16 and older.

In 1986 the first piano competition for children and young people was arranged and held by Fazer Music. There are three age categories: 6–9, 10–12 and 13–15-year-old competitors. The competition takes place every other year.

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**Written by: Mr. Hannu-Ilari Lampila, Music critic.**

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# FINNISH FEATURES

NOVEMBER 1982

## Finnish Christmas Table

Christmas is the most traditional of Finnish festivals. It is time for the family, close relatives, friends without family, but above all for the children. The good old traditional dishes appear on the Christmas dining table year after year. Casserole dishes — Finnish cuisine at its best — can easily be made a few days beforehand.

### Freshly-salted salmon

Preparation time: about 25 minutes
Salting time: 1-3 days
Not suitable for freezing

large piece of salmon, about 4 ½ lb. (2 kg)
1/3 cup (1 dl) coarse salt
4 tablespoons sugar
3—4 teaspoons roughly-ground white pepper
plenty of fresh dill

1. Fillet the salmon unless bought already filleted. Do not, however, remove the skin.

2. Wipe the fillets with paper towels without rinsing.

3. Sprinkle the bottom of a suitable-sized dish with salt and place one of the fillets, skin side down, on top. Spread the seasoning over both the fillets, placing the other fillet, skin side up, on top. Sprinkle the rest of the salt and the dill over the fish. Cover the dish tightly with aluminium foil. Put a small weight on top and store in a cool place.

4. Scrape off all the seasoning and cut the fillets down to the skin into thin, oblique slices before serving.

#### Hint

Freshly-salted salmon does not require any sort of dressing, especially when served at Christmas. However, mustard dressing goes very well with this dish.

Prepare as follows just before serving the salmon: Mix together 3 tablespoons darkish prepared mustard, 2 tablespoons sugar and 4 tablespoons wine vinegar. Add 3/4 cup (2 dl) oil, preferably olive oil, in a thin stream while beating at the same time. Last of all, mix in plenty of finely-chopped fresh dill.

### Casseroles

Casserole dishes form the main part of the hot dishes served at Christmas. They are very useful from the hostesses' point of view because they can be prepared well in advance. They keep well for two or three days when stored in a cool place — the flavor of the rutabaga casserole, for instance, improves with reheating.

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HELSINKI FINLAND

Classification:
15.4

Homemade casseroles are Finnsh cuisine at its best: nutritiuos and much easier to prepare than one would imagine and also exceptionally economical.

## Rutabaga casserole

Preparation time: 25—30 minutes
Boiling time for the rutabagas:30—40 minutes
Cooking time 1 /2—2 hours
Oven temperature: 350°F(175°C)
Suitable for freezing

2 large rutabagas, 3 1/2 lb. (about 1 1/2 kg)
1 1/2 cups (4 dl) cream or mixture of cream and milk
3/4 cup (2 dl) dried breadcrumbs
1/3 cup (1 dl) dark syrup
1 egg
1 1/2 teaspoon ground ginger
1/2 teaspoon white pepper
1/2 teaspoon grated nutmeg
1 tablespoon salt
Coating: dried breadcrumbs, butter

1. Scrub and peel the rutabagas. Cut up into large pieces and boil in slightly-salted water until soft.

2. Strain, keep the cooking liquid, and mash or blend the rutabagas in a kitchen blender.

3 Mix in the cream and dried breadcrumb paste, dark syrup, beaten egg and spices, and as much of the cooking liquid as is needed to give a loose soft consistency.

4. Turn into a greased baking dish, press the surface with a fork to make a pattern, sprinkle over a thin coating of dried breadcrumbs.

5. Dot the top with butter and bake in the oven.

NOTE: The flavor of the rutabaga casserole can be further enhanced by adding some lightly-fried, grated onion.

## Carrot casserole

Preparation time: 40 minutes
Cooking time: 20 minutes + 1 1/2hours
Oven temperature: 350 °F (175 °C)
Suitable for freezing

3/4 cup (2 dl) rice
1 1/2 cups (4 dl) water
1/2 cup (1,2 dl) milk
3 teaspoons salt
3 lb. (1 1/2 kg) carrots
3/4 cup (2 dl) milk or a mixture of cream and milk
1/4 cup (50 g) butter
3 eggs
1 teaspoon grated nutmeg
1 tablespoon sugar
2 teaspoons salt
Coating: dried breadcrumbs butter

1. Cook the rice as for the previous recipe.

2. Peel and grate the carrots.

3. Mix the grated carrots, milk, melted butter, eggs and spices into the rice pudding.

4. Pour the mixture into a greased baking dish. Sprinkle with dried breadcrumbs and dot with butter. Bake in the oven until brown all over.

## Glass master's herring

Preparation time: 30 minutes
Soaking time: 12 hours
Marinading time: 2—3 days

4 good-sized herrings
3 red onions
2 carrots
30 whole allspice and white peppercorns
4 bay leaves
Marinade: 1 1/4 cups (3 dl) vinegar
1 1/4 cups (3 dl) sugar
2 1/2 cups (6 dl) water

1. Soak the fish overnight in cold water or equal portions of water and milk.The liquid can be changed occasionally.

2. Prepare the marinade; boil up all the ingredients and leave to cool at room temperature.

3. Remove the gut and inside belly membrane with, for instance, kitchen scissors. Rinsce well and dry with paper towels. Cut up into shortish sections.

4. Peel the onions and carrots and cut into rings.

5. Fill a suitable glass jar with alternate layers of fish slices, onions and carrots, and the spices. Pour over the liquid.



6. Cover the jar and store in a cool place for at least two days.The herrings will keep for a couple of weeks in a cool place, but they are at their best after 4—5 days.

### Hint

Different spices can also be used: thin slices of horseradish or celery seeds, mustrad seeds.

The fish can also be filleted and the skin removed. Soaking is not then required.

## Baked ham

Preparation time: 10 minutes
Cooking time: 45—55 minutes/2 lb. (1 kg)
Oven temperature: 250—300 °F (125—150 °C) and 440 °F (225 °C)

Ready-salted ham 10—15 lb. (5—8 kg)
Coating: 2—4 tablespoons homemade mustard (see below)
2—4 tablespoons brown sugar
2—4 tablespoons dried breadcrumbs
cloves for decorating

1. Place the ham on a wiregrid in the roasting pan, skin side up. Push a roasting thermometer into the thickest part of the ham making sure it does not touch the bone.

2. Put the ham in the oven. It is difficult to give a precise roasting time, it is best to go by the roasting thermometer. When it reaches 170 °F (77 °C) the meat is cooked.

3. Remove from the oven and let it stand for a moment. Remove the skin and as much of the underlying fat as required.

4. Mix together the ingredients for the coating and smear over the ham. Put back into the oven at 440 °F (225 °C) for ten minutes or until golden brown all over. Decorate the surface of the ham with the cloves.

NOTE: if the ham is cooked at a lower temperature less liquid will be lost and the meat will be much more succulent. Of course the lower the temperature, the longer the cooking time.

### Variation

Many people consider that the meat will be much juicier if the ham is covered with a pastry crust. Prepare the pastry by mixing about 2 cups (800 g) rye flour in one litre of water. The pastry is then rolled out or patted over the surface of the ham to give a crust about 1/2 inch (1 1/2 cm) thick. No salt should be added to the pastry. If the ham happens to be too salty, the pastry crust will absorb the excess salt.

### Hint

The meat juices which collect in the roasting pan can be used to make a tasty gravy. Be careful, however,it will be rather salty. One well-tried method is to mix in some apple sauce flavour with ground ginger and mustard, and serve together with the warm ham.

## Baked lutefish

Preparation time: 10 minutes
Cooking time: 40—50 minutes
Oven tmperature: 400 °F (200 °C)

5 to 6 lb (2—3 kg) lutefish
1 1/2 tablespoons salt

1. Set the pieces of fish on aliminium foil or roasting film and sprinkle with salt. Wrap up tightly.

2. Placein a ceramic baking dish or enamel pan.

3. Bake in the oven for 40—50 minutes depending on the amount of fish

4.Discard the liquid formed in the packet.

Serve with boiled potatoes and white sauce seasoned with freshlyground allspice or white pepper and salt.

### Variation
### Boiled lutefish

Preparation time: 5 minutes
Cooking time: about 20 minutes.

4—6 cups (1—1 1/2 l) water
5 to 6 lb. (2—3 kg) lutefish
(1 1/2 tablespoons salt)

1. Bring the water to the boil and add the pieces of fish.

NOTE:do not cook the lutefish in an aluminium saucepan, any residual lye will corrode the aluminium. Pour off the



cooking liquid. Serve in the same way as for baked lutefish.

**Hint**

The pieces of fish will retain their shape if they are boiled tied up in a cheesecloth.

## White sauce

Preparation time: 5—10 minutes
Cooking time: about 10 minutes

5 tablespoons margarine
3/4 cups (2 dl) white flour
6 cups (1 1/2 l) milk
salt to taste

1. Melt the margarine in a saucepan, add the flour and stir well

2. Add the milk gradually while stirring and allow to boil gently for about 10 minutes.

3. Season with salt. When ready the sauce should be smooth and shiny.

## Liver pâté

Preparation time: 30 minutes
Cooking time: 2 hours
Oven temperature: 350 ° F (175 °C)
Not suitable for freezing

1 lb. (1/2 kg) ground liver
3/4 cup (2 dl) dried breadcrumbs
1 1/2 cup (4 dl) cream
2 onions
2 tablespoons butter
4 tablespoons potato starch
3 teaspoons salt
1 teaspoons sugar
1 teaspoons ground ginger
1 teaspoon white pepper
2 eggs
fresh side of pork

1. Line an oblong baking dish with fresh side of pork. When buying the liver ask your butcher to grind it twice.

2. Mix the cream and dried breadcrumbs and leave to swell.

3. Finely chop the onions and fry in butter until transparent. Leave to cool.

4. Mix together the liver and other ingredients, finishing with the lightly beaten eggs. Blend together thoroughly.

5. Pour the mixture into the baking dish, cover tightly with aluminium foil. Set in a pan of water and bake in the oven.

## Rice porridge

(for 10 persons) Preparation time: 10 minutes
Cooking time: 40 minutes
Suitable for freezing

2 cups (1/2 l) water
6 cups (1 1/2 l) milk
1 1/4 cups (3 dl) rice
2 1/2 teaspoons salt
1 almond

1. Add the rice to the boiling milk and water mixture.

2. Simmer until cooked. Add the salt and one almond. Serve with ground cinnamon, sugar to taste, and milk.

## Mixed fruit soup

Preparation time: 5 minutes
Soaking time: overnight
Cooking time: about 15 minutes

about 1 lb. (400 g) dried mixed fruit
8 cups (2 l) water
3/4 cup (1 1/2 dl) sugar
stick of cinnamon
(dash of salt)
3 tablespoon potato starch

1. Rinse the mixed fruit in cold water and leave to soak overnight in water containing a little sugar.

2. Boil the fruit in the soaking liquid with the cinnamon and a touch of salt if desired.

3. Continue to boil over a low heat until the fruit is fully cooked.

4. Transfer the fruit with a slotted spoon to the serving dish and remove the stick of cinnamon

5. Thicken the juice: remove the pan from the heat, mix the potato starch in a little cold water and add in a thin stream to the liquid, stirring continuously. Bring quickly back to a boil without stirring.

6. Pour over the fruit and sprinkle a little sugar over the top.

## Christmas rye bread

(makes 3 loaves)
Preparation time: 30 minutes
Rising time: 1 1/2 hours altogether
Baking time: about 40 minutes
Oven temperature: 400 °F(200 °C)
Suitable for freezing

4 cups (1 l) buttermilk
2 oz. (50 g) yeast
3/4 cup (2 dl) dark syrup
2 tablespoons grated orange peel
1/2 tablespoon roughly ground caraway seeds
1 tablespoon salt
about 3 cups (8 dl) rye flour
1 1/2 cups (4 dl) graham flour
about 4 cups (1 l) white flour

1. Warm up the buttermilk.

2. Crumble in the yeast and add the syrup and spices.

3. Mix in the flour and knead thoroughly. Cover with a cloth and leave to rise. If the kitchen is drafty, stand the covered bowl in warmish water.

4. Divide the dough into three and shape each portion into a round loaf. Put in a



warm place to rise. Prick with a fork before placing in the oven.

## Christmas star

Preparation time: 20 minutes
Resting time for pastry: at least 1 hour + overnight
Cooking time: 20 minutes
Oven temperature: 400 °F(200 °C)
The uncooked pastry can be frozen

Puff pastry:
1 1/2 cups (250 g) white flour (about 4 dl)
1/3 cup (1 dl) water
1 1/4 cups (250) butter or margarine
Filling: 3/4 cup (2 dl) cream
1 tablespoon sugar
juice of half a lemon
300 g apple or prune purée
(slices of apple for decorating)

1. Mix together the flour and water but do not beat.

2. Divide the butter or margarine when soft into three portions. Roll out the dough into a large oblong.

3. Spread one of the portions of butter over the dough right up to the edges. Fold over to give three layers.

4. Leave the dough to rest for about one hour at room temperature.

5. Roll out the dough into a large oblong again and repeat as in Point 3.

6. Leave the dough to rest for some time and repeat as in Point 3, adding the final portion of butter.

7. All this should be done in the evening and the dough then left overnight in the refrigerator.

8. Roll out the dough into a 1/2 cm-thick oblong.

9. Cut out a large star from baking paper, place on top of the dough and cut round the edges with a knife or pastry wheel. Make two pastry stars.

10. Prick the stars all over with a fork and brush the stars with beaten egg, except the edges as it prevents the pastry from rising in the oven. Bake in the oven. Leave to cool. Put the filling between the stars just before serving, as otherwise the pastry will become tough.

11. Whip the cream for the filling and add the sugar and lemon juice.

12. Place one of the stars on a serving dish. Fill up the centre with the prune or apple purée, followed by the cream, and then place the other star on top.

## Grandma's best ginger cookies

(makes about 200)
Preparation time: 30 minutes
Cooking time: 10 minutes/batch
Oven temperature: 400° F(200 °C)°

1 1/4 cups (300 g) margarine
1 1/4 cups (300 g) sugar
3 eggs
1 cup (250 g) dark syrup
2 teaspoons ground cinnamon
2 teaspoons ginger
2 teaspoons ground cloves
1 tablespoon grated orange rind about 7 cups (1 kg) white flour
3 teaspoons bicarbonate of soda

1. Boil the syrup and spices, add the margarine and beat until the mixture is cool.

2. Beat the eggs and sugar.

3. Mix the soda in with part of the flour and then combine with the syrup-margarine mixture. Add the whipped eggs and the rest of the flour. Do not knead the final mixture.

4. Cover the dough with plastic wrap and leave overnight in a cool place.

5. Roll out the dough, cut up into shapes and bake the cookies in the oven until golden brown.

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# FINNISH FEATURES

JUNE 1982

## National Dress – Symbol of all that is Finnish

The use of national costumes has in recent years spread rapidly in Finland along with the rise in prestige of traditional culture in general. At the same time people have become interested in the historical background to costumes and their correct traditional use. In 1979 the Finnish National Dress Council was set up; it consists of a National Dress Board and a national dress officer.

National dress means a specific costume, based on research, made up according to the traditional costumes worn by the rural farming population in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Folk costumes gradually came into being over the centuries under the influence of particular social, economic and geographical pressures. They also assimilated features of fashionable dress. The changes in clothing were, however, very slow, and once features had been assimilated they were retained for a long time and took on a local stamp.

There are two chief categories of Finnish folk costumes: Western Finnish and Karelian. The Western Finland influences came from the West, the Karelian from the South and East, which explains the difference.

Typical features of the Western Finland folk costumes were skirts with bands of colours and striped or patterned bodices and waistcoats. On their heads married women wore a coif edged with lace or a headdress made up of drapery over a hard base. Often the costume also included a pouch worn at the waist, an apron and a shawl. In the 18th centry the men wore tight knee breeches, and from the beginning ot the 19th century onwards long trousers, a colourful waistcoat and a white shirt.

The features typical of the Karelian style of dress were, for the women, dark one-colour or checked skirts, white smocks embroidered down the front, or a dark, loosish bodice over an ordinary white blouse. On their heads the married women wore a veil or an embroidered wimple coif of Russian Orthodox origin. The girls in turn wore a red band, or braids decorated with tin studs. The men's costume consisted of single-colour trousers, a waistcoat and a white shirt.

The traditional folk costumes gradually went out of use in the 19th century as communities became less self-sufficient, communications improved, industry and towns grew up.

Artists and other educated people began to be concerned in the 19th century over the vanishing of folk culture. In spirit this was closely linked with the interest in folk costumes that was spreading all over Europe and the national strivings in Finland herself, all of which stressed national originality.

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HELSINKI FINLAND

Classification:
15.5



A typical dress from the Western part of Finland

One of the main tasks of the Students' Ethnological Museum established in 1874 was to collect traditional folk costumes. Thanks to these students' activities Finland has valuable collections of folk costumes, now preserved at the National Museum in Helsinki. In the 1880s the educated circles in the capital, Helsinki, were fired with the idea of reinstating the old folk costumes, as had already been done in, for example, Sweden and Germany. It was hoped that in this way the prestige of traditional costumes would thus also rise among the ordinary people.

From the very beginning the Finns have been accustomed to turning to experts in devising new national dress models. The first enthusiastic expert in this task of imitation was the custodian of the museum, Theodor Schvindt, and he was followed by other experts.

The popularity of national costumes has fluctuated greatly over the decades. There were peak periods in the 1930s and 1950s. At the moment national dress is again greatly favoured for festive occasions and costumes are made at countless courses all over the country.

The Helmi Vuorelma establisment in Lahti has been making national costumes since the turn of the century. The undertaking has been commercial and working methods have, for cost reasons, been mechanised.

It is, however, typical of contemporary interest in national costumes that more and more people want to make their costumes themselves. Traditional methods producing costumes by hand are considered important. Increasing attention is likewise being paid to the correct use of costumes.

Since national dress is a continuation of the folk tradition of festive dress, it can be worn at all manner of events – family, school, local and folk festivals, at church events and on occasions organised by popular movements. It should not be worn as an everyday working dress.

National dress is an entity in itself, with all its components chosen from the same era. Thus no accessories that do not belong to the costume should de worn. Also part of the entity are the right jewellery, headdress, stockings and shoes.

Only the jewellery belonging to a particular costumes should be worn. Copies of ancient ornaments do not belong to national dress, because they represent the fashions of a different era, as do modern ornaments. The

A dress from Lavansaari



clasp fastening the opening of the smock should be so high that it fastens the opening all the way. According to the rules of the orders of knighthood decorations may be worn with national dress, but in the case of medals awarded by organisations, only the highest is worn.

It is hoped that women will wear their headdresses in the traditional way, girls wearing girls' headdresses and adults those of married women. The lace of the hard headdress should be placed smoothly across the hair and should not stand up like a frill. The veils belonging to the Karelian dress are fastened according to the local custom.

The girls' headdresses and bands are placed round the head at or just above the hairline and are tied over the hair at the back, with the bands down the back.

With their national dress women should wear white or natural black woollen stockings or white cotton stockings, unless any other colours are mentioned in the instructions for that particular costume. They may, in the traditional way, come up to the knee or just above the knee, in which case they are fastened below the knee, for example by winding a length of tape round the leg 2 or 3 times and tucking the ends in. Bands for stockings may be made from woollen thread the colour of the costume.

The length of the women's dress must not vary according to the prevailing fashion, and the skirt must come down to at least midcalf, preferably just above the ankle. This also applies to girls' dresses.

Suitable for wearing with all women's national costumes are black buckled shoes, lace-up shoes or slip-ons, which must have a low heel, may not be open at the toes or heels, nor may they have turn-up toes. Patent-leather, suede and wedge-heel shoes are not suitable for wearing with national costumes. Men may also wear shoes with buckles or laces.

"Lipokas" open-type shoes with laces the colour of natural leather may also be worn with the folk costumes from Karelia, Savo, Central and Northern Finland, and men may also wear lace-up shoes of the same leather.

The modern handbag does nothing to enhance our beautiful national dress, and performing groups in particular should also note this. Instead of a

handbag women may carry e.g. a little bundle, a purse of leather or crocheted thread, a little wooden casket or a basket.

There is one widespread folk tradition attached to national dress that has been forgotten with the use of folk costumes. Hearsay seldom extends so far back that it can throw any light on the use and making of costumes. As the popularity of national dress has rapidly increased in recent years, many questions and problems connected with folk costumes have come to light.

The National Museum and the museum authorities, which have traditionally dealt with matters concerning national dress in Finland, felt they were no longer empowered to provide practical advice on folk costumes. It therefore became necessary to establish a nation-wide organisation chiefly representing folk costume wearers, to handle matters connected with national dress. This organisation is the Finnish National Dress Council.

The Finnish National Dress Council was established in 1979 on the basis of an experimental project by six national organisations. The Council consists of a National Dress Board and a national dress officer. Represented on the Council are the founder organisations and two experts elected annually from relevant undertakings. It is the Council's task to promote research, training, information and publication work connected with national dress. It both maintains the organisation and carries out practical measures. It appoints the National Dress Board and its chairman in accordance with the Board regulations. It hires staff, maintains an office and supervises practical activities.

The National Dress Board acts as the expert organ on matters of national dress. It directs the assembling of new national costumes, checks that existing costumes are based on tradition, provides guidance in the use of national costumes and decides on other issues connected with folk costumes.

The national dress officer is employed by the organisation to provide practical advice in matters connected with national dress, handle public relations, act as secretary to the Council and the Board, and to prepare and execute their decisions. The officer is further in charge of the national dress archives, which try to include entries on all folk costumes in Finland — about 200 in the Finnish-speaking area. There are a further 170 national costumes in the Swedish-speaking area, and these have been handled from the start by the Brage Society.

The chief tasks of the Finnish National Dress Council are at present research into ways of making folk costumes and their application to the present day. General instructions are being compiled garment by-garment. More extensive teaching material is also being prepared on the basis of the same research for teachers on national dress courses.

One important form of activity is the training of regional national dress advisors begun last year. A national dress expert has been trained for every home industry association and a few home craft schools. The aim is thus to revive some of the manufacturing methods that have been forgotten and restore a more traditional look to national costumes.

National dress is the continuation of the folk tradition of festive dress. In making and wearing folk costumes we should remember and at the same time carry on the rich tradition inherited from previous generations.

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**Written by Ritva Somerma, National dress officer, The Finnish National Dress Council**

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# FINNISH FEATURES

## National Parks in Finland

### A Safeguard for Nature

Not many countries in Europe can claim any appreciable degree of unspoilt nature. Thanks to the fell country and vast bogs of Lapland, the large number of waterways throughout the country and the coastal archipelago, Finland is one of the fortunate few. Economic activity is rapidly altering the natural environment in Finland, too, though there is still plenty of unspoilt nature left. The best areas have been set aside permanently as nature conservation areas; national parks, strict nature reserves, peatland reserves and other nature reserves.

### The Urho Kekkonen National Park

Dr. Urho Kekkonen, Finland's long-serving President, received a very unusual birthday gift a few years ago. The President's gift from the nation on his 80th birthday was a — to him — familiar and much appreciated region, for he had hiked and skied in the area during visits to Lapland. This fell and forest wilderness was equally well known to thousands of other ramblers.

Finland's mighty wood-processing industry had long cast a covetous eye at the area. But the Finnish government and Parliament stood their ground and so this fine area was designated a national park dedicated to President Kekkonen.

This national park, Finland's premier park, is readily accessible to visitors from the south. There is an airport at Ivalo and regular coach services are operated from Rovaniemi. The park lies between Highway 4 and the Soviet border. There are many tourist services ranging from hotels to fell huts and from cross-country skiing tracks and hiking trails to downhill skiing slopes on the outskirts of the park along the highway.

The park contains fell huts open to all comers, but which can only be located using map and compass. They provide overnight accommodation only; you must carry your own provisions and gear with you in your rucksack. The uninitiated can easily lose their way in this vast park of more than a quarter of a million hectares, and many have perished in the severe and rapidly changing conditions through lack of proper equipment and experience.

The national park is subject to the rules applicable to a nature reserve: moving around the park is open to everyone as long as a motorized vehicle is not used; berry-picking and mushrooming are allowed; fishing is subject to the purchase of a licence; open fires are allowed only on sites set aside specifically for the purpose; hunting in general and the harassment of reindeer are prohibited, as is the bringing of pet animals into the park. The border

The Urho Kekkonen National Park is situated in northern Lapland between European Highway 4 and the eastern border of Finland.



zone is strictly off limits. Park rangers see to it that the regulations are strictly observed.

One can make a day trip to the national park from the highway or hike through the park for weeks on end. Local reindeer herders will provide reindeer rides in the winter. And in the summer a boat ride on the Lokka reservoir to the park outskirts is an unforgettable experience. The inhabitants of Vuotso village have fast boats and the skill required for boating in these hazardous waters.

Information about Urho Kekkonen National Park is available from the national park office at 99690 Vuotso.

## Lemmenjoki — Gold Country

Lemmenjoki National Park in northernmost Lapland is even larger than Urho Kekkonen National Park. It is also the largest forestclad national park in all Europe. Taken together, Övre Anarjokka National Park on the Norwegian side and Lemmenjoki add up to the most extensive area of national park in Europe, covering more than 400,000 hectares.

Lemmenjoki is a remote and quiet fell, bog and forest wilderness, home of the brown bear, wolf, wolverine, golden eagle, otter and arctic fox. One can ramble through the park for weeks without encountering other humans. Fell huts are few and far between, and indeed visitors must be prepared to manage on supplies carried on their backs. Getting lost is easy enough in the summer; in the winter only the really tough should tackle Lemmenjoki.

A special feature of Lemmenjoki National Park is the presence of Lapp settlement around the park. Indeed Lisma, a very genuine fell Lapp village, lies wholly within park limits. The traditional occupations of these inhabitants of the wilderness, reindeer-herding, fishing, berry-picking and grouse-snaring, are still pursued in the national park. The rambler may also pick berries freely and, having purchased a licence, fish; hunting is prohibited though.

Another feature of the national park is panning for gold. Several panners work in the park, washing gold in the traditional manner. Gold does occur, though finding some calls for strenuous efforts. There is really nothing romantic about it.

Lemmenjoki can be reached from Inari by coach to Njurkulahti, which has tourist services. Njurkulahti is the point of departure for river boats that ply the River Lemmenjoki to the heart of the national park. Lemmenjoki Valley is a magnificent natural formation. The well-known Ravadasköngäs Falls, well worth a visit, are nearby.

Information about Lemmenjoki National Park is available from the Finnish National Board of Forestry, Inari Management Area, at 99800 Ivalo.

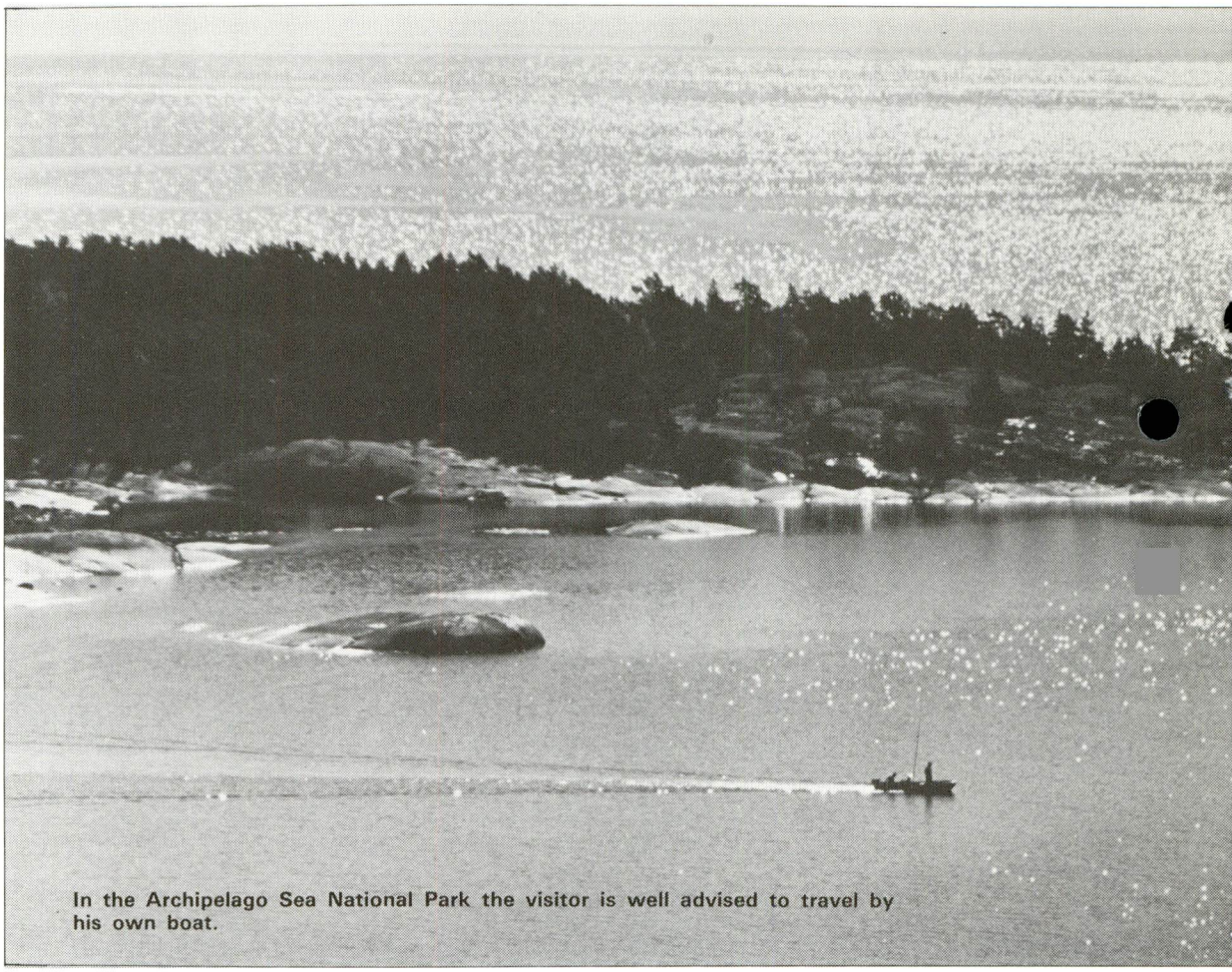
## Oulanka — Land of Bears and Rapids

Scientists and students at the University of Oulu, Oulanka Biological Station have access to some very fine areas in the immediate surroundings of the station: calcareous fens, lush meadows and broadleaf woods complete with rare plants, animal species representative of the Siberian, European and Arctic fauna types, including large predators and rare birds. The biological station lies in the centre of Oulanka National Park, in the valley of the River Oulanka near the Kiutaköngäs Rapids, the park's most celebrated attraction.

The national park is crossed by a well marked and signposted 70-kilometre route known as the 'Bear's Round'. It starts outside the park from the Salla—Kuusamo road and takes the visitor to Rukatunturi Fell. The major sights of the park, the rapids of Kiutaköngäs and Taivalköngäs and the breathtaking precipices of Ristikallio, are to be found along the route, as are the huts, open fire sites and camping grounds.

The information centre of the park and camping ground lies in the Kiutaköngäs area in the heart of the national park. The area is the starting point for two nature trails, both of which provide an excellent introduction to the varied natural surroundings of the national park. Rowing boats can also be hired here for the River Oulanka, and fishing licences can be purchased.

Information about Oulanka National Park is available from the national park information centre at 25 Kiutaköngäs, 93999 Kuusamo.



In the Archipelago Sea National Park the visitor is well advised to travel by his own boat.

## Linnansaari — Pearl of Finland's Lake District

Linnansaari National Park lies in the labyrinthine archipelago of Lake Haukivesi, surrounded by vast expanses of water. This is an ideal area for boat tours, where one can row for days in what always seems new scenery. Boats can be hired at Myllyranta camping ground in Rantasalmi, Porosalmi holiday village or Oravi. Taxi boat transport is also available to Louhimaa on Linnansaari, the chief island of the national park.

The rower must observe certain rules: open fires are not allowed except at specifically designated sites, the use of a portable cooker is recommended, a tent can only be pitched on camping sites, traces of camping must not be left on shores and nesting birds must not be disturbed. Providing these rules are observed, however, the boater is free to turn his prow into the park area and enjoy Finnish lake scenery at its best.

Linnansaari's main island has camping grounds, a nature trail, routes and a farm museum. Development of the park's service facilities is still under way. The park ranger, whom the visitor is likely to run into, will provide additional information about the scenic attractions of the area.

The most interesting of the animals to inhabit Linnansaari waters is the endangered Saimaa seal, whose population numbers about 100. Twenty or so of the seals live in Lake Haukivesi and, being curious animals, they may surface around your boat. Birds typical of Linnansaari are the eerie-voiced black-throated diver of open waters and the flute-songed golden oriole of birch woods.

Information about Linnansaari National Park is available from the Finnish National Board of Forestry, Savonlinna Management Area at Akselinkatu 8, 57130 Savonlinna.



## Seitseminen — Call of the Primeval

Seitseminen National Park is the best equipped national park in southern Finland. The park has several good routes, nature trails, signposts and signboards. Kovero Farm serves as a temporary information centre until a new centre is built. The national park is crossed by Pirkan Taival, a provincial hiking route. In the winter Seitseminen offers tracks for cross-country skiing.

For the nature lover Seitseminen National Park offers a number of interesting features. The virgin forests of Multiharju and Pitkäjärvi are the most impressive in southern Finland. The forests are home to many retiring species: the pygmy owl, hawk owl, three-toed woodpecker, red-breasted flycatcher, pine marten, flying squirrel and lynx. The bogs and lakes in the area may turn up the willow grouse, crane, whooper swan, golden plover and spotted crake.

Owing to its smaller size this national park does not offer opportunities for the kind of wilderness trekking found in the large parks of the north. Seitseminen is a park for day visits or stays of two to three days. Tents can be pitched in the camping ground, where open fires are also allowed. There is no overnight hut accommodation. The Pitkäjärvi loggers' camp in the heart of the park is intended for use by groups and those engaged in environmental studies.

Seitseminen National Park provides guided tours in the summer; the guides can be reached at the Kovero Farm museum. Additional information about the park is available from the Finnish National Board of Forestry, Parkano Management Area at 39700 Parkano.

## Amidst the Archipelago

Finland's southwestern coastal archipelago, the Archipelago Sea, is a unique area comprising hundreds of islands and islets in all island zones, in groups and as individual islands separated by open expanses of water. A maritime climate, calcareous soil, rapid land uplift and centuries of fishing and farming have combined to create habitats in which many rare and 'choosy' species of plant thrive. Many of the animals in the area are uncommon elsewhere in Finland: the greylag goose, razorbill, nutcracker, white-tailed eagle and grey seal.

The Archipelago Sea National Park is unlike any other national park. It does not consist of any defined land and water area, but of rather widely dispersed islands and islets. Islands in private ownership lie between these, and the State does not intend to incorporate them in the national park. The inhabitants of the archipelago and summer visitors live on privately-owned land. The national park backs the preservation of human settlement and traditional occupations in the area. The park offers employment in ranger and maintenance duties.

The best way to get around in the national park is by boat. The park provides overnight and anchorage facilities for the boater. Although landing on the other islands is allowed, care must be taken to avoid disturbing nesting birds and grazing cattle. Dogs must not be let loose on the



Enormous rocky precipices border the Bear's Round wilderness trail.




islands. Landing on the best bird islands is prohibited during the nesting season.

The purchase of land for the Archipelago Sea National Park and the renovation of structures and building up of services is still under way. Communications, too, have yet to be arranged. At present the park can be visited by boat on one's own or using the vessels that operate through the area (such as the m/s Utö from Turku, the m/s Rosala from Kasnäs, the m/s Kristiina from Prostvik in Nauvo and the water bus to Nötö from Turku). Nötö is the most central island in the Archipelago Sea, and has a shop, filling station, a telephone and an outdoor recreation area.

Information about the Archipelago Sea National Park is available from the Finnish National Board of Forestry, Hämeenlinna Management Area at P.O. Box 147, 13101 Hämeenlinna.

## Strict Nature Reserves Dedicated to Research

There are 22 national parks in Finland, scattered throughout the country. They are designed to serve as scenic attractions and areas open to everyone, allowing free movement on one's own. In contrast, the strict nature reserves have been established solely for scientific purposes. There are paths open to the public in a few of these reserves. A permit in writing from the Finnish National Board of Forestry is required for access elsewhere. Public access paths of this type are available in Kevo, Malla, Sompio, Vaskijärvi and Karkali.

The 40-kilometre path at Kevo runs through magnificent fell scenery and a gorge. The 11-kilometre path at Malla runs in areas of rich fell flora. Sompio's paths are closely linked up with Urho Kekkonen National Park. Vaskijärvi's two short paths meander through a bog wilderness. Karkali's nature trail runs through fine broadleaf vegetation.

## Peatland Reserves

Finland holds the world record for the number of bogs and for bog drainage for afforestation purposes. Bogs have declined enormously in area owing to drainage. At present, several peatland reserves are being established, the chief aim being to preserve bogs from drainage.

One example of these peatland reserves is Isoneva in Pomarkku municipality, which offers a nature trail through peatland and a bird observation tower. Birds occurring in the area include the crane, golden plover, several aquatic birds and waders.

There are bogs in many national parks, including the Patvinsuo, Kauhaneva—Pohjankangas and Riisitunturi national parks. The accessibility, structures and services available in the peatland reserves and many national parks are still not all they should be, however.

## Monuments to the Ice Age

When the continental ice sheet receded some 10,000 years ago, the meltwater streams gave rise to eskers and moraines. These two characteristic features have left their imprint on the Finnish landscape, especially as they cross bodies of water.

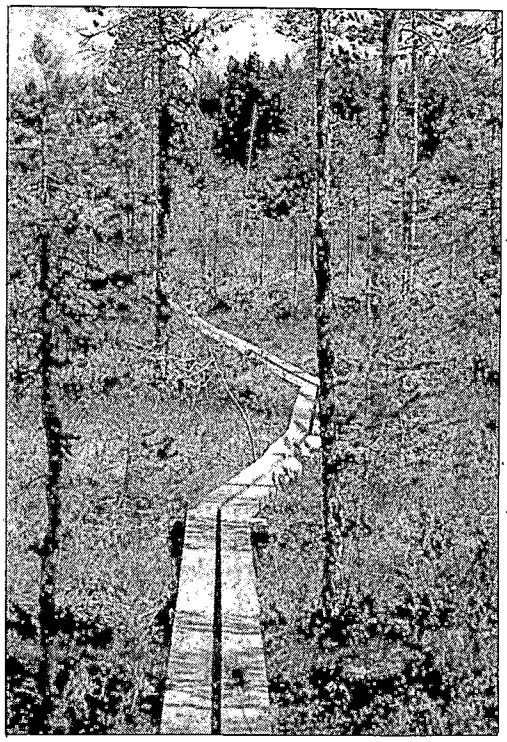
Eskers are important economically owing to the sand and gravel they contain, and the establishment of esker reserves is expensive and difficult. Finns are trying to prevent the destruction of eskers by the enactment of new legislation.

The best known esker in Finland is Punkaharju, which runs across beautiful lake scenery. It has long been managed as a conservation area. There are many similar and smaller eskers in various parts of the country. Eskers offer hikers and nature lovers magnificent scenery.

## Avian Paradise

Siikalahti in Parikkala municipality is a well known bird water. The World Wildlife Fund has arranged for easy public access along a nature trail and wooden causeway to the centre of the wetland, where there is a bird observation tower that affords an excellent view over the whole of the inlet.

Siikalahti harbours many endangered and rare species of birds: the marsh harrier, little gull, bittern, little bunting, moorhen, spotted crake and a very large thrush nightingale population.



**The bird sanctuary at Siikalahti in Parikkala is easily accessible by way of nature trails and duckboards.**

Siikalahti is an unusual bird 'refuge' in that it has not been placed under protection. Private landowners can do as they please in the area, and this includes hunting. A drainage plan aimed at reclaiming land for cultivation constitutes the biggest threat to the area. Waste water discharged into Siikalahti is increasing eutrophication and silting up the inlet all the time. Siikalahti sorely needs conservation measures: raising of the water level, cutting of aquatic plants and partial dredging.

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**Written by Dr. Pekka Borg, Head of the Urho Kekkonen National Park**

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# Christmas in Finland: a winter fairytale

It has sometimes been said that northern people appreciate Christmas the most, and this does actually seem to be true. After the long, dark and often very wet autumn, Christmas marks the turning point of the year: light begins to win over darkness. It's time to celebrate. Preparing for the year's biggest festival also makes the autumn go faster.

Christmas in Finland is not just Christmas Eve and the two days that follow. It is preceded by a lengthy and cheerful period of busy preparation. For the Church, Christmas begins with the first Sunday in Advent, but long before this, as early as October, countless associations have already set about getting into the holiday spirit. The first off the line are generally the women's organizations, planning their Christmas bazaars. Members get together in the old Finnish tradition, most often to make Christmas decorations. These evening gatherings could also be regarded as the first Christmas parties, called by the delightful name of "Pikkujoulu", meaning "Little Christmas", since they always include some type of Christmas programme, talks, music and special seasonal delicacies.

The "pikkujoulu" has been part of the Finnish tradition since the 1920's, and every employer of any size arranges one for his staff. Every organization throws a party too. Even town councils may forget their political differences and join forces for one happy evening. They may put on a play or sketch for the amusement of their own staff.

The first Sunday in Advent officially opens the Christmas season, the church resounding to the strains of Vogler's "Hosanna". And people flock to hear it. All over the country there are advent concerts in the evening.

It is around this time that the Christmas lights come on in shops and offices. The centres of towns are full of light. Pietarsaari, a town on the west coast of Finland, has had a Christmas street (Storgatan) ever since 1840's. Suspended over the street are three giant decorations: a cross symbolizing faith, an anchor representing hope, and a heart, the symbol of love. In the olden days they were lit with candles; nowadays the candles are electric. Only war, the start of the oil crisis and the introduction of an outdoor Christmas tree have temporarily interrupted their use.

On December 13th the Swedish-speaking schools and homes of Finland celebrate Lucia's Day, a practice which spread from Sweden in the early 1920's. The daughter of the family wakes her parents with morning coffee, dressed in white, with a red belt and a crown of candles. The costume is reminiscent of the virgin martyr of Sicily: the white dress her innocence, the red belt her martyrdom and the crown — symbol of a halo — her holiness. This crown is usually decorated with lingon springs and threaded with a red ribbon.

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Lucia is accompanied by her brothers and sisters in the role of servants and pages, all singing together. This custom is also becoming popular among Finnish-speaking people. Lucia's Day used to coincide with the shortest day of the year, which is why Lucia, the queen of lights, has gained such popularity in the north.

Little by little the advent decorations are brought out. The children hang up their advent calendars, and families count the days to Christmas with the help of advent candles. The first candle is lit on the first Sunday, the first and second on the second Sunday, and so on until the fourth is lit on the fourth Sunday, forming a slanting row. This decoration originally came from Sweden and Germany and found its way to Finland in the 1930's.

Christmas cards are posted, decorations made or bought. The baking is also done well in advance.

On the last Sunday before Christmas it is time to start looking for a Christmas tree, ready to be carried in the day before Christmas Eve, turned to show its finest branches, and decorated. The Finns like to include rows of national flags, a reminder of friendship among peoples. Another item is geometric mobile made of straw called a "himmeli" — very difficult and time-consuming to make. The straw, which must be straight and of good quality, is first softened in the warmth of the sauna, then cut into sections of equal length. The straws are then threaded to make triangels, squares and eight-sided figures. Finally these figures are combined to make bigger and bigger shapes. Wood shavings may also be cleverly moulded to make stars with which to decorate the home, and of course there are many other trinkets too. Almost everyone puts out a bundle or two of oats for the birds. The candles on the tree are lit for the first time the day before Christmas Eve.

The sauna is integral part of the Finnish Christmas. Even in the early years of this century people were still excepted to "attend" the sauna on Christmas Eve. And still, anyone travelling around the Finnish countryside on Christmas Eve will see smoke rising from almost every sauna house.

Christmas Eve is the highlight of the year in Finland, and not Christmas Day. Families get together for the occasion, and children who have grown up and moved away from home try to be with their parents for the holiday. Christmas Eve is still a working day, however: the shops are open until midday. This provides one last chance to buy those few last gifts and dainties for the table. At precisely 12 noon the "Peace of Christmas" is proclaimed in Turku, the former capital of Finland, along with adminitions and greetings dating from the Middle Ages. Most Finns listen to this ceremony on the radio, and it marks the beginning of the feast. Nowadays most families take the first part of their Christmas meal at this point.

At sunset on Christmas Eve, families make their way to the churchyard, where a service is often held at around 5 o'clock. Candles are placed on the graves of loved ones, sometimes possibly a wreath, but most families have already done this on All Saint's Day.

A Finnish graveyard is a breath-taking sight on Christmas Eve. Thousands of candles shining out across the snow are a sight no foreigner will ever forget. In many towns former soldiers go in procession to visit the graves of fallen comrades, and a guard of honour stands with drawn swords by the large cross dedicated to their memory. In Helsinki representatives of various social organizations and army officers stand guard by the tomb of Marshal Mannerheim. Usually a hymn or two is sung, including Luther's "Ein' feste Burg". For many Finns this is the most serious moment of the entire holiday.

Back at home, the excitement mounts as the family awaits a quite different aspect of Christmas: the arrival of Father Christmas. The Finnish Father Christmas is a more earthly equivalent of St. Nicholas. Finland differs from most other countries in that Father Christmas really does visit the home in person on Christmas Eve. Most often it is in fact father dressed up, but it may be a neighbour or relative. The children dress up as Father Christmas' little helpers: red tights, a long red cap, and a grey cotton suit also decorated with red. On his arrival, Father Christmas always asks the same question: "Are there any good children here?", and the answer is always an enthusiastic "Yes". Father Christmas generally brings in a big basket with all the presents, the children sing to him and may





even sing a ring game with him. Then Father Christmas tells them how far he has come, all the way from Lapland, a long, long journey. He lives at Korvatunturi, a fell in eastern Lapland. (The Finnish Broadcasting Company placed him there in 1927, and he has had his headquarters there ever since.) Father Christmas can't afford to spend long in any one place. As soon as the children and adults have sung him one last song, he takes up his stick and tramps off in his felt boots and furs. His little helpers are left to hand out the presents.

Not until this most important event on the programme has been taken care of is the main Christmas meal served. Now the table is decked with the best mother can provide.

Christmas Day itself, which in many countries is the high point of the holiday season, is almost an anti-climax in Finland. It has traditionally been a quiet day of devotion, when the only activity used to be attendance at church. Even nowadays the churches are full on Christmas morning, even though in many places the service begins at 6 a.m. Some people prefer to read the Christmas story and sing hymns at home. Nowadays Christmas Day is a time to spend with family and relatives.

The day after Christmas, which the Finns know as St. Stephen's Day, is also a holiday and used to be the day for sleigh rides. Nowadays, however, there are few horses left. The New Year is a kind of repeat Christmas, and all the Christmas fare is once more brought out. But New Year's Eve is also a time for magic! Fortunes in the coming year are told from objects hidden under cups, or by interpreting the meaning of tin molten over the fire and cast into a bucket of cold water. The resulting piece of "sculpture" is held up to the wall, and the images formed by its shadow are omens of the future. Christmas ends with Twelfth Night.

Christmas is a festival centred on the family and in particular the children. It is the season to recall what tends to get forgotten the rest of the year but which is nevertheless important: other people, roots and traditions, and the idea of peace on earth and goodwill to all men.

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**Written by Kaisu Vuolio**

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