

JYU DISSERTATIONS 312

Juho Saksholm

Reform, Revolution, Riot?

**Transnational Nordic Sixties
in the Radical Press, c. 1958–1968**



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Esitetään Jyväskylän yliopiston humanistis-yhteiskuntatieteellisen tiedekunnan suostumuksella
julkisesti tarkastettavaksi yliopiston vanhassa juhlasalissa S212
marraskuun 5. päivänä 2020 kello 12.

Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by permission of
the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Jyväskylä,
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JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO
UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 2020

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This is a printout of the original online publication.

Permanent link to this publication: <http://urn.fi/URN:978-951-39-8374-1>

ISBN 978-951-39-8374-1 (PDF)

URN:ISBN:978-951-39-8374-1

ISSN 2489-9003

Jyväskylä University Printing House, Jyväskylä 2020

ABSTRACT

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Reform, Revolution, Riot? Transnational Nordic Sixties in the Radical Press,

c. 1958-1968

Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2010, 459 p.

(JYU Dissertations

ISSN2489-9003; 312)

ISBN 978-951-39-8374-1

Social movements inevitably encounter the conundrum of how the changes they advocate are actually going to be implemented. By definition, modern social movements operate outside the political establishment of parliaments and parties; but since these institutions are more often than not the ones responsible for implementing those changes, social movements will need to decide how to approach them. Whether to choose reform, revolution, or riot as the modus operandi is an important choice that throws into stark relief the political tensions inside social movements. This was particularly true of the 1960s – considered by many to be the heyday of modern social movement activism. This dissertation examines the political language of radical social movements of that era in Finland and Sweden from a transnational perspective. By using a combination of novel historical methods, the dissertation approaches political agency as an interconnected, rhizomatic network of local, global, physical, and textual action. Particular attention is paid to the transnational connections between these Nordic movements and other European and global actors, paying special attention to West German radicalism as a potential resource and point of reference for Nordic politics. This thesis covers the development of the wide range of movements that were considered “radical” in their societal approach during the “Long Sixties”. This means it deals with more than just the upheavals of 1968; instead, it covers a longer political process starting with the pacifist and modernist cultural movements of the early Sixties to the emergence of the Nordic New Left and its turn towards a more dogmatic and, in some instances, even a Maoist line. By incorporating these different political movements, the thesis not only traces changes in the politics of the independent Left; it also covers a gamut of political traditions from independent social democrats to Nordic liberals, and even protestant dissidents and anarchists. Consequently, the discourses covered in the thesis highlight the diversity of political positions that existed in the political debates of the era. The chapters cover topics such as gender relations and education, welfare policies and critiques of how social 'deviancy' was treated, attitudes towards the police, the emergence of revolutionary aspirations, anti-fascist rhetoric, third-world theories, and the transnational moment of 1968 itself. By discussing all of the aforementioned topics from a transnational perspective that takes into account different local political traditions, the thesis offers a detailed portrayal of the complexities of these Sixties movements and their anti-authoritarian politics. By focusing on the papers published and edited by the radical agents themselves, the thesis revives the original historical contexts of these Sixties movements, often neglected by secondary sources and polemical memoirs written in hindsight by both the proponents and opponents of these movements. This focus on extensive empirical work is thus also a significant methodological contribution to the wider field of transnational history.

Keywords: Social movements, political language, political culture, transnational history, public debate, media history, conceptual history, Nordic countries, Finland, Sweden.

TIIVISTELMÄ

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Yhteiskunnalliset liikkeet joutuvat aina ottamaan kantaa siihen, miten niiden ajamat poliittiset muutokset tulisi toteuttaa. Vaikka modernit yhteiskunnalliset liikkeet usein pyrkivät toimimaan poliittisten instituutioiden kuten parlamenttien tai puolueiden ulkopuolella, liikkeiden pitää silti ottaa kantaa siihen, miten ne suhtautuvat vakiintuneisiin politiikan tekemisen muotoihin. Tämä väitöskirja tarkastelee kuusikymmentäluvun suomalaisten ja ruotsalaisten yhteiskunnallisten liikkeiden poliittista toimintaa yllirajaisesta näkökulmasta. Tutkimus keskittyy kuusikymmentäluvun radikaalien aktivistien käyttämään poliittiseen kieleen ja käsitteisiin sekä näiden yllirajaisiin siirtymiin. Tutkimus käsittelee kuusikymmentäluvun radikalismia vuoden 1968 tapahtumia laajempänä ilmiönä: yhteiskunnallisten liikkeiden radikalisoitumista tarkastellaan koko vuosikymmenen kestävässä prosessina, jossa erityistä huomiota kiinnitetään liikkeiden julkisissa keskusteluissa tapahtuneisiin käsitteellisiin muutoksiin. Mukana tarkastelussa on laaja kirjo kuusikymmentäluvun pohjoismaisia yhteiskunnallisia liikkeitä vuosikymmenen alun kulttuuriradikaaleista ja pasifistisista liikkeistä aina maolaisiin äärivasemmistolaisiin ryhmiin. Väitöskirja osoittaa, että erot erityisesti kuusikymmentäluvun opiskelija- ja uusivasemmistolaisien liikkeiden välisten suhteiden kansalliset erot ovat tärkeässä osassa kun eri maiden radikaaliliikkeitä vertaillaan toisiinsa. Tutkimuksen käsittelyluvuissa tarkastellaan liikkeiden suhtautumista mm. sukupuolirooleihin, pohjoismaiseen hyvinvointivaltioon, vallankumoukseen, väkivaltaan, poliisiin, fasismiin ja vuoden 1968 kansainvälisiin tapahtumiin. Näiden teemojen tarkastelu yllirajaisesta ja vertailevasta näkökulmasta avaa paitsi suomalaisten ja ruotsalaisten liikkeiden välisiä yhteyksiä ja eroja, myös yleisempiä piirteitä poliittisissa kulttuureissa. Kuusikymmentäluvun yhteiskunnalliset liikkeet haastoivat laajasti ympäröivän yhteiskunnan legitimeinä pitämiä poliittisia käsityksiä ja rakenteita. Vaikka kuusikymmentäluvun liikkeet olivat raivaamassa tietä uudennlaisille politiikan tekemisen tavoille, ne myös hyödynsivät monilla tavoin kansallisia poliittisia perinteitä ja legitimeiksi koettuja käsitteitä, toimintatapoja ja symboleita.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Three-time Tour de France winner Greg LeMond has famously said that cycling never gets easier, you just go faster. This certainly applies to historical research too: the final parts of this thesis might have come about faster than the first ones, but easy is not a word I would use to describe the process. The cycling analogy works in other ways too: both efforts test your endurance, there is plenty of mountains to climb, occasionally you go blissfully fast downhill, and while the individual might get a lion's share of the glory for eventually finishing, both disciplines are team efforts through and through.

First, I would like to sincerely thank my supervisors Piia Einonen and Pertti Ahonen. "Supervision" does not really describe all the work Piia and Pertti have done with this project; I feel like "coaching" and "mentoring" would better illustrate their contribution to it. Most importantly, their guidance kept me focused even when I was tempted to sidestep from the main objective. Piia and Pertti had a tireless dedication to the project and trust in me in executing it was always inspirational and certainly a sign of sound pedagogical thinking. We made a good team, where different scholarly perspectives and ways of doing history came together and fostered a lively scholarly debate; thank you.

Secondly, I am thankful to Professor Gerd-Rainer Horn (Sciences Po, Paris) and Associate Professor Johan Strang (University of Helsinki) for the comments and feedback they provided as the pre-examiners of this dissertation. Because of my wordiness and the length of the manuscript, this was not a small task. Your comments and thorough inspection of the text helped me to improve and revise many parts of this dissertation, making it a much more coherent work.

Acquiring research funding is a constant scholarly conundrum. I am thankful for the grants provided by the Department of History and Ethnology, Ellen and Artturi Nyysönen Foundation, Ella and Georg Ehrnrooth Foundation, Niilo Helander Foundation, Emil Aaltonen Foundation, and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences; your contributions made this project possible. The travel grants to Stockholm provided by the Swedish-Finnish Cultural Foundation and the Emil Öhmann stipend for working in the Finnish cultural institute in Berlin were instrumental in making the transnational perspective of this work possible; I am grateful for the opportunity to spend considerable time in the archives and libraries of Stockholm and Berlin. I would also like to thank Professor Petri Karonen and the whole *Driving forces of democracy* -project for the opportunity to work as a project researcher in your multinational scholarly team. Your influence on the work is present in the way Nordic democracy is one of the underlying and most important themes of this thesis. Alex Reed took on the monumental task of editing my complicated sentences into a coherent, grammatically correct, and readable form; thank you Alex not only for your input regarding the text but also for the playlists you kindly sent to me.

The Department of History and Ethnology has been an inspiring and welcoming workplace. The head of department Heli Valtonen has always had time to listen to my grumbles about academic life, and the department in general

has always been genuinely interested in improving the situation of its PhD students. This project has greatly benefitted from the wide expertise that exists in our department. It is impossible to mention everyone here, but I want to express my particular gratitude to both the Finnish history research community, as well as Professor Pasi Ihalainen and the general history seminar, where many insightful discussions about conceptual history and linguistic methods have taken place. Also, this project in its current form would not exist without Professor Kustaa H.J. Vilkuna, who as my MA thesis supervisor advised me to take the project towards a transnational direction. Kustaa managed to predict some of the results of this thesis before the project even begun, which certainly demonstrates a particular finesse in the art of historical thought.

Many interesting and enlightening collegial discussions have taken place outside the official institutions of the department. My office roommates Arja Turunen, Teemu Häkkinen, and Ville Sarkamo; a big thank you for the way you received a new, green PhD student and gave me all kinds of advice, not all strictly work-related. Antero Holmila and Matti Roitto deserve praise for the way they listened to my lofty plans for new research initiatives and then made them into something more practical and feasible; that is no small feat. And Miina Kaarkoski, who I consider a dear friend, thank you for your optimism and trust in the future; your encouragement has certainly been important for this project.

The network of people that made this project possible certainly extends beyond Jyväskylä. I am grateful for the Finnland-institut for providing me with an inspiring workplace during my three-month stay in Berlin. A change of pace from the normal university life in Jyväskylä was certainly more than welcome, and many of the ideas in this thesis were indeed formed in Berlin. Oscar Broughton hosted me and provided me with lots of tips to life in the great city; thank you. I am also grateful for Prof. Dr. Christoph Kalter for introducing me to the way Global History is done in Berlin. The Association for Political History network has been a particularly important source of feedback for this project, and I am thankful for being able to participate in so many of the international events organized within the umbrella of APH. Special compliments to Professor Richard Vinen, Assistant Professor Margit Van der Steen, Professor Ido de Haan, and Professor Pauli Kettunen for commenting on early versions of this thesis. Postdoctoral researcher Jani Marjanen, Professor Martin Burke, and the whole team at the conceptual history summer school: I am indebted for your enduring efforts of making conceptual history seem not only approachable but - dare I say it - fun.

Fellow PhD students have provided a lot of peer support during this journey and encouraged me to stay ambitious. Special thanks go to Zachris Haaparinne in particular; I am convinced that at times, Zachris has used more time and energy in improving this thesis than the author himself has. Nooa Nykänen has also always encouraged me to take new and bold perspectives on my topic. And while our objective of reading the whole 1776 Finnish translation of the Bible is still a work in process, I want to thank Joonas Tammela and Lauri Julkunen for making such a tedious effort entertaining. Kenneth Partti must be acknowledged for his amazing knowledge of all the possible sports factoids

imaginable; many a pub quiz would not have been won without your contributions.

I have been fortunate to have plenty of friends who have helped me to forget about the Sixties and focus on other matters altogether. Again, there is too little space to mention all of you, but whether our common interests have focused on football, old school rock 'n roll, baseball, tube amps and antiquated transistors, road cycling, mechanical watches, pub quizzes, ice fishing, or simply spending some quality time far away from the perils civilization, they have certainly been important distractions from the strains of academic life.

The support of my extended family has been irreplaceable. Mom and Dad, Jenni, Helmi, Ante, and aunt Riikka; thank you for your understanding during the ups and downs of this journey. The curiosity, respect, and compassion present in our family have certainly shaped me as a person and thus also this work. I particularly value the atmosphere of healthy debate present in our family meetings; I have learned so much from all of you.

And finally, I want to thank my beloved wife Valeria; you have shown that there are other reasons besides politics for people to cross borders.

Herttoniemi, 7.10.2020
Juho Saksholm

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ABSTRACT

TIIVISTELMÄ

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1 INTRODUCTION

“I have deliberately presented opinions that are idealistic and radical. But there is nothing wrong with either, in fact, it’s quite the opposite”.¹

According to popular narrative, western societies in the 21st century are ever more defined by political polarisation, partisanship and radicalist, extreme ideas. Such a description may well seem justified in an era when social media warriors clash relentlessly over matters such as freedom of speech, multiculturalism, feminism, and globalisation. However, claiming that political polarisation, radicalism, and bipartisanship is new or unique would be a rather ahistorical argument. As a particular year, 1968 is certainly one of the more famous moments of social unrest in modern history, and has repeatedly featured as a point of comparison when trying to understand the events unravelling in our own time. Indeed, the personalities, events, and astonishing global nature of 1968 are often used as either an inspiration or warning. But instead of using history merely to prove one or the other, looking back at past examples of radical politics could also help us to relativise simple moralist narratives of the present day, and their unquestioned stories of linear progression. The social movements of the Sixties can also provide an excellent window into the complexities of grass-roots politics and social movements. The particular historical context of the 1960s was a major reason for the complexity of such movements: they were challenging the status quo of societies that still had the devastation of the Second World War fresh in their mind; societies that finally seemed to be turning from the burdens of scarcity and troubles of the past to prosperity and glowing possibilities for the future.

This crisscrossing of influences and contextual factors has led to a tradition that emphasises the *Zeitgeist* element of the Sixties. As global media continues to churn out special reports on the revolts, demonstrations and radical activism of

¹ “Olen tietoisesti esittänyt mielipiteitä jotka ovat idealistisia ja radikaaleja. Kummassakaan ei ole mitään pahaa, päin vastoin.” Erkki Tuomioja 1967, *Rauhaton rauhanmarssi*, Weilin-göös, Hki., 7.

1968, this frame of reference grows ever stronger. Historians often strengthen this narrative too: of all the post-war decades, the Sixties is the one most associated with the social changes evolving in post-war Europe; and this seems justified when one considers *inter alia* the economic boom, better living standards, increased opportunities for higher education, new forms of media, emerging youth culture, and the liberalisation of western societies that was happening at this time.² The concept of the Sixties as a period of growth marked by state-controlled liberalism or “measured judgement” – as Arthur Marwick calls it – is one example that certainly strengthens this particularist viewpoint of the Sixties.³ However, one must remember that growth and liberalism were the very thing being questioned by the social movements of the time. The movements demonstrated their vociferous disapproval through speeches, marches, squats, riots, strikes, not to mention arson and bombings. This open conflict between so-called progressive liberal societies and movements that also called themselves progressive has bemused writers and scholars ever since, resulting in the diversity of interpretations which we now have today.

Another factor that seems to validate the particular *Zeitgeist* of the Sixties was the emergence of youth. Youth was one of the buzzwords of the Sixties, but not only because of the Beatles and the unprecedented rise of mass consumerism and culture targeted at teenagers; youthfulness was also a cultural trend that seemed to encapsulate the futuristic belief in modernism and progress so prevalent during the post-war boom years. Not only was there more young people than ever before, but more of them were also enrolled in universities. In Sweden for example, the number of university students rose from 20,000 in 1953 to 124,000 in 1970.⁴ A similar rise can be found all over the world and, in tandem with the emergence of commercial youth culture, they help explain why ‘youth’ was so important at that time;⁵ the emerging politicisation of students immediately captured the attention of the media and leading politicians. For a brief period of time, the revolt of youth was not only a highly visible event; it seemed to completely redefine the future of politics in the western world. The fact that many international student leaders were not actually students (or even particularly young) mattered little⁶ – the symbolic power of ‘rebellious youth’ alone was clearly enough to overcome petty details about age.

The combination of unprecedented economic growth, social movements, and new youth culture means that a lot has been written about the Sixties by historians and social scientists alike. Yet, particular and rather conventional viewpoints still tend to dominate these writings. Especially in popular writings, there is a pronounced quest for teleological explanations harking back to the Sixties to explain the genesis of later (mainly 1970s) movements. The mere

² Tony Judt, for example, has described the Sixties the “Age of Affluence”. see Judt 2005, Chapter 10.

³ Marwick 1999, 1-19; Brown 2013, 20.

⁴ Etzemüller 2005, 111.

⁵ Scott 2016.

⁶ Vinen 2018, 30.

progress of time seems to link these movements together in a seemingly inevitable continuum. Indeed, for authors needing a good dramatic storyline, few other topics offer such a fruitful premises; the way in which fashionable, educated, and relatively well-off sons and daughters of the middle class turned from peace beatniks to guerrilla warfare in the matter of a few years has proved all too tempting a story.⁷ Such a rigid narrative, however, overlooks the open futures that genuinely seemed to exist at that time, and are a key to understanding the historical dynamics of a complex phenomenon like Sixties' political activism. Conclusions are often drawn in hindsight in the memoirs of those who took part: many of those who then became active in the far-left movements of the 1970s, for instance, have argued that they were a natural progression onwards from the peace activism of the previous decade; while others argue that the 'real' anti-authoritarian counterculture of the Sixties was actually ruined by the more politically inclined activists.⁸

Another, rather common feature of even more nuanced historical explanations that do, in fact, consider the particularities of temporal dynamics has to do with how local social movements and their political settings are contextualised. While historians take pride in their use of primary sources, debates that refer to existing literature are also encouraged, and while this is necessary for the further development of our discipline, one must be very aware of the precise context of each secondary source, otherwise one may end up comparing apples to oranges and pursuing instead a mythical zeitgeist of sorts which connects very different local contexts into one global phenomena. In the case of the Sixties, this tendency to make comparisons based solely on secondhand sources has often led to certain archetypes of radicalism prevailing. Examples from the Berkeley free speech movement, the protests in West Germany, and the May '68 riots in France have too often served as unquestioned comparison points that set the standard even when dealing with very different national or local contexts.⁹ References to global TV networks and lightning-fast media often seem to be enough to prove that everyone on the globe was not only aware of these iconic events, but also politically inspired to follow their example. These deterministic links have thus hemmed the image of 1960s radicalism into a narrow frame of reference emphasising the role of utopian, dramatic, and even violent forms of far-left activism. While certainly representative of particular movements in their respective national or local setting, scholarship still often considers these forms of activism as the norm against which all other examples are measured. In an effort to better understand the processes of transfer, imitation, and political influence, however, these similarities must not be taken for granted – they should instead be made into the primary target of research. In

⁷ The German production of Bader-Meinhof Complex (2008) is a notable example; for a critical overlook, see Slobodian 2012, 133 and Schribner 2009.

⁸ Wiklund 2012 maps the evolvement of Sixties legacy in the Swedish context and shows how it too changed to fit current social issues; Miettunen 2019 does the same in the Finnish context.

⁹ See, e.g., Josefsson 1996; Kurlansky 2004.

other words, how was radicalism defined and experienced in other national and local contexts?

In this PhD thesis, I make a systematic historical analysis of specific North European movements that takes into consideration longer political processes, transnational entanglements, and contemporaneous attitudes towards key issues that defined these social movements and their political radicalism. Not only will this approach add new national contexts to the international scholarship of movements in the Sixties, it will also broaden our perspective on the political traditions and arguments used by radical activists in the Sixties, and thus add to our understanding of the complex political processes of the decade. From the perspective of transnational history, this thesis is also an experiment in how best to study political activism, influences, and texts that crossed borders: in other words, how does the assumption that these Sixties' movements were defined by their transnational connections stand the test of empirical historical research?

Even with the emergence of digital humanities and big data analysis, history as a discipline is unfortunately not at the point where one could study the aforementioned factors on even a European, let alone global level – so the sphere of study must be limited to something more concrete. In this doctoral thesis, the radical social movements in Finland and Sweden are thus my particular focus. Not only will this be the first English-language study of Nordic cases that are usually excluded from the standard narrative of 1960s activism, but by taking this frame of reference, the thesis will also broaden our general understanding of the dynamics of movements in the Sixties. Firstly, Finland and Sweden were in a unique position even among their Nordic peers – they were officially neutral in the Cold War.¹⁰ For the social movements of the time, this was a major issue, as it greatly affected their political position, both allowing yet also necessitating different approaches when compared to the typical western contexts of West Germany, USA, and even France.¹¹ The importance of not officially aligning with the west in military terms evolved from being a matter of principle into one of real practical significance as the conflict in Vietnam wore on and became one of the key activist issues for students and New Left movements in Europe. While their neutrality offered important political leeway, it also meant that both Finland and Sweden were primary targets for cultural diplomacy during the Cold War. Both Soviet and American activists tried to use soft power to influence Finnish and Swedish popular opinion and politics. One concrete example of this was the 1962 Helsinki World Festival of Youth and Students – an international festival for socialist youth organisations – that prompted a counter-festival to be organised by US foreign officials at the same time.¹² At the same time, the two countries also flirted with the non-alignment movement and other international aspirations to find a third way between the superpowers.¹³ This contact with neutral countries elsewhere in the world, as well as with both the superpowers

¹⁰ Etzemüller 2005, 90. Even the NATO-aligned Denmark and Norway were still highly critical towards certain issues, particularly the War in Vietnam. see Jørgensen 2008.

¹¹ On the french attempts towards a more independent foreign policy, see Suri 2003.

¹² Krekola 2012; Krekola & Mikkonen 2011.

¹³ Meinander 2019, 129-140; Hellenes & Marklund 2018.

were an important source for domestic debates and arguments. Indeed, the Finnish and Swedish social movements of the 1960s were highly critical of both superpowers and the Cold War in general – offering yet another reason to study them in detail.

In addition to the foreign policy position of neutral Nordic countries, the set of welfare policies often labeled as “the Swedish model” or “the Nordic welfare state”¹⁴ had already put into practice one of the key goals of the post-war New Left, namely to mix open democracy with state-led economic planning. Active economic policies of the state, an emphasis on labour union participation, and attempts to bring democratic institutions into the economic sphere were all examples of a local version of “Democratic Socialism” so dear to the Sixties’ New Left. Even so, it’s worth remembering that these policies were implemented in different ways depending on the national context; while official networks of Nordic cooperation certainly existed (Finland was the last to join the Nordic Council in 1955), welfare policies were principally national in scale. But Nordic cooperation did mean that contemporaries were keen on comparing their own societal and political systems with each other. This was especially the case in Finland, where comparisons to the situation in other Nordic countries in general (and the bigger, more prosperous Sweden in particular) were a significant factor in bringing transnational elements into political debates. This unique “Nordicness” is thus not some scholarly invention, but a contemporaneous historical discourse that featured both in Nordic and in other western contexts.¹⁵

In an effort to further enhance the transnational aspects of the study, I will be mirroring these Nordic cases to the events and processes in other European contexts; I am paying particular attention to West Germany (FRG), because of its traditional role as a culturally and politically significant power in the Baltic region.¹⁶ Looking at the German context via literature and some select primary sources serves two particular roles: first, it offers a point of comparison and helps to contest narratives of Nordic exceptionalism; second, it is yet another test for the empirical approach to transnational political entanglements. While long-term traditions certainly point to the fact that Germany was the leading power in the Baltic area, testing this assumption in the context of Sixties’ movements will provide further details about the complex relationship between social movements in the non-aligned Nordic countries and the NATO-aligned West German state, and between well-established political traditions and newer, global political currents.

In addition to revising existing scholarship on social movement activism in the Sixties by focusing on these Nordic peripheries, and by testing assumptions of internationality through adopting a comparative and transnational perspective, there is a third methodological viewpoint that distinguishes this

¹⁴ On the often reductionist ways these labels are used in scholarship, see Kettunen 2001; Kettunen 2012; Andersson 2009.

¹⁵ Kurunmäki & Strang 2010.

¹⁶ Suominen 1997, 50-51; Ihalainen 2013, 80; Kortti 2014; Ihalainen 2017, 25.

thesis from previous studies on the topic. A lot has been written about social movement activism in the Sixties' context from an organisational viewpoint, mostly inspired by the *Neue Soziale Bewegung* perspective pioneered by sociologist Dieter Rucht.¹⁷ Since Rucht's influential works, social movement studies have focused, e.g., on analysing the social movements of the Sixties in terms of their cognitive practices¹⁸, the physical mobility of the activists,¹⁹ and the processes that shaped the identity of these activists.²⁰ Not all have been satisfied with the more cultural focus of this recent scholarship though: Tor Førland, for instance, has argued that focusing on "uncritical narratives" has hindered research, lessened its objectivity and trivialised the role of the economic and social structures that otherwise explain the emergency of Sixties' activism.²¹

While I am certainly not comfortable with calling my perspective more objective than any other historical method (as Førland might), I nonetheless want to point out the possibility of studying one central but often neglected aspect of social movement activism in the Sixties: the political language used by contemporaries. While there have certainly been studies highlighting the importance of understanding key radicalist concepts in their contemporaneous contexts, these have so far focused on the language use of particular important intellectuals²² or, in isolated cases, on the role of one key concept.²³ In this study, however, a wider perspective is proposed – one which takes in both the political language being used and the agents shaping it. By focusing on the wider discourses of Nordic Radicalism, one can analyse not only the breadth of contemporaneous issues debated by activists; but also the wider set of agency present in public discourses. This sheds light on new perspectives which reveal important structures of legitimacy both within social movements and society itself. General social norms became visible once radicalist social movements questioned their worth and logic.

In an effort to analyse Nordic social movements in the Sixties and their political language, I focus on the radical politics of Nordic anti-authoritarian movements, and the often contested political conceptualisations of gender roles, the welfare state, and Nordic civil society. As previously mentioned, these themes were of paramount importance in the debates of the day, and so helped to define what being *Nordic* and a *radical* actually meant for the activists at that time. I approach this Nordic political language from a transnational perspective to avoid perspectives of national exceptionalism. But a wider temporal as well as geographical perspective is also needed: instead of looking only at the key events of 1968, I focus on the "long Sixties"²⁴ and highlight how longer political traditions in these specific North European contexts shaped concurrent movements and their political agendas. The goal is to shed light on the complex

¹⁷ Rucht 1994; Rucht 1998.

¹⁸ Östberg 2002, 21.

¹⁹ Klimke 2011; Slobodian 2012; Wu 2013.

²⁰ Gilcher-Holtey 2014.

²¹ Førland 2015.

²² Bauer 2010; Marmulla 2014; Giltcher-Holtey 2010.

²³ Scharloth 2014; Gilcher-Holtey 2018.

²⁴ e.g., Marwick 1999; Horn 2004.

network of Nordic radicalism and its political ideas, traditions, language, and physical mobility. I have summarised these goals into following research questions:

1. How were the discourses of radicalist politics, the Nordic welfare state, and civic activism defined; how did they become entangled and ultimately transferred between Nordic social movements and the global nexuses of radical activism; and how and why were they adapted to different local contexts?
2. Who were the agents responsible for these entanglements? How did they adopt and reshape ideas, texts and other means to their political needs? How did these transfers affect the “horizon of expectations”²⁵ for Nordic movements?
3. How and why did different historical, political, cultural, and social frameworks affect these discourses? Why were certain themes and arguments legitimised in some political contexts but not in others, and what was the source of that legitimacy?

1.1 Radicalist Discourses in Nordic Contexts

In this thesis, transnationalism is a perspective that challenges purely national interpretations by comparing them with other political cultures, and seeks to highlight the concrete ways in which political concepts, texts, and influences crossed national borders in the 1960s. I concur with Donatella della Porta, that the research of transnational entanglements should consider wider, geographical and historical contexts. Proximity, a common language, and a shared culture of communication are obvious but often overlooked preconditions for transnational connections. According to della Porta, the intensity of connections will also correlate with long-term historical contact.²⁶ However, I am not interested in highlighting national differences or treating national contexts as closed entities as traditional comparative perspectives often do.²⁷ Comparison is just one of the tools available when doing transnational history, and in this role it can emphasise both similarities and differences in transnational political discourses adapted to local conditions.²⁸ My intention is not to measure or to judge which country or movement was the most international or most connected, but to analyse the conceptual entanglements of 1960s social movements in the Nordic context.

At least from the Nordic perspective, justifying the transnational study of connections between Finland and Sweden is rather straightforward. As well as

²⁵ This concept of *Erwartungshorizont* was famously used by Reinhart Koselleck. For an overview, see Schinkel 2005, 42-43.

²⁶ della Porta 1998, 137-138.

²⁷ Kenney & Horn 2004.

²⁸ Östberg 2002, 16; Gildea, Mark & Pas 2011, 450; Brown 2014, 110.

having neutrality and welfare policies in common, as already discussed, having been part of the same political entity for centuries adds further historical legitimacy. The special relationship did not end either when Finland left the Swedish Realm in 1809, as the constitutional status of the Swedish language and legal traditions were kept and indeed still remain in Finland to this day.²⁹ In the post-war context, Finland and Sweden became further entangled through their welfare policies, the Nordic Council, and the rhetoric of Nordic neutrality.³⁰ Comparisons between these two countries have therefore been of scholarly and political interest for decades; meanwhile, contemporaneous and empirical (rather than analytical) comparisons add further nuances to studying transnational history in the Nordic sphere.

It is often argued that in addition to their historical trajectories, the political structures and cultures of Sweden and Finland make them a special case in post-war Europe. The near hegemonic position of the Swedish Social Democrats (SAP) – effectively in power for the whole period between 1932-1976 – is surely a unique period in Western Europe’s political history, and had pronounced effects on the overall political culture of twentieth-century Sweden. Welfare policies predominantly implemented by the SAP became a highly legitimised way of finding a practical third way between market and planned economic models, and eventually the model found support among all the major political parties in Sweden. Instead of arguing against the model itself, the point of political conflict became about the way it should be implemented in practice. While the progressiveness, equality, and international prestige of the ‘Swedish model’ is often taken for granted, it is certainly worthwhile remembering that the country was still a constitutional monarchy, and even its internationally renowned welfare policies were based on principally nationalist ideas from the 1930s.³¹

In comparison, the Finnish Social Democrats (SDP) never attained such political predominance. In a poorer, war-torn country, Swedish-style welfare reforms were implemented differently and at a slower pace. Things were quite different politically too, insofar as the Left was scattered between two or three different parties; while the Finnish-Soviet Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, signed in 1948 after substantial Soviet pressure, restricted the independence of Finnish foreign policy. In domestic politics, interconnectedness to the Soviets eventually led to the conservative National Coalition Party being effectively excluded from cabinet duties. While the Centrist Agrarian League was in many ways an advocate for combining growth-oriented social policy with good Soviet relations, particularly in the Sixties, the SDP also turned their policies more to the left to gain Soviet acceptance. Because of the importance of foreign policy questions in general, and relations with the USSR in particular, the role of Finland’s President Urho Kekkonen (1956-1982) has dominated Finnish post-war political history.³²

²⁹ Ihalainen 2013, 59; Ihalainen 2017, 21, 27.

³⁰ Kettunen 2001; Kurunmäki & Strang 2010; Koikkalainen 2010; Kettunen 2014.

³¹ Andersson 2006.

³² Koikkalainen 2010; Meinander 2019, 53-85; Tuominen 1991, 85-89.

All these features mean that Finland and Sweden provide an interesting case for studying the social movements of the 1960s, as they add up to a rather different political context to France, West Germany, or the US. Finnish and Swedish activists lacked the obvious issues of radical opposition, such as a NATO-aligned foreign policy, conservative government, strong centre-right parties, and policies that emphasised the role of private economic activity. Other peculiarities were also significant: both countries had Lutheran churches associated with the state that had a wide membership across the whole population, and a Nordic tradition of active civic organisations providing a unique example of grass-roots politics.³³ These are not just contextual factors unearthed by historical scholarship, but topics which themselves were often used by the activists to define the position of Nordic radicalism in European and global contexts.

The transnational perspective should not be limited to testing existing assumptions of cultural hegemony. Instead, it should reveal something about the dynamics of political transfers and entanglements. When such dynamics have been the subject of transnational historical study, smaller countries are usually portrayed as passive bystanders to the nexuses of power, so focusing instead on these ‘peripheries’ could actually add an important perspective to the debate.³⁴ Instead of looking at the customary contexts of 1960s radical politics, I am more interested in the way those key texts and international events were actively received, adapted and altered to fit into political contexts that were indeed often remote. This thesis therefore proposes a particular bottom-up way of doing transnational history where local activism is emphasised, and not merely treated as subordinate to grand structures or powerful intellectuals.

Existing studies concerning North European social movements are sporadic and point to an interesting variety of similarities and differences. Of course, all the North European countries shared the same general trajectory of cultural and social change, but the New Left and radical student movements that form the bulk of social movements studied, clearly differed in terms of national characteristics. Thomas Etzemüller, for example, has described the Swedish New Left and student movements as being relatively independent of each other.³⁵ The anticommunism (and even sometimes antisocialism) of Nordic student movements in the early Sixties is also a peculiar feature. The Swedish movement of “cultural radicalism” had its origins in a liberal agenda of intellectual and a non-socialist form of opposition, deliberating against censorship, traditional religious family values, the monarchy, and gender inequality. The aim was to expand the definitions of democracy and individual rights, not to overturn the social or political system.³⁶ Early Finnish student radicalism, also working under the concept of cultural radicalism, was similarly anticommunist in nature and,

³³ Markkola 2014; Markkola & Naumann 2014; Ihalainen 2019.

³⁴ Marjanen 2017.

³⁵ Etzemüller 2006, 244.

³⁶ Östberg 2002, 44; Östberg 2008, 339-341.

although operating in a rather different political context, shared similar liberal aspirations with its Swedish counterpart.³⁷ Little is known about the dynamics between student movements, cultural radicalism, and New Left groups in the Nordic context – even on a national level. It is commonly acknowledged that both the Finnish and the Swedish student movements experienced a turn towards the Left only during the latter part of the Sixties – whereas the West German student movement was already involved with *Neue Linke* from the outset – and yet the dynamics of this turn remain, for the most part, uncharted territory. Scholars of Nordic movements have focused on wider cultural change,³⁸ while particular aspects like the rise of party groups in Finnish student unions³⁹ and the reform debate about Swedish universities⁴⁰ are well covered. These themes have highlighted party affiliations and intellectual, even legislative debates as indicators of political change and radicalisation. This institutional focus has left plenty of questions about the dynamics of the Nordic 1960s radicalisation process unanswered. How did rank-and-file members express their feelings about the shifting political currents? How were new radical ideas discussed, adopted, or resisted? How did the process of radicalisation emerge in different national contexts or regarding different policy themes? Focusing on how contemporaries defined themselves will shine a new light on these phenomena.

The particular nature of civil society in the Nordic countries has often been cited as the most significant distinguishing factor between them and other European, especially German radical movements. The rhetoric of there being an ancient tradition of ‘free peasants’ has a long history in itself.⁴¹ In the context of social movements of the 1960s, it has mainly been present as an explanation for the integration of protesting movements into state institutions. While violence became a much-discussed topic that marginalised the message of the West German protest movement, the scholarship on Nordic movements has mostly focused on the lucrative networks and contacts with those in power made possible by the particular nature of Nordic civil society and the relative lack of social hierarchy. This aspect has been reinforced by occasional comparative studies on the topic, predominantly based on secondhand literature. The focus on Nordic civil society has manifested itself in a number of ways: Swedish student unions, for example, are said to have had a political presence already in the early Sixties, as their opinion was often sought during legislative processes, and even in cases that did not concern the field of education.⁴² One of the ways Nordic movements have been shown to be influential, is in the way they could propose a radical agenda to those with political power.⁴³ Since the hegemony of the Social Democrats in Swedish politics was a clear exception to the Christian

³⁷ Kortti 2011, 470; Suominen 1997, 42.

³⁸ Tuominen 1991; Östberg 2002; Meinander 2019.

³⁹ Kolbe 1996; Ketonen 2002; Lamberg 2004; Nieminen & Holopainen 2010; Vartianen & Kaarninen 2013.

⁴⁰ Josefsson 1996.

⁴¹ Kurunmäki & Strang 2010; Koikkalainen 2010; Kurunmäki & Herrmann 2018.

⁴² Etzemüller 2006, 242, 253.

⁴³ Førland 2008, 319-320.

Democrat norm elsewhere in Europe,⁴⁴ the SAP approved of informal protests (in principle) and, compared to other European contexts, this lessened the conflict between protest movements and those in power. Indeed, this perspective has identified a clear process of adaptation, where radicalist concerns were swiftly integrated into the political parties, which in turn further increased the political influence of the original radical movements and ideas.⁴⁵ In Finland, the close relationship of President Kekkonen with the radical youth has often repeated as having been one reason why informal political activism had an effect at the state level.⁴⁶

While these approaches do help contextualise Nordic radical movements and their politics, studies which focus on societal institutions like parties and those in power have nonetheless dominated the field. We still do not know how these agents of radicalism saw their own position in Nordic societies, nor how they felt about the political traditions of social democracy, the welfare state, and civil society that seemed to dominate their domestic contexts. These aspects will only become apparent when contemporary discourses from that era are analysed in detail; just as the apparent moderate nature of Nordic radicalism will be best investigated through a comparative and transnational study. Swedish historiography, in particular, has drawn attention to the composed way in which Swedish radicals promoted their cause, in comparison with the protests in France and West Germany. But would this still be the case if one compared the Swedish case with another, even more peripheral case, and focused on the political language and goals used?

Some literature has recognised differences between different Nordic movements, despite the relative similarity of Nordic societies and political contexts. Although comparative studies have been generally scarce, Finnish radicalism in particular has been portrayed as unique among its Nordic counterparts. In these preliminary comparisons (often done without primary sources), Finnish politics is construed as having been more conflict-oriented than the Swedish model of social democratic consensus. Thomas Ekman Jørgensen has alleged that the popularity of the Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL), in particular, made their brand of social democracy closer to the Eurocommunists of France and Italy than the Social Democrats dominant in other Nordic countries.⁴⁷ While this parallel seems credible from the perspective of election results and membership numbers, it severely underplays the different political cultures in which these parties operated. While the Italian Communists enjoyed a certain prestige from their participation in the Anti-Fascist struggles of World War Two (WWII), the SKDL were still predominantly associated with sympathies towards the Soviet Union, its aggressive policies during the Winter and Continuation Wars, and the bloody Civil War of 1918. While this aspect emphasises the conflicting nature of Finnish politics, its connection to the politics

⁴⁴ Müller 2011, 130, 139-141.

⁴⁵ Suominen 1997, 57, Jørgensen 2008a, 332-334; Jørgensen 2008b, 240, 247.

⁴⁶ Tuominen 1991, 86; Meinander 2019, 177.

⁴⁷ Førland 2008, 320; Jørgensen 2008a, 326, 330-331.

of history and memory should be analysed using primary sources from that time. Even in social democratic Sweden, not all policy debates dealt explicitly with welfare policies; one of the more tense debates of the Sixties concerned the policy of centralisation strongly advocated by the government. The New Left vigorously opposed the policy, which was aiming to drastically reduce the number of municipalities, as they considered it would compromise local democracy.⁴⁸ These complexities have often been neglected though, as the dominant historiographical focus has been on Swedish welfare policies, the success of the “Swedish model”, and on key political figures such as Olof Palme.

Despite the more inclusive nature of Nordic societies, certain features of radical discourses were still strikingly similar to those used by German radicals. Radical movements everywhere knowingly used historical narratives and examples to legitimise their own existence. Dealing with the Nazi question was indeed a prevalent issue in West Germany since both East Germany and Austria had officially renounced any liability for the Third Reich’s legacy.⁴⁹ The initiative to challenge established interpretations of the past may not have been launched by these radical movements, but they certainly popularised and dramatised this discourse.⁵⁰ The role of this politically charged history was so significant that parallels were drawn between it and almost all political events.⁵¹ Naturally, the legacy of the war was also a prevalent feature in Finnish radicalist discourses⁵²: parallels were drawn between the hypocritical Soviet-oriented *Realpolitik* of the 1960s (after many years of war against the USSR) and the double standards of Finnish society. Moreover, as a subject for provocation, nothing was more inflammable than Finland’s former alliance with Nazi Germany.⁵³ As Michael Schmidtke has demonstrated, the tactic of arguing against the establishment by summoning the past of Nazi Germany was not an exclusively German phenomenon – even American radicals used arguments that made connections between US policies and fascism, even though the US had played such a key role itself in eventually destroying the Third Reich.⁵⁴

Questioning the established interpretations of the past had profound effects on the politics of radical movements. Timothy Scott Brown has demonstrated how the Nazi past provided significant motivation for the West German radical movement to seek internationality, and global connections were sought to make up for the lack of radicalist political inspiration in Germany’s own national history. During this identifying process, the global present was inherently connected with the local past.⁵⁵ Internationality was held in high esteem by Finnish radicals too, as they sought a way out of the nationalistic rhetoric that

⁴⁸ Wiklund 2006, 171; Jørgensen 2008a, 328; Jørgensen 2008b 240.

⁴⁹ Hilwig 1998, 330; Marcuse 1998, 421; Jarausch 2006, 18.

⁵⁰ Jarausch 2006, 21.

⁵¹ Schmidtke 2006, 182.

⁵² Jørgensen 2008a, 330.

⁵³ Suominen 1997, 158-159.

⁵⁴ Schmidtke 2006, 181. Using the Germanised concept of *Amerika* was a clear indication of this tendency.

⁵⁵ Brown 2013, 81, 84, 101, 105; Brown 2014, 110.

had prevailed in Finland's politics and culture since independence. The aim was to replace the old, expansionist concept of "Greater Finland" with a new, *international* yet still essentially nation-friendly concept of a "Cultural Greater Finland" – the best way to approach this would be through cultural open-mindedness, modernism, and internationality.⁵⁶ While Sweden did not share the same burdens of war and the self-criticism that came with having so visibly collaborated with Nazi Germany,⁵⁷ other issues that were directly linked to the horrors of WWII proved to be just as controversial. The atom bomb in particular was a timely topic in Sweden, because there was a domestic nuclear weapons programme that was publicly supported by the military and a core group of politicians.⁵⁸ This project was, however, finally dropped in 1968 after a decade-long debate on its pros and cons. The 'Easter Marches' Movement (*Ostermärsche*) opposing the nuclear armament of the Federal Republic, was a direct role model for the Swedish nuclear opposition movement. As these examples show, differences discovered by a transnational approach will help explain differences not only in the radical politics but also in the wider political culture and approaches to fundamental questions of historical, political and cultural legitimacy.

In addition to topical analogies, the activities of the North European movements also occasionally intersected. In studies focusing on transnational entanglements between different movements, the role of West Germany in general, and of divided Berlin in particular are often emphasised. Martin Klimke, who has studied the entanglements between two dominant radical organisations, the West German SDS⁵⁹ and its American namesake, has called Berlin one of the nexuses of the transnational protest movement.⁶⁰ The West German SDS was responsible for one of the few more organised attempts at transnational cooperation between radical groups. This took the form of INFI,⁶¹ and it was based on the floor below the Berlin branch of the SDS.⁶² Influences ran both ways, and the West German New Left was particularly influenced by the American New Left. Even the symbols used in the fight against the spread of American influence were actually adopted from the US.⁶³ Extending the research of such connections to a transnational study focusing on yet smaller countries in European peripheries could provide more understanding here. Did German activists provide a gateway to global radicalism, or did Nordic activists actually establish their own contacts bypassing European nexuses like Berlin?

⁵⁶ Kortti 2011, 464, 467, 469.

⁵⁷ Jørgensen 2011, 49.

⁵⁸ Östberg 2002, 41.

⁵⁹ "Socialist German Student Union" in West Germany and "Students for a Democratic Society" in US. These two organizations, despite sharing the same acronym, were founded independently of each other.

⁶⁰ Klimke 2011, 40.

⁶¹ International News and Research Institute.

⁶² Klimke 2011, 96-99.

⁶³ Klimke 2011, 7, 14, 35.

There are some hints as to the existence of concrete links between Nordic and European agents of radicalism. These connections were formed first and foremost through student exchange programs. Two of the most notable international radical leaders – Rudi Dutschke and Stokely Carmichael – even visited Swedish universities during the spring of 1968.⁶⁴ Swedes had also participated in the infamous ‘International Vietnam Congress’ in Berlin earlier in the same year (17 February). The connection between Swedish and German radicals was also emphasised by their cooperation in the ‘GI Resistance’ campaign which urged American GIs to desert from serving in NATO military bases across Europe.⁶⁵ As well as this strong connection with the Germans, Swedish activists also took their own initiative in making transnational connections.⁶⁶ In 1967, the Russell Tribunal was convened in Stockholm: this was an international body of intellectuals investigating the effects of American involvement in the Vietnam War, and a clear manifestation both of the transnational level of Swedish radicalism,⁶⁷ and the international relevance of Swedish neutrality.⁶⁸ While Finnish radical movements were not nearly as involved at the international level as their Swedish counterparts, some findings do point towards fragmentary connections between Finnish, Swedish, and in some cases German student activists – particularly in the spring of ’68.⁶⁹ In addition to these sporadic connections, some Finnish activists spontaneously identified themselves with the German and French radicals. References to Berlin, the Anti-Springer Campaign and the sit-ins at the Sorbonne aptly demonstrate the transnational nature of radicalist discourses at the time.⁷⁰ While we are aware that such connections existed, their contemporaneous meanings and political uses still remain uncharted territory, and a systematic study of discourses on transnational mobility, texts, and media has yet to be undertaken. Current literature focuses mainly on *physical* mobility and concludes that no significant political organisations resulted from this. While this might certainly be the case, the mobility of people and ideas might still have had nevertheless had some important ramifications that were crucial to how Nordic radical activists saw themselves.

It would also seem that the process of implementing international connections between social movements was quite different depending on each national context. Jørgensen has argued that the anti-Americanism of Swedish activists was so dogmatic, that they refused to accept any American influences, even if those Americans were radicalists themselves and critical of US government policy.⁷¹ German radicals, however, drew attention to the flip-side of America’s involvement in Vietnam, and welcomed connections with the anti-

⁶⁴ Östberg 2002, 99-100.

⁶⁵ Klimke 2011, 182-184; Scott 2001; Scott 2011.

⁶⁶ Östberg 2002, 43.

⁶⁷ Gildea, Mark & Pas 2011, 457. The second part of the Tribunal was in Denmark.

⁶⁸ Östberg 2002, 95-96.

⁶⁹ Kolbe 1996, 333-334.

⁷⁰ Vilkuna 2013, 95-96, 100.

⁷¹ Jørgensen 2008b, 244.

war effort over there.⁷² Jørgensen has also endorsed the notion that the Swedish Left was particularly focused on the issues of the Third World, and the personal responsibility or ‘white guilt’ of every Swede and European was a key message for them. One indication of this was when Frantz Fanon’s influential (and controversial) writings were translated into Swedish from the original French before any other language.⁷³ While these fragments certainly provide interesting clues to the way Nordic radicals implemented foreign discourses, most cases are still focused on the grand examples of the Cold War superpowers (especially the US), or on specific prominent leftist intellectuals – like Fanon. A more systematic analysis is thus needed to uncover just how Nordic radicals in the 1960s defined their relationship to other contexts (both Nordic and global), and what these comparisons meant in the domestic context.

While such an account remains to be written, global Cold war conflicts and processes are well covered. There is extensive scholarship on the reactions against the War in Vietnam⁷⁴, on the influence of Chinese Communism,⁷⁵ and on the interactions between Nordic activists and African Liberation movements.⁷⁶ The focus of this study will, as a consequence, be elsewhere: instead of looking at the aspects of events that were transnational to begin with, I will focus on the transnational themes that have been seen as particularly important in the Nordic or local context. In this way, the core values of Nordic political cultures will be scrutinised and reassessed from a new and non-national perspective.

To effectively study these transnational political discourses, one must acknowledge the different temporal levels inherent in history. These temporal tensions present themselves in the literature as an alleged confrontation between the apolitical and passive 1950s and the politically active and turbulent 1960s. This simplification has been a central part of the discourse which argues that the Sixties were an exceptional decade.⁷⁷ Roland Fraser, for example, has referred to the 1950s as a time of “deadlock” because of the uncompromising anticommunism evident in western countries in general and West Germany in particular.⁷⁸ In contrast, 1968 has often been represented as a *de facto* embodiment of the global protest movement.⁷⁹ This artificial divide was first debunked in the field of cultural change studies, especially in the works of Arthur Marwick. In them, Marwick argues that heavily emphasising the radical events of 1968 tends to conceal the less rapid trajectories which led to it.⁸⁰ Nick Thomas has since gone one step further by suggesting that the political movements of the 1960s should

⁷² Klimke 2008, 102.

⁷³ Jørgensen 2011, 53. In his article, Jørgensen compares Swedish and Danish left-wing movements.

⁷⁴ Salomon 1996; Scott 2009.

⁷⁵ Kastari 2001 ; Heden 2008, Johansson 2010.

⁷⁶ Sellström 1999; Sellström 2001; Peltola & Soiri 1999.

⁷⁷ This discourse was already advocated by contemporaries of the 1960s. See Saksholm 2015, 76-77.

⁷⁸ Fraser 1988, 13-14, 17.

⁷⁹ See for example Katsiaficas 1987, 29.

⁸⁰ Marwick 1999, 8.

be seen as having their roots in the 1950s.⁸¹ This notion of the “long Sixties” has since become more widespread, with the peace movements, anti-nuclear campaigns, and German opposition to the Federal Republic’s rearmament now increasingly seen as predecessors to the social movements of the Sixties. All of the above were already active in the 1950s and, in many cases, they functioned as role models for the activists and movements that followed.⁸²

This thesis therefore covers the whole cultural gamut of Nordic radical activism from the late 1950s until its downfall at the close of the Sixties. Through the empirical study of primary sources, 1958 has proved to be a good place to start as it was the year that the transnational *New Left Review* was first published, at the same time as a particular tradition of Nordic cultural radicalism was beginning to emerge in public debates. The year 1968 is both the high point and swan-song of Nordic Sixties’ activism: after a brief period of active demonstrations and other radical actions, these social movements either marginalised themselves or simply ceased to exist. While this period of dissolution is a logical endpoint for my study, the discourses surrounding the events of ’68 did, in some respects, continue into 1969 and so will also be taken into consideration. The focus will be on the crucial years of change during the mid-Sixties, when previous traditions of liberal activism for human rights and freedom of the individual were politicised by more polarised and left-wing views. This period of radicalisation helps to explain not only the processes that led to the events of 1968 but, perhaps more importantly, how established political activism was both challenged and revised, and how local political cultures affected this. In many ways, this thesis is a story of the relationship between different local political traditions – only some of which were national. The diverse ways in which student radicals and those from the New Left became entangled (or remained distinct from one another) should be examined carefully before any meaningful conclusions about transnational continuity or change can be drawn.

1.2 The Global and Transnational Sixties

As pointed out previously, there is clearly room for new historical perspectives that challenge the narratives of national exceptionalism. Opposing the traditional national focus of historical writing has been one of the strongest trends within the discipline for the last 10 to 15 years. Global and transnational perspectives have been seen as one possible way to ensure that history as a discipline is not overly influenced by national exceptionalism or even political nationalism. While far from easy to implement, dealing with several national cases simultaneously is definitely one way of achieving this. Nevertheless, one must bear in mind that these perspectives can also be an indication of *present* political and cultural

⁸¹ Thomas 2003, 9.

⁸² Wittner 1998.

trends, so their historicity should be taken into account. For instance, when looking at the broader context of 1960s studies, there are some traditions that seem to over-emphasise the role of transnational phenomena.

This study is therefore not the first to subject the topic of Sixties' activism to such an approach. Because of the simultaneous protests of 1968 and the self-declared internationality of the movements at that time, transnational, and global approaches have seemed like the natural way to explain the peculiarities of the period. The global level of radicalism at this time has perhaps been somewhat exaggerated, however, in some cases to the point where different national movements have been depicted as a single global entity.⁸³ Jeremy Suri, for example, points to similarities between protests in both Cold War blocks, thus merging vastly different national and international dissident movements under the catch-all concepts of a "global wave"⁸⁴ and "counterculture"⁸⁵. Such an approach seems to be yet another example of "breaking historical eggs to make sociological omelettes."⁸⁶ In these generalisations, studying the historical connections between different movements and their agents has become a case of, not so much comparing, but rather just emphasising the similarities between different movements, despite the varied political, national, and local contexts in which they operated. This generalising tendency is at its clearest when an evident western bias dominates the global interpretations. Indeed, narrowly defined features of the social movements in Western Europe and the US have often been identified as 'global' without proper attention to the national contexts in which these global connections were adapted.⁸⁷ Even more notably, the globalising emphasis has been dominant in studies that otherwise focus on strictly national contexts; but the superficial similarity of different national protest movements should not be automatically equated with meaning there were any *real* connections between them. Sometimes protests that closely resembled each other were actually not even aware of one another.⁸⁸ Correlation does not mean causation, and transnational connections can only be validated by making them a properly investigated subject of historical research.

The theoretical concept of 'transnational' is supposed to be one way of overcoming this problem of over-generalisation. While at the same time acknowledging certain historically significant differences between nation-states,⁸⁹ the concept has been a useful tool for historians who want to question the otherwise predominant role of nation states,⁹⁰ and to pinpoint the exchanges and entanglements between them, without getting bogged down in overtly

⁸³ see Katsiaficas 1987.

⁸⁴ Suri 2003, 2, 164.

⁸⁵ Suri 2009. Suri's definition of counterculture includes everything from student protests to 'unfulfilled' young mothers.

⁸⁶ Expression used by sociologist Ronald Dore, and cited in Burke 1992, 147.

⁸⁷ Hilwig 1998, 322.

⁸⁸ See, e.g., Kraft 2015.

⁸⁹ Haupt 2007.

⁹⁰ Cohen & O'Connor 2004, xiii; Saunier 2013, 15.

universalist explanations.⁹¹ Despite significant attempts to define the way transnational history should be practised, academic definitions of 'transnational' have nevertheless remained rather flexible. One of the more common definitions has been that 'transnational' should focus on the interactions of non-state actors, while 'international' is used to cover state-to-state connections.⁹² From a conceptual history point of view, however, this approach is rather limiting as both transnational and international are concepts that are seen to have their own temporal and political layers.⁹³ While acknowledging the historicity of analytical concepts is important, it should not deem them unusable. In other words, transnational and global were not concepts actively used by Nordic Sixties' activists, and hence I will be talking about transnational perspective throughout this study to refer to the analysis of texts, agents and discourses that crossed borders.

Even though transnational studies came about with the aim of challenging the extremes of uncontested globalism and restrictive nationalism, the subject may still exaggerate global connections by accentuating the potential for interconnectedness. At worst, an uncritical study of transnationalism may seek out limitless and ubiquitous entanglements and, in so doing, celebrate today's globalism as a fatalistic, indisputable sign of progress.⁹⁴ Every now and then, the concepts of global and transnational are mixed up in a way that suggests insufficient attention is given to local variations,⁹⁵ or the practical aspects of transnational entanglements. Generalisations downplay the role of local political traditions in many ways. Focusing on key global moments like the protests of 1968 may overshadow and thus obscure continuities and traditions that would otherwise challenge the ahistorical novelty and apparent global unity of the so-called 'new' social movements.⁹⁶ Although the movements of the Sixties were often defined by their agents as being completely new political entities, some of their agents had operated in already well-established political movements for decades. The decision to step aside and form or join a new movement was not necessarily spontaneous, but involved often gradual and sometimes even painful personal decisions.⁹⁷ The central role of activists and agents from differing political backgrounds confirms the continuity of political traditions, and the need to analyse the use of words like 'new' in their particular historical context – the

⁹¹ Despite the initial contradictions between comparative and transnational research traditions, these juxtapositions have greatly subsided, and most scholars admit that these traditions are not rivalries but should be merged instead. Kocka 2003, 42-44; Haupt 2007, 712; Levine 2014, 335.

⁹² Klimke, Pekelder & Scharloth 2011, 2.

⁹³ *Debating Internationalisms: A European History of Concepts Beyond Nation States*, Forthcoming (Berghahn books, 2021).

⁹⁴ Bracke & Mark 2015, 405-406; c.f. Iriye 2013.

⁹⁵ Evans 2009, 333.

⁹⁶ Östberg 2002, 21; Nehring 2014, 167. The concept of "new" social movement has been highly influential, especially in the field of social sciences. for an overview, see f.ex. Rucht 1994.

⁹⁷ Nehring 2011, 17-18.

need to define something as 'new', 'global', or as a 'movement' is always a political act to begin with.

At the same time as transnational studies have entered the field of history, another tradition that goes under the label of global history has emerged. The founding of the *Journal of Global History* in 2006 is a clear sign that this tradition has now become established.⁹⁸ While there exists multiple ways in which global history can be defined, one of the most important for this study is that it is a critique of the western focus in history, which is also apparent in the field of transnational studies. While this study does not explicitly focus on the global repercussions of Nordic Sixties' activism, I do seek to emphasise the role of non-European agents whenever relevant. This is important not only because it helps to relativise the source of political influences in the Nordic sphere, but because it is also a way of drawing attention to the national and intellectual focus of current research traditions.⁹⁹ As Quinn Slobodian has argued, the process of reminiscing tends to remove historical agency from non-national actors.¹⁰⁰ Traditions that emphasise the role of certain New Left philosophers, especially from the Frankfurt School, follow similar traits of transposing political agency from the grass-roots level to a select set of western, white, and male agents.

When detailed interconnections between specific Sixties' movements have been studied from a transnational or global history perspective focusing on detailed historical trajectories, it seems that transnational entanglements often emphasise the differences between participating national and local movements. This has challenged the imagined sense of global community and connectedness, as well as the global rhetoric of radicalism transmitted via the media. Comfortable ideas of a radicalist global community have become superseded by the image of bickering partisans facing acute political dilemmas. Consequently, these connections have been shown to have actually not resulted in any significant transnational cooperative organisations. The supposedly spontaneous nature of the radical movements has been further challenged by looking more closely at the specific contexts in which the entanglements between different national agents occurred. These international entanglements were not always based on networks that existed between the radical organisations; in many cases they were only made possible by the official programmes of Cold War cultural propaganda. The young, purposefully defined in as loose terms as possible, were a special target group for the propaganda of American cultural diplomacy.¹⁰¹ Exchange programs were set up by state authorities with the clear pedagogical intention of promoting western goodwill and cooperation *within* the boundaries of the Cold War.¹⁰² While these structures could be used for other purposes, they hardly represented a radical or new instrument for overturning societal structures, much less the framework of the Cold War.

⁹⁸ *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties*, published in 2018, is another example of this.

⁹⁹ Klimke & Nolan 2018.

¹⁰⁰ Slobodian 2012, 5-13.

¹⁰¹ Klimke 2011, 101-103, 145-151.

¹⁰² Schildt 2006, 154; Jobs 2009, 379.

Despite the obvious appeal of globally unifying explanations, the tools of transnational and global history can also be used to reveal the *different* ways in which these connections, texts, images, and discourses were adopted at the local level by social movements. According to Timothy Scott Brown, studying these local contexts demonstrates the “global at work”, i.e., how local agents reacted to their transnational connections and the political models, arguments, and concepts transmitted through them,¹⁰³ illustrating the interconnectedness of local and global levels of radicalism.¹⁰⁴ One of the most common ways to do this is to study the agency of the people who imported and translated texts, ideas, and political practices across national borders and language areas. Whether public intellectuals or exchange students, these were the agents responsible for the practical implications of these transnational entanglements.¹⁰⁵ The political opportunities available had a profound impact on which foreign texts and ideas were selected,¹⁰⁶ and because these mediating agents were so important, the adaptation process was mostly dependent on the political context and needs at the receiving end.¹⁰⁷

Studying these local adaptations and the use of international comparisons and examples in political argumentation at this time indicates that ‘international’ (and other concepts derived from it) was crucial in defining the political position of radicalism. Despite its central role in radical activists’ argumentation, many seemed to have quite a limited understanding of global economic, diplomatic or ideological structures. A few key events, like the Vietnam War, took up a disproportionate amount of space in the debates, while important but less dramatic processes like the nuclear détente were all but excluded.¹⁰⁸ One must thus remember that conceptualisations of international foreign affairs were mostly used as arguments in domestic political debates, and so be contextualised accordingly.¹⁰⁹ Only rarely did the radical debate take on explicitly transnational forms – this was when important political innovations occurred – and these are the moments of paramount importance to this study.

Similarly, expressions of solidarity towards third world countries functioned predominantly as political arguments in the local context where the expressions were made. Previous landmark studies by Quinn Slobodian (in the West German context) and Tor Sellström (in the Swedish) point out how dramatically these entanglements with the Third World changed during the Sixties. Many of the original protests were based on actual personal relationships between western and third world activists; with the emergence of the Vietnam War as a key radical issue, these concrete forms of transnationalism were surpassed by a more theoretical take on global solidarity and an imagined radical

¹⁰³ Brown 2009, 69-70, 72.

¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., Dirlik 1998, 314.

¹⁰⁵ On the role of cross-border travels, see Jobs 2009. On the role of “public intellectuals” sympathising with New Left, see for example Geary 2008.

¹⁰⁶ Brown 2009, 72.

¹⁰⁷ Brown 2013, 6.

¹⁰⁸ Niedhart 1998, 178.

¹⁰⁹ Salomon 1996; Johansson 2010.

community.¹¹⁰ In some cases, establishing connections was relatively straightforward. As Slobodian has described, there were a lot of Iranian and Congolese exchange students in West Germany at the time, who proved to be ideal candidates for cooperating with the radical German student movement.¹¹¹ In other contexts, establishing radical networks with third world agents was laborious and needed considerable resources that often came from the state. Especially in European countries with a colonial past, even radical social movements often had a predominantly western- and Eurocentric world-view; their connections suffered greatly from their poor understanding of the real contexts of countries in the Third World and Eastern Bloc. Even their conceptions of the contexts in which their radical peers in western countries operated was predominantly shaped by their own national experiences.¹¹² Correspondingly, some European cooperative endeavours with third world activists were characterised by deep disagreements, usually due to a colonial history;¹¹³ for instance, neither African nor Afro-American third world organisations were that interested in co-operating with activists in Europe.¹¹⁴ There were also plenty of disagreements when attempts were made to straddle the Iron Curtain. East German opposition activists did establish some contacts with their western radical peers, but disagreements on policy questions and suspicions about whether they were cooperating with the state's intelligence officials made these attempts futile.¹¹⁵ Similarly, despite (or perhaps precisely because of) Finland's geopolitical location and soviet-oriented official foreign policy, the student movement there was not so keen on destroying its domestic credentials by too close an association with the USSR.¹¹⁶

Transnational contacts were nevertheless attempted even when there had been no actual physical or organisational links beforehand. The use of concepts pointing to global cooperation was often a unilateral affair, and Jørgensen has aptly described these declarations of solidarity as a form of "virtual internationalism [...]", that "took place without any real contact or common acts of solidarity."¹¹⁷ The imagined global community of radicalism was also often compromised by images that actually contradicted the meanings they had previously had in their originating context. The leading figures of Communism, for instance, were common emotive images used in the west, despite the apparent opposition of said figures to the individualistic and anti-authoritarian values of the western movements.¹¹⁸ These examples aptly demonstrate the symbolic side of global unity that became especially relevant during the tumultuous events of 1968. However, one should not disregard this symbolic

¹¹⁰ Sellström 1999; Slobodian 2012.

¹¹¹ Slobodian 2012, 61-71.

¹¹² Fink, Gassert & Junker 1998; 27; Jobs 2009, 395; Rothenhöfer 2011, 120.

¹¹³ Skinner 2015, 421, 426.

¹¹⁴ Klimke 2011, 142; Skinner 2015, 429-431.

¹¹⁵ Brown 2009.

¹¹⁶ Kolbe 1996 63-66, 80.

¹¹⁷ Jørgensen 2011, 53.

¹¹⁸ Dirlik 1998, 299-301; Brown 2013, 212.

transnationalism as mere rhetoric, as it was an essential part of the way radical activists saw themselves. Third world movements provided examples of non-alignment and youthful political energy,¹¹⁹ and thus provided western agents with the hope of initiating social change. Since theorising was seen as a significant form of political action, and theory was not only a source of inspiration, but also proof of the constant forward progress of activism, third world examples fit well into the framework of generalising local examples into a universal theory.¹²⁰ Often, the premise was that social theories simultaneously advanced in step with all other means of protest.¹²¹ Whether this understanding should be considered as the central expression of a world-view that united the whole movement into a global entity (at least on the symbolic level), or as an example of theoretical Marxist jargon (far from the actual political practices and intentions of movement members) is a question that continues to divide scholarship on the subject. Only a close reading of arguments on the topic from this period will eventually shed light on the matter.

1.3 Approaches to Sixties Social Movements

The tensions between global, transnational, and local aspects of 1960s radicalism brings to light an even more fundamental rift between different scholarly approaches to the subject. If the aim of these movements was to abolish hierarchies and traditional institutions altogether, then who exactly were the political agents in such movements, and how should we study them? This posits a dilemma for the scholars of political history (and political sciences, for that matter), who have traditionally studied movements easily confined to their membership, organisational structures, and ideology. This tradition has greatly affected the way in which radical movements of the Sixties have been approached. However, methods usually used to analyse parliaments, parties, labour unions or guerrilla cells are not so easily applied to anti-authoritarian movements in the Sixties, when these are radical agents that clearly despised hierarchies. Nevertheless, because of the tradition of focusing on conventional organisations, it has been the case that only a handful of the many scattered organisations formed by agents of 1960s radicalism have been studied – such as

¹¹⁹ Kalter 2017.

¹²⁰ Slobodian 2012, 204-206.

¹²¹ Müller 2011, 173-174.

the SDS¹²² and APO¹²³ in West Germany, and the SDS in the US¹²⁴ – with the result that these have become unfairly treated as representative of the whole sphere of radicalism. The ‘New Left’, as a concept, can also be used in a general way that ignores the sometimes vast national differences between the many disparate organisations that adopted the label.¹²⁵ When the concept of New Left is studied in each specific context, it is clear that rather than attempting to form a coherent transnational movement, the New Left was principally used as a way to distinguish oneself from the ‘old’ Left. The debates on reforming political traditions were therefore often decidedly national in character, despite the internationalist heritage of labour activism.¹²⁶ It seems to be the case, however, that the diversity of organisations studied has recently been slowly increasing, as the role of, *inter alia*, socialist and labour youth organisations in defining radical political culture has been acknowledged.¹²⁷ Gerd-Rainer Horn, among others, has expanded the range of radical actors by pointing out that South European labour movements were important participants in the local radical movements there.¹²⁸ Such an approach clearly challenges interpretations that only consider student organisations or New Left intellectuals as the primary objects of study.

New approaches to radical social movement organizations (SMOs)¹²⁹, while broadening understanding of the subject, have also demonstrated the limits of the organisational approach for studying transnational, anti-authoritarian movements, when they include such a range of agents.¹³⁰ Diversity was, paradoxically perhaps, the only characteristic that radical social movements in the Sixties all shared. While focusing on SMOs provides specific primary sources and a coherent line of argument, it limits the study of 1960s radicalism to a narrow field of publicly visible agents,¹³¹ or by trying to avoid fragmentation, assembles a wide variety of different agents and political views under a simple, indisputable umbrella-catchphrase – namely that of the SMO in question. SMOs usually did have an organisational layer that handled many practical tasks, but the movements and these organisational structures were rarely commensurable; radical movements were profoundly shaped by different, independent agents, people who either functioned completely outside the organisational fabric, or who were members in any number of other organisations.¹³² Diversity and

122 *Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund*, originally the student organisation of SPD but later dismissed from this official position because of excessive radicalism and criticism of the party. The similar abbreviation was a coincidence, albeit it was later used to draw parallels between these two organisations.

123 *Außerparlamentarische Opposition*, coalition of SDS and labour organisations specifically aimed at protesting against the *Notstandsgesetze* (Emergency Acts) advocated by the German Grand coalition of 1966. For a comprehensive overview, see Thomas 2003.

124 *Students for a Democratic Society*, unaffiliated student organisation.

125 Horn 2007, 144; Nehring 2011, 24.

126 Geary 2008; Müller 2011, 176-182; Vinen 2018, 6.

127 For examples in the West-German context, see Nehring 2014.

128 Horn 2007, especially chapters 3 and 4.

129 For a brief discussion of SMOs, see e.g., Parhi & Myllykangas 2019.

130 Brown 2009, 69; Brown 2013, 2.

131 Brown 2009, 73.

132 Rucht 1998, 118; Brown 2013, 44.

flexibility were not hindrances but essential features of the new politics and society that the radical activists advocated, so to study essentially anti-authoritarian movements by prioritising those with a structure is rather counter-intuitive to begin with. While many of the movements seemed to have a *de facto* ideological and/or political leader, it was often the media more than the activists themselves that would select this figurehead.

Organisational histories not only simplify the situation with regard to agency, they often also make a clear distinction between the political and cultural aspects of 1960s radicalism. One paramount example of this is *The Sixties* by Arthur Marwick, in which the Sixties is depicted as a “cultural revolution” that occurred in Western Europe and the US. Marwick states explicitly that he sees a clear distinction between the cultural and the political dimensions of the decade, and in his interpretation the huge cultural changes experienced by the majority of western countries were not influenced by the political movements of the time.¹³³ As an analytical concept, ‘cultural revolution’ is problematic, as it ignores the 1960s usage of the term to refer to what was happening under Chairman Mao in the People’s Republic of China to describe processes that were essentially western and decidedly liberal.¹³⁴ Moreover, while the clear distinction between the political and cultural might, on the surface, seem like a legitimate choice, this legitimacy seems questionable if the focus of our attentions are actually the members of radical social movements that had as one of their central aims, the abolition of the distinction between culture and politics altogether. While the relationship between culture and politics was certainly open to various interpretations, linking them together was often one of the main forms of movement activity. Culture and politics were often inherently linked in both the actions and the personal choices of the participants, and criticism expressed by artists and intellectuals had a profound impact as role models – especially for the more overtly political movements.¹³⁵ Broadening the definition of politics used in studying the movements in the Sixties would do justice to the rich diversity of political articulations expressed by these movements.¹³⁶ Indeed, the concepts of ‘cultural politics’ and ‘political culture’ have been used precisely to overcome the futile juxtaposition of political with cultural.¹³⁷ These perspectives, while certainly most welcome, have yet to be fully explored – especially when we consider the national implications of cultural influences and their applications.¹³⁸

The dynamics of the cultural and political become even more pronounced when the analytical uses of ‘political’ are critically evaluated. It seems that despite the increasing focus on methods and a growing awareness of the role of analytical concepts in writing political history, political is still often an unquestioned concept that is used in a rather mundane manner. Yet, its analytical usefulness is highly dependent on the way ‘political’ is understood by the

¹³³ Marwick 1998, 9, 15.

¹³⁴ Slobodian 2012, Chapter 6.

¹³⁵ Horn 2007, 19-22; Evans 2009, 346; Brown 2014, 99; Vazansky & Abel 2014, 92.

¹³⁶ Skadhamar 2008, 455.

¹³⁷ Nehring 2014, 156.

¹³⁸ Schildt & Siegfired 2006, 28; Horn 2007, 19-22; Steinmetz & Haupt 2013, 17-20.

researcher, and how this definition relates to the definition of 'political' adopted by the historical agents studied. Since this thesis focuses heavily on conceptual history and analysing discourses from the 1960s, mapping the meanings of 'political' from this particular era is an important key to understanding wider changes in the discourses of radicalism. Understanding that these meanings are contingent and subject to historical change is important; perhaps even more so is to constantly compare one's own definition of 'political' with those of activists in the Sixties. In an effort to deal with these inevitable differences, my perspective on 'the political' is both empirical and rather inclusive. I see the public actions of movements in the Sixties, whether cultural, social, or transnational, as being inherently political actions, since they all aspired to change society. By defining my analytical perspective as focusing on agency and not on any particular political sphere in society underlines this inclusiveness, and makes it easier to analyse contemporaneous understandings of the political in different public, local, and temporal contexts.

The literature that seems to acknowledge the interconnectedness between the political and cultural most effectively, as well as the sheer diversity of the political within the different strands of 1960s radicalism has, for the most part, been written by the activists themselves. Because of its politically controversial nature, the temporal proximity of the 1960s, and its relatively brief timespan as a subject of historical studies, a variety of memoirs is only to be expected. In addition to these personal memoirs, contemporaries of the Sixties have had a pronounced role in scholarly literature as vast collections of oral testimonies have been gathered from interviews.¹³⁹ Invaluable as these biographical documents may be, this focus has nevertheless led to a rather limited perspective of movements in the Sixties. As reminiscing is an action done by those who have the intention of doing so in a particular present, it emphasises that present's current attitudes and values associated with the past. This stratification of memory and the deliberate function of reminiscence should be taken into consideration when such sources and testimonies are used in historical research. Oral sources also tend to limit the sphere of radical activists to well-known leaders of movements and the rigid dichotomy they represent.¹⁴⁰ These will invariably be the agents that are most readily available and already actively promoting their views of the past. This often makes it only a poor substitute to the direct organisational approach.¹⁴¹

In addition to personal memoirs and studies in which retrospection is present, in the form of primary sources, former participants have also written some of the most often cited studies on the political aspects of movements in the Sixties. Nick Thomas has aptly described such an approach as a continuation of Sixties' Marxist theory-making in the present.¹⁴² Oral history perspectives can

¹³⁹ Thomas 2003, 5. See, e.g., Fraser 1988.

¹⁴⁰ Brown 2013, 2.

¹⁴¹ Vazansky & Abel 2014, 92.

¹⁴² Thomas 2003, 6. See Katsiaficas (1987) for an example of such a study, in which Katsiaficas analyses the Sixties' New Left as a global entity with its own Marcusean analytical concepts.

still be extremely valuable as they underline the role of personal agency and experience, yet without being able to contrast current-day representations of the past with a more empirical look at the history of the topic, we are in danger of losing track of the temporal layers present in these narratives. As Martin Wiklund has poignantly demonstrated, what actually happened in 1968 has been prone to change both in public debates and scholarly writings. Different times posit different frameworks that affect the way we interpret the past.¹⁴³

1.4 Methods and Analytical Concepts for Analysing Transnational Discourses

I argue that the criticisms presented in 1.3 above point out the limitations of studying narrowly-defined political organisations, whether global or local. As transnational and global studies have demonstrated, transnational connections between 1960s agents of radicalism lacked significant formal structures. If anything, the unstructured nature of these connections was part and parcel of challenging hierarchical social structures. This critique of hierarchies and structures was actually one of the most important features that different national and transnational movements shared, as both the questions raised and the solutions proposed had obviously similar elements.¹⁴⁴ It is evident, then, that radical social movements shared an oppositional and often anti-authoritarian perspectives rather than any organisational similarities *per se*. These perspectives manifested themselves in public discourses and texts that attempted to define what radicalism could and should be, and what radical politics could accomplish. Consequently, I argue that a study of these public discourses and the political language used in them should yield new perspectives for transnational studies of the Sixties.

Understanding politics as an inherently discursive process has been an influential perspective for political historians. While talking about methodological ‘turns’ often seems rather inconvenient and simplistic, taking the language of the past seriously has helped to redefine the discipline of political history, and has affected the way political history is studied and written today. At the same time, the diversity of political history has greatly increased.¹⁴⁵ Conceptual history has become one of the established ways of approaching historical discourses. While in many ways still marginal, there are some concrete milestones that point to the established nature of this particular methodological tradition.¹⁴⁶ *Begriffsgeschichte*, as defined by Reinhard Koselleck, sees concepts as

¹⁴³ Wiklund 2012.

¹⁴⁴ Östberg 2002, 120, 163-164.

¹⁴⁵ McMahon 2014, 14; te Velde 2013; Steinmetz & Freedon 2017.

¹⁴⁶ For instance, the establishment of the History of Concepts Group in 1998, the journal *Contributions to the History of Concepts* in 2005, and the launch of the *European Conceptual History* book series, published since 2016 by Berghahn Books and

politically essential but fluid and contested key words that evade final and decisive definitions.¹⁴⁷ The key to the political nature of a concept is in its continuously contested characteristic, as its meaning is constantly redefined, challenged, and debated. While this foundational idea is shared by practically all historians inspired by Koselleck, the practical method of how to actually do conceptual history has remained rather fluid. Jan-Werner Müller has argued that one of the main reasons for the relative success of conceptual history has indeed been its rather undefined nature.¹⁴⁸ While this fluidity and flexibility has allowed for a multiplicity of perspectives into the history of key political concepts, most of the methodological writing on conceptual history still seem to circle around a rather small set of classic texts by Koselleck and a few others, many of which are almost half a decade old. Surely, approaches to political languages of the past could be broadened with more recent approaches of textual and discourse analysis that include a broader definition of politics and the dynamics of discourses: Because of a lack of interdisciplinary influences, historians interested in political discourses have been “increasingly ‘language researchers’ of a self-educated kind.”¹⁴⁹ A more systematic definition of these textual methods is therefore needed.¹⁵⁰

Thankfully, the field of conceptual history has seen some much-needed innovations in recent years. This is all thanks to the influence of new scholars ready to reformulate and refurbish the field, and to combine traditions that previously were seen as inconsistent.¹⁵¹ For my study, Willibald Steinmetz’s proposal for widening the scope of conceptual history is particularly important: instead of mapping a lexicon of predetermined concepts, Steinmetz has proposed an “onomasiological approach” to conceptual history. In this approach, the scholarly focus is not directed to a set of concepts in advance, but on the way a particular historical phenomenon has been conceptualised by historical agents. Such an approach frees conceptual history from its traditional focus on those in power, and allows one to instead inspect a wide array of different language uses in different temporal contexts, not only during the modernisation period of the 19th century that seems to still be the *de facto* era of importance for conceptual historians.¹⁵²

At the same time as these developments in the methodology of analysing the historical uses of language, linguistic methods have faced criticism from other methodological orientations. In an effort to better take into consideration those orientations that have left their mark in the field of history during the recent times, scholars have tried to come up with analytical concepts that would

including 6 volumes as of autumn 2019. For a comparative study of the adaptation of linguistic methods in the Nordic context, see Partti 2019.

¹⁴⁷ For a general overview on different takes on Begriffsgeschichte, see e.g. Müller 2014; Steinmetz & Freedon 2017; Steinmetz 2017.

¹⁴⁸ Müller 2014, 76.

¹⁴⁹ Halonen, Ihalainen & Saarinen 2015, 16.

¹⁵⁰ Ihalainen & Saarinen 2019.

¹⁵¹ Kari Palonen has been one of the pioneers; see Palonen 2017.

¹⁵² Steinmetz 2017; Conrad 2009.

combine changes in political language with other significant factors, especially physical mobility. Pasi Ihalainen and Taina Saarinen, who have advocated the concept of “multisitedness” as a way of including recent spatial and mobility turns into the study of political discourses, propose one such approach.¹⁵³ As an analytical perspective, multisitedness enables an emphasis to be made on the connections between micro- and macro-levels of politics *and* different political cultures – thus highlighting the multiple and sometimes overlapping roles of political agents who used, transferred, and adapted political ideas and practices. Local and transnational aspects of politics are no longer separated, as the actions of political agents and their diverse discourses epitomised what can be described as a “rhizomatic” linkage between different agents, topics, and discourses. This rhizomatic nature of politics encourages the dismissal of rigid divisions between transnational and national politics often still present in the field of political history. The rhizomatic nature of politics is further emphasised by the temporal level also included in the concept. In addition to the horizontal and vertical links, political discourses often promote explicit references to past discourses.¹⁵⁴ By acknowledging all these diverse links between different levels and spaces in political discourse, the analysis of the rhizomatic links enables one to analyse the roles of political agents at the intersection of all these simultaneous yet different (and sometimes diverging) trajectories.¹⁵⁵

Applying these analytical concepts to a transnational and comparative study of radical social movements in the 1960s enables one to overcome the inherent tensions between local and global levels of radical agency. Whilst the analytical concepts used here were originally developed to analyse parliamentary debates, I argue that the unstructured, anti-authoritarian, and complex nature of political action undertaken by the Sixties movements and their agents further emphasises the rhizomatic nature of political agency. Since the movements in the Sixties categorically opposed social and organisational hierarchies, conventional tools and concepts are often insufficient for studying their connections; a rigid network theory, for example, would possibly over-emphasise the stability of links that would historically have been rather contingent. Furthermore, a multisited perspective eases the juxtaposition between different genres of political action still evident in most of the literature. When concrete political actions and political discourses are seen as inherently interconnected, the tensions between intellectual and more grass-roots political history are greatly lessened.¹⁵⁶ In fact, the way 1960s radicals understood themselves supports this layered understanding of political genres, since all different forms political action were seen as inherently interconnected. Public deliberations, protests, and cultural events were all tools used to challenge the

¹⁵³ Ihalainen & Saarinen 2019.

¹⁵⁴ Halonen, Ihalainen & Saarinen 2015, 4.

¹⁵⁵ Ihalainen & Saarinen 2017, 16. Ihalainen & Saarinen use the concept of *Nexus* to observe this interconnectedness. See Ihalainen & Saarinen 2019.

¹⁵⁶ Halonen, Ihalainen & Saarinen 2015, 14.

authorities, but public discussions were by far the most commonly used.¹⁵⁷ As a synopsis of this focus on public discourses, Brown has aptly described the West German movement as a “revolt of texts.”¹⁵⁸ These texts were not only descriptions of current conditions; they framed and defined future political possibilities. Studying the “distinctive discourse perspectives” included in these radicalist texts, as Andreas Rothenhöfer has proposed, enables us to contrast the “conceptual horizons” of different national movements in their transnational context.¹⁵⁹

The political position of radical movements in the 1960s further accentuates their discursive nature. For instance, the Swedish New Left challenged the most central conceptual definitions of the Social Democrats – namely democracy and socialism.¹⁶⁰ This conceptual challenge was further reasserted by their self-dubbed title of “New Left”, which distinguished them from the “Old” Left – seen as a vestige of the Cold War power structure and authoritative forms of governance. Sometimes radical concepts were adopted from quite surprising, sometimes even contradictory contexts. Andreas Rothenhöfer has indicated that Rudi Dutschke, often portrayed as the *de facto* intellectual leader of the West German movement, used the concept of *Volk* both to delegitimise the political traditions of West Germany, but also as a way of championing the popular nature of the North Vietnamese *Viet Cong* resistance.¹⁶¹ As these examples demonstrate, radicalist discourses were highly rhizomatic and included temporal, spatial, and political references to multiple spheres, sometimes simultaneously. Indeed, one of the most pressing differences between national and political traditions within the framework of transnational and global Sixties’ movements was the distinct way in which the contemporaries saw the role of language. For some, reframing and revising existing concepts and discourses was one of the main ways to initiate political change. For others, language carried with it the harmful aspects of national and political traditions, and hence was one of the main aspects that helped explain the regressive and conservative nature of society. Since most studies on Sixties’ social movements have not focused nor analysed these differing perspectives, the interpretations of important radical texts and their sometimes overtly violent, absurd, or plain incomprehensible tones have been lost. One of the key contexts to bear in mind when interpreting these political texts is how activists of the era saw the political role of language itself. These issues are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

Finally, a word about the rhizomatic nature of contemporary 1960s contexts. Often, it seems that much of the self-understanding of historians is based on their unquestioned ability to find the right context and complain about how social scientists, art historians, and literary scholars always focus on the wrong kind of context. The danger here is that if that particular historical context

¹⁵⁷ Brown 2014, 106.

¹⁵⁸ Brown 2013, 153.

¹⁵⁹ Rothenhöfer 2011, 122.

¹⁶⁰ Wiklund 2006, 171.

¹⁶¹ Rothenhöfer 2011, 125-126.

remains undefined, it is in danger of becoming tedious, pedestrian, and even insignificant. Context is, after all, always a matter of an active scholarly choice, and there is no single natural and God-given “historical context”. As Peter E. Gordon has poignantly expressed, “[t]o believe in such a final context [...] is not a requirement of historical method; it is a species of theology.”¹⁶² In an effort to avoid such over-usage of context as a concept that limits interpretations to only a particular historical moment,¹⁶³ I use context instead as a means to point to the different practical local, public, and political situations where 1960s activists used their political concepts. Thus, my contextualisation is a practical signifier of the conditions in which these agents of that era used political language; it does not, however, point to any particular interpretation of the way those conditions influenced political agency. Such influences, when traceable, always need to be made visible and analysed in detail. Different public platforms and political traditions provided a framework for political utterances, but the anti-authoritarian position and focus on deliberation meant that the movement activists were largely free to challenge existing ideas and even legitimise radical principles.

1.5 The Forums and Practices of Anti-Authoritarian Political Discourse

In a study of rhizomatic political discourses, occasions when several spatial, discursive and temporal trajectories intersect are significant, since they offer the possibility for redefining and contesting existing definitions and political positions. Since the Sixties’ movements did not take part in parliamentary debates where such intersections are common, scholarly attention must look elsewhere. Instead of public deliberations in a formal speaking situation, a diverse alternative press provided activists with a forum for articulating and contesting radical politics in local, national, and global contexts. While these are a different type of source when compared to parliamentary debates, these alternative papers also provided a platform for the explicit political articulations of the movements. They therefore offer primary source material with perhaps the widest range of political agents and topics of deliberation available for a scholar of the topic. While often difficult to contextualise with any particular political or social background, these debates provide a perspective that is not focused only on the political agency of predetermined “intellectuals.” The radical press allows one to not only map the topics that were on the radical agenda; crucially, they also allow a unique perspective on *how* these matters were discussed by contemporaries in their contemporary context. Furthermore, because of their self-declared transparency and opposition to preventive censorship, these papers also provided a particular platform for debate. The clash between different

¹⁶² Gordon 2014, 51.

¹⁶³ Gordon 2014, 44-46.

viewpoints was often encouraged, as these debates were seen as aiding the ideological progression of the movement. Whenever possible, the press debates are also contextualised with viewpoints presented in pocket books and other printed material; while these sources are less deliberative in nature, they were often written by agents who also were active in the radical press.

While contemporary agents saw the press as a progressive force, scholars of the topic must be careful not to adopt these attitudes themselves without due critical reflection. Portraying the press as a progressive “guardian of free speech” and a “proponent of the true intentions of the people” is obviously a fallacious assumption when such extra-parliamentary sources are used in political history. Indeed, finding an analytical approach to the media, literature, and other publications may quickly become overwhelming, especially since post-war media has often been described as global in its reach.¹⁶⁴ This idea of a global and shared “public sphere” is emphasised even further when it is applied to the then-new television networks and their allegedly global role. Yet, the mere existence of satellite networks says nothing about the contents that were broadcast via them.¹⁶⁵ Again, the limitations of globalism should be recognised; the impact that broadcasters and publicists have on the public is elusive at best and often over-emphasised.¹⁶⁶ The “simple almighty media theory”, as described by Rolf Werenskjold, which suggests that the media has a direct influence on the opinions of consumers does not stand up to scrutiny, when one studies how it was received.¹⁶⁷ In addition to evident technical limitations, the global reach of media outlets is further called into doubt when one takes into account the political regulation in place across most of the world – the post-war period certainly being no exception.¹⁶⁸ It therefore seems perfectly justifiable to claim that historians have not yet fully grasped media as a social phenomenon during the post-war years.¹⁶⁹

As a way of dealing with this rather static view of the media, Brown has argued that the concept of “publics” should be used, as this would counter the homogenising effect of “the Habermasian public sphere”, which conceptually unifies all sorts of public media under one umbrella concept. An analytical use of “publics” maintains the variety of different agents and their sometimes overlapping and occasionally even relatively autonomous public arenas. It also incorporates the idea of rhizomatic rather than rigid links – one of the central analytical perspectives in this study – and specifies how these rhizomatic links were formed in media contexts. This is an important perspective to maintain, especially when studying alternative papers in the Sixties that viewed publishing as being directly associated with the political objectives of radical movements.

¹⁶⁴ Fink, Gassert & Junker 1998, 9; Werenskjold 2011, 177.

¹⁶⁵ Werenskjold 2011, 180. For an example of a wide-ranging and profoundly progressive understanding of post-war TV, see Suri 2003, 102.

¹⁶⁶ Pach 1998.

¹⁶⁷ Werenskjold 2011, 179.

¹⁶⁸ Dirlik 1998, 298.

¹⁶⁹ Bastiansen & Werenskjold 2015; Cronqvist 2015, 186-187.

Since producing information was seen as being in itself political action, the agents of radicalism actively struggled to maintain as wide an appeal as possible without having to compromise their position.¹⁷⁰ These efforts were simultaneously a way of trying to establish their view of radicalism as the dominant one, as different publications had different emphases on the core issues. The publics for these publications at times overlapped, but they were still also distinct from each other. It is also worth noting that traditional media history perspectives do not fit particularly well into the context of these particular alternative opinion publications, as they often lacked fundamental factors that would normally define media outlets – like editorial staff or the need for commercial viability. While this thesis deals principally with the radical press, entanglements with other forms of media are certainly interesting and will be highlighted whenever present in the press sources.

In addition to the political nature of alternative publics, there is also the multisited and rhizomatic aspect of political/cultural actions and agents. As mentioned earlier, political and cultural practices were thoroughly integrated in radical publics; an independent radical press, for example, was seen as having a direct function of encouraging political participation – reading was consequently championed as one of the highest virtues of political activism.¹⁷¹ The political choices of radical activists were often legitimised by citing other publications,¹⁷² and transnational aspects were emphasised by referencing and adopting the ideas of foreign radicals (who had often contributed to alternative papers in their own country). These transnational texts exemplify how radical ideas were shared globally through “cultural consumption.”¹⁷³ Most importantly, because they were independent from party politics, these papers were a means for linking a diverse range of radical activists from different backgrounds and movements.¹⁷⁴ The New Left was connected by the intellectual debates that were shared in transnational journals like the *New Left Review*,¹⁷⁵ while in the student sphere the idea of a paper edited and produced by and for the students was almost universal and provided plenty of possibilities for networking and forming contacts. How these similarities and links worked in practice is one of the key contexts for this study.

The radical papers, often edited by the activists themselves, were also instrumental in shaping and realising the transnational connections between different national and local movements.¹⁷⁶ By using these transnational texts, activists claimed to overcome the rigid social structures they claimed existed in the local context.¹⁷⁷ In an effort to better grasp this transnational agency, I have formulated the following analytical categories to uncover the various dimensions

¹⁷⁰ Brown 2013, 77, 152-153.

¹⁷¹ Brown 2013, 9, 11, 139; Brown 2014, 103.

¹⁷² Östberg 2002, 83-85.

¹⁷³ Brown 2013, 77-78, 153.

¹⁷⁴ Brown 2013, 14.

¹⁷⁵ Horn 2007, 148.

¹⁷⁶ Östberg 2002, 72, 77-79; Klimke 2011, 35-39; Brown 2013, 14.

¹⁷⁷ Brown 2013, 140.

of transnational political entanglement that occurred between the various publics of the radical independent press in the Sixties:

1. **Physical mobility:** travel reportage by journalists or associates were frequently published in both New Left and student papers but also in paperback. Travel reportage books were a real phenomenon in Sweden, where a small industry of publishers focused on publishing them.¹⁷⁸ Presence in the field was, in itself, a crucial legitimising factor and helped both to produce new viewpoints and to validate information received from other sources.
2. **Translating radical texts:** while less frequent than might be suspected from a purely intellectual history perspective, translating key publications from abroad was still an important, albeit quite laborious way of spreading transnational radicalism. Producing translations was time-consuming, demanded expertise, and was highly dependent on resources available. While it was rather rare form of transnationalism in the Nordic sphere (particularly in Finland), the West German SDS asked directly for theoretical material from the US, with a clear intention of translating and publishing it.¹⁷⁹
3. **Information from secondhand sources:** quoting news reports from domestic or foreign mainstream press was a typical example of publishing secondhand material in the radical press. In some cases, concepts and political attitudes of the mainstream press were translated into radicalist terminology, thus adding further complexities to the transnational transfer of radicalist ideas. Important differences in the sources quoted show more general differences in the radical media processes of different national and local contexts.

While these three dimensions of transnational encounter are present in my sources, one must bear in mind that press sources do not fully cover all instances of them. Not all occasions of physical mobility were expressed in written form; not all translated texts were reviewed or advertised; and not everyone with access to foreign newspapers was diligent enough to write an article about what they had read. The benefit of using press material, when compared to other types of source available, is simply their variety: all the dimensions of transnationalism are present in one source corpus covering a wide set of contemporary agents. While national and local conditions certainly shaped the political role of radical papers to some extent, their chief political mission was still similar, and thus they form a distinct genre of discussion that serve as a good basis for a transnational historical study. Moreover, while the papers had a relatively low circulation, the concepts used in defining and redefining transnational connections were made public through them. The readers were also often active debaters in their own right, and many of them made it clear that they were reading more than one radical paper at the same time. The papers hence formed a loose network of sorts,

¹⁷⁸ Etzemüller 2005, 90; Hedén 2008, 67-68; Johansson 2010, 224-225.

¹⁷⁹ Klimke 2011, 88.

where a shared readership helped bring them closer together. This network manifests itself in the way radical papers had a habit of advertising themselves in other radical papers. A shared identity was thus created by repeating and publicly promoting the common frame of reference¹⁸⁰ in the radical press.

1.6 The Nordic Radical Press

The differences in political cultures described earlier in this chapter had an obvious effect on the public spaces available for radical discourse in Finland and Sweden, and, as a direct consequence, the papers I am using as my original sources were published by different kinds of organisations and publishers. Some of them had a more explicit background in political parties or organisations.¹⁸¹ Format-wise, the papers were all pretty similar: instead of spending scarce resources on creating daily papers with a focus on news reporting, publishers sympathetic with the radicalist agenda focused on producing weekly and monthly papers. The focus was on issues that were more fundamental than everyday policy questions – although those were heavily debated in some New Left papers, especially the Swedish *Tidsignal*. All journals studied in this thesis shared a similar structure common to almost all digested news publications. With a heavy emphasis on short opinion pieces and longer theoretical articles, often written by the small editorial staff or regular outsider contributors, the articles were frequently engaged in a series of debates or serialised reports that usually ended only when the editors felt no need to publish further responses. Trying to engage the readership and foster participation was one of the main ways these papers contributed to radical politics.

While similar in style, important organisational differences remain between different national radical publics. With scarce financial resources available, Finnish radicals used student papers that were financially backed by independent (and in the case of Helsinki, rather wealthy) student unions to further their message. The most influential student paper of the country, *Ylioppilaslehti*, also flirted openly with radical cultural figures right from the beginning. Jukka Kortti, author of the official history of the paper, has argued that *Ylioppilaslehti* was important for the Finnish “public sphere” insofar as it was a traditional training ground for the country’s future cultural elite.¹⁸² Its significance during the period is further emphasised by the fact that the paper was in circulation throughout the country. Nevertheless, local student papers published by the newer student unions of the provincial universities also aspired to follow the model set by *Ylioppilaslehti*. These papers and their agents formed a complex network of political agency; analysing the interconnectedness of these agents is an essential part of my study. In an effort to form a coherent source

¹⁸⁰ Klimke 2011, 6.

¹⁸¹ There is a comprehensive listing of these papers and their political associations in Attachment 1.

¹⁸² Kortti 2011, 462, 466.

corpus, I have gone through all the Swedish student papers to find a better match for my Finnish sources; alas, it turns out that these papers, despite their organisational similarity, did not feature a similar culture of publishing political articles or opinion pieces. The Swedish student papers were more strictly a channel for student matters, as there already existed other media for cultural and political criticism among the Swedish publics.¹⁸³ Hence, liberal, leftist social democratic, and New Left papers were the main forums for radicalist political debates. I do not consider this difference to be a problem for my study, however, since the different characteristics of the radicalist press is an important result in itself; the different places in which radicalist discussions on similar topics appeared shows that the kinds of space available for these discussions was one of the factors which contributed to differences in the political culture.

Whilst publishers differed somewhat between the various North European contexts, they all shared an objective of furthering critical social debate. This was most evident in the New Left papers, like *konkret*¹⁸⁴ in West Germany.¹⁸⁵ *Konkret* was widely distributed and bridged the gap between earlier peace movements, leftist students, and the extra-parliamentary opposition of the late Sixties.¹⁸⁶ As one of the most important radical papers in Europe at the time, *Konkret* offers a contrast to the other sources used in this study. The press of the Nordic New Left offers more of an insider's perspective. In Sweden, New Left papers were the most common form of radical publication, especially in the late Sixties: the group that coalesced around *Zenit*, for instance, has been described as the beginnings of the Swedish New Left.¹⁸⁷ *Zenit* is an interesting source, because it actively tried to form a Nordic network of activists around it;¹⁸⁸ while the *Liberal debatt*, published by a liberal student organisation, was an important vehicle for early Swedish radicalism demonstrating the broad range of radical agents in the country at this time.¹⁸⁹ The *Tidsignal*, more than the other papers, was associated with leftist opposition to the Social Democrats; and finally *Clarté* was a traditional public channel for the socialist but nonaligned *Svenska Clartéförbundet*. While *Clarté* is often mainly associated with the Maoist movement – and it did provide one of the main public channels for this fringe of the Swedish Left from about 1967 onwards – it also had a long history of debating key radical issues like pacifism and the Third World that are both essential to this study.

In Finland, establishing a New Left paper independent of existing left-wing political parties was more of a challenge; *Tilanne*, *Aikalainen*, and *Ajankohta* all attempted this, but each of these papers swiftly ran into financial trouble and

¹⁸³ In addition, they were active in the university reform debate covered in Josefsson 1996.

¹⁸⁴ Like a number of other radical papers, *konkret* was written with a small case to highlight its radical status, but for the purposes of consistent style guidelines in this thesis, it will be treated as other proper nouns.

¹⁸⁵ Klimke 2011, 35, 39.

¹⁸⁶ Kersting 1998, 360; Brown 2013, 125.

¹⁸⁷ Wiklund 2006, 168.

¹⁸⁸ *Zenit* was also connected to the New Left Review, and this internationality was emphasised by the paper itself. Östberg 2002, 77, 104.

¹⁸⁹ Östberg 2002, 491; Lennerhed 1994, 10-14.

ceased to exist. In comparison, the Swedish New Left press was stable – not only were the papers in constant circulation for relatively long periods of time, they could also hire full-time journalists and thus remain relatively independent of the mainstream media. While this means that they could have more interviews, news reports, and other formats more closely associated with the mainstream media, the stories were clearly from a New Left perspective. Swedish New Left papers can be seen as part of the same genre as papers with a heavier focus on opinion pieces and straightforward political commentary. Despite institutional and national differences all of the above papers associated themselves with the concept of New Left, and while their differing backgrounds were somewhat significant for the way these politics were approached, similarities are still obvious.

Looking at the papers studied in this thesis might give a wrong impression of Finnish bias. However, while in quantitative terms Finnish papers do make up the clear majority of papers studied here, this is because of the unstructured nature of Finnish radicalism (and the New Left in particular). As they lacked clear and established public channels, the present author had to go through scattered articles in many different journals that had little to do with the radicalist sphere. The sociological journal *Sosiologia*, for example, was one of the most important arenas for debate about social and gender policies of the welfare state. Unlike German and Swedish papers, the Finnish radical papers served a comparatively small language area, had no possibilities of finding a foreign audience, and poor financial resources so many papers did not last long, with the result that the radical debates were scattered across many different publications.

No matter the context, one must remember that the discussions analysed in these radical papers are in many ways exceptional. Thus, the topics covered in this thesis have been selected with the above analytical framework in mind. My goal is not to map the topics that were most discussed in these papers. Moreover, because these sources are not available in digital form, they have all been physically handled, and the articles within scoured for relevant discussions of the themes covered. There are also several topics that did not make it into the thesis: university reform debates, for example, were pretty dominant in student papers but also as a topic on their own. This has already been discussed by Sven-Olof Josefsson's dissertation¹⁹⁰ and in Finnish student union histories.¹⁹¹ I argue that the issue could use perspectives from other sources, like parliamentary discussions and other official documents, rather than yet another analysis of opinions present in the student press. Other student-specific topics are also, for the most part, bypassed in this study: while mental health issues, housing projects, and other social issues were important parts of student activism and political participation, they were hardly exceptional for the Sixties. Rather, they were part of a longer tradition of student union activism, and were not explicit reactions to welfare state policies or to radical reactions against them. Student

¹⁹⁰ Josefsson 1996.

¹⁹¹ Kolbe 1996; Ketonen 2002; Nieminen & Holopainen 2010; Vartiainen & Kaarinen 2013.

social issues are of concern to this study only when they explicitly deal with the structures and policies of Nordic societies on a more general level. In a similar fashion, I am not focusing on clearly local issues of city planning, housing development, environmental questions, or local everyday political matters. Discussions around these topics were sporadic at best, and while certainly interesting as microcosms of local radicalism, contextualising such issues from different local contexts in 3 different nation states would deserve a study in its own right. Similarly, I am bypassing most of the debates on those in power, as they have been covered in previous studies – especially those on political associations of radical agents. Equally, domestic West German issues are also discussed only when they have something to offer for the study of explicit political commentary regarding Nordic societies and their structures on a national and global level. Not only would incorporating West Germany as an equal part of the discussion be a monumental task far beyond the scope of a doctoral thesis, but there already exists a plethora of innovative scholarship that discusses the West German situation in great detail. I have used this existing literature to make comparisons between Continental Europe and the seeming exceptionality of Nordic societies.

One final critical point is that many of the articles do not allow us to go into further detail about the individual agents who participated in them. Unlike parliamentary debates or the mainstream press, where the speaker or writer is duly noted down, authors in the radical press often used pseudonyms to conceal their true identity. It is also sometimes difficult to find any background information on them, let alone form a more nuanced picture of their political opinions. Using the paper itself as the common denominator also presents significant challenges, as papers were often not edited in any conventional manner. In Finnish student papers, for example, the editor-in-chief was often the only hired employee and regular students did all the actual reporting in exchange for a small fee.¹⁹² The three analytical categories, cited above in sub-chapter 1.5, are therefore very important to this thesis. By writing for the radical journals and subscribing to radical topics, the authors knowingly participated in defining the radical agenda. What can be deduced from the systematic analysis of these deliberations is the legitimacy of certain topics and arguments; and since legitimacy is always structural, it can only be analysed by taking into account a wealth of texts and analysing them as parts of a wider radical discourse. This hardly means that all the articles analysed here are participating in one, unified debate; but there is no need to atomise these debates either. Contemporaries were well aware of the topics that were generally considered radical, and they were often outspoken about their own radicalism, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

¹⁹² Kortti 2013.

2 RADICAL IDENTITY AND RADICALISATION

2.1 Defining the Sixties Radical

While a shared world-view clearly seems to connect many of the diverse social movements of the Sixties, finding a concept that would do justice to both their shared features and local peculiarities has proven to be a daunting task. One of the more often used solutions has been to simply refer to their radical nature, and to use “radicalism” as an umbrella concept to deal with a fairly wide range of political activism. While the radical nature of the (frequently entangled) New Left, peace, and student movements is often taken for granted, the definition of radical is not always easy to pin down. Since the textbook definition is a non-partisan “very different from the usual or traditional”,¹⁹³ should the definition of radical include *all* the movements that contested the “post-war constitutional settlement”¹⁹⁴, like the populist, often agrarian protest movements¹⁹⁵, the Neo-Conservatives,¹⁹⁶ the Neo-Nazis, and the neoliberal intellectual networks¹⁹⁷ of the time? While opposition to constitutional parliamentary democracy and its economic structures was a shared feature in all these movements, portraying them as convergent would be problematic in many ways. Hence, Timothy Scott Brown has used the concept of anti-authoritarianism to refer to the the common ground usually referred as “1960s radicalism” shared by the New Left and student activists. I concur with Brown’s definition as it includes a broader perspective on the political nature of movements in the Sixties, incorporating both the cultural and the political spheres of the movements while at the same

¹⁹³ merriam-webster.com, cited 9.8.2019.

¹⁹⁴ Müller 2011, 6, 129.

¹⁹⁵ Analogy of the Finnish left-wing student movement and SMP is endorsed in Kolbe 1996, 345, 348.

¹⁹⁶ Suri 2003, 99.

¹⁹⁷ Müller 2011, 151-152, 220-224.

time excluding dissident protesters that have other political arguments and backgrounds.¹⁹⁸

Yet, while anti-authoritarianism distinguishes 1960s social movements from radical contemporaries to the right and more established, traditional liberal political movements on the left, there is still a lack of understanding as to how this anti-authoritarian perspective actually manifested itself in practice. In this respect, a conceptual history approach looks promising: if we take the 1960s usage of ‘radicalism’ as a starting point, a more nuanced reading of the ways the concept was used is possible. In this way, analytical conceptualisations of political positions, opinions and arguments do not risk being anachronistic, but can instead be empirically based on contemporaneous definitions and distinctions. In our case, it is relatively easy to find these conceptualisations in the radical debates of the 1960s social movements. The concept of “radical”, for example, was constantly used not only by the press but also by the agents to define themselves and their political position in relation to national and local adversaries. In this chapter, I demonstrate first how 1960s agents defined their “radicalism”; then I introduce the analytical concept of the ‘radical frame’ that I then use to analyse the different contemporaneous definitions of what was and what was not included in the sphere of radicalism. In the last part of this chapter I look at the starting points for the radicalisation process and the national and transnational political traditions that laid the foundation for what we today associate with sixties radicalism. In an effort to highlight the rhizomatic or mutualist nature of 1960s radicalism as a contemporaneous political concept, empirical analysis of the different usages of radicalism is crucial. There were certainly profound differences even within the New Left, especially as more dogmatic and orthodoxically Marxist interpretations began to circulate in the Nordic New Left press during the latter half of the Sixties.¹⁹⁹ However, to understand these political shifts in the framework of radicalism, an understanding of historical continuities is essential; many of the agents that adopted a more dogmatic position had participated in liberal and anti-authoritarian activism during the first half of the Sixties, and their political shift can only be understood if these longer traditions are taken into consideration.

In Nordic anti-authoritarian publications from the 1960s, the concept of radicalism was in a state of constant flux. In the individual-focused liberal cultural atmosphere of the late 1950s, “cultural radicalism” became an expression favoured by both radicals themselves and their critics – who did not approve of the individualistic goals and new style of political argumentation that had begun to circulate. These ‘radicals’ were blending cultural, political, and academic debates, while simultaneously criticising collective traditions and conventional attitudes from an individualistic and intellectual standpoint. Despite its relatively small size, this group of intelligentsia able to cause quite a stir in a short period of time. While Nordic cultural radicalism was closely related and at times overlapping with some of the important modernist cultural movements of the

¹⁹⁸ Brown 2013, 17.

¹⁹⁹ Wiklund 2012, 54-58.

time, the whole point of emphasising the cultural as a key radicalist concept was because it included much more than just literature, music, and the arts. In definitions of that time, culture could be almost anything social or cultural, as long as it was approached in a logical, critical, and sincere manner.²⁰⁰ Radicals were understood to have a wide understanding of culture; so adopting a wide perspective was in many ways an adequate sign of radicalism, and the new, “culturally political” perspective quickly became a synonym with radicalism *en masse*. This was chiefly because of the close association between cultural politics and social criticism, which were often synonymous in Sixties’ debates.²⁰¹

Modernism and social criticism in the debates was a novel and controversial political idea, especially in the Finnish scene, where wartime troubles had slowed down economic growth and hindered social reforms. Nevertheless, debates in the radical press presented the problem of economic and social backwardness as being due to more than just lack of material resources; Finnish politics had no liberal tradition to borrow from,²⁰² and hence political discussions still resembled those of the conservative 1930s.²⁰³ Since cultural radicals associated these debates with agrarian traditions, the lack of modernist ideas could be explainable with the fact that the country only had a short and relatively insignificant history of urbanisation and urban culture.²⁰⁴ Since modernism was really only possible in an urban setting, there was a need to define Helsinki as the only possible truly metropolitan scene in the country that could act a focal point for the hopes, and dreams of radical activism.²⁰⁵ In their criticism of traditional agrarian attitudes, many notable Finnish agents of radicalism were highly sympathetic towards industrial and technological progress; Arvo Salo, the editor of *Ylioppilaslehti*, and Jörn Donner, a novelist and columnist for the same paper were particular examples of the way in which this demand for economic and technological progress was prioritised in the radical student press.²⁰⁶ In Sweden, where

²⁰⁰ JYL 31/62, “Suunta jäi löytymättä, vanhoja märehdittiin”; TYL 27/65, *Kulttuuriosastot*; TYL 30/65, Arvo Salo “K-lehdet”; Saksholm 2015; Östberg 2002, 34, 52-56.

²⁰¹ TYL 10/66, Risto Hannula, “Kulttuuri lehdissä”; Turun ylioppilaslehti 27/65, Arvo Salo, “Kulttuuriosastot”; TYL 30/65, Arvo Salo, “K-lehdet”; Hurri 1993, 150; *Ylioppilaslehti* 36-37/61, Jörn Donner, “Viina”; *Ylioppilaslehti* 40-41/61, Jörn Donner, “Berliinissä”; 12; *Ylioppilaslehti* 8/62, Jörn Donner, “Jörn Donnerin tilikirjasta 1”; *Ylioppilaslehti* 12/62, Jörn Donner, “Jörn Donnerin tilikirjasta 4”; *Ylioppilaslehti* 17/65, pääkirjoitus Antero Jyränki, “Tästä lehdestä”; *Ylioppilaslehti* 6/62, Jouko Tyyri, “Uusi 30-luku?”.

²⁰² Turun ylioppilaslehti 4/64, Hannu Taanila, “Aatteesta toiseen”; Turun ylioppilaslehti 20/64, Hannu Taanila, “Sanan vapaudesta I”; Turun ylioppilaslehti 20/65, Arvo Salo, “Suosi työtä”.

²⁰³ Koikkalainen 2010.

²⁰⁴ Kolbe 1996b, 131-132.

²⁰⁵ *YyKoo* 4/61, Heikki Parkkonen, “Moderni suunsoitto ja argumentit”; Oulun ylioppilaslehti 33-34/64, Tullista tullut ja sinne menevä, “Oululaisen ylioppilaan passiivisuudesta”; *Ylioppilaslehti* 25/63, Ilpo Saunio, “Kulttuuripäivät Varkaudessa A. D. 1963”; *YyKoo* 11/63, Liisa Taneli, “Innokas yritys”

²⁰⁶ *Ylioppilaslehti* 14-15/60, Arvo Salo, “Hyvinvointi, Suomi ja Runot”; *Ylioppilaslehti* 5/64, -PL “Kulttuurin rintamat”; Turun ylioppilaslehti 9/65, Arvo Salo, “Maan

urbanisation and welfare policies were more entrenched, critical remarks laid more of an emphasis on issues like nationalism, conservative traditions and religion in particular.²⁰⁷

In the broader Nordic frame, the radical press promoted this modernist and individualistic strand of radicalism by highlighting the social aspect of 1960s cultural debates. There were frequent demands for fundamental changes and analyses which clearly defined radicalism²⁰⁸ as a movement that was “creative”, “progressive”²⁰⁹, “tolerant” and “liberal”.²¹⁰ By using non-political concepts like “intellectual”, “truthful”²¹¹, and “scientific research” – especially when referring to the social sciences²¹² – when defining radicalism, activists also increased the legitimacy of their demands for modernisation. This followed the trend elsewhere in Europe towards justifying arguments by referring to the social sciences. Particularly in the Swedish context, this even led to a debate on the “death of ideologies” in a situation where no real political alternatives to the hegemonic welfare state model were proposed.²¹³ This method of using the social sciences to legitimise political concepts was lent further support by actual academics: Antti Eskola, a leading leftist sociologist in Finland argued that there was empirical proof that sociology was, as a field, essentially radical;²¹⁴ in Sweden, radical sociologists like Joachim Israel played a similar role. Katariina Eskola – editor of the leading Finnish research journal in the field, *Sosiologia* – later described this tradition in her definition of the two strands of radicalism. While research acted as the “instrumental” form of radicalism, social movements took on an “expressive” role.²¹⁵ Despite this division, they were clearly still two sides of the same coin. Erik Allardt, another leading name in Finnish sociology, echoed many of the debates in the cultural radicalist press when he defined radicalism as opposition against hegemonies, without it being a matter of

maakunnat”; *Ylioppilaslehti* 22/61, Jörn Donner, “Kesällä”; Kolbe 1996a, 150; Kolbe 1996b, 131.

²⁰⁷ Östberg 2002 29-43.

²⁰⁸ Jyväskylän ylioppilaslehti 31/65, nimim. OKA, “Radikaalisuudesta”; Jyväskylän ylioppilaslehti 19/63, pääkirjoitus “kulttuuriradikalismi”.

²⁰⁹ Turun ylioppilaslehti 20/66, Hannu Taanila, “Nevanlinna ja märkähatut”; Jyväskylän ylioppilaslehti 24/64, “Kulttuurilehdet ja yhteiskunta”; Turun ylioppilaslehti 23/66, Riitta Lepoluoto, “Tuomittu taide”; *Ylioppilaslehti* 31/64, Jorma Cantell, “Vastaukset”; *YyKoo* 8/62, Liisa Tanela, “History repeats itself”; *YyKoo*, kesännumero 1966, Risto Hannula “Selviöstä”; Jyväskylän ylioppilaslehti 24/64, Piikikäs, “Passiivisuus ja osakuntalaitos”.

²¹⁰ Oulun ylioppilaslehti 10/61, “Viikottainen ylioppilaslehti”, *Ylioppilaslehti* 17/65, pääkirjoitus Antero Jyränki, “Tästä lehdestä”; Oulun ylioppilaslehti 6/65, pääkirjoitus “Konservatiivit kontra liberaalit”.

²¹¹ Turun ylioppilaslehti 28/62, Arvo Salo, “Nuorison villitsemisen tarpeellisuudesta”; Turun ylioppilaslehti 22/63, Pekka Ahlroth, “Hyödyttömän elämän ongelma”; Turun ylioppilaslehti 2/61, Arvo Salo, “Sanen ylioppilaslehtien tekemisestä”; Turun ylioppilaslehti 21/61, “... Sanoi Arvo Salo”; *JYL* 4/63, “Arvo Ahlroos, ”merkintöjä 4 Arvo Salo” Willitsijä hän on”.

²¹² Kolbe 1996a, 173-174; Lamborg 2004, 254-255; Jørgensen 2008, 332-333.

²¹³ Lennerhed 1994, 120-124; Kolbe 1996, 123; Östberg 2002, 29; Judt 2005, 384.

²¹⁴ *Sosiologia* 2/64, Antti Eskola, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Konservatiivinen sosiologi”, 95-96.

²¹⁵ *Sosiologia* 4/66, Katariina Eskola, “Pääkirjoitus”, 147-148.

political affiliation.²¹⁶ While using the social sciences was obviously an attempt to legitimise and de-politicise otherwise radical arguments, from an analytical perspective it is clear their use was essentially political and was in fact directed at national patriotic, religious, and conservative traditions and values.²¹⁷

Swedish publics shared a similar tradition of discussions about a rational, modern, welfare state in the 1950s. While the Social Democrats often took credit for building the welfare state, the project actually incorporated a diverse set of political parties and movements. As the Sixties progressed, the SAP became increasingly concerned that their seminal role as chief agent of radical social change was now being lost to new movements that were increasingly critical of the welfare state and Sweden's great social democratic project.²¹⁸ Swedish cultural radicalism was most visible in themes like religion, anti-monarchism, anti-nationalism, cosmopolitanism, anti-traditionalism, and often incorporated a degree of relativism.²¹⁹ While a tradition of liberalism was certainly more visible in Swedish politics, and had even coalesced around a party, the themes of individual rights and widening democracy were much more than a policy debate. By including many literary figures, academics, and public intellectuals, the issues gained much wider publicity. Historiography has often downplayed the significance of this activism, and its roots in the agency of liberal and *folkpartiet* youth organisations has been neglected due to the focus on explicitly leftist activism.²²⁰ While concrete transfers between the debates in Finland and Sweden were rare, both shared the same principled reflections on the role of society, the individual, sexuality, morals, and science.²²¹ As Martin Wiklund has convincingly argued, Swedish cultural radicalism in the early Sixties was essentially a form of social liberalism via political means that did not rely on traditional parties as the vehicle for change.²²² Public debate and new social movements could instead initiate social change by exerting pressure on the political establishment. Although the tone of argument used by these movements was often controversial and culturally radical, the policies proposed and issues raised were often simply demands for society to follow publicly expressed values in a more coherent and logical manner.

The Nordic New Left

Cultural radicals were not the only ones who defined their position *vis-à-vis* the establishment in such terms. The nascent Nordic New Left movements also relied heavily on radicalism, but approached it more from the perspective of leftist or labour traditions, rather than as individualistic cultural criticism. The New Left is considered here as a *contemporary* (or contemporaneous) concept of that era,

²¹⁶ Sosiologia 3/67, Erik Allardt, "Päätöksiä tekevästä eliiteistä ja käskyvallan legitimisyydestä", 105-110.

²¹⁷ Kolbe 1996a, 143, 171-174; Kortti 2013, 265.

²¹⁸ Wiklund 2006, 166.

²¹⁹ Östberg 2002, 32-34; Wiklund 2006, 149; Lennerhed 1994, 109.

²²⁰ Östberg 2002, 44-45, 48.

²²¹ Lennerhed 1994, 10.

²²² Wiklund 2006, 154-156.

not as an analytical category of 1960s movements or as a description of the wider array of Sixties' activism. Hence, I am not contextualising the Sixties' New Left in the broader tradition of leftist political thinking, nor as a novel way of defining core ideas of leftist political thought. My approach has less to do with traditional intellectual history or political philosophy, and more to do with the definitions used in my sources. This is because using 'New Left' as a descriptive and analytical category has somewhat confused the field of scholarship, especially when contemporaneous and analytical usages overlap without clear distinction.

The issues that defined the Sixties New Left have featured both in global²²³ but also in Nordic historiography. Martin Wiklund, for instance, focuses mostly on reminiscences of the Sixties, highlighting that the different strands of New Left activism present in these later interpretations still poignantly demonstrate the diffuse nature of the concept and identity of 'New Left'. Essentially, Wiklund recognises that they either emphasise the role of anti-authoritarianism or the rise of more dogmatic, Leninist strands of leftist thought.²²⁴ In Finnish historiography, 'New Left' has been repeatedly used to describe the rise of the Leninist student movement in the late Sixties; these usages have ignored the fact that the concept was already at that time adopted as a self-defining concept by a more liberal, culturally inclined group of anti-authoritarian leftists.²²⁵ From a conceptual history perspective, the contested nature of the New Left as an identity-building concept amongst Sixties activists should not be a source of analytical confusion, but a sign that the concept was seen as providing political opportunities by 1960s activists, and that their understanding of its contents is worthy of scholarly attention. Contemporaneous understandings often clashed (of what a "truly radical" position actually was),²²⁶ but these competing definitions demonstrate both the rhizomatic nature of radicalism and its importance as an integral part of radical political identity.

As its name implies, the New Left borrowed from beyond the classic political rhetoric of the Left and labour activism. Among the nascent Finnish New Left especially, there were significant figures such as Pentti Saarikoski, a poet, novelist, and a translator, who made explicit statements about being a Communist that shocked an early Sixties' cultural elite used to avoiding such explicit political statements.²²⁷ While the Finnish New Left remained fairly disparate throughout the Sixties, key individuals like Saarikoski could occasionally raise its public profile.²²⁸ In addition to the argument of cultural

²²³ Katsiaficas 1987.

²²⁴ Wiklund 2012.

²²⁵ kortti 2014a, Rentola 2003; Meinander 2019, 168-212; Alapuro 2019.

²²⁶ see, e.g., TiS 32/65, Sven Wernström, "Det där med sex", 23; TiS 4/66, Irene Matthis, "Aretarrörelsens svek mot kvinnan"; TiS 13/68, Björn Häggqvist, "Om nyfikens gränser", 11; LiB D 3/69, Olle Wästberg, "Liberalismen - en permanent revolution", 29-32.

²²⁷ Saarikoski was also editor of the New Left *Aikalainen* and contributor of satirical essays for *Ylioppilaslehti*, the leading Finnish student paper. Kastari 2001, 99-100; Tuusvuori 2007, 451-452.

²²⁸ There were some rather insignificant attempts at forming an organisational basis for Finnish New Left. The *Faros* society was one of them; see Kolbe 1996a, 50-52.

radicalism, the Finnish New Left also borrowed (for instance the principles of anti-war activism) from 1930s cultural and intellectual leftist organisations they could easily identify with.²²⁹ In this way, progressive cultural values and politically conscious activism could be combined.²³⁰ The connection between cultural modernism and leftist ideas was also clear: “Modernism is akin to leftism in its modern form.”²³¹ Another important strand in cultural leftism was its strong commitment to strictly democratic means.²³² While emphasising democracy was certainly a way of avoiding criticism and distinguishing oneself from being associated with either the Old Left, the historical burdens of the Finnish Civil War, or association with the USSR; it also had its roots in a deeper political principle. This was visible in the way corporative democracy models were borrowed from the Swedish New Left. Yet, despite their cultural focus, Finnish New Leftists were more inclined to accept the role of political ideologies, a feature that otherwise set them apart from the usual tradition of cultural radicalism in the student sphere.²³³

Thanks to mediators like Saarikoski, key conceptualisations of radicalism as unconventional, anti-traditionalist modernism based on social science were present in the Finnish New Left press.²³⁴ The central role of a literate intelligentsia, social progressivism,²³⁵ and internationalism²³⁶ showed how liberal student papers had raised important questions that could benefit the New Left. A rather common interpretation was to see this as part of a wider zeitgeist – radicalism was spreading even to the bourgeois intelligentsia, and some even thanked President Kekkonen for supporting their public acceptance.²³⁷ Sometimes, however, the zeitgeist interpretation explicitly contested the leftist connotations of radicalism, as Bo Ahlfors and Pentti Holappa did in the New Left journal *Ajankohta*: “dictionary entries [...] that interpret political radicalism as

²²⁹ Tilanne 4/66, Peritus, “Syksyn tuulia ja lehtiä/Ulkoministerin varoitus”, 303-304; *Ajankohta* 3/67, Pekka Tarkka, “Arvostelua/Yhteiskunnan runoilija vankilassa”, 27-28.

²³⁰ Tilanne 1/63, Vilho Kajava, “30-luvun taisteleva runous”, 52-54; Tilanne 9/64, Raoul Palmgren, “Sosiaalinen vaikutuskenttä työläis- (proletaari-) kirjallisuuden määrittelyssä”, 385-397; Tilanne 7/63, Lassi Sinkkonen, “Suomalainen modernismi?”, 308-312; Tilanne 8/63, “1932-38”, 388-392; Tilanne 4/66, Jarno Pennanen, “Suomalainen linja”, 297-300. *Tulenkantajat* and *Kiila*, two small but famous progressive cultural organisations were the ones most often discussed.

²³¹ “Modernismi on sukua vasemmistolaisuudelle sen uudemmassa muodossa.” Tilanne 7/63, Lassi Sinkkonen, “Suomalainen modernismi?”, 308-312.

²³² Tilanne 1/66, Ilkka-Christian Björklund, “Keskustelua/Ettei totuus unohtuisi”, 60-61.

²³³ Tilanne 5/66, Veikko Mäkeläinen, “Uusi vasemmisto ja yritysdemokratia”, 384-390; *Ajankohta* 1/67, Marja-Leena Mikkola, “Andre Gorz ja tie taloudelliseen demokratiaan”, 22.

²³⁴ E.g. Aikalainne 5/66, Rauno Setälä, “Raittiuspolitiikasta alkoholipolitiikkaan”, 16-19.

²³⁵ Tilanne 4/62, “Läpimurto”, 217-220; *Ajankohta* 3/67, Pekka Piirto, “Liioitellut liitot”, 31.

²³⁶ Tilanne 4/66, Peritus, “Syksyn tuulia ja lehtiä/Ulkoministerin varoitus”, 303-304.

²³⁷ Aikalainen 2/65, Rauno Setälä, “Tämän hetken aatetaistelu”, 6-8; *Ajankohta* 2/67, Paavo Kähkölä, “Poliittinen keskustelu Suomessa”, 6-7.

extreme leftism are, in my view, too narrow and even misleading”²³⁸. This denial of connections between radicalism and leftism in Finland went on for some time, as it continued to appear in print long after the radical sphere had become increasingly polarised. Pertti Hynynen, one of the leading definers of a more explicitly political New Left, defined it in 1966 as a non-dogmatic approach that was open to debate. Hynynen acknowledged the influence of student debates concerning radical culture, yet at the same time wanted to distance himself from purely cultural definitions of radicalism.²³⁹ Other New Leftists followed Hynynen by defining cultural radicalism as instrumental in inciting debate, but not as politically influential in itself;²⁴⁰ its faddish popularity and nebulous boundaries made it a hindrance for more political uses. “Radicalism is a fashionable term, but like fashion terms in general, it doesn’t say much about anything”²⁴¹ Leo Lindsten noted in *Aikalainen*. Attempts to benefit from an earlier tradition of cultural radicalism were evident in the way the Chinese Cultural Revolution was sometimes evoked to highlight the existence of a continuum between domestic traditions of radicalism and far more extreme versions elsewhere. These discussions will be covered in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Martin Wiklund has argued that the ‘New Left’ in Sweden widened the themes of cultural radicalism into new political issues and so it was essentially a continuation of that liberal tradition, albeit in a different form.²⁴² But while cultural radicalism showed there was an alternative to the dominant Social democratic focus on welfare policies, and would indeed come up with many of the social questions that would come to define the Swedish New Left, the relationship between the two was often defined as much by challenge and conflict as it was by mutual understanding. This was partly because cultural radicals in Sweden had argued from a more politically liberal position. Meanwhile, although the New Left was open to accepting the importance of individual freedom, their position was in many ways more committed to traditional Marxist concepts of class and power. Contextual changes emphasised this difference, especially after third world issues came to dominate the Swedish New Left’s agenda and fractured the movement into subgroups that thereafter avoided cooperating with one another – preferring to bicker instead – and caused the differing definitions of the Swedish New Left discussed above. Another development occurred when *Clarté* and the Swedish Vietnam movement radicalised and adopted a more Maoist line, at which point they had little understanding for the other kinds of reformist activism.²⁴³ The concrete way in

²³⁸ “Tieto- ja sivistyssanakirjojen tulkinnat poliittisesta radikalismista, joiden mukaan poliittinen radikalismi on äärimmäistä vasemmistolaisuutta, ovat mielestäni liian kapeita ja harhaanjohtaviakin.” Ajankohta 5/67, Bo Ahlfors & Pentti Holappa, “Poliittinen radikalismi”, 7.

²³⁹ *Aikalainen* 1/66, Pertti Hynynen, “Radikalismien kolme aaltoa”, 36-42.

²⁴⁰ *Aikalainen* 2/66, Hannu Taanila, “Turvallisuus ja radikalismi”, 25-28.

²⁴¹ “Radikalismi on muotitermi, mutta niinkuin muotitermit yleensä se ei sano paljon mitään.” *Aikalainen* 3/66, Leo Lindsten, “Kihlmanin itsetutkistelusta”, 49-52.

²⁴² Wiklund 2006, 165.

²⁴³ Etzemüller 2005, 115-119; Johansson 2010, 227-232 Hedén 2008, 85-87.

which these conflicts affected definitions of third world issues and key radicalist concepts will be more fully discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Attempts to organise a collective of the Nordic New Left were made in 1962, at the *Clarté* Congress, when Finnish socialist academics and representatives of the Finnish *Faros* Society entered into discussions with Swedish *Clarté* activists in Uppsala. Despite the plans made for further Nordic cooperation, it seemed that *Clarté* were more intent on simply reporting the presence of foreign guests than on the contents of any of these discussions.²⁴⁴ *Tilanne*, which was the first attempt at a journal for the New Left in Finland, also reported on the meetings of Nordic independent socialists²⁴⁵ and attempted to further their cause by publishing a summary of its contents in Swedish fairly frequently too, in the hope that a greater Nordic (not just Swedish) audience would read it.²⁴⁶ These early attempts amounted to nothing, and further activities did not emerge. Finnish cultural radicalism and student activism for the most part avoided direct association with leftist politics, but it was only after more leftist student politics emerged that some attention was paid to the Swedish New Left. For instance, the Socialist Student Association at Jyväskylä University (JASS) managed to invite CF Hermansson, the party leader of *Vänsterpartier Kommunisterna* (a Swedish attempt at Eurocommunism), to speak on campus – even calling him “the leading figure of the Swedish New Left” when reporting the event. This was a clear indication that JASS was turning away from its former role as a party cadre organisation towards the independent New Left.²⁴⁷ This did not last for long though, as JASS eventually turned towards soviet-oriented minority communism, and even changed its name to emphasise its strictly proletarian line.²⁴⁸

Party-political considerations dominated many of the attempts to unify the Nordic New Left; Swedish New Left publications, for instance, focused on Finnish party politics in their reporting, and the relationship to existing political parties manifested itself in theoretical discussions about the various personal connections of movement members. While a lot has been written around this topic, it is hard to evaluate the practical significance of many of these connections and ideological texts. Nordic New Left movements appeared at a time when the SAP in Sweden faced no significant opposition from the left,²⁴⁹ and the SKDL in Finland was slowly abandoning its dogmatic position to appeal to a less hard-line and wider political base.²⁵⁰ While many in the New Left knew and theoretically approved of Marx, especially his earlier works on alienation and

²⁴⁴ *Clarté* 2/62, “Clarté-kongressen 1962”, 10-14.

²⁴⁵ *Tilanne* 1/63, Teuvo Olli, “Clartélainen maisema”, 25-27.

²⁴⁶ This tradition started with *Tilanne* 1/64, Redaktionen, “Till våra finlandsvenska och skandinaviska läsare”, 22-24.

²⁴⁷ *JYL* 11/67, Sosialistikerho JASS, 1; *JYL* 5/67, JASS, “Kravattisosialisteja ja salonkikommunisteja”, 2, 5.

²⁴⁸ *Vilkuna* 2013, 120.

²⁴⁹ *Östberg* 2002, 114.

²⁵⁰ *Tuikka* 2007, 297.

social hegemony,²⁵¹ his theories were rarely directly adopted. Other concepts, topics and texts were also discussed: from JS Mill²⁵² to technocracy²⁵³; from William Malthus²⁵⁴ to Portuguese membership of the EFTA²⁵⁵; and from gender roles to conservative hegemonies covering up the true class-based mechanisms of western society.²⁵⁶ In Finland, sociologist Antti Eskola was particularly instrumental in propagating the idea that the inequalities of western welfare states were a result of the bourgeois classes having hegemony over all the institutions and mediums of power. While this use of 'hegemony' sounds decidedly Gramscian, Eskola only occasionally mentioned his influence in his work.²⁵⁷ Just like the concept of radicalism, the New Left was a broad entity that often renounced strict readings of Marxism and took a more open stance on the definition of leftism.²⁵⁸ As the following chapters will demonstrate, this was particularly the case in Finland, where liberal and conservative was not a traditionally strict political division.

Because of the lack of attention paid in current scholarship to contemporaneous usages of concepts like radicalism in the 1960s, especially when activists put themselves in this category, there is a distinct lack of understanding about the relations, networks, and conflicts between the different movements and their political goals. The contacts between student and New Left movements have proven to be particularly elusive, since both groups (a) were internally diverse, especially when different national contexts are taken into consideration; and (b) often used the same concepts to describe their political position and emphasise their distinct political identity. These differences and overlaps are a central part of the rhizomatic nature of 1960s radical agency, and understanding their contingent nature is a vital part of analysing the social movements of the Sixties as a historical phenomenon.

Kjell Östberg has noted that 1960s radicalism in Sweden was mostly influenced by the New Left due to the inherent contradictions of liberal cultural radicalism. Although the social questions problematised by the New Left did not change significantly from the liberal ones, the means suggested to resolve them did, and the New Left became the de facto mainstream of Swedish radicalism. According to Östberg, the Swedish student movement was not a prominent part

²⁵¹ Tilanne 5/66, Veikko Mäkeläinen, "Uusi vasemmisto ja yritysdemokratia", 384-390.

²⁵² Tilanne 3/64, Raimo Malm, "Kirjallisuus/Me Marxilaiset", 27-30.

²⁵³ Aikalainen 7/64, Mirjam Vire-Tuominen, "Teknokratian ideologiasta", 14-22.

²⁵⁴ Aikalainen 1/64, Th. Robert Malthus, Suomentanut ja referoinut Lasse Sammalisto, "Tutkielma väestöstä", 33-39; Aikalainen 1/64, Lasse Sammalisto, "Malthusista", 31-32.

²⁵⁵ Clarté 3/64, "Revolution eller statskupp?", 8-10, 24; Clarté 4/63, Kjell E. Johansson, "Antifascistisk opinion", 22-23.

²⁵⁶ Tilanne 5/66, Pertti Toukomaa, "Uusi vasemmisto", 407-412.

²⁵⁷ Sosiologia 4/67, Antti Eskola, "Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Porvarillinen hegemonia ja ääri vasemmistolaisuus", 185-186.

²⁵⁸ Östberg 2002, 62-63.

of the Sixties' protest movement.²⁵⁹ In contrast, the Finnish New Left struggled to make a political impact.²⁶⁰ Even forming a stable journal for the Finnish New Left was difficult. Instead it was the student movement that adopted a more outspokenly leftist political position – even starting to use the concept New Left (or “student left”) to identify themselves. While these structural differences were admittedly important, they do not necessarily explain *how* and *why* the change towards a more explicitly political argumentation and perspective took place. To better understand the inner workings of this process, one needs to look at how 1960s radicalism manifested in different social and political issues.

2.2 Radicalisation and the Radical Frame

As the different contemporaneous definitions of radicalism show, the concept was rhizomatic, a matter of constant debate, a term of self-reference, and a catchword for all the discourses and strands of 1960s activism. Indeed, as a catchword, it was a recurring feature in the mainstream press and conservative circles as much as it was in the radical press itself.²⁶¹ To better encapsulate the broadness of radicalism as an umbrella concept, I am employing the analytical concept of a radical frame to examine the way in which Sixties' Nordic radicals approached, defined, and conceptualised their own activism. While ‘frame’ is originally a sociological concept, it has been successfully used in historical analysis to single out the different ways in which people will sequence and filter out their experiences.²⁶² A frame is something that is never clearly defined, and its borders shift constantly according to different temporal and contextual factors. In our case, while different activists in the Sixties had their own take on the way the radical frame should be outlined, the common features of these different framings are certainly worth studying. Theoretically, I use radical frame as an analytical concept that points to the combination of key themes and concepts used in discourses of the radical press. While different agents, organisations and movements had different definitions of the issues that should be included on the radical political agenda, radical frame is a concept that allows me to look at similarities and continuities over national, organisational, and sometimes even political boundaries.

When looking at the broader radical frame, it is clear that radicalism was more than just a key concept of debate. It was also a signifier of a complex identity that encompassed both general and personal ideas of anti-authoritarianism, anti-traditionalism, and new political methods. This becomes clear when one looks at

²⁵⁹ Östberg 2002, 61-62, 102-104; Wiklund 2006, 181; Jørgensen 2011, 56. Swedish student protests were mainly in response to education reforms during the spring of '68, see Josefsson 1996.

²⁶⁰ Suominen 1997, 161.

²⁶¹ Suominen 1997; Meinander 2009, 174; Vinen 2018, 3-4.

²⁶² Scott 2016, 2.

the topics of articles and debates in the press which use the term 'radical': pacifism, emphasising a global perspective, anti-elitism, anti-populism, freedom of speech; and then there are the critiques of national traditions, national rhetoric, mass entertainment, traditional gender roles, competitive sports, and the traditional Right and Left. For some, radicalism was also a more tangible, aesthetic choice that meant an interest in topics such as modern art, new wave cinema, jazz, and empirical sociology.²⁶³ How these seemingly contradictory influences fitted into a social movement that still shared many of the same goals and identity-defining concepts reveals something inherently fascinating about Sixties' activism. In this sub-chapter, I am providing an overview of the different aspects of this radical frame and the changes which happened to it during the different political phases and events of the Sixties. This will allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the more nuanced changes in the political positions of the Nordic social movements in the Sixties – discussed in later chapters of this thesis.

Perhaps the single most important cause for changes to the radical frame was the complex and gradual way in which the cultural radicalism of the early Sixties was replaced by a more openly political activism. While previous research has predominantly described this as a move from cultural and student activism towards the Left in general (and New Left in particular), the political discourse from this time relativises this interpretation. The simpler narrative is certainly more enticing for those who want to emphasise the virtuosity of genuine anti-authoritarian roots, and find fault in the more polarised politics of the late Sixties.²⁶⁴ But a closer look at the debates on different public forums reveals a much more diffuse process of politicisation, radicalisation, and polarisation. I argue that this 'discursive process of radicalisation', as I am calling it, was much more significant than any single event or changes to an organisation. While more complex, slower, and thus less tangible than incidents like protests or organisational changes, the discursive processes of radicalisation fundamentally altered the key principles of radical activism. It was not merely a change in rhetoric, but also redefined and challenged the political role of many participating agents. As activists changed the way they saw themselves, many existing political traditions were scrutinised and key ideas challenged. This sometimes painful process broke up existing alliances, but also attracted new and often surprising cooperations.

The literature on both Finnish and Swedish Sixties movements concur about the timing of this change. The radicalisation of student activists in Finland²⁶⁵ and the swing to a more explicitly political New Left activism in Sweden,²⁶⁶ began sometime after 1965-66; and by the transnational moment of 1968, the process was certainly in full flow. The timing of this change is therefore not in question, but its contents are: what was the relationship between the new

²⁶³ Mäki-Kulmala 1988, 53.

²⁶⁴ Wiklund 2012.

²⁶⁵ Vilkuna 2013, Kolbe 1996 11-12.

²⁶⁶ Östberg 2002, 62.

ideas and earlier traditions; how did transnational events and texts affect matters; and how did radical activists reflect on this process?

The entanglement of political discourse with actual events is an essential feature of politicisation. As we know from the existing literature, activism against the Vietnam War deeply affected radicalist definitions of fairness, justice, and the international system. It has also been one of the main focuses of research in the Nordic context – particularly in Sweden.²⁶⁷ Anti-war activism was certainly one of the main avenues on the way towards a more global understanding that would slowly widen the boundaries of the radical frame. The protests and debates were simultaneously entangled with other western protest events that, on first appearances, seemed similar but were also fundamentally different. And while its entirely valid to argue that radicals arguing about the emergency of imperialism was “a leftist turn” as is so often done in the literature, it is important to note the changes that also occurred in the arguments of liberals, agrarian centrists, non-party aligned students, cultural radicals and even conservative agents too. Thus, a broader and more fluid understanding of the radicalisation process is in order, especially when we take into account the transnational perspective. Differences in political culture not only effect the starting point of the radicalisation process, but also the way in which the rhizomatic themes of it played out in different national contexts. While the traditional way of looking at Finnish radicalism, for example, has been to assess it as a more “delayed” version of European radicalism, the danger is that the process is then seen as otherwise the same, when in fact it functioned in different ways in each country – incorporating a range of traditions and agents from various backgrounds.

Nevertheless, there are still some important similarities in argumentation between the national movements that deserve closer attention. I have listed these below as themes which are common to the discursive process of radicalisation. At the same time as allowing a better understanding of specific discourses and the interconnected nature of these different topics, they also show how the radical frame shifted to include new political questions without directly separating from old traditions. As such, they are a key to understanding the dynamics of historical continuity and change.

1. **Reformism**

One strand of radicalisation was that trust in the capability of Nordic societies to reform themselves gradually became eroded, as it became clear that social change would not happen overnight. The earlier cultural radicalist appeal to rational and scientific solutions to legitimise their arguments was certainly politically motivated, but it also showed that activists had their reservations about explicitly political demands. Most importantly, they were still in fundamental accord with the key principles of the Nordic welfare state project. But a more critical perspective appeared when acute social disadvantages and certain concrete developments became apparent – demonstrating how even

²⁶⁷ see, e.g., Salomon 1996; Scott 2009. On Swedish historiography, Wiklund 2012.

Nordic societies were not machines that could be simply programmed to function perfectly. One should note the fragmentary way this change happened though; even in the most outspoken debates of the late Sixties, there are ample examples of the traditional language of rational reasoning. This shows that historical continuities and structures of social legitimisation affected even those activists who liked to see themselves as harbingers of radical, *ahistorical* change.

2. **Role of language**

Another strand of change was in the approach to the role of language as a means for promoting social progress and achieving political ends. Highly critical of the romantic way nationalism had distorted and corrupted language, cultural radicalist arguments believed in the possibility of finding truthful, exact, and authentic ways of representing actual social conditions; but with increasing radicalisation, this trust in finding an exact language faltered, and more critical voices questioned the very possibility on non-normatively describing any phenomena. For some, it was better to focus on exclusively material factors instead.

3. **Visualisation and emotionalisation**

While in some cases, such as *Konkret* in West Germany, the visualisation of change was indeed a concrete process – leading to an increasingly sensational use of images in the press – in the Nordic context it was more in the way political concepts were used. In the Nordic radical press, radicalisation was a twofold process: in some cases, it led to a more personal journalistic tone, associating political matters with key adversaries on a personal level; while in others it led to a more emotional usage of highly abstract concepts like “fascism” that were plucked from their historical, social, and cultural contexts and used in a more creative, symbolic, and abstract way.

4. **Horizon of expectations**

Right from the start, one of the defining features of Nordic cultural radicalism was its firm belief in progress and modernisation. Progress had both its positive sides (e.g., the space race and a technology-augmented standard of living) and its negative (the looming threat of a nuclear war); all that was needed, cultural radicals believed, was a better understanding of how societies went through phases of significant change. But with increasing radicalisation and mistrust in societal reforms, the focus shifted onto processes like imperialism and colonialism, lowering the horizon of expectations until some radicals were arguing that only a fundamental, revolutionary change could stop the vicious circle.

5. **Structural analysis**

One of the more dominant interpretations of the “leftist turn” in previous scholarship has been on how radicals increasingly began to see the world in terms of its oppressive power structures. This narrative has been particularly focused on imperialism, and trying to explain the appeal of leftist concepts for activists who had thus far endorsed individual rights. While it is certainly legitimate to emphasise the drastic nature of this change, when longer historical traditions are placed under scrutiny, new perspectives appear. Nordic cultural radicalism was in a way just as determined to find structural explanations for the grievances it brought up. While there was certainly a difference in the structural factors discussed, with a shift in focus from conservative attitudes to power and material factors, the break with tradition was perhaps not as drastic as some would argue. National differences were important here, as were different traditions inside New Left groups.

6. **Political organising**

While I have repeatedly argued that organisational changes to SMOs in the Sixties were not as important as has often been claimed, they did still have some significance. From the perspective of political discourse, the essential question was whether these changes affected the organisation’s political participation and principles for initiating social change. While I have maintained that anti-authoritarianism was one of the unifying qualities of all 1960s radical movements, anti-authoritarianism was nevertheless a concept prone to many interpretations: for cultural radicals and early Sixties’ student movements it meant individualism, while for the New Left it was being critical of the power structures and hegemony of the Nordic welfare state. These interpretations changed as anti-authoritarian organisations developed from broad peace movements into more specific social policy interest groups, some of which then went on to have direct party affiliations.

The key to understanding Nordic social movements of the 1960s is thus to understand their changing attitudes towards society, political participation, and means available for invoking social change. These changes manifested themselves in the public discourses and debates of the era, and in the conceptualisation of key radicalist themes in them – this was the main arena of the discursive process of radicalisation. Investigating them opens up a broader perspective on the relationships between radical politics and the Nordic welfare state (with its traditions of civil society and political participation). Subsequent chapters will provide a detailed analysis of the way the discursive process of radicalisation played out across the various themes of radical debate, but first we must look at the origins of the process itself.

2.3 How to Organise Anti-Authoritarian Activism?

As the title above implies, there is an unresolved tension for anti-authoritarians who want to form political organisations. While there is an evident contradiction, Sixties' activists were well aware of this fact and had several ingenious solutions for it. By focusing on the issue of war and nuclear annihilation, early Sixties' peace movements were in many cases the first examples of a radical SMO with all of the above six themes of the radical frame in place. Not only did the focus encourage an overtly global perspective, but it also introduced graphic details of suffering and loss. While these themes were abstract in the beginning, the war in Vietnam (and wars elsewhere in the Third World) made them much more tangible. Vietnam was instrumental in changing the discursive approach towards a more emotional form of rhetoric and visual communication: an increasing focus on Cold War power politics appeared and the radical press came into contact with a more concrete structure that needed altering. While perhaps an unrealistically large objective for small and relatively peripheral social movements to have any significant impact on, the issue was nevertheless more explicitly political and tangible than existing debates about social mores and the prevailing conservatism of Nordic societies. While peace activism was in many ways still tied to a firm belief in exact concepts, unbiased science, and reformism, debates about the issue show how many of the themes that would feature in later on in the process of radicalisation already existed before the Vietnam War.

Swedish peace protests were particularly focused on the issue of nuclear weapons because of Sweden's own nuclear arms project that was publicly supported by a group of high-ranking army officials and conservative politicians. These anti-nuclear organisations, namely the AMSA (*Aktionsgruppen mot svensk atombomb*, founded in 1958) and its successor the KMA (*Kampanjen mot atomvapen*, founded in 1961), were careful not to associate themselves with the political Left, and especially not the Communists,²⁶⁸ because they wanted to have as broad a base of popular support as possible. Too direct a political association would have compromised their legitimacy, especially since the Communists had barely any support in Sweden – they would also have been seen as stooges of the Soviets, and therefore as a national threat. So instead of political association, the Swedish peace movements took their example from movements elsewhere: for instance, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in Britain – with its explicit focus on non-partisan politics – and the Easter Marches Movement in West Germany.²⁶⁹ Rather than making political associations, generational ones were made instead: the youthfulness of the peace movement leaders was underlined as a counterpoint to the indifference of older established political leaders, and this tendency would repeat itself in many of the other themes discussed in the early 1960s radical press. This “youth frame”, as Holly Scott has called it, was a

²⁶⁸ Salomon 1996, 88; Etzemüller 2005, 70-75; Östberg 2002, 41-43.

²⁶⁹ Östberg 2002, 41-42.

tempting alternative as it could explain differences in political opinions using natural, non-political factors.²⁷⁰ The youth frame also fitted well with the peace movement's different horizon of expectations, and their need for uncompromising and direct action faced with the looming threat of nuclear war.²⁷¹ However, there were still traditional leftists groups like *Clarté* that also emphasised pacifism in their program and consequently they distanced themselves from more aggressive readings of oppositional politics.²⁷²

Directly influenced by the CND and Bertrand Russell's 'Committee of 100' in Britain, Finland's own *Sadankomitea* (also meaning 'Committee of 100') was established in 1963, but was somewhat more abstract in its approach. Because of the Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance with the USSR (which meant foreign policy could not be properly debated), the Committee focused instead on an abstract global level.²⁷³ A distaste for moralist, individualistic and overtly political definitions of peace distanced the Committee from more traditional Christian and Socialist peace organisations. *Sadankomitea* emphasised scientific solutions and pushed for controlled disarmament, preferring to avoid the overtly religious rhetoric of certain jingoistic Christian discourses.²⁷⁴ With the emergence of nuclear weapons, historical examples of the 'just war' seemed more redundant than ever: as Klaus Mäkelä, one of the leading radical sociologists in Finland, and member of the Committee argued, the armed defence of democracy was not an option when nuclear weapons were involved.²⁷⁵ Maintaining a neutral political position was important to the Committee too: the rational perspective was to remain critical of the Cold War and therefore of both superpowers.²⁷⁶ These positions show just how deeply entangled the Committee was in the cultural radicalist debate. Many key agents operated in both the cultural radicalist and pacifist spheres, and in so doing acted as a conduit for transferring and transforming discourses from one topic to the next. Jörn Donner, one of the most outspoken social critics in the cultural radicalist sphere, for instance, used the concepts of pacifism and cultural radicalism interchangeably.²⁷⁷ Fundamental faith in the progressive capabilities of public discourse connected cultural radicals and peace activists in both Nordic contexts.²⁷⁸ Peace organisations were also often the breeding ground for activists

²⁷⁰ Scott 2016; For a discursive analysis on the usage of the generational frame in the Finnish context, see Saksholm 2015.

²⁷¹ Östberg 2002, 43.

²⁷² Salomon 1996, 78-79.

²⁷³ Niitelmä 3/1960, *Ylioppilasmaailman henkiset virtaukset*; Turun Ylioppilaslehti 16/1962, Erkki Lod, "Isänmaallisuus"; Turun Ylioppilaslehti 17/1962, Erkki Lod, "Lukujen vertailua"; Ylioppilaslehti 24/64, Jaakko Blomberg, "Sotilaat ja poliitikot".

²⁷⁴ Ylioppilaslehti 13/62, Esko Ervasti ja Hannu Taanila, "Johdatusta isänmaallisten kielen teoriaan II. Isänmaallisuudesta"; Hallman 1986, 20; Tuominen 1991, 139; Kolbe 1996a, 52, 87-88.

²⁷⁵ Ylioppilaslehti, 34/62, Klaus Mäkelä, "Realistit, idealistit ja tutkijat".

²⁷⁶ Alapuro 1997, 124.

²⁷⁷ Ylioppilaslehti 13/1961, Jörn Donner, "Pasifistit".

²⁷⁸ Turun ylioppilaslehti 9/65, Seppo Saherma, "Kaikkien maiden armeijat"; Turun ylioppilaslehti 7/63, Hannu Taanila, "Hemanuksen pamfletti"; Östberg 2002, 53.

that would end up working in other radical SMOs. Ilkka Taipale, for example, started his activism in the Finnish 'Committee of 100', and ended up being one of the founding members of the 'November Movement' (*Marraskuun liike*)²⁷⁹ which focused on social issues, while Sköld Peter Matthis moved from Sweden's peace organisations to actually becoming a key figure in the pro-FNL movement.²⁸⁰

Referring to the social sciences was another shared trait in pacifist and cultural radicalist debates. 'Peace research', in many ways pioneered by the Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung, was an obvious point of reference here. In a broader sense, sociology was an understandably important influence, and fitted in well with the general tendency of appealing to academic traditions and arguments in both the student activist and New Left spheres.²⁸¹ Sociology not only legitimised arguments, but also distinguished the new peace movements from Communist or Christian peace organisations. As Göran von Bonsdorff, a sociologist and a peace researcher at the University of Helsinki argued, research was a way of rationalising emotional discussions – scholars could remove any sensitive ideological elements from the discussion.²⁸² The generalisable applicability of research was another important feature, particularly in terms of investigating the global impact of nuclear weapons.²⁸³ For Klaus Mäkelä, peace research had a very practical application: finding new methods to prevent wars.²⁸⁴ In this respect, peace research was infused with the positivism of cultural radicalism and a firm belief in the state as a positive vehicle for promoting political change.

When it came to matters of peace activism, the relationship between student activists and the New Left was rarely a black and white affair: arguments associating peace activism with Communism were common in the mainstream media, and the Committee of 100 and AMSA activists were keen to downplay them. Yet the Finnish New Left also had many principles (and some public channels) in common with Committee of 100 activists;²⁸⁵ there were even some New Leftists who were also emphasising the need for non-partisan solutions in the new context of imminent nuclear war. Jarno Pennanen, the editor of *Tilanne* and one of the central spokespersons for humane socialism, was one of the most outspoken among them.²⁸⁶ Yet for others, partisan divisions were still important; peace was seen as one of the areas where the compromises of social democracy

²⁷⁹ The November Movement was (by no accident) founded exactly 50 years after the October Revolution on 7th November, 1967 (7 November was 25 October according to the Old Style calendar in Russia).

²⁸⁰ Salomon 1996, 38, 90.

²⁸¹ Hallman 1986, 26; Tuominen 1991, 147; Kolbe 1996a, 84-85.

²⁸² Jyväskylän ylioppilaslehti 27/63, Kalevi Kivistö, "Konfliktien- ja rauhantutkimuksesta".

²⁸³ Ylioppilaslehti 2/1962, Pekka J. Korvenheimo, "Kansainvälinen politiikka ja maailmanrauha"; Ylioppilaslehti 4/64, Jaakko Blomberg, "Realistin aseidenriisunta".

²⁸⁴ Ylioppilaslehti, 34/62, Klaus Mäkelä, "Realistit, idealistit ja tutkijat".

²⁸⁵ Kolbe 1996a, 50-52.

²⁸⁶ *Tilanne* 2/66, Jarno Pennanen, "Meidän on", 105-106.

became painfully visible,²⁸⁷ and the bourgeois background of many Committee activists stuck in the throat of many in the New Left.²⁸⁸ Vietnam activism was a pressing theme that displaced liberal, individual approaches with a more politically conscious and collectivist Leftism.²⁸⁹ But before going into greater detail about Vietnam, let us first take a look at how the Nordic welfare state featured in radicalist arguments.

²⁸⁷ Tilanne 3/63, Raimo Malm, "Rauhanliikkeen näköalat", 120-122.

²⁸⁸ Aikalainen 6/66, Ahti Susiluoto, "Onko Sadankomitea sodomia-komitea", 9-24.

²⁸⁹ Östberg 2002, 62.

3 RADICAL FREEDOM OR GRADUAL LIBERATION? CONSERVATISM, SEXUAL MORALS, AND GENDER ROLES IN TRANSNATIONAL NORDIC RADICALISM

3.1 Gender Activism and the Nordic Welfare State: Radicalism or Reform?

The 'sexual revolution' is one of the most well-known tropes of the 1960s. The particularism of this decade stems from the seemingly sudden transformation of sexual mores with i.a. the advent of the birth-control 'pill'. After the conservatism of the 1950s, the open-minded Sixties were seen as a time when sex and gender suddenly became politicised.²⁹⁰ This framing is often a crucial element in studies that have focused on the importance of the wider cultural change that was occurring; Arthur Marwick's magnum opus, *The Sixties*, is one such study.²⁹¹ However, prominent scholars like Dagmar Herzog have openly challenged the idea that there was a prominent change in sexual behaviour;²⁹² arguing that this narrative does not seem to fully take into account the true level of opposition that these new ideas actually faced.²⁹³ Herzog argues for a proper historicisation of the "framework of progression" to provide a more accurate account of the diffuse historical processes and inner dynamics of societal changes that led to these changes in sexual behaviour, sexual politics, and societal control of sexuality.²⁹⁴ In many cases, the juxtaposition of the political and cultural spheres that

²⁹⁰ Hekma & Giami 2014, 1-2; Herzog 2005, 371.

²⁹¹ Marwick 1999, 10.

²⁹² Herzog 2006, 166-168

²⁹³ Herzog 2014, 249.

²⁹⁴ Herzog 2006, 165; Hekma & Giami 2014, 26; Vinen 2018, 229.

Marwick portrays is indeed rather artificial and somewhat misleading; cultural factors certainly did have political dimensions, and were increasingly experienced as such,²⁹⁵ but *not every activist* in the 1960s believed or experienced the infamous rallying cry of second wave feminists that “the personal is political”. It is only after analysing how Sixties’ gender activists saw their own political activism that we can start to get a more nuanced picture of the ways in which gender roles and sexuality were redefined.

Some Europeans and Americans in the 1960s drew attention to the peculiar freedom of Nordic sexual morals by using concepts like “Swedish sin”.²⁹⁶ Despite this, in the Nordic context, scholarly attention has been focused mostly on the rise of feminism, despite the fact that the concept of feminism was not widely used by activists themselves at this time. Studies of these early activists have nevertheless often sought to explain and verify the exceptionality of Nordic feminist movements, arguing that they have had an impact on the globally unique gender equality of Nordic countries.²⁹⁷ This has in some cases led to “state feminist” perspective – a concept coined in the 1980s further emphasising the uniqueness of the Nordic countries.²⁹⁸ In this way, the role of Nordic movements in the Sixties and their focus on gender issues handily feed into a teleologically predetermined account of how the progressive egalitarian welfare state came to be.²⁹⁹ The result is that there is now a plethora of studies on the subject, many of which form part of the long-term history of women’s movements and official state policies on the matter.³⁰⁰ Because this long-term perspective is so dominant, these studies often ignore significant intersections with the broader radicalist movement of the 1960s. *Yhdistys 9* – the Finnish gender equality movement founded in 1966 – has been a particular focal point for these studies, signalling as it does the emergence of a new type of a gender activism and social movement.³⁰¹ Consequently, the Sixties are also considered to be a pivotal turning point in the history of sexual minorities and gay rights activism – this is partly because the decade saw the decriminalisation of same-sex relationships in a swathe of western countries, as well as the rise of social movements that pushed for a more equal legislation and treatment of sexual minorities.³⁰²

One key aspect that separates the debates on gender and sexual ethics from many other topics of radical discourse is their transnational nature. The

²⁹⁵ Evans 2009, 346.

²⁹⁶ Marwick 1999, 396; Vinen 2018, 232; Arnberg 2012.

²⁹⁷ Often, these studies refer to American 2nd wave feminist theories and their influence. See, e.g., Bergman 2002, 134-141.

²⁹⁸ Holli 1988, 322; Holli 1990, 69; Bradley 1998, 198-199; Parvikko 1990, 96; Bergman 2002, 141. Brief history of the concept, see Borchorst & Siim 2008, 208-209.

²⁹⁹ Hekma & Giami 2014, 10; Wiklund 2006, 16-19; Baldwin 2004, 6. Julkunen 1994 is one example of such a study.

³⁰⁰ Bergman 2002; Saarenmaa 2010, 230-233; Kurvinen & Turunen 2018, 5-6.

³⁰¹ Kurvinen 2019; Kurvinen & Turunen 2018. In addition, there are currently several ongoing projects; Hannah Yoken at the University of Glasgow is writing a PhD thesis on the Nordic transnational feminist movement, and Arja Turunen at the University of Jyväskylä is working on a post-doctoral project on the history of *Yhdistys 9*.

³⁰² e.g. Hagman 2016; Andreasson 2000.

transnational connection was principally one-sided, as Finnish gender activists mostly borrowed material from their Swedish counterparts,³⁰³ but sometimes Finnish radicals would also occasionally participate in Swedish gender debates and contribute their views from the “Finnish periphery”; this mediating role was a natural fit for Swedish-speaking Finns, as this chapter will demonstrate.

Chapter 3 begins with the social foundations of conservative values and the debates on sexual morals that happened in the early Sixties. In both Finland and Sweden, activists who were deeply embedded in the cultural radicalism of the time, tenaciously advocated greater sexual liberty, although many avoided overtly political rhetoric and preferred to portray their actions as a more “rational” alternative to the quarrelsome party politics of the time. This was particularly common in Finland,³⁰⁴ where cultural radicals actively avoided political overtones and where political liberalism was not as well organised as it was Sweden. Soon after the emergence of these discussions, which occurred at slightly different times in each country, the focus turned to the methods needed to achieve these liberties. At this point we should make some important points about the sources used in this thesis. Lena Lennerhed notes that reformist gender discussions featured widely in the Swedish press and spread to the media,³⁰⁵ yet of the Swedish papers studied in this thesis, *Liberal Debatt* is one of the few with articles arguing this particular liberal position. For this reason, the focus here will be predominantly on the Finnish discussions, while at the same time acknowledging the considerable influence of Swedish examples. Towards the end of the Sixties, as the radical frame changed, the focus of this debate shifted more towards the political aspects of gender roles and sexual ethics. At this point, the New Left press in Sweden offers a particularly apt comparison, as its conceptualisations of the gender issue differed markedly from those of the Finnish New Left and radical student movement. The comparison of the conceptualisations that sprang from these discussions will take up the second half of this chapter. The discussions focus mostly on the societal significance of gender roles and the effects these had on people’s social life. Sexual minorities were not the particular focus, but rather they were lumped together into a category of social “deviants” (*avvikande/poikkeava*); that is, sexual minorities were more part of the general discussion on sexual morals rather than a clear separate movement or category in themselves.

3.2 Liberal Beginnings: Individual Freedoms, Religion, and the State

The Swedish debate on women’s position in society, and especially the workplace, had already begun in the early Sixties. Eva Moberg’s book *Kvinnor*

³⁰³ Kurvinen 2015, 29; Mickwitz 2008b, 25; Jallinoja 1983, 146-151.

³⁰⁴ Holli 1988, 329-330; Holli 1990, 83-84; Jallinoja 1983, 180.

³⁰⁵ Lennerhed 1994, 14.

och människor, published in 1962, is often cited as a key text in this debate. Moberg was especially noted for her principled criticism of gender roles, arguing that true equality was impossible until both sexes shared a common role as human beings.³⁰⁶ In radicalist papers like *Liberal Debatt*, Moberg's revolutionary rebuttal of all gender roles and her "angry" tone was seen as a necessary tool for destroying the traditionalist "superstitions" present in Swedish society.³⁰⁷ Lennerhed has noted that the concepts of individual freedom and choice were the basis for gender activism at the time,³⁰⁸ and as a progressive alternative to the harmful aspects of traditionalism, Moberg indeed advocated the importance of individual freedom – persuading liberal cultural radicals to see that all attempts to classify people into groups were "irrelevant".³⁰⁹ One key to this individualistic strand of liberalism was the idea that the principles of gender equality should be applied in a logical and comprehensive way as part of a general "rationalisation"³¹⁰ of the welfare state through expert planning.³¹¹ The concept of "equality" in this was central, and made applicable to wages, social influence, respect, and social responsibilities.³¹² The gendered conscription policy of the Swedish army, for example, was to be abandoned and replaced with a truly universal, gender-neutral form of conscription, as all single-gender organisations were deemed "abnormal".³¹³ Moberg's relevance is further highlighted by the fact that, later on, even socialist-oriented gender activists – who may not have shared her core liberal values – still openly acknowledged her role in getting gender roles onto the Swedish political agenda. Her argumentation was seen as particularly relevant for getting the intellectual debate broadcast across all forms of mass media.³¹⁴ This illustrates how trust in the political importance of public debate was shared by both liberal and New Left activists.

A liberal focus on individualism also dominated the early gender debates in Finland, although these began somewhat later than in Sweden – with national newspapers and monthly journals only starting to really write about gender issues in 1965. Transnational influences, especially those from Sweden, were readily acknowledged by Finnish gender activists,³¹⁵ and the mediating role of a shared language was clearly instrumental in this. Swedish language cultural publications in Finland like *Nya Argus* were some of the first to report on the

³⁰⁶ See, e.g., LibD 1/63, Sverker Gustavsson, "Vetenskap med sprängstoff", 29-32; LibD 4/63, Per Gahrton, "Kvinnlig värnplikt – ett jämlikhetskrav", 32-36.

³⁰⁷ LibD 4/62, Lars Lönnröth, "Arg liten bok", 29-30; LibD 4/63, Per Gahrton, "Kvinnlig värnplikt – ett jämlikhetskrav", 32-36.

³⁰⁸ Lennerhed 1994, 10-11; Östberg 2002, 44-48. See, e.g., LibD 7/64, Gabriel Romanus, "Sexkonferensen", 32; LibD 1/64, Ingrid Gärde Widemar, "Har vi råd med familjen?", 5-6; LibD 4/66, T.H., "Valfrihet eller jämställdhet?", 2-3.

³⁰⁹ LibD 2/63, Eva Moberg, "Jämställdhet i valfrihet", 11-16.

³¹⁰ LibD 4/62, Lars Lönnröth, "Arg liten bok", 29-30; Lennerhed 1994, 9.

³¹¹ Andersson 2006, 30.

³¹² LibD 1/63, Sverker Gustavsson, "Vetenskap med sprängstoff", 29-32; LibD 4/66, T.H., "Valfrihet eller jämställdhet?", 2-3.

³¹³ LibD 4/63, Per Gahrton, "Kvinnlig värnplikt – ett jämlikhetskrav", 32-36.

³¹⁴ Konkret 7-8/67, Gunnar Bengtson, "Familjedebatt eller könsrollpolitik?", 67-75.

³¹⁵ Kurvinen 2015, 21; Mickwitz 2008b, 25; Bergman 2002, 134; Jallinoja 1983, 130.

gender debates in Sweden, and Finnish gender activists report that many of them read Moberg's book at this time.³¹⁶ Indeed, her role as a transnational agent is illustrated by the fact that soon after publishing *Kvinnor och människor*, she travelled to Finland to promote the book, and later invited to give a lecture by *Yhdistys 9*, the prominent organisation of Finnish gender activism.³¹⁷ The Swedish debates were considered important not simply because they preceded those in Finland, but because activists on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia maintained that they had been more intense and yet balanced at the same time.³¹⁸ The Finnish particularly admired the Swedish radicalists' way of dealing with gender roles and sexuality in their political, economic, and social contexts.³¹⁹

Moberg introduced to Finnish debates the actual concept of "gender role" (*könsroll*),³²⁰ although it was not the original concept used in Swedish debates, and nor had it even featured in *Kvinnor och människor*.³²¹ To begin with, the subject was framed in other terms – as a "women's issue, question, or debate" (*kvinnosaken, kvinnofrågan, or kvinnodebatt*). These concepts were quickly deemed inadequate though, and the more neutral concept of gender role was instead adopted from American sociology.³²² In Finland, too, a more neutral "gender role" term was adopted (*sukupuolirooli*) to neutralise the counter-argument that gender activists were only focusing on promoting women's social status.³²³

One feature of the debate that was peculiar to Finland, was that it wanted to draw critical attention to the alleged moral conservatism of Finnish society. Politically this was not so far from Moberg's liberal ideas, but in the Finnish context, it meant something quite different. In Sweden, focusing on labour markets and the legislative aspects of the role of women were already a very concrete part of Moberg's principled liberalism, but in Finland the focus was on the somewhat more abstract moral question of why institutionalised conservative values dominated society.³²⁴ The concept of "double role", emphasising the dilemma of working mothers was one of the key indications of the concreteness of Swedish debates.³²⁵ It also meant that the gender issue could

³¹⁶ Holli 1990, 71. Moberg's book was reviewed in Finland, see e.g., *Nya Argus* 10/62, Kristina Witting, "Kvinnligt och mänskligt", 148-150.

³¹⁷ *LibD* 2/63, Eva Moberg, "Jämställdhet i valfrihet", 11-16.; Mickwitz 2008b, 33.

³¹⁸ *Nya Argus* 20/65, K.T., "Till handling i könsrollfrågan", 294-295; *Nya Argus* 13/65, Astrid Gartz, "Könsroller", 186-187; *YyKoo kesänumero/65*, Torsten Peltomo, "Rauhan ja sodan sankarit", 6; *Medisiinari* 1/66, Ryhmä 9, "Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa", 29-31. *TiS* 9/66, Leo Ågren, "Sexualliv i Finland".

³¹⁹ *Nya Argus* 13/65, Astrid Gartz, "Könsroller", 186-187.

³²⁰ Mickwitz 2008b, 25-32; Jallinoja 1983, 129.

³²¹ *Lennerhed* 1994, 114.

³²² *Nya Argus* 4/63, Ghita Barck, "Våra könsroller", 45-48; *LibD* 4/63, Per Gahrton, "Kvinnlig värnplikt – ett jämlikhetskrav", 32-36; *LibD* 2/63, Eva Moberg, "Jämställdhet i valfrihet", 11-16; *Konkret* 7-8/67, Gunnar Bengtson, "Familjedebatt eller könsrollpolitik?", 67-75; *Lennerhed* 1994, 114-116.

³²³ Ritva Turunen, "Rooleista", in *Vastalause* 66 1966, 87-99; Holli 1990, 75.

³²⁴ See, e.g., *LibD* 7/64, Gabriel Romanus, "Sexkonferensen", 32; *Lib_D* 1/63, Sverker Gustavsson, "Vetenskap med sprängstoff", 29-32; *LibD* 2/64, Gunnel Thörnander, "Nancy Hemmafru", 23-24; *Lennerhed* 1994, 112-113.

³²⁵ *LibD* 1/63, Sverker Gustavsson, "Vetenskap med sprängstoff", 29-32; *LibD* 1/64, Ingrid Gärde Widemar, "Har vi råd med familjen?", 5-6; *LibD* 2/64, Gunnel

be kept separate from debates on sexual morality and abortion rights.³²⁶ The conceptual differences noted earlier were part of the same phenomena – Finnish radicals saw the moral structure of society as a far more pressing concern.

As with other topics within Nordic cultural radicalism, the criticisms levelled at the conservative sexual ethics of the day were linked to a much wider set of social values.³²⁷ Underlying the Nordic gender debate was an appeal to favour reason over the religious “superstitions” and traditionalist stereotypes of conservative ethics.³²⁸ While radicals in both Finland and Sweden targeted moral conservatism, the focus of debate in each country was still quite different. Liberals in Sweden focused on the central role of the state as a neutral guarantor of individual freedoms,³²⁹ while in Finland, radicals still saw the state as being subordinate to a morally conservative culture, even if they had high hopes that one day it would become more progressive. In many of these debates, the Lutheran Church of Finland, rather than the Finnish state, was seen as the real arbiter of society’s morals³³⁰ – especially in those articles that took a positive view of this. Some Finnish radicals, recognising the importance of the Church as a progressive institution capable of supporting social change,³³¹ even appealed to more liberal clergy to support overturning the outdated and “inhumane” sexual ethics still present in legislation.³³² This differed quite starkly from the debate in Sweden, which had been wholly secular and against the Church right from the beginning.³³³ Christianity was instead portrayed as being wholly responsible for the moral conservatism in the west. As one New Left writer in Sweden put it, “when it comes to sex, the entire Christian west is just one big developing country”.³³⁴ Liberal and New Left activists in Sweden saw the state as the more

Thörnander, “Nancy Hemmafru”, 23-24; TiS 26/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Debatten och vi/-Oavlönad familjemedlem kallas jag visst...”, 6-7; TiS 48/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Flickor, gå in för tekniken!”, 5.

³²⁶ Lennerhed 2014, 28-30.

³²⁷ Lennerhed 1994, 10.

³²⁸ YL 27/66, Jertta Roos, “Ajalla vieras asia”, 5; OYL 26/66, Heikki Hautala, “Kirkon kannanotto seksuaalikäsymykseen ja sen arvostelu”, 2; YyKoo 23/66, Batman, “Kirkon eroksen eheys”, 2; Aaro Miettinen, “Koulujen sukupuolopetus/Kollaaši olemattomasta”, In Sukupuoleton Suomi 1966, 32-51; Ajankohta 8/67, Jorma Nirhamo, “Kirjallisuus/Seksuaalivihamielinen kulttuurimme”, 24; LibD 4/66, T.H., “Valfrihet eller jämställdhet?”, 2-3; TiS 15/67, Gunnel Granlid, “Har din fru skaffat sig körkort? Ja, jag behöver en snapshcaufför”, 3; Lennerhed 1994, 123.

³²⁹ Lennerhed 1994, 126.

³³⁰ Sexual matters were not the only ones where the Church’s authority was tested. This also happened when Hannu Salama was accused of blasphemy in 1964 after his latest novel *Juhannustanssit* caused an scandal.

³³¹ Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65, Mauri Alasaari, “kristinuskosta ja sukupuolimoraalista”, 26-28. Alasaari worked as student priest in the University of Helsinki and was often a moderate and conciliatory voice in radical debates, especially in *Ylioppilaslehti*.

³³² FBT 1-2/66, Claes Andersson, “Tabusonat med aggressiv final”, 18-23.

³³³ Lennerhed 1994, 108-109.

³³⁴ “när det gäller sex är hela det kristna västerlandet ett enda stort u-land”: TiS 32/65, Sven Wernström, “Det där med sex”, 23; TiS 34/65, Sven Wernström, “Det där med sex (II), 23.

promising vehicle for progressive policies and so a far more worthwhile target for their efforts than the Church, whose moral authority as regards sexuality had been superseded as early as the 1930s.³³⁵ This differed again from elsewhere in mainland Europe where Catholic conservatism was often associated directly with the state.³³⁶

When the Finnish Church did eventually deliver its official position on sexual morality, however, the response from the radical press was less than enthusiastic. Its critics accused the Church of approaching gender issues and sexual ethics from a negative, authoritative, and “irrational” perspective cloaked in theological jargon, even though it could be argued that the positivist arguments of Finnish student radicals themselves relied on a kind of ‘jargon’, but theirs was legitimised by modern social science and critical deliberation.³³⁷ The Church’s outdated and dogmatic values, they argued, were inconsistent with these scientific methods of self-doubt and self-correction, and as a consequence it could no longer be entrusted with the moral authority it once had.³³⁸ As an example of the hopelessly old-fashioned attitudes of the Church, Finnish radicals pointed to its demands for obedience to medieval concepts like the “Law of Moses”³³⁹.

Accusations of religious authoritarianism were not simply levelled at the way the Church treated its own flock, but at how it influenced the whole of society. Radicals argued that the close connection between legislation and Christian moral principles was clear evidence of the disproportionate power of religious leaders.³⁴⁰ It meant that legal experts in Finland were also prone to espouse overtly moralistic viewpoints, which seemed in stark contradiction with the secular accuracy normally associated with legal science. A legal textbook written by Professor Brynolf Honkasalo³⁴¹ was often cited as one example of this. Honkasalo claimed *inter alia* that the moral standards of a people were a clear indicator of its “intellectual condition”, and that individual liberalism would ultimately lead to the “decay of civilisation”. These examples led some radical

³³⁵ LibD 7/64, Gabriel Romanus, “Sexkonferensen”, 32; Herzog 2006, 151; Lennerhed 1994, 104-106.

³³⁶ Vinen 2018, 231.

³³⁷ YL 27/66, Jertta Roos, “Ajalla vieras asia”, 5; OYL 26/66, Heikki Hautala, “Kirkon kannanotto seksuaalikysymykseen ja sen arvostelu”, 2; YyKoo 23/66, Batman, “Kirkon eroksen eheys”, 2. All these articles were reviewing an ecclesiastical publication called “An Issue of the Present Day” (*Ajankohtainen asia*), written by six bishops of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and published by Kirkkohallitus, 1966.

³³⁸ Aaro Miettinen, “Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaasi olemattomasta”, In *Sukupuoleton Suomi 1966*, 32-51; *Ajankohta* 8/67, Jorma Nirhamo, “Kirjallisuus/Seksuaalivihamielinen kulttuurimme”, 24.

³³⁹ FBT 1-2/66, Claes Andersson, “Tabusonat med aggressiv final”, 18-23; YyKoo, Pauli Piiska, “Lusikka Lallukalle”, 2:8/66; OYL 26/66, Muuli, “Provokaatio”, 10; YL 15/65, Ilkka Taipale, “Eroottinen puheenvuoro”, 6-7.

³⁴⁰ *Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o* 4/65, Timo Vuortama, “sukupuolikuria ja säädylisyyttä”, 34-35.

³⁴¹ *Suomen rikosoikeus I*, published in 1948, was still being used as an academic textbook in the 1960s.

writers to conclude that the legal profession was just as outdated and lacking in sound intellectual basis as the religious authorities or, as Jarno Pennanen sarcastically put it, “the sexual mores of our legal system and experts seem to be based on Richardson’s eighteenth-century novel ‘Pamela’.”³⁴²

Radicalist criticism of religious authoritarianism often intersected with other issues such as nationalism, absolutism, elitism, and (in Sweden) monarchism.³⁴³ In the context of debates about sexual ethics, these conservative features were sometimes combined under the umbrella concept of “western culture”. It was a useful concept because it made transnational adaptations from other cultures easier; other metaphors could be used to refer to essentially the same thing. Religious and patriotic values, for instance, could be combined in pejorative concepts like “Victorian moralism” to refer to the underlying conservative attitudes controlling the whole of western culture (in spite of Victorianism’s British origins).³⁴⁴ Social factors uncovered by radical sociology emphasised the fact that these conservative viewpoints shared by “western culture” dominated even modern societies.³⁴⁵ This was not new though; the radical sexologist Alfred Kinsey had already explained the conservatism of western societies in terms of their “Judeo-Christian” traditions in the 1940s.³⁴⁶

Criticism of western culture and its restrictive morals also manifested itself in a growing interest in Eastern cultures and religions. Albeit a side issue from the debate over sexual morals, the discourse on what could also be called positivist orientalism is nevertheless a good example of the radicalist quest for an alternative mode of thought to challenge western Christian morals. One simple reason this issue almost certainly cropped up was that the *Kama Sutra* happened to be translated to Nordic languages at about the same time the radicalist debate on sexual morality reached its apex.³⁴⁷ Among Finnish student radicals, the book was reverently described as “pure religion”, which – in spite of its graphic illustrations – had nothing to do with pornography. This, they argued, was because there was no “harmful” division between body and soul (or

³⁴² “Näyttää siltä että lakimme ja laintulkitsijamme sukupuolimoraali perustuu Richardsonin romaaniin “Pamela” 1700-luvulta”, Ajankohta 6/67, Jarno Pennanen, “Epäsiveellisiä esineitä – tervettä siveellisyyttä”, 6-7; Nya Argus, 1-2/64, Tor Hartman, “Om sexuallagar och sedlighet”, 3-6; K.J. Lång, (transl. by Juhani Koskinen), “Havaintoja sukupuolikäyttäytymisen rangaistavuuden perusteluista”, In Sukupuoleton Suomi, 1966, 124-141.

³⁴³ Lennerhed 1994, 122-123; Östberg 2002, 34.

³⁴⁴ TYL 20/66, Tribunas, “Saksin kesä ja syys”, 5; Ajankohta 8/67, Jorma Nirhamo, “Kirjallisuus/Seksuaalivihamielinen kulttuurimme”, 24; Nya Argus, 1-2/64, Tor Hartman, “Om sexuallagar och sedlighet”, 3-6.; Lennerhed 1994, 58. Victorianism was not only a historical concept in the UK context, see Herzog 2006, 163.

³⁴⁵ Aaro Miettinen, “Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaaši olemattomasta”, In Sukupuoleton Suomi 1966, 32-51; Tuomioja 1967.

³⁴⁶ Herzog 2006b, 42.

³⁴⁷ TiS 32/65, Sven Wernström, “Det där med sex”, 23; Kāma sūtra: Indiens klassiska kärlekslära (translated from english by Per Meurling), Stockholm, Spegeln, 1965; Kama Sutra (translated by Antti Pakaslahti), Helsinki, Tammi, 1966.

mind) as there was in Judaeo-Christian religions.³⁴⁸ The *Kama Sutra's* positive attitudes were sometimes simplified, and Hindus portrayed as the happy antithesis to the "tortuous contradictions" of western spirituality. Unlike westerners, Hindus knew how to embrace the contradictions of life, accepting eroticism, for instance, as an integral part of human life.³⁴⁹ In the most extravagant arguments, this assimilation of east and west was seen as the logical outcome of a new, global culture.³⁵⁰ These examples clearly demonstrate a perspective that actively removed power from the equation of encounters between global cultures, and saw the mixture and fusion of cultural features as an opportunity for forming a new international culture free from parochial limitations.

Positive influences from the east, while certainly interesting, were not the main thrust of arguments for overcoming the detrimental value systems of the west. The emphasis was instead on the need to establish a wholly *modern* system of sexual ethics,³⁵¹ and one that would be principally ahistorical. Venereal disease and unwanted pregnancy understandably affected sexual mores in the past, but in a modern society with access to the necessary medicine and readily available contraception this should no longer be the case.³⁵² Contributors to the radical press repeatedly made the point that sexual ethics had already been modernised by birth control and the secularisation, urbanisation, democratisation, and rationalisation of culture, which were all factors that allowed a freer and more positive attitude towards sexuality³⁵³ - ancient divisions between decent and indecent were no longer relevant.

As Lennerhed has noted, liberal radicals in the Sixties focused on sex and gender as an integral part of what they hoped would be a completely new moral and social system, but for the most part, existing interpretations of Finnish gender debates have neglected this wider goal: radicals are portrayed as pragmatic or even passive critics, associated with either conventional political traditions, practical women's questions, or simply advancing the development of the welfare state. This focus on just the practical outcomes of activism, however, ignores the creative and at times utopian aspect of Sixties' activism. Rather than limiting themselves to single issues such as gender relations or sex education, Finnish radicals often actually defined their fundamental objective to

³⁴⁸ Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65, käänös ja esittely Matti Sorri, "vatsyayana/kama sutra", 22-24.

³⁴⁹ Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65, Antti Pakaslahti, "elämän pyhyys eli hindutemppeleiden eroottinen kuvanveisto", 24-26.

³⁵⁰ Aikalainen 4/67, Matthew Verghese, "Seksuaalinen realismi sanskriitinkielisessä kirjallisuudessa", 46-51.

³⁵¹ Ajakohta 10/67, Margaretha Starck, "Ruotsissa sukupuolivalistetaan - meilläkin pitäisi", 12-13.

³⁵² Ajankohta 8/67, Jorma Nirhamo, "Kirjallisuus/Seksuaalivihamielinen kulttuurimme", 24.

³⁵³ Kimmo Leppo, "Sukupuolisen käyttäytymisen tutkimuksesta", In Sukupuoleton Suomi, 1966, 9-31; LibD 4/62, Lars Lönnröth, "Arg liten bok", 29-30; LibD 4/63, Per Gahrton, "Kvinnlig värnplikt - ett jämlikhetskrav", 32-36; LibD 2/63, Eva Moberg, "Jämställdhet i valfrihet", 11-16; TiS 12/67, Nina Yunkers, "Mera kärlek åt vänster!", 3.

be the “common good”. They wanted to create a more reasonable, less rigid and authoritative system of moral codes that was legitimised by sociological research. By emphasising the importance of individual choice, for instance, radical arguments highlighted the open and dynamic nature of morality as an alternative and *completely new* value system to the intransigent, black and white “paternalistic” values of good versus evil. In Finland, where political liberalism was a relatively weak and disorganised tradition, there were even some radicals who did not see it as a question of morals at all. It was rather about coming up with a system of regulation that would be “more relevant” in a modern society. They defined individualism as not being a moral system at all, since it did not rely on “institutional power”. In a modern welfare state, previously ‘moral’ decisions were to be based on facts rather than prejudices or illusions – it was “immoral to maintain ‘morality’ with lies” they argued.³⁵⁴ These statements clearly indicate that they assumed there was a model for society that could bypass morality and appeal to scientific-based reasons instead. These seemed much more “reasonable” to them than any ‘moral’ system founded instead on unverifiable beliefs.

3.3 Publications and Public Debating

As with other topics on the radical agenda, arguments for developing a more liberal and individualistic attitude towards sexual ethics and gender roles were made chiefly via public debate in the press.³⁵⁵ It was hoped that open public debates would show the parochial nature of everyday morals and thus inspire cultural change. “Conversations on sexuality are essential,” one student radical claimed, “for as long as Finns continue to maintain Christian double standards and a hypocritical attitude towards sexual issues.”³⁵⁶

In their efforts to spread information, activists both published their own works and translated foreign books and articles. Books were also catalogued into lists, so that people who wanted more information on gender issues could find them easily.³⁵⁷ Translating foreign texts was a good way to spread information, especially in Finland, which lacked home-grown radical theoretical writers like Joachim Israel and Eva Moberg. Swedish gender debates also borrowed from foreign sources from time to time; Kinsey’s studies were a particularly important early influence and his first report was translated to Swedish immediately after

³⁵⁴ “Moraalitonta on ylläpitää ‘moraalia’ valheiden voimalla”. Kimmo Leppo, “Sukupuolisen käyttäytymisen tutkimuksesta”, In Sukupuoleton Suomi, 1966, 9-31.

³⁵⁵ Saarenmaa & Ruoho 2014 289-294; Kurvinen 2015, 21.

³⁵⁶ “Seksuaalikeskustelu on välttämätöntä niin kauan kuin suomalaisten kristillis-siveellis-kaksinaismoraali-tekopyhä suhtautuminen sukupuoliasioihin jatkuu.” OYL 5/68, Juha Mikkonen, “Seksuaalianarkian loppu”, 5.

³⁵⁷ Wartiovaara 1967, 3. Yhdistys 9 carried out this task with a grant, awarded by the Finnish cultural foundation. See Mickwitz 2008b, 38.

it was published in the US.³⁵⁸ Having a favourable public platform was essential, and Finnish student papers were particularly active platforms for initiating discussions. Themes covering sexual behaviour, habits or education were common and often provided a basis for translating texts.³⁵⁹ One major achievement was the translation into Finnish of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* by the activists of *Yhdistys 9* in 1967.³⁶⁰ Perhaps the most ambitious accomplishment of the Finnish radical movement was a book entitled "Genderless Finland – Relevant Information on Sexual Matters" (*Sukupuoleton Suomi – Asiallista tietoa seksuaalikysymyksistä*), published in 1966 and edited by Ilkka Taipale.³⁶¹ The most notable aspect of this book was its diversity. The articles, all written by Finnish activists, covered themes ranging from academic research and the school curriculum to art and legislation. While both the subject and content of the book were quite radical, the sub-title "Relevant Information on Sexual Matters" underlines its positivist premises that everything – including moral issues – should be based on facts.³⁶² In Sweden too, the gender debate produced a flurry of similarly original paperback publications that featured as the basis for wider press debates. In addition to Moberg and Israel, some of these proved to be quite controversial; Henning Pallesen's *De avvikande*, published in 1964, was a prime example dealing explicitly with homosexuality.³⁶³ Pallesen's book was also translated into Finnish and disseminated by the radical press in Finland.³⁶⁴

While Swedish cultural radicalism was in many ways just as principled as its Finnish counterpart, Swedish activists were focused on more practical matters when it came to the gender issue. In effect, this meant using the radical press to name and shame the practices and policies that supported gender inequality. These practices were usually far more tangible and concrete than the conservative morals discussed in the previous sub-chapter. For example,

³⁵⁸ LibD 3/65, Joachim Israel, "Innan vi gifter oss", 28-32; Lennerhed 1994, 39.

³⁵⁹ Mickwitz 2008b, 48.

³⁶⁰ Holli 1990, 72. The translation of Friedan's book illustrates how difficult it is to pinpoint the political position of *Yhdistys 9*. Laura Saarenmaa has interpreted Friedan as an example of "American" liberal feminism, challenging the "Soviet" gender ideals she feels were essential for *Yhdistys 9*. When the translators of said book are taken into consideration, this whole argument seems rather awkward. See Saarenmaa 2015, 139-140.

³⁶¹ Taipale was one of the most prominent social policy activists of the Finnish radical movement. For more on him and the sociopolitical aspects of radicalism, see Chapter 4 below.

³⁶² Ilkka Taipale, "Lähetekukijalle", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 7-8. Despite the variety of its contents and the support from big publishing house (Tammi), only a few radical memoirs have cited it. Mickwitz (2008b), for instance, has a comprehensive listing of radical publications but not a single mention of *Sukupuoleton Suomi*.

³⁶³ Pallesen also participated in the influential conference organised by liberal youth activists, see LibD 7/64, Gabriel Romanus, "Sexkonferensen", 32; Lennerhed 1994, 128.

³⁶⁴ Nya Argus 14/64, Christer Kihlman, "De avvikade", 209-213; Medisiinari 4/65, Henning Pallesen, "samanlaisia mutta kuitenkin erilaisia", 58-60; K.J. Lång, transl. Juhani Koskinen, "Havaintoja sukupuolikäyttäytymisen rangaistavuuden perusteluista", 124-141.

attention was drawn to honorific titles for women which defined them only in terms of marriage status;³⁶⁵ the unqualified use of emotional language in women's magazines;³⁶⁶ the differences in the way toys were marketed for girls and boys;³⁶⁷ discrimination against female athletes;³⁶⁸ and unnecessarily gendered illustrations in the national phone directory.³⁶⁹ Swedish radicals clearly had a keen eye for the practical implications of traditional gender hierarchies, especially in New Left publications, which intensified their focus on social issues during the late Sixties. Media portrayals that objectified women and subjugated them to commercial goals were especially vilified.³⁷⁰ The Swedish New Left eagerly pointed out when their transnational leftist peers lacked proper knowledge of the importance of "correct" political vocabulary, too. This was the case when British leftist weekly, the *New Statesman* was criticised for its presumption that there existed a distinctive 'feminine' point of view. In addition, the *New Statesman* allegedly did not use the concept of "sex role" at all, or analyse the social implications of gender roles in any profound way.³⁷¹

In stark contrast to the more abstract Finnish debates (that were mostly repeating the results of established social scientific research and criticising the influence of Christian morals), Swedish radical papers were publishing sociological analyses of the ways in which gender roles were manifesting themselves; the names, colours, and books used to bring up children were socialising them into the expected roles and restrictive presumptions of the dominant system.³⁷² In the Finnish radical press, such concrete arguments just did not exist – even the national journal of sociology, *Sosiologia*, had nothing on socialisation processes. Although *Sosiologia* was active in publishing articles on gender issues (and even dedicated a special issue to it³⁷³), the analysis focused on the gender ratios in different social spheres, but there was no explanation of how this might directly affect individuals. A theory that the strict moral climate³⁷⁴ in Finland might produce "stiff" authoritarian personalities was the most extreme conclusion drawn before straightforward Marxist analysis became more common after the Sixties.

³⁶⁵ LibD 7/65, Inger Becker, "Nej tack till frutiteln", 44-45.

³⁶⁶ LibD 4/62, Lars Lönnröth, "Arg liten bok", 29-30; LibD 5/65, Anita Weck, "Kvinnospråk i dagspress", 29-31.

³⁶⁷ TiS 5/67, Gunnel Granlid, "Helpopulärt bland grabbarna/ Alla flickors drömpresent", 5.

³⁶⁸ TiS 9/67, Bo Hammar, "Varför diskrimineras damidrotten?", 3.

³⁶⁹ TiS 43/67, Margareta Åberg, "Mannen, kvinnan och telefonkatalogen", 7.

³⁷⁰ TiS 32/65, Sven Wernström, "Det där med sex", 23; TiS 13/68, Björn Häggqvist, "Om nyfikens gränser", 11.

³⁷¹ Zenit 5-6/66, Dick Urban Vestbro, "Könsroller i New Statesman", 29-30. The peculiar translation of "könsroll" into "sex role" shows that the writer was perhaps unaware of English gender concepts.

³⁷² Zenit 2/67, Rita Liljerstöm, "Teorier om könsrollsinnläring", 37-43.

³⁷³ *Sosiologia* 4/66.

³⁷⁴ *Medisiinari* 1/66, Ryhmä 9, "Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa", 29-31; Ritva Turunen, "Sukupuoliroolit", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi*, 1966, 78-99. Turunen was one of the few Finnish radicals citing intellectuals of the Frankfurt school, specifically Adorno's theory of Authoritarian personality.

Rather than focusing on specific instances of conservative social conditioning, Finnish radicals felt their role, as harbingers of social change, was to spread information among the general public.³⁷⁵ In this way, they were essentially doing what the liberal activists in Sweden had done in the early Sixties. It also showed that they had a strong belief in the ability of key individual activists to change society. Reforming the expectations of the various national publics (through exposure to information) was seen as a necessary step before progressive attitudes about sexual roles and gender issues could be fully adopted.³⁷⁶ Whereas Swedish radicals were focusing on how commercially produced books, magazines, and toys, were promoting conservative values; the Finns were demonstrating the need for progressive and liberal literature by highlighting the old-fashioned "Victorian" values in the educational texts and family-focused advice books used in Finland at that time.³⁷⁷ They argued that anthropological studies had already proven that societies without strict gender roles were happier, healthier, and free of the usual "sexual absurdities" that plagued elsewhere.³⁷⁸ New, objective facts from the progressive social sciences were cited, as was the concept of "cultural lag" which explained why attitudes had not kept up with changes in the surrounding material reality.³⁷⁹

Nordic radicals were nevertheless aware that theory and statistics alone would not attract broad audiences. Well-established publishers putting out their work, on the other hand, would mean that progressive discussions about sexual behaviour would reach a far wider audience.³⁸⁰ Academic publications, though significant in their own right, were not enough. Considering the subject at hand, a more direct and perhaps effective means for promoting the sexual revolution to a wider audience was erotic literature.³⁸¹ Radicals were confident that if even controversial texts were championed, they would shock the establishment and wake up the "sleeping" public – and in this respect be educational.³⁸² Trust in people's basic enlightened nature, radicals argued, meant that people no longer needed to be protected from themselves.³⁸³ Any deeper analysis of the way publications of this nature were also tied to social power structures were pretty much non-existent though. In fact, any attempts to control publishing, or critically evaluate it was seen as a sign of restrictive conservatism and irrational

³⁷⁵ Ilkka Taipale, "Lähete lukijalle", In Sukupuoleton Suomi 1966, 7-8.

³⁷⁶ YL 17/67, Ilkka Sumu, "Oppaaksi kypsässä oleville", 5.

³⁷⁷ Aikalainen 7-8/65, A. Tim. Wistrand, "Sukupuolisuhteet", 92-95; YL 3/67, Eero Palulampi, "Manus et stuprare", 6; YL 4/67, Aaro Miettinen, "Salatut tiedot", 7.

³⁷⁸ Aikalainen 7-8/67, Marshall McLuhan & George B. Leonard (Look, july 25), "Seksin tulevaisuus", 12-27.

³⁷⁹ Ritva Turunen, "Rooleista", in Vastalause 66 1966, 87-99.

³⁸⁰ OYL 5/68, Juha Mikkonen, "Seksuaalianarkian loppu", 5; YL 4/67, Aaro Miettinen, "Salatut tiedot", 7; TiS 32/65, Sven Wernström, "Det där med sex", 23.

³⁸¹ YL 28/67, Ilkka Sumu, "Kilokaupalla seksiä kustantajilta", 8; YL 17/65, Arvo Salo, "Tunnustuksia", 5; Aikalainen 5/67, Veikko Polameri, "Kirjat/Sukupuolioppaita molemmat", 56-59; Arnberg 2012, 358.

³⁸² Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65, Aaro Miettinen, "koulujen seksuaaliopetus suomessa/puhetta olemattoman ongelmasta", 30-33; Aaro Miettinen, "Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaaši olemattomasta", In Sukupuoleton Suomi 1966, 32-51.

³⁸³ YL 28/67, Ilkka Sumu, "Kilokaupalla seksiä kustantajilta", 8.

censorship. For example, the established practice to avoid accusations of indecency was to name the sexual parts of the body in Latin, rather than Finnish, and this was now frowned upon by activists.³⁸⁴ For them it was a clear example of both moralism and inequality – only those cultured enough to know foreign languages would be able to enjoy erotic literature.³⁸⁵ This was an anti-elitist argument that also demonstrates the belief held by many radicals that mass audiences could be enlightened.

While it was important to produce these books in quantity, their quality mattered too. Radicals assessed the quality of an erotic portrayal in terms of whether it was “genuine” or not.³⁸⁶ If it was clear that profit was the main motive, then the writer’s intentions were clearly not genuine and the quality was judged to be poor. In effect, this shows how radical activists were suspicious of any overtly commercial forms of popular culture. The Swedish New Left, for example, vehemently discarded anything with the slightest hint of commerciality – especially advertising. Cultural radicalists in Finland followed similar essentially elitist arguments that measured quality in terms of non-commerciality. In one case, they pointed out the hypocritical similarity of supposedly neutral women’s magazines and the commonly accepted obscenity of *Playboy*. The fact was, radicals argued, that both shared a common perception of sexual roles and prospered because of similar moral codes, and yet *Playboy* was the more vilified by moral authorities.³⁸⁷ Not that the activists approved of *Playboy*, which they also saw as a corrupt profit-oriented publication, but this standard was not honestly applied to all publications. In an effort to overcome the corrupt intentions of commercialised publications, radicals suggested new genres of literature that could straddle the line between fiction and non-fiction. Sexuality should be treated with “realistic dignity”, avoiding both the romanticised mystique of a fictional approach and the clinical detachment of non-fiction by finding a balance somewhere in between. As long as the details were based on verified facts, then fictional works could prove useful.³⁸⁸ This same principle was applied to all other forms of media and art;³⁸⁹ although text was generally assumed to be the most accessible form for radical media.

Finnish radicals believed that the progressive erotic literature in Sweden could provide an enlightened example of the normal sexual evolution of an individual, having already successfully merged the factual with the fictional in

³⁸⁴ OYL 27/67, Riitta Lepoluoto, “Salatut taidot”, 2.

³⁸⁵ Aaro Miettinen, “Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaasi olemattomasta”, In *Sukupuoleton Suomi 1966*, 32-51.

³⁸⁶ YL 11/67, Juha Vakkuri, “Kaikkien aikojen ammatti”, 14; *Aikalainen* 5/67, Veikko Polameri, “Kirjat/Sukupuolioppaita molemmat”, 56-59.

³⁸⁷ *Aikalainen* 7/64, Ilmari Mustikkavuori, “Kuka oikein moraaliton on?”, 54-56.

³⁸⁸ OYL 27/67, Riitta Lepoluoto, “Salatut taidot”, 2; YL 33/66, Pertti Jokinen, “Mies-nainen: entä sitten?”, 9.

³⁸⁹ YL 6/67, Tuula Heustedt, “Miten siiliemo hankkii siittiöitä”, 1. A review of a Sex-themed cabaret, organised by the theatre group of national high school students association (“Teiniteatteri”).

just the right way.³⁹⁰ The series of erotic paperbacks published as the *Kärlek*-series, for instance, was perhaps the most well-known attempt to combine erotic literature with quality writing and a social message in a way that was as yet impossible to find in 'parochial' Finland. One Swedish-speaking Finn reviewed it as "pornography for the *folkhem* welfare state".³⁹¹ The first 3 parts of the series sold relatively well in Sweden but was eventually cancelled by the publisher.³⁹² Comparisons with phenomena like *Kärlek* in Sweden inspired a particular type of self-criticism in Finland. Although at the forefront of the sexual liberation movement, student papers believed they still lacked the necessary objective expertise³⁹³ which the Swedish example clearly had. Adapting its strengths to the Finnish social and cultural setting would be essential. Expertise, objectivity, and broad public approval were the key concepts that emphasised the progressiveness of Swedish public discussions. How to achieve such lofty goals was a different thing altogether.

3.4 Progressive Sex Education

There were more systematic ways to educate the public than through the laborious and often frustrating experience of publishing books and articles. Sex education had become a compulsory part of the Swedish national curriculum in 1955, and here again Finnish radicals were looking to their western neighbour as a role model.³⁹⁴ From the Swedish perspective, some found it odd that the Finnish radical left had not yet politicised this issue;³⁹⁵ education seemed like the natural topic - especially for Finnish student papers - as students often graduated to become teachers in the public sector too. This general importance gave sex education a legitimacy that it could not have had as a goal of purely partisan politics. It also meant that future teachers with progressive attitudes could systematically implement radical aspirations for social change. Swedish liberals were even envisioning sex education on a par with traditional democratic institutions - in the sense that the issue would remain above mundane political

³⁹⁰ YL 33/66, Pertti Jokinen, "Mies-nainen: entä sitten?", 9; Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65, Aaro Miettinen, "koulujen seksuaaliopetus suomessa/puhetta olemattoman ongelmasta", 30-33; YL 33/66, Pertti Jokinen, "Mies-nainen: entä sitten?", 9. While Siv and Sverre Holm's novels, *Jeg - en kvinde* and *Jeg - en mand*, were both originally written in Danish, the reviewer still associated the sexual liberty they portrayed with Sweden.

³⁹¹ *Folkhemmet* ("the people's home") was the historic name used to refer to the Swedish welfare state, in which society ought to be like a family. See Friberg 2012, 35-38; Hilson 2008, 42.

³⁹² Nya Argus 7/65, Marina Stenius, "Pornografi som konst", 101-102; Lennerhed 2014, 34.

³⁹³ Medisiinari 4/66, Kaihilahti, Nieminen, Pakaslahti, "Sukupuolielämää ja perhesuunnittelua käsittelevät kirjoitukset johtavissa aikakauslehdissä viime aikoina", 37-43.

³⁹⁴ Lennerhed 2014, 36-38; Lennerhed 1994, 89.

³⁹⁵ TiS 9/66, Leo Ågren, "Sexualliv i Finland".

conflicts³⁹⁶ – yet, at the same time, the established position of sex education within the Swedish welfare state meant that the issue was not an essential part of the radical debate. Some liberal activists criticised the curriculum for a lack of neutrality, treating marriage as the norm rather than treating individual sexual freedom as equally important, but most Swedes were rather proud of their relatively progressive sex education system.³⁹⁷ While radicals saw compulsory sex education as an essential part of *their* agenda, this also meant that the state had succeeded in maintaining control of the issue by keeping a certain degree of neutrality.³⁹⁸

As with other topics of debate, radicals emphasised the importance of research into sex education. Domestic experts were supportive of including sex education in the primary school curriculum, and in Sweden it was particularly encouraging to see positive attitudes expressed about sexual minorities and contraceptives. These progressive attitudes were seen as a direct consequence of “comprehensive planning” in Sweden – one of the key signifiers of a modern welfare state.³⁹⁹ It was also impressive that the latest scientific studies were already affecting and changing the contents of the sex education curriculum in Sweden.⁴⁰⁰ In comparison, the situation in Finland was like being in, what one radical described as, “a third-world country”.⁴⁰¹ Because of the strong normative connotations of education, the debate was also present in the mainstream national press as well⁴⁰² – the progressiveness of Swedish educational policy was even discussed on the recently founded Finnish national TV.⁴⁰³

The Swedish example showed how the modern welfare state could systematically broadcast “fact-based” information to all.⁴⁰⁴ Finnish radical writers found issue again with the conservative and traditionalist attitudes which still held Finnish society in their thrall, and were an obstacle to a truly comprehensive sex education. Christian ethics meant that sex education was restricted to learning about reproduction in biology classes, with the implication that this was the only important aspect of sexuality.⁴⁰⁵ Meanwhile the inherent conservatism of the Finnish press meant that for them, sex education was actually a thinly veiled form of pornography for minors which would encourage premarital sex. Radicals turned this accusation inside out: the interest in pornography was fuelled by the lack of a proper, objective sex education which

³⁹⁶ Lennerhed 1994, 132.

³⁹⁷ Lennerhed 1994,10; Lennerhed 2014, 27-30.

³⁹⁸ Herzog 2006, 150; Hekma & Giarni 2014, 13.

³⁹⁹ Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65, Aaro Miettinen, “koulujen seksuaaliopetus suomessa/puhetta olemattoman ongelmasta”, 30-33; Aaro Miettinen, “Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaaši olemattomasta”, In Sukupuoleton Suomi 1966, 32-51.

⁴⁰⁰ YL 17/67, Ilkka Sumu, “Oppaaksi kypsässä oleville”, 5.

⁴⁰¹ YL 3/67, Kari Puro, “Seksuaaliopetuksen tavoitteet”, 5.

⁴⁰² Aikalainen 8/64, Esko Jämsén, “Aatteet ja vaatteet”, 22-25.

⁴⁰³ YL 13/68, Satu Marttila, “Televisio: seksiä”, 16.

⁴⁰⁴ Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65: PK, “kasvatus”, 7.

⁴⁰⁵ Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65, Aaro Miettinen, “koulujen seksuaaliopetus suomessa/puhetta olemattoman ongelmasta”, 30-33.

looked at the matter honestly;⁴⁰⁶ if sex education was based instead on the threat of punishment for wanting to know more than the bare minimum dictated by moral doctrines, then an interest in sex would instead cause anguish, neuroses, and aggressive behaviour.⁴⁰⁷ It also showed a certain hypocrisy: although a hunger for knowledge was cherished elsewhere in the curriculum, when it came to sexuality this somehow did not apply.⁴⁰⁸ Yet again, radicals could legitimise their arguments by linking them to the neutrality of science.

For Finnish activists, the contents of the sex-ed curriculum in Sweden were just as important as its compulsory status. Because the way it was taught was based on the latest research it would remain more objective than previous emotively prejudiced methods.⁴⁰⁹ The somewhat idealistic objective was to provide teenagers with pure, unadulterated information. Any belief systems regarding sex would be described as a matter of individual choice, and sex education could also provide an objective basis for everyone's own, private ethical choices.⁴¹⁰ It was felt that young people needed a forum for open discussions of these matters – the bare bones of reproduction did not cater for this.⁴¹¹ The inability of parents to deal with such a sensitive subject was constantly brought up as a reason for supporting state-led solutions. Bertrand Russell was at times cited in these debates, as his ideas on the benevolence of youth and the need for psychological expertise in these matters resonated with radical ideas of a modernist education. In raising children, society was also raising future parents, so if they adopted “soundly reasoned” attitudes towards sexuality, so eventually would their children.⁴¹² Comparisons with Sweden seemed yet again to prove this, as the Swedes had acknowledged this “circle of progression” in even the material provided for their pre-teens – depicting sexuality as “normal and natural”.⁴¹³

While its state schools provided a convenient way to deliver a positivist sex education to the majority of its population, Sweden offered other education strategies, too, that could equally be applied in the Finnish context. The Swedish

⁴⁰⁶ YL 3/67, PK, “Sukupuolivalistusta tässä numerossa”, 3: *Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o* 4/65, Aaro Miettinen, “koulujen seksuaaliopetus suomessa/puhetta olemattoman ongelmasta”, 30-33.

⁴⁰⁷ Aaro Miettinen, “Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaaši olemattomasta”, In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 32-51.

⁴⁰⁸ YL 4/67, Ilkka ja Vappu Taipale, “Syntyvyyden säännöstelymenetelmät”, 6; Aaro Miettinen, “Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaaši olemattomasta”, In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 32-51.

⁴⁰⁹ *Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o* 4/65, Aaro Miettinen, “koulujen seksuaaliopetus suomessa/puhetta olemattoman ongelmasta”, 30-33.

⁴¹⁰ *Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o* 4/65, Aaro Miettinen, “koulujen seksuaaliopetus suomessa/puhetta olemattoman ongelmasta”, 30-33; YL 3/67, Kimmo Leppo, “Nuorison sukupuolisesta käyttäytymisestä tutkimusten valossa”, 7; YL 4/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Perhekasvatus vai sukupuolivalistus”, 5; Aaro Miettinen, “Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaaši olemattomasta”, In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 32-51.

⁴¹¹ YL 3/67, Kimmo Leppo, “Nuorison sukupuolisesta käyttäytymisestä tutkimusten valossa”, 7.

⁴¹² Aaro Miettinen, “Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaaši olemattomasta”, In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 32-51; *TiS* 32/65, Sven Wernström, “Det där med sex”, 23.

⁴¹³ YL 3/67, Eero Palulampi, “Manus et stuprare”, 6.

Association for Sexual Education (*Riksförbundet för sexuell upplysning*) or RFSU – founded as a non-partisan sex-ed organisation in 1933 – offered an example of how popular education and the distribution of contraceptives could be organised. Despite having possibly dubious connections with eugenics and demographic control at its inception,⁴¹⁴ the RFSU did accept the legitimacy of premarital relationships, which made it a progressive organisation in the eyes of Finnish radicals. Just as with the school curriculum, the wider population was being given fact-based information stripped of any moral connotations; and Finnish radicals proposed that the task be undertaken by either a non-governmental organisation (such as the RFSU) or by a state-run agency that would combine existing medical knowledge with social and psychological expertise.⁴¹⁵ Finnish enthusiasm for the RFSU was not dampened by the fact that the organisation had opposed free abortions until 1968, as the symbolic role of a progressive organisation committed to national education was often more important than its actual policies.⁴¹⁶

The need for a sex education based more on the social sciences, whether in schools or in general, did not meet with any substantial opposition, yet the precise contents of this new subject were still a matter of some controversy.⁴¹⁷ These debates aptly demonstrate the relatively cautious nature of even the most radical Finnish debaters. Some accused Swedish sex education of going too far too fast, and while many of them shared the fundamental ideals of the Swedish curriculum, some Finnish student radicals felt that it was too sexually explicit,⁴¹⁸ and so might not be so appropriate for young Finns – many of whom were relatively conservative. In the grand scheme of sexual morals, Finnish radicals placed their culture somewhere between the liberal Swedes and more conservative British.⁴¹⁹ In this way, they fell in with the common narrative of that time, which depicted Sweden as a country of particularly free and promiscuous sexuality. Even those who openly admired the Swedish sex-ed system pointed out flaws in it, which was only to be expected being the first of its kind in the whole world.⁴²⁰

But even the most progressive educational planning could not shield the curriculum from the influence of traditionalist teachers, who were ultimately the ones responsible for the teaching. As a pertinent example of Sixties' positivism, sociologist Klaus Mäkelä proposed that such teachers could be bypassed via modern means of communication, such as TVs and radios, to ensure that all

⁴¹⁴ For more on the history of the RFSU, see Lennerhed 2002.

⁴¹⁵ Ajakohta 10/67, Margaretha Starck, "Ruotsissa sukupuolivalistetaan – meilläkin pitäisi", 12-13.

⁴¹⁶ Lennerhed 2014, 29-31.

⁴¹⁷ YL 3/67, PK, "Sukupuolivalistusta tässä numerossa", 3; YL 3/67, Kari Puro, "Seksuaaliopetuksen tavoitteet", 5; Aaro Miettinen, "Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaaši olemattomasta", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 32-51.

⁴¹⁸ See, e.g., YL 3/67, Kari Puro, "Seksuaaliopetuksen tavoitteet", 5.

⁴¹⁹ YL 3/67, Kimmo Leppo, "Nuorison sukupuolisesta käyttäytymisestä tutkimusten valossa", 7.

⁴²⁰ Aaro Miettinen, "Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaaši olemattomasta", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 32-51.

educational facilities would follow the nationwide central plan. The “impersonal” expertise of these devices would also place sex education under the supervision of central authorities, and ensure effective and equal sex education for all pupils, no matter where they lived.⁴²¹ One example of this being put into practice, was when the West German sex-ed film *Helga* was shown to Finnish schoolchildren nationwide. However, while a realistic childbirth scene shocked many audiences, the film did not dwell on the social aspects of sexuality, or matters like abortion and contraceptives; it was mainly a documentary about human biology.⁴²²

3.5 Gender Roles and Nordic Comparisons

Although the role of Swedish activism and publications have been widely acknowledged in existing scholarship and memoirs,⁴²³ comparisons made by radicals at this time have mostly been neglected. In this sub-chapter I look at the way in which, not just education, but also Swedish gender and welfare policies were adopted and used politically in the Finnish context. Using Swedish policies and debates as a standard was an active political choice and offers a tangible example of how Finnish activists related to the Nordic welfare state and its policies.

Radical criticism of existing gender roles was heavily influenced by contemporary sociology, and radicals often presented new scientific results as a direct justification for adopting new social values.⁴²⁴ This was an essential part of Nordic political culture after WWII: politicians would narrow down problems so that they could then be solved by specialists.⁴²⁵ For radical activists, spreading information and the fruits of recent research was the key to initiating social change.⁴²⁶ The role of American scholars in this respect was widely acknowledged by radical circles in both Finland and Sweden. American sociology was decidedly modern, aspired to universal models, and did not limit its focus to historical examples.⁴²⁷ As already discussed, Alfred Kinsey, the American sexologist who revolutionised research on sexual habits in his studies directly following WWII,⁴²⁸ was a prime example of such a scholar whose

⁴²¹ YL 4/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Perhekasvatus vai sukupuolivalistus”, 5; Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65, Aaro Miettinen, “koulujen seksuaaliopetus suomessa/puhetta olemattoman ongelmasta”, 30-33; Aaro Miettinen, “Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaaši olemattomasta”, In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 32-51. Schwartz 2009.

⁴²² See, e.g., Mickwitz 2008b, 25; Jallinoja 1983, 146-151.

⁴²³ Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65: PK, “kasvatus”, 7.

⁴²⁴ Andersson 2006, 47.

⁴²⁵ Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65: PK, “kasvatus”, 7; Kimmo Leppo, “Sukupuolisen käyttäytymisen tutkimuksesta”, In *Sukupuoleton Suomi*, 1966, 9-31.

⁴²⁶ Ilkka Taipale, “Lähete lukijalle”, In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 7-8; Holli 1990, 76; Fridjonsdottir 1990.

⁴²⁷ Drucker 2014, 1-3.

findings had the potential to radicalise Nordic society. Kinsey's works underlined the inherent diversity of sexual mores and the conflict between public morals and everyday life.⁴²⁹ Furthermore, Kinsey argued that sexual behaviour considered normal in western countries was actually only a small proportion of a far wider and nuanced sphere of sexual habits actually present in those contexts.⁴³⁰ For Nordic radicals, Kinsey's studies was a factually based argument for sexual diversity that they could use to contest existing conservative attitudes.⁴³¹ Their comprehensiveness and use of statistics lent Kinsey's results a certain authority,⁴³² although their purely American context somewhat restricted their application in the Nordic context. Some radicals thus saw Kinsey's role as an inspiration for conducting their own local research on the same issues.⁴³³ The European radical frame was also aware of the American Christian culture peculiar to Kinsey's findings.⁴³⁴ Other activists recognised the differences between local contexts, but in an effort to circumvent them, noted there were similarities too. The Lutheran supervision of Finnish culture, for instance, was compared to the religious double standards portrayed in Kinsey's studies.⁴³⁵

To spread these progressive ideas further, studies in a specifically *Nordic* context were needed, as this had not been done before.⁴³⁶ Edvard Westermarck, a well-known Finnish social scientist, had made a groundbreaking study of sexual morals and habits – but in Morocco.⁴³⁷ After the Finnish Left's exposure to radical American and Swedish studies, there were high hopes for Finnish social science to become a form of "instrumental radicalism",⁴³⁸ but it proved easier instead to adapt results from such a culturally, religiously, and politically similar culture as Sweden to the Finnish context. One such multisited figure in Finnish radical debates was the Swedish sociologist Joachim Israel,⁴³⁹ known as one of the most publicly visible scholars on Swedish sexual behaviour.⁴⁴⁰ During his visit to Finland in the spring of 1966, Israel made both academic and informal contacts with Finnish radical activists. Interviewed by Jertta Roos, one of the

⁴²⁹ Aaro Miettinen, "Koulujen sukupuoliopetus/Kollaasi olemattomasta", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 32-51; Lennerhed 1994, 43.

⁴³⁰ Christer Kihlman, (translated by Juhani Koskinen), "Seksuaalisia poikkeavuuksia", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi*, 1966, 110-123.

⁴³¹ Ajankohta 8/67, Jorma Nirhamo, "Kirjallisuus/Seksuaalivihamielinen kulttuurimme", 24; Hagman 2016, 234, 245.

⁴³² Kimmo Leppo, "Sukupuolisen käyttäytymisen tutkimuksesta", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi*, 1966, 9-31; Lennerhed 1994, 41.

⁴³³ Ilkka Taipale, "Lähetä lukijalle", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 7-8.

⁴³⁴ Herzog 2006b, 40; Lennerhed 1994, 44.

⁴³⁵ Christer Kihlman, (translated by Juhani Koskinen), "Seksuaalisia poikkeavuuksia", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi*, 1966, 110-123.

⁴³⁶ Ilkka Taipale, "Lähetä lukijalle", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 7-8.

⁴³⁷ Kimmo Leppo, "Sukupuolisen käyttäytymisen tutkimuksesta", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi*, 1966, 9-31.

⁴³⁸ *Sosiologia* 4/66, Katariina Eskola, "Pääkirjoitus", 147-148.

⁴³⁹ See, e.g., *YL* 31/65, Marina Sundström, "Väärät uskot", 7; *FBT* 1-2/66, Claes Andersson, "Tabusonat med aggressiv final", 18-23; *TYL* 13/66, *Tribunus*, "Naisasiamiehet", 7.

⁴⁴⁰ Lennerhed 1994, 202-208; See, e.g., *LibD* 3/65, Joachim Israel, "Innan vi gifter oss", 28-32.

founding members of *Yhdistys 9*, Israel endorsed their activities and criticised opponents of the Finnish gender movement. The lecture was held in the apartment of Ilkka Taipale (see above), and inspired many Finnish radicals to follow Israel's example as someone who could act without referring to the gender stereotypes that were still affecting the behaviour of other activists.⁴⁴¹

Social scientists like Israel were important authorities, chiefly because they questioned the straightforward biological arguments behind human sexuality that were mostly only supported with observations of animal behaviour.⁴⁴² From a social science perspective, straightforward biological reasoning was not enough to explain more complex human behaviour.⁴⁴³ Prevailing gender roles and expectations were therefore far from natural,⁴⁴⁴ and this state of affairs could only be changed by incorporating sociological, anthropological and psychological features into existing medical and biological expertise.⁴⁴⁵ The American cultural anthropologist, Margaret Mead, was a significant authority often quoted by Finnish gender activists who challenged biological definitions of sexuality and gender. Mead's influence is partly explained by the relative accessibility of her studies. Two of her books (*Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* and *Male and Female*) had already been published in Finnish by 1963.⁴⁴⁶ Mead's arguments were appealing because they seemed to undermine the whole system of western gender roles; Mead showed the absurdity of using absolute biological norms as a basis for gender arguments, and highlighted instead the importance of socialisation. Mead's works were also interesting because she had observed different sexual practices in non-western cultures. By making people aware of these existing alternatives to current social norms in other societies, Mead showed that values could be changed in one's own society, no matter the status quo.⁴⁴⁷ Mead's studies also underlined the progressive nature of social science,

⁴⁴¹ YL 11/66, Jertta Roos, "Ihminen se on nainenkin", 4-5; Leppo 2008, 176. As a sign of his open-mindedness, Israel had celebrated women who were sexually active and hence acted against their traditional role expectations.

⁴⁴² Tilanne 2/66, Brita Polttila, "Roolidebatista (etenkin Jussi Talven luettavaksi)", 115-122.

⁴⁴³ Ritva Turunen, "Sukupuoliroolit", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi 1966*, 78-99.

⁴⁴⁴ *Medisiinari* 1/66, Ryhmä 9: Johan Mickwitz, Margaretha Mickwitz, Marja-Leena Mikkola, Klaus Mäkelä, Kati Peltola, Jertta Roos, Arvo Salo, Marina Sundström, Ritva Turunen, "Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa", 29-31; TYL 13/66, *Tribunus*, "Naisiasiamiehet", 7.

⁴⁴⁵ *Medisiinari*, seksuaalin:o 4/65, Risto Palolahti, "Margaret Mead: Sukupuoli ja luonne", 65.

⁴⁴⁶ *Sukupuoli ja luonne kolmessa primitiivisessä yhteiskunnassa*, Translated by Aarne Sipponen. Jokamiehen korkeakoulu 15. Helsinki: Otava, 1963; *Mies ja nainen: Miehen ja naisen roolit muuttuvassa maailmassa*, Translated by Annika Takala. Otavan filosofinen kirjasto 6. Helsinki: Otava, 1957. For an overview of Mead's works and her influence on Sixties' SMOs, see Jamison & Eyerman 1995, 128-140.

⁴⁴⁷ *Medisiinari*, seksuaalin:o 4/65, Risto Palolahti, "Margaret Mead: Sukupuoli ja luonne", 65; Kimmo Leppo, "Sukupuolisen käyttäytymisen tutkimuksesta", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi 1966*, 9-31; *Medisiinari* 1/66, Ryhmä 9: Johan Mickwitz, Margaretha Mickwitz, Marja-Leena Mikkola, Klaus Mäkelä, Kati Peltola, Jertta Roos, Arvo Salo, Marina Sundström, Ritva Turunen, "Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa", 29-31; Jallinoja 1983, 143, 161.

as it seemed to re-examine and diverge from the results of previous studies, including Kinsey's, who had allegedly downplayed the role of learnt behavioural characteristics.⁴⁴⁸ Activists clearly influenced by her work could now argue that "gender roles are not immutable, eternal, biologically necessary or universal, but vary from culture to culture and from time to time."⁴⁴⁹ Mead's example showed that the social sciences could be used to reform old, outdated attitudes: neutral objectivity and exactitude were the core values required when criticising gender roles and sexual morals.⁴⁵⁰ Mead's relevance was further accentuated by stressing the *sociological* (and thus also allegedly "*neutral*")⁴⁵¹ aspect of her anthropology.⁴⁵² This association with the social sciences not only increased the analytical power of 'gender role' as a concept, but also explained why the wider public used it in such a confusing way – the social sciences could hopefully change this.

Applying transnational gender research required a careful balancing act. As with applying Kinsey's results to the Finnish context, theoretical examples provided a clear premise that set the parameters, while studies in each particular context were used to validate and strengthen them. This led to some interesting variations when transnational radical texts were dealt with. Simone De Beauvoir's *The Second Sex (Le Deuxième Sexe)* in particular was praised for its brilliant portrayal of feminine myths and the problems of marriage, while simultaneously criticised in terms of its sources. Albeit coherent in their original context, they were fundamentally outdated when applied to the Finnish.⁴⁵³ In this respect, de Beauvoir's arguments could not be classed as proper social science,⁴⁵⁴ but it is somewhat remarkable that her essay was even considered a part of the discussion at all: the Finnish translation was not published until 1980 and the Swedish only appeared in 1973. Reviewers were therefore relying on either the English translation or the original in French. A similar criticism was made of *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan; in contrast with Swedish studies on the same subject, it seemed that Friedan was completely unaware of the situation of women at home in Nordic contexts.⁴⁵⁵ Similar remarks about

⁴⁴⁸ Kimmo Leppo, "Sukupuolisen käyttäytymisen tutkimuksesta", In Sukupuoleton Suomi, 1966, 9-31.

⁴⁴⁹ "Sukupuoliroolit eivät siis ole muuttumattomia, ikuisia, biologisesti välttämättömiä tai universaaleja, vaan ne vaihtelevat kulttuurista ja ajankohdasta toiseen". Ritva Turunen, "Rooleista", in Vastalause 66 1966, 87-99. While this article does not explicitly cite Mead, other articles written by Turunen clearly show her familiarity with Mead's works. See, e.g., Ritva Turunen, "Sukupuoliroolit", In Sukupuoleton Suomi, 1966, 78-99.

⁴⁵⁰ YL 31/65, Marina Sundström, "Väärät uskot", 7; TYL 25/65, Tarja Flemming, "Lanka ja laulu eli naisen kulttuuriroolin selvittelyä", 1; YL 17/67, Ilkka Sumu, "Oppaaksi kypsymässä oleville", 5; Holli 1988, 329.

⁴⁵¹ Mickwitz 2008b, 32-33; Holli 1988, 324.

⁴⁵² Tilanne 2/66, Brita Polttila, "Roolidebatista (etenkin Jussi Talven luettavaksi)", 115-122.

⁴⁵³ YL 31/65, Marja-Leena Mikkola, "Se toinen", 6-7.

⁴⁵⁴ JYL 32-33/65, William Hart, "The second Sex", 9.

⁴⁵⁵ YL 28/67, Ritva-Liisa Sumu, "Elävänä haudattu", 9.

Friedan's works were also made in the mainstream press when she visited the Nordic countries in 1967.⁴⁵⁶

As gender roles began to be seen as stereotypes that were culturally defined and reproduced, underlying traditional attitudes came under increasingly harsh criticism.⁴⁵⁷ In the gender debate, Freudian concepts were seen as a particularly damning example of such bias. Both Friedan and Kinsey had criticised Freud, which must have only contributed to their popularity.⁴⁵⁸ In Nordic contexts, Freudian concepts were seen as neglecting key social factors which were leading to the mistreatment of women.⁴⁵⁹ Radicals saw Freud and repressive Victorian values as two sides of the same coin and ultimately responsible for prevalent attitudes in western culture. Freud's implication that women were sexually imperfect seemed misplaced if men were at the same time supposed to be envious of their ability to bear children. Joachim Israel therefore delighted Finnish radicals when, on his visit to Helsinki, he declared that psychoanalysis was indeed "pure humbug"⁴⁶⁰ – even if Finnish critics of Freud shied away from an explicit anti-psychiatric stance (see 4.6 below).

In keeping with a relativistic understanding of morals as a social construct, theorising about the current system of values was not enough. Whereas Eva Moberg had provided the impetus for this among Swedish activists, it was Margaret Mead's ideas of moral relativism and the possibility of comprehensively changing the whole system of social values that did this in Finland. The straightforward way in which this change would be achieved shows how, from the radical point of view, social values were seen to have a rather simple and uniform structure that would be easy to adapt as required. This underlying presumption was also present in the arguments surrounding gender roles. Liberal gender activists commonly believed that existing gender roles could simply be replaced with what *Yhdistys 9*'s founders called "human" roles,⁴⁶¹ and then reinforced by studies and public debates.⁴⁶² In Mead's model, each individual would be free to choose a behavioural pattern according to their

⁴⁵⁶ Kurvinen 2015, 30.

⁴⁵⁷ *Medisiinari* 1/66, Ryhmä 9: Johan Mickwitz, Margaretha Mickwitz, Marja-Leena Mikkola, Klaus Mäkelä, Kati Peltola, Jertta Roos, Arvo Salo, Marina Sundström, Ritva Turunen, "Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa", 29-31; . Ritva Turunen, "Rooleista", in *Vastalause* 66 1966, 87-99.

⁴⁵⁸ Evans 2014, 153; Lennerhed 1994, 47-48.

⁴⁵⁹ Ritva Turunen, "Sukupuoliroolit", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 78-99; Kimmo Leppo, "Sukupuolisen käyttäytymisen tutkimuksesta", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi*, 1966, 9-31; *Zenit* 3/68, Dick Urban Vestbro, "Könskamp och klasskamp" (A review of Göran Palm's *Indoktrineringen i Sverige*, 1968), 74-76.

⁴⁶⁰ Ritva Turunen, "Sukupuoliroolit", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 78-99. Leppo 2008, 176.

⁴⁶¹ *YL* 11/66, Jertta Roos, "Ihminen se on nainenkin", 4-5. Interview of Swedish sociologist Joachim Israel.

⁴⁶² *Medisiinari* 1/66, Ryhmä 9: Johan Mickwitz, Margaretha Mickwitz, Marja-Leena Mikkola, Klaus Mäkelä, Kati Peltola, Jertta Roos, Arvo Salo, Marina Sundström, Ritva Turunen, "Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa", 29-31.

own “true characteristic”.⁴⁶³ The model was supported by findings that showed there was a greater range of ‘individual’ features than there were of ‘gender’.⁴⁶⁴ Whether it referenced Mead or not, this liberal individualism would allow people to assume their “true characteristic” without the burdens of traditionalism which excluded those unable to adapt to dominant gender roles – therefore wasting a significant amount of “human capital”.⁴⁶⁵ This focus on individual traits in the gender debate was still popular among Finnish radicals long after the turn towards class-consciousness among their Swedish counterparts. And yet it would seem that previous interpretations have ignored this focus on individual features, over-simplifying it instead as a series of pragmatic policy suggestions borne from the everyday experiences of academic mothers.⁴⁶⁶

The focus on individual features also meant that Nordic liberal activists aspired to change both gender roles.⁴⁶⁷ Previous research has not been particularly sensitive to this aspect, mainly because it has focused, for the most part, on the history of feminism.⁴⁶⁸ From a conceptual history perspective, the membership percentages of men and women in SMOs like *Yhdistys 9* bear only limited significance – it is who the radicals felt they were representing that is far more interesting. In this way, political agency is not reduced to a simple question of gender. Interpreting the inclusion of men in gender role activism as simply a strategy for increasing a movement’s legitimacy seems like rather an unfair reading.⁴⁶⁹ Liberal Nordic gender activists clearly saw gender discrimination as a destructive practice for both men and women:⁴⁷⁰ “[t]he gender issue is a matter for both women and men, although it is often claimed to be a ‘women’s issue’.”⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶³ Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65, Risto Palolahti, “Margaret Mead: Sukupuoli ja luonne”, 65.

⁴⁶⁴ Nya Argus 13/65, Astrid Gartz, “Könsroller”, 186-187.

⁴⁶⁵ FBT 1-2/66, Margaretha Starck, “Om Demeter”, 56-59; Ritva Turunen, “Rooleista”, in Vastalause 66 1966, 87-99; Tilanne 2/66, Brita Polttila, “Roolidebatista (etenkin Jussi Talven luettavaksi)”, 115-122; Holli 1988, 326.

⁴⁶⁶ For such a pragmatic interpretation, see Jallinoja 1983, 167.

⁴⁶⁷ YL 6/67, Riitta Pirinen, “009: molempien sukupuolten Suomi”, 1; Lib_D 1/63, Sverker Gustavsson, “Vetenskap med sprängstoff”, 29-32; LibD 2/63, Eva Moberg, “Jämställdhet i valfrihet”, 11-16; LibD 4/63, Per Gahrton, “Kvinnlig värnplikt – ett jämlikhetskrav”, 32-36.

⁴⁶⁸ Jallinoja 1983, 123-124. In Jallinoja’s case, this argumentation is even more problematic, as she uses these numbers as a clear sign of the ideological focus of *Yhdistys 9*. Because most of the members were women, she describes *Yhdistys 9* as a women’s movement. For criticism, see e.g., Kurvinen & Turunen 2017; but even these more nuanced readings of the objectives of *Yhdistys 9* still use the very same membership numbers as justification for describing the organisation as a versatile gender movement, also concerned with men’s situation in society. See Jokinen 2012; Julkunen 2012; Hearn 2006.

⁴⁶⁹ Julkunen 1994, 188 is an example of such an reading. C.f. Vinen 2018, 229.

⁴⁷⁰ LibD 7/64, Gabriel Romanus, “Sexkonferensen”, 32.

⁴⁷¹ “Sukupuoliroolikysymys on sekä naisten että miesten asia, vaikka sitä usein väitetäänkin ”naiskysymykseksi”. Ritva Turunen, “Rooleista”, in Vastalause 66 1966, 87-99.

Yet they could not exactly deny that it also helped legitimise their female-focused policies, too – “[w]e can never arrange our liberation without involving men”.⁴⁷²

Just like the Swedish liberals, who had moved from feminocentric concepts to a more gender-neutral frame of reference, members of *Yhdistys 9* actively resisted those who tried to label them as an exclusively feminist organisation. In its publications, it frequently emphasised how conservative traditions affected men’s lives, and that destroying traditional gender roles would also benefit men – sometimes even at the expense of women’s traditional interests. Men would, for instance, have a more pronounced role in raising children.⁴⁷³ Activists saw that analysing the social cost of traditional male role expectations was in fact easier, as the negative factors affecting them were more visible, calculable, and so could be made statistically relevant. As women’s gender role expectations were seen as a tendency to adapt, less clearcut and less publicly visible, they were more difficult to measure and so demonstrate. Feminine behaviour as a whole was represented as a result of a “psychological adaptation mechanism” – in itself a straightforward product of traditional role expectations based on biological reasoning.⁴⁷⁴

Finnish Radicals also rejected the genderisation of activists participating in the gender debate – at times, they admitted that some men could be more conservative when it came to ethical questions, but this difference was not seen as a question of gender, but of the individual.⁴⁷⁵ Joachim Israel also emphasised the critical role of men in the gender role debate by portraying the men in *Yhdistys 9* as “brave” individuals, as it not only required more effort to participate in the SMO than in the “male-oriented society” outside,⁴⁷⁶ but also because men who supported the radical gender movement were often pigeonholed by the conservative mainstream press as either homosexuals or lacking in some other way.⁴⁷⁷ The fact that the manifesto of *Yhdistys 9* specified a certain quota of men was another argument used to highlight the SMO’s aspirations to gender equality.⁴⁷⁸

Defining the predominant gender stereotypes was an essential first step to then changing them. These definitions were so important that even the manifesto of *Yhdistys 9* listed them,⁴⁷⁹ and other articles followed a similar procedure.

⁴⁷² “Vi kan aldrig klara upp vår frigörelse utan att blanda in mannen.” *TiS* 18/67, Nina Yunkers, “Kvinnorna – den längsta resignationen”, 13.

⁴⁷³ *LibD* 2/63, Eva Moberg, “Jämställdhet i valfrihet”, 11-16; Ritva Turunen, “Rooleista”, in *Vastalause* 66 1966, 87-99; *Tilanne* 2/66, Brita Polttila, “Roolidebatista (etenkin Jussi Talven luettavaksi)”, 115-122.

⁴⁷⁴ *Medisiinari* 1/66, Ryhmä 9: Johan Mickwitz, Margaretha Mickwitz, Marja-Leena Mikkola, Klaus Mäkelä, Kati Peltola, Jertta Roos, Arvo Salo, Marina Sundström, Ritva Turunen, “Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa”, 29-31.

⁴⁷⁵ Ritva Turunen, “Rooleista”, in *Vastalause* 66 1966, 87-99.

⁴⁷⁶ “Ei ole ollenkaan vaikeata puolustaa miesten oikeuksia miesten yhteiskunnassa.” Israel was invited to Finland as a guest of *Yhdistys 9* and the Jewish student association Hanoar, an intriguing combination. *YL* 11/66, Jertta Roos, “Ihminen se on nainenkin”, 4-5.

⁴⁷⁷ *TYL* 13/66, *Tribunus*, “Naisasiamiehet”, 7.

⁴⁷⁸ *Holli* 1990, 75.

⁴⁷⁹ *Holli* 1988, 324.

Reiterating these stereotypes also helped underline their artificial nature. Men's gender roles were usually defined as "aggressive-active", and masculinity as the quest for competence and a career. Qualities that were valued in men were therefore objectivity and the cool-headed ability to make long-term plans, while sentimentality and empathy were not. At the same time, men's sex drive was used to 'biologically' explain of their behaviour. Contributors to *Yhdistys* 9 argued that these contradictory expectations caused emotions to be "suppressed"⁴⁸⁰ and the pressure to have both a brutish sex drive and intelligence demonstrated the paradoxical, irrational, and unrealistic nature of gender ideals.⁴⁸¹ A James Bond-style swagger was sometimes referred to as the undesirable outcome of men's gender expectations - an illustration of the spiritual shallowness and "twisted mental life" required by the traditional male role.⁴⁸² This unforgiving gender role expectation not only drove men to crime, suicides, accidents, alcoholism, mental breakdowns, violent deaths, and shortened their life expectancy, it could also mean they were unable to form lasting relationships and were prone to loneliness.⁴⁸³

In contrast, women's role expectations were more likely to make them passive and submissive.⁴⁸⁴ Emotionality, sensitivity, whimsicality, and sexual passiveness were all part of the traditional women's role.⁴⁸⁵ The maternal myth dictated many of these characteristics.⁴⁸⁶ While radical gender activists strongly rejected the accusation that they were only promoting the social position of women, they still strove to support the *values* associated with the traditional feminine role. The traditional male quest for dominance was portrayed as both disastrous and ridiculous. As Ilkka Taipale argued somewhat sarcastically, "the

⁴⁸⁰ Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65, Risto Palolahti, "Margaret Mead: Sukupuoli ja luonne", 65; Ritva Turunen, "Rooleista", in *Vastalause* 66 1966, 87-99; Medisiinari 1/66, Ryhmä 9: Johan Mickwitz, Margaretha Mickwitz, Marja-Leena Mikkola, Klaus Mäkelä, Kati Peltola, Jertta Roos, Arvo Salo, Marina Sundström, Ritva Turunen, "Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa", 29-31.

⁴⁸¹ Ritva Turunen, "Sukupuoliroolit", In *Sukupuoleton Suomi* 1966, 78-99; *Nya Argus* 21/66, Marika Hausen, "Kvinnligt värnplikt", 314 -317; *Zenit* 2/67, Rita Liljerstöm, "Teorier om könsrollsinnläring", 37-43.

⁴⁸² *YyKoo* 7/65, Res.Pelle, "Pasifisti ja James Bond", 15; *YyKoo* 8/65, Komitealainen, "Arvoisa Res. Pelle", 10.

⁴⁸³ Ritva Turunen, "Rooleista", in *Vastalause* 66 1966, 87-99; *TiS* 13/66, Björn Häggqvist, "Vi förlorar alla på våra könsroller"; *TiS* 14-15/68, "Fyra sånger om samhället", 20.

⁴⁸⁴ Medisiinari, seksuaalin:o 4/65, Risto Palolahti, "Margaret Mead: Sukupuoli ja luonne", 65; *YL* 31/65, Marina Sundström, "Väärät uskot", 7; Medisiinari 1/66, Ryhmä 9: Johan Mickwitz, Margaretha Mickwitz, Marja-Leena Mikkola, Klaus Mäkelä, Kati Peltola, Jertta Roos, Arvo Salo, Marina Sundström, Ritva Turunen, "Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa", 29-31; *TiS* 14-15/68, "Fyra sånger om samhället", 20.

⁴⁸⁵ Medisiinari 1/66, Ryhmä 9: Johan Mickwitz, Margaretha Mickwitz, Marja-Leena Mikkola, Klaus Mäkelä, Kati Peltola, Jertta Roos, Arvo Salo, Marina Sundström, Ritva Turunen, "Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa", 29-31.

⁴⁸⁶ *LibD* 4/62, Lars Lönnröth, "Arg liten bok", 29-30; *Zenit* 2/67, Rita Liljerstöm, "Teorier om könsrollsinnläring", 37-43; *Zenit* 2/67, Carin Mannheimer, "Klass och kön", 105-106; *TiS* 15/67, Gunnel Granlid, "Kvinnorna - den längsta revolutionen", 4.

best and most peaceful way to replace present wars, would be for the alpha-males of the opposing sides to meet and insult each other's abilities. An internationally arbitrated measuring device would then resolve all prestige issues."⁴⁸⁷

By ridiculing the aggressiveness of the hegemonic male role model, radicals were simultaneously linking the gender debate to their wider and long-running goal of global solidarity and peace. In Sweden, the association between individualist gender activism and liberal cultural radicalism was a natural fit, as previously discussed. In the Finnish case, cooperation between *Yhdistys 9* and the Committee of 100 was greater than has been recognised in the existing literature. When *Yhdistys 9* first began, they even shared an office and a photocopier.⁴⁸⁸ In addition to cooperating on a very practical level, these movements had a common ideological foundation, both coming from a similar background of cultural radicalism in the early Sixties.⁴⁸⁹ In practice, these intersections were apparent in the way that both portrayed the dominant male stereotype as being ultimately responsible for the violence in society, that had now led to the threat of global nuclear war.⁴⁹⁰ As these problems had become intertwined, so had the solutions. Achieving the goal of world peace was impossible as long as boys were being raised to glorify wars and fighting.⁴⁹¹ By drawing parallels between gendered conscription policies and wider cultural mechanisms which supported aggressiveness, this intersection could be clearly demonstrated. As Marika Hausen wrote in *Nya Argus*: "I don't want female conscription, nor do I want male military service. I don't want war or other acts of violence. I oppose an upbringing that glorifies heroic soldiers. I am opposed to hunting for pleasure and boxing."⁴⁹² By supporting, instead the values perceived as feminine, radicals would essentially save the world. "One of the basic essences of a woman is caution, avoidance of violence and diplomacy," gender activists argued, "and the

⁴⁸⁷ "Parhain ja läheisin rauhanomainen korvausmenetelmä nykyisille sodille olisikin, että vastapuolten suurimunaismat miehet esittäytyisivät solvaillen toistensa kykyjä. Kansainvälisesti vahvistetulla metrimitalla ratkaistaisiin tällöin kaikki arvovaltakysymykset." YL 15/65, Ilkka Taipale, "Eroottinen puheenvuoro", 6-7.

⁴⁸⁸ Mickwitz 2008b, 51. cf. Jallinoja 1983 1983, 136. Again, Jallinoja's deductions are based almost solely on membership numbers.

⁴⁸⁹ Zenit 2/67, Margaretha Mickwitz, "Könsroller i Finland", 107-108; Holli 1990, 75.

⁴⁹⁰ Tilanne 2/66, Brita Polttila, "Roolidebatista (etenkin Jussi Talven luettavaksi)", 115-122; Ritva Turunen, "Rooleista", in *Vastalause* 66 1966, 87-99. Only few radical recollections have included this wider quest for world peace. For one such example, see Sundström 2008, "Sukupuoliroolit ja asuminen". In *Roolien murtaajat*, Gaudeamus, 110-119.

⁴⁹¹ Aikalainen 3/67, Ritva Turunen, "Ollaan hei demokraattisia", 52-55.

⁴⁹² "Jag vill inte ha kvinnlig värnplikt. Jag vill inte heller ha manligt värnplikt. Jag vil inte ha krig eller andra våldshanglingar. Jag motsätter mig en uppfostran som glorifierar krigshjälten, jag är motsäende till jakt för nöjes skull och till boxing." *Nya Argus* 21/66, Marika Hausen, "Kvinnligt värnplikt", 314-317. This citation proves that at least some Finnish activists did pay attention to the genderised conscription policy. Cf. Holli 1988, 324; Holli 1990, 74.

desire for mediation – women as politicians will bring peace on Earth!”⁴⁹³ By globally organising women could bring a time of unprecedented peace and common sense to the world, as tenderness would supersede the aggressive values of traditional masculine society.⁴⁹⁴

Gender activists also used other radical goals, like the demand for a more rigorous democracy in society, to justify the need for changing gender roles and expectations: the argument was that a “developed” democracy should champion pluralism and encourage diversity, and so strict gender roles were clearly “undemocratic”.⁴⁹⁵ Historical justifications were also criticised: women’s emancipation concealed the change in men’s role, which had eased significantly and brought with it a set of social virtues affecting both sexes, such as democratisation and progressive social programmes. In essence, intensifying this change would mean a culture-wide transition towards more compassionate, feminine values. This would also greatly benefit men, as their burden of economic responsibilities would ease and new possibilities for a more nuanced emotional life would inevitably surface.⁴⁹⁶ Simultaneously, these discourses can be seen as reflections on the Nordic paradigm of civil society – relying intrinsically on the tradition of highly inclusive societal structures and the narrative of Nordic democracy’s exceptionality.⁴⁹⁷

3.6 Radicalisation and Gendered Policies

With changes in the radical frame, debates on gender issues also emphasised a new, more pragmatic side to the radical agenda. Until the latter part of the Sixties, Finnish radicals had deliberately avoided direct policy suggestions, choosing to criticise abstract cultural values and attitudes instead. Emphasising rational decision-making and somewhat ahistorical social scientific methodology was a deliberate choice, adopted to avoid unhelpful accusations of leftist sympathies so often present in public deliberations. In Sweden, these policy-level debates had been an important part of the discussion for a good while because of debates where it was argued that women’s role should be reconsidered as a potential reserve of labour.⁴⁹⁸ Swedish liberals had already proposed more equal gender

⁴⁹³ “Naisen perusolemukseen kuuluvat lisäksi varovaisuus, väkivallan kaihtaminen ja diplomaattisuus, halu sovittelemalla päästä yhteisymmärrykseen – naisia poliitikoiksi ja rauha maan päälle!” OYL 5/66, S.P., “onko nainen heikompi astia?”, 2.

⁴⁹⁴ JYL 32-33/65, William Hart, “The second Sex”, 9; Nya Argus 21/66, Marika Hausen, “Kvinnligt värnplikt”, 314 -317.

⁴⁹⁵ Aikalainen 3/67, Ritva Turunen, “Ollaan hei demokraattisia”, 52-55; Tilanne 2/66, Brita Polttila, “Roolidebatista (etenkin Jussi Talven luettavaksi)”, 115-122.

⁴⁹⁶ LibD 2/63, Eva Moberg, “Jämställdhet i valfrihet”, 11-16; Ritva Turunen, “Rooleista”, in *Vastalause* 66 1966, 87-99.

⁴⁹⁷ Götz 2003.

⁴⁹⁸ LibD 4/62, Lars Lönnröth, “Arg liten bok”, 29-30; LibD 1/64, Ingrid Gärde Widemar, “Har vi råd med familjen?”, 5-6; LibD 4/66, T.H., Valfrihet eller jämställdhet?”, 2-3; TiS 48/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Flickor, gå in för tekniken!”, 5; LibD

quotas in higher education to overcome some of the existing conservative attitudes in labour markets.⁴⁹⁹ Tangible measures became even more important as Swedish New Left's criticism of the welfare state intensified. In Finland at this time, such policies were relatively new and so less controversial – they were more a subject for hope than active criticism at this stage.

As I have argued earlier, the issues of sex education and gender roles were an integral part of the positivism that defined Nordic cultural radicalism during the first half of the Sixties. But gender issues also brought a more concrete aspect to radical arguments: as gender roles were so blatantly present in everyday life, a change of the very structures affecting these daily routines was needed. This turn from ahistorical social science may be read as an indirect critique of the idealism and abstract nature of the radical debates earlier, but it was gradual. Historical examples, such as the increase of women in the workplace caused by the industrial revolution and modernisation, were now used in arguments. Rather than citing only abstract values, economic factors were acknowledged as having changed the social values of everyday life.⁵⁰⁰ As families were no longer tied together by the conditions of agrarian production, they were more dependent on the emotional connections between family members, and more equal in terms of both social participation and distribution of work.⁵⁰¹ This persuaded some radicals that changes in social values were closely tied to material social conditions and changes in legislation. Nevertheless, the strong genderisation of certain professions remained, and this clearly demonstrated the lack of respect for individual characteristics.⁵⁰² Consequently there was a need to improve both the range of economic opportunities available to women and not just the quantity. This, in itself, was not a particularly radical idea, as it was widely considered a “rational” solution to all sorts of economic problems if women had greater access to labour markets.⁵⁰³

How this new role for women would intersect with more traditional maternal ideals remained a divisive question though. It had always divided Swedish radicals, and now via the labour-market focus, the issue had arrived in Finland. For radical gender activists, there was no room for compromise: the role of housewife was a relic of Judaeo-Christian family values which encouraged

2/64, Gunnel Thörnander, “Nancy Hemmafru”, 23-24; TiS 3/65, “Att vara hemmafru”, 10-11.

⁴⁹⁹ LibD 1/63, Sverker Gustavsson, “Vetenskap med sprängstoff”, 29-32; TiS 5/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Detta är hemmafruanas verkliga chans!”, TiS 5/65, Nils Löfstedt, “Från långa kjolar i köket till Dagens flicka till sjöss”, 16-17.

⁵⁰⁰ LibD 2/63, Eva Moberg, “Jämställdhet i valfrihet”, 11-16; Medisiinari 1/66, Ryhmä 9: Johan Mickwitz, Margaretha Mickwitz, Marja-Leena Mikkola, Klaus Mäkelä, Kati Peltola, Jertta Roos, Arvo Salo, Marina Sundström, Ritva Turunen, “Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa”, 29-31.

⁵⁰¹ Ajankohta 8/67, Pertti Hemanus, “Perheen kaksi vaihtoehtoa”, 16-17.

⁵⁰² Nya Argus 13/65, Astrid Gartz, “Könsroller”, 186-187; TiS 48/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Flickor, gå in för tekniken!”, 5; TiS 5/65, Nils Löfstedt, “Från långa kjolar i köket till Dagens flicka till sjöss”, 16-17

⁵⁰³ Medisiinari 1/66, Ryhmä 9: Johan Mickwitz, Margaretha Mickwitz, Marja-Leena Mikkola, Klaus Mäkelä, Kati Peltola, Jertta Roos, Arvo Salo, Marina Sundström, Ritva Turunen, “Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa”, 29-31.

“neuroticising” and “ambivalent” attitudes towards women.⁵⁰⁴ When practical compromises were attempted, tensions between the maternal and professional roles were symptomatic of the tensions between individual liberties and state-run planning and social engineering.⁵⁰⁵ For many at the time, the 1960s was seen as an “age of social policy”, where individual problems could be solved through comprehensive reforms and social planning that would “rationalise” domestic work and create wage systems for “stay-at-home mothers”. Yet, these plans were simultaneously criticised in the radical press as they were accepting and solidifying attitudes that supported traditional gender roles.⁵⁰⁶ Material conditions, like daycare systems and underpaid employment dictated women’s decision-making, denying them the free, independent choice so revered by liberal radicals.⁵⁰⁷ But as gender roles were not simply going to disappear overnight, radicals had to reevaluate their priorities. Comprehensive change was desperately needed, but which of these entangled issues should be addressed first?⁵⁰⁸

Breaking away from the tradition of liberal radicalism – focusing as it did on a purely intellectual critique – turned out to be a daunting task. This is clearly visible in the argumentation surrounding new positivist policies of rational social planning. In a poignant example of trust in the state, one Finnish radical even proposed that the functions of *Yhdistys 9* be nationalised. This way, the state could provide sufficient funding and contacts for the organisation and its research.⁵⁰⁹ This example shows how even new, more concrete reforms were still thoroughly tied to positivist basic ideas of reformism. The concept of “comprehensive planning”, systematically used by *Yhdistys 9* in its declarations, aptly demonstrates the close connection between radical changes and the planned management of welfare societies. The concept was used when, for instance, new daycare policies were promoted during the local elections of 1968. The policies were supposedly based on Swedish and Finnish studies and were strongly defended as being, not only for the benefit of children and mothers, but for the whole of society too.⁵¹⁰ Although these policies were – together with new protest forms such as public demonstrations – being theoretically adopted, activists were still prioritising the liberal radicalist technique of enlightening the public and key decision makers. The emphasis was on reform rather than upheaval. The Mothers’ Day rally of 1968 is a poignant example of this; while its tangible goal was to improve the position of mothers in society, even the

504 YL 31/65, Brita Polttila, “Naisen häpeät”, 8-9.

505 Holli 1990, 78.

506 YL 13/67, Toine, “Synnyttäjän palkka”, 4; Ritva Turunen, “Rooleista”, in *Vastalause* 66 1966, 87-99; Mélat 2008, 107.

507 Tilanne 2/66, Brita Polttila, “Roolidebatista (etenkin Jussi Talven luettavaksi)”, 115-122.

508 Nya Argus 13/65, Astrid Gartz, “Könsroller”, 186-187.

509 Nya Argus 20/65, K.T., “Till handling i könsrollfrågan”, 294-295; YL 4/68, Ritva-Liisa Sumu, “Vaimoni on supernainen”, 10.

510 YL 24/68, *Yhdistys 9 – Förening 9*, “Helsinkiläisille”, 11; YL 17/68, “Äiti työssä, lapsi päivähoitossa, mutta missä?”, 1; YL 27/68, Ritva-Liisa Sumu, “Pitkä parku pienestä ilosta”, 1, 5.

organisers from *Yhdistys 9* acknowledged that the rally must be peaceful, organized, and focus on informing the general public.⁵¹¹

Radicalisation towards more concrete demands brought some Finnish radicals closer to political parties. This was a slow and gradual process, and often they would still hold on to the positivist side of the argument with the new, more openly political argumentation.⁵¹² Focusing on the broader definitions of democracy and its integration with pluralism had meant for some that different forms of social discrimination were seen as being controlled by economic interests. This led to a closer association with leftist parties and their women's wings, as they accepted parity of the sexes.⁵¹³ In Finland, the SKDL was a natural choice as it had actively renounced its Communist roots and renewed its programme towards "Democratic Socialism".⁵¹⁴ The women's wing of the party (the SNDL, or Democratic Alliance of Finnish Women"⁵¹⁵) was seen by some as the logical partner to *Yhdistys 9*: "It is quite natural that the SNDL, out of all the women's organisations, is most in favour of eliminating the division of gender roles and the stoutest supporter of *Yhdistys 9*."⁵¹⁶ Meanwhile in Sweden, the women's wings of the Social Democrats and various New Left groups had all adopted a tradition of progressive gender policies. These will be discussed further in 3.7 below.

Although affiliation with the SNDL was a radical step, we should beware of over-simplifying the matter. Laura Saarenmaa has interpreted the scattered connections between *Yhdistys 9* and the SNDL as a sign of "Soviet gender ideals" dominating the actions of *Yhdistys 9*.⁵¹⁷ While some members of *Yhdistys 9* did indeed make contact with socialists, considering their essentially individualistic objectives as a form of Soviet Socialism is questionable.⁵¹⁸ The new focus on more concrete policy issues did not necessarily mean a drastic switch in political

⁵¹¹ Kurvinen 2019.

⁵¹² Holli 1990, 77.

⁵¹³ Ritva Turunen, "Rooleista", in *Vastalause* 66 1966, 87-99; *Medisiinari* 1/66, Ryhmä 9: Johan Mickwitz, Margaretha Mickwitz, Marja-Leena Mikkola, Klaus Mäkelä, Kati Peltola, Jertta Roos, Arvo Salo, Marina Sundström, Ritva Turunen, "Vanhat roolit muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa", 29-31.

⁵¹⁴ Leppänen 1999, 177-178; Viitanen 1994, 436-443.

⁵¹⁵ "Suomen Naisten Demokraattinen Liitto".

⁵¹⁶ "On siis aika luonnollista, että SNDL on kaikista naisjärjestöistä innokkaimmin asettunut kannattamaan roolijaon poistamista ja Yhdistys 9n julistamia periaatteita." *Aikalainen* 3/67, Ritva Turunen, "Ollaan hei demokraattisia", 52-55; *Jallinoja* 1983, 180.

⁵¹⁷ Saarenmaa 2015, 136, 148. While I share Saarenmaa's idea that there are conflicting definitions of feminism and gender ideals, her attempt at explaining tensions around this subject as a straightforward form of cold war competition seems like a drastic oversimplification. The precision of her argumentation is not aided by the fact that she translates SKDL as a communist party, without paying proper attention to the political tensions inside this leftist coalition. Whether successful or not, the SKDL did at least attempt to include all those politically to the left of the Social Democrats under one umbrella organisation.

⁵¹⁸ See, e.g., *Jallinoja* 1983, 132. *Jallinoja* borrows the analytical concept of "new left" (*uusvasemmisto*) from the American context and pays no attention to its specific meaning for 1960s contemporaries in the Finnish context.

objectives of the movement;⁵¹⁹ while most of the politically active members were in leftist parties, the majority were Social Democrats, and one of the chairs in *Yhdistys 9*'s work committees was actually a member of the conservative National Coalition party.⁵²⁰ The emphasis was still on changing attitudes, and a change in the economic and political system would only follow once existing moral codes were overturned. This was because legislative and budgetary changes were considered to be relatively straightforward practical issues, when compared to the task of changing minds.

There were explicit political arguments in certain contexts however – for example, when Finnish gender activism appeared in Swedish radical journals, the use of New Left rhetoric and concepts seemed more pronounced. Swedish New Leftists interested in the state of affairs in their neighbouring country had been looking for Finnish gender debates in party-affiliated leftist magazines and organisations. This led to some notable disappointments, as the Finnish Left seemed to evade such an obvious topic for social criticism.⁵²¹ In this respect, transnational connections were based primarily on old, party-political networks, and the leftist sympathies of the Swedish radicals clearly left them unaware of other less partisan but possibly more radical Finnish gender debates advocated by the representatives of new SMOs like *Yhdistys 9*. Finnish activists also emphasised their leftist sympathies when a particular context demanded it. Margaretha Mickwitz, one of the founders of *Yhdistys 9* even argued in the Swedish New Left *Zenit* that the organisation was known for its left-wing stance and its “unwavering support” for the cause of the working classes;⁵²² whereas in the Finnish context *Yhdistys 9* constantly reminded people that it remained outside party politics.⁵²³

3.7 Gender Issues and the New Left: “It’s high time we gave up believing in reformism in this country.”⁵²⁴

As already discussed in the first chapter, there were significant differences in the way the New Left operated in Finland and Sweden.⁵²⁵ This is particularly true of the gender debates when the matter was adopted by the New Left. In Sweden, leftist perspectives challenged the frames of reference previously used by liberal gender activists in a way that was not seen in the Finnish gender debate. This was part of the wider New Left tendency to question the role of technocratic

⁵¹⁹ Holli 1988, 326.

⁵²⁰ Mickwitz 2008b, 51, see also Liite 4, 277-279 on the same volume.

⁵²¹ TiS 9/66, Leo Ågren, “Sexualliv i Finland”.

⁵²² Zenit 2/67, Margaretha Mickwitz, “Könsroller i Finland”, 107-108.

⁵²³ Holli 1988, 329-330; Holli 1990, 83-84; Jallinoja 1983, 180.

⁵²⁴ “Det är hög tid att vi i detta land slutar upp med att tro att reformismen.” TiS 6/66, Gudrun Ekeflo, “Könsrollsdebatten: Vad vi måste angripa är hela samhällstrukturen”.

⁵²⁵ Suominen 1997, 161; Östberg 2002, 61-62, 102-104; Wiklund 2006, 181; Jørgensen 2011, 56.

expertise that so far had been such an instrumental part in establishing the Swedish welfare state.⁵²⁶ In its least dogmatic form, the gender argumentation of the Swedish New Left can be seen as a more politically conscious and pessimistic version of the liberal discourse. It strongly emphasised the negative psychological effects of consumption – the gendered practices of commercial enterprises making women the primary targets of greedy salesmen who were using “neuroticising” psychological tricks. For the Swedish New Left press, these examples of commercial exploitation showed that the worrying developments of American capitalism were also present in Sweden.⁵²⁷ These psychological arguments leaned strongly on the Marxist theory of alienation that was undergoing a renaissance among Sixties’ New Left groups,⁵²⁸ but the Swedish New Left’s criticism of consumerism took the form of drawing attention to its concrete manifestations in setting beauty standards for women: sexist swimwear;⁵²⁹ cosmetic surgery;⁵³⁰ corsets that caused “complexes”;⁵³¹ and beauty products with absurd profit margins.⁵³² These examples show not only the pessimism and elitism of Nordic radicalists when it came to mass consumerism, but also their opposition to the commercial objectification of women.⁵³³ The salesperson was often depicted as the villain in these stories, causing neuroses and spreading the American obsession with beauty and consumerism to Sweden's youth. With its emphasis on cultural matters, however, Finnish New Left activists did not break away from the liberal tradition in such a pronounced manner. New Left papers were mostly disseminating reformist texts written by *Yhdistys 9* and its activists, while transnational New Left theories outlining the psychological effects of consumerism were almost non-existent.

In the context of gender activism, Swedish New Left activists challenged the meaning and content of the central concept – *radical*. Although they admitted that previous liberal gender criticism had a point, they claimed it had been compromised because of its *petit-bourgeois* attitudes. Thus, it was radical only as an attitude that pushed for comprehensive reforms, but not as a political identity. Sometimes the texts would undermine the supposed ‘radicalism’ of these liberal activists by juxtaposing their professed individuality with their proposals to reform welfare-state policies.⁵³⁴ The Swedish New Left also questioned the effectiveness of liberal gender activism by pointing out that reformism had not managed to change attitudes. Liberal discourse had expected a swift change in

⁵²⁶ Andersson 2006, 46-47.

⁵²⁷ TiS 5/65, Holger Brinkenbo, “Med bysten som statussymbol”, 15; TiS 15/67, Gunnel Granlid, “Kvinnorna – den längsta revolutionen”, 4; Clarté 2/68, Marianne Petterson, “Socialistisk syn på kvinnofrågan”, 49-52.

⁵²⁸ Wiklund 2006, 175; Gilcher-Holtey 2001, 15; Horn 2007, 154.

⁵²⁹ TiS 12/65, Lisbeth Ullman, “Mormor på stranden – och här är jag”, 18-19.

⁵³⁰ TiS 5/65, Holger Brinkenbo, “Med bysten som statussymbol”, 15.

⁵³¹ TiS 51-52/67, Gunnel Granlid, “Vi behöver en kroppsstrumpa!”, 5.

⁵³² Clarté 2/68, Marianne Petterson, “Socialistisk syn på kvinnofrågan”, 49-52.

⁵³³ Evans 2009, 344; Jørgensen 2011, 55.

⁵³⁴ TiS 32/65, Sven Wernström, “Det där med sex”, 23; Clarté 4/65, Dick U. Vestbro, “Könsroller”, 28; TiS 6/65, Arthur Ekström, “Statliga bordeller – motion om motion”, 15.

moral codes, without fully understanding the complex nature of implementing such widespread reforms.⁵³⁵ Liberal freedom of choice was therefore just a form of opportunism and “faux-radicalism” that impeded truly radical actions.⁵³⁶ Despite obvious political disagreements, criticism of liberal gender discourses had to be somewhat delicate, so as to not marginalise the issue itself. Gender roles were so important, however, that it should not be left to the liberals who, the Swedish New Left press argued, were only capable of inadequately reforming existing society.⁵³⁷ The New Left saw this half-baked reformism as a form of conservatism, as the supportive reforms they proposed only perpetuated women’s “double role” and current responsibilities.⁵³⁸ Furthermore, liberals had not paid sufficient attention to gender roles in the home, and their key role in the whole issue.⁵³⁹ Even if attaining more personal liberties for individuals had been successful, this progress was meaningless until it could be extended to the whole of Swedish society.⁵⁴⁰

Focus on reforms guided by social scientists had been one of the leading arguments of liberal gender radicalism in both Nordic contexts. It had both depoliticised the issue and limited the debate to only those who knew the sociological terminology. This was not compatible with the Swedish New Left’s aspirations for a new politically conscious grass-roots movement that would expand from the bottom up. In their eyes, liberal radicals, scientific experts, and social engineers were essentially serving the objectives of the “bourgeois classes” with their elitist literacy. Their expertise, they argued, could also be governed by financial motives, and the results of their studies dictated by social prejudices. Swedish New left papers maintained that liberal reformists had not understood the dominance of mass media as a form of social and political control. According to this logic, media was purposefully used by the upper classes to influence the attitudes and values of lower classes. Portrayals of sexuality in the media therefore needed to be made explicitly political by emphasising their social and class aspects.⁵⁴¹ While the New Left is often approached as a decidedly intellectual movement, there were some in the Swedish New Left press who argued that the liberal notion of social discourse as a progressive force was nothing but academic mumbo jumbo – debate for its own sake was worthless,

⁵³⁵ Clarté 4/65, Dick U. Vestbro, “Könsroller”, 28.

⁵³⁶ TiS 13/68, Björn Häggqvist, “Om nyfikens gränser”, 11 (a Review of Vilgot Sjömans movie *Jag är nyfiken*); Konkret 7-8/67, Gunnar Bengtson, “Familjedebatt eller könsrollpolitik?”, 67-75; TiS 5/68, Gunnel Granlid och Göran Palm, “Kvinnan, klassen, samhället”, 17-18; TiS 12/67, Nina Yunkers, “Mera kärlek åt vänster!”, 3.

⁵³⁷ Zenit 2/67, Carin Mannheimer, “Klass och kön”, 105-106.

⁵³⁸ Clarté 4/65, Dick U. Vestbro, “Könsroller”, 28; Konkret 7-8/67, Gunnar Bengtson, “Familjedebatt eller könsrollpolitik?”, 67-75.

⁵³⁹ Konkret 7-8/67, Gunnar Bengtson, “Familjedebatt eller könsrollpolitik?”, 67-75; TiS 32/65, Sven Wernström, “Det där med sex”, 23.

⁵⁴⁰ TiS 13/67, Nina Yunkers, “Har inte hemmafruarna mål i mun?”, 13.

⁵⁴¹ TiS 13/68, Björn Häggqvist, “Om nyfikens gränser”, 11; Zenit 3/68, Dick Urban Vestbro, “Könskamp och klasskamp” (A review of Göran Palm’s *Indoktrineringen i Sverige*, 1968), 74-76.; TiS 5/68, Gunnel Granlid och Göran Palm, “Kvinnan, klassen, samhället”, 17-18.

unless it resulted in concrete political action.⁵⁴² Criticising literary works and citing “intellectuals” was simply not enough if you wanted to actually improve the position of Swedish women; the debate would end up being just “*l’art pour l’art*”.⁵⁴³ A proper analysis of social power structures first required a clear awareness of how those structures have affected all of us already from an early age.⁵⁴⁴ Despite welfare reforms, the New Left papers argued, Sweden was not a classless society.⁵⁴⁵ By focusing on sexuality and individualism, liberal radicalists had actually avoided important economic questions.⁵⁴⁶ By focusing instead on the intersections of class and cultural factors like education, social capital, and media representations, the Swedish New Left wanted to emphasise the complexity of gender roles in a way that clearly challenged liberal positivist belief that social values could be changed quickly.

Gender arguments of the New Left were usually more practical than those of the liberal radicals who had introduced it.⁵⁴⁷ The New Left objective was to understand the reasons behind gendered low-income jobs, to draft a concrete plan for achieving equality, raise political consciousness of those most affected by material shortcomings, and to press for policies such as equal pay laws and single-income tax models.⁵⁴⁸ Focusing on the “bourgeois mythology” of marriage was not enough to reveal the real shortcomings of gendered social practices in Swedish society.⁵⁴⁹ This effectively introduced an intersectional understanding to the gender debate; while the concept was not featured in Sixties’ discussions, by including factors such as ethnicity, age, and disability to the gender analysis, the Swedish New Left was essentially highlighting the rhizomatic and complex nature of gendered practices and policies.⁵⁵⁰ These factors seemed to provide a more nuanced understanding of the effects of gender roles, as they took account of socioeconomic aspects, such as the professional status, age, and social class of women.⁵⁵¹ The effects of these intersectional factors were described, for instance, in a series of articles in the New Left weekly, *Tidsignal*, on the daily routines of working-class women. These cases showed how working-class women had a

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- 542 TiS 21/68, Gunnel Granlid, “Så här tycker de i dag”, 4-5; TiS 6/66, Gudrun Ekeflo, “Könsrollsdebatten: Vad vi måste angripa är hela samhällstrukturen”.
- 543 TiS 18/67, Nina Yunkers, “Kinnorna - den längsta resignationen”, 13; TiS 4/66, Irene Matthis, “Aretarrörelsens svek mot kvinnan”; TiS 6/66, Gudrun Ekeflo, “Könsrollsdebatten: Vad vi måste angripa är hela samhällstrukturen”.
- 544 TiS 5/68, Gunnel Granlid och Göran Palm, “Kvinnan, klassen, samhället”, 17-18; Wiklund 2006, 173-177.
- 545 TiS 21/68, Gunnel Granlid, “Så här tycker de i dag”, 4-5.
- 546 TiS 15/67, Gunnel Granlid, “Kvinnorna - den längsta revolutionen”, 4.
- 547 Zenit 3/68, Dick Urban Vestbro, “Könskamp och klasskamp”, 74-76.
- 548 TiS 21/68, Gunnel Granlid, “Så här tycker de i dag”, 4-5; TiS 4/66, Irene Matthis, “Aretarrörelsens svek mot kvinnan”; Clarté 2/68, Marianne Petterson, “Socialistisk syn på kvinnofrågan”, 49-52; TiS 35/68, Georg Palmér, “Svensk industri idag: stora löneklyftor och kinnodiskriminering”, 12-13.
- 549 TiS 15/67, Gunnel Granlid, “Kvinnorna - den längsta revolutionen”, 4.
- 550 TiS 21/68, Gunnel Granlid, “Så här tycker de i dag”, 4-5; TiS 33/69, Jörn Svensson, “Kritik vid ett jubileum”, 4-5. The concept of intersectionality was not used in argumentation at this time.
- 551 Zenit 2/67, Rita Liljerstöm, “Teorier om könsrollsinnläring”, 37-43.

rather rudimentary understanding of the “intellectual” gender debate.⁵⁵² The Swedish New Left press therefore did not just ignore intellectual debates on the issue; it actively dismissed the relevance of such discussions, emphasising instead an anti-elitist form of grass-roots activism.

As well as distinguishing themselves from their liberal activist contemporaries, the Swedish New Left were distancing themselves from the deficiencies and political compromises of the traditional Left and labour movement (hence ‘New’). The idea was to clear space for a new political movement while still being able to borrow influences and build on top of existing political traditions.⁵⁵³ Like nearly all other 1960s New Left movements, the Swedish New Left endeavoured to distance themselves from the USSR and emphasised their democratic take on socialism.⁵⁵⁴ At the same time they wanted to highlight the “reactionary” policies prevalent in the Swedish Social Democrats and labour movement; their “treachery” of the gender issues and women’s movement were also an essential feature of the argument. According to the Swedish New Left, labour movement leaders had succumbed to “bourgeois temptations” and simply raised their own standard of living and social status.⁵⁵⁵ In order to overcome the ideological stagnation of the labour movement, its fundamental tenets needed to be reasserted.⁵⁵⁶ The lack of ideological purity among ruling leftist politicians was highlighted by instances where labour organisations had failed to meet their own equality standards.⁵⁵⁷ The Swedish New Left focus on the labour movement might be explained by the fact that both these leftist movements had similar goals – especially regarding industrial democracy (a prominent discourse in Sixties’ Sweden).⁵⁵⁸ For many in the Swedish New Left, labour unions were a prime example of the way traditional leftist organisations had given up on the goal of comprehensive social change and settled instead for mundane issues and conservative policies that simply raised wages and increased the benefits of its own members.

Because of the self-declared internationality of the Swedish New Left, transnational examples were also important in their gender debate. Closely resembling the way Finnish radicals had used Swedish liberal examples to highlight shortcomings in their own political context, some in the Swedish New

⁵⁵² See, e.g., TiS 28/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Debatten och vi/-Oavlönad familjemedlem kallas jag visst...”, 6-7; TiS 28/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Debatten och vi/En ganska vanlig 18-åring”.

⁵⁵³ Östberg 2002, 67; Wiklund 2006, 166.

⁵⁵⁴ Jørgensen 2011. This side was also present in the gender debate, see e.g., Zenit 2/67, Eva Adolffson, “Patriokrat i Sovjet?”, 108.

⁵⁵⁵ Zenit 2/67, Rita Liljerstöm, “Teorier om könsrollsinsläring”, 37-43; TiS 4/66, Irene Matthis, “Aretarrörelsens svek mot kvinnan”; TiS 36/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Vad menar Arne Geijer?”; Zenit 3/68, Dick Urban Vestbro, “Könskamp och klasskamp”, 74-76; TiS 35/68, Barbro Backenberger, “Kvinnan och jämlikheten”, 11; Östberg 2002, 75-76.

⁵⁵⁶ TiS 4/66, Irene Matthis, “Aretarrörelsens svek mot kvinnan”; Wiklund 2006, 169.

⁵⁵⁷ TiS 14/66, Sven Landin, “Även fackföreningar betalar ”kvinnolöner”; TiS 24/66, “Hon fick inte bli ombudsman i FCO”, 7-9; TiS 36/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Vad menar Arne Geijer?”; Östberg 2002, 51.

⁵⁵⁸ Östberg 2002, 114; Wiklund 2006, 164, 172-173.

Left used these examples to primarily strengthen a domestic argument or political position. *Tidsignal* looked up to the French MDF (*"Mouvement Democratique Feminin"*), as their actions seemed to show the inseparable connection not only between gender and wider political and ideological questions, but also with the very definitions of democracy and justice. The members of MDF had openly acknowledged the stagnation of state socialism and existing leftist organisations, and demanded policies that would raise women's political consciousness and practical political skills. They had also initiated pragmatic models, such as female-only membership, which systematically supported these ambitions.⁵⁵⁹ The French protests of 1968 impressed many in Sweden. Their example showed how a movement could gain revolutionary momentum outside conventional political organisations.⁵⁶⁰ Similar transnational support was found elsewhere. Hannah Gavron's *The Captive Wife*, despite its distinctly British origins, was used as an example directly applicable to the Swedish context. Gavron's argument was that the concept of individual freedom of choice was hollow if class differences were not fully taken into account – different classes had asymmetrical opportunities to exercise their free choice, and that asymmetry was also present in Swedish society though liberal activists conveniently ignored this. Juliet Mitchell's psychoanalytical theories were also often cited, as they provided a solid socialist alternative to existing liberal theories of gender relations.⁵⁶¹ Yet, in spite of distancing themselves from the individualism of early Sixties' liberal gender activists, the Swedish New Left owed many of its perspectives on the gender issue to patterns that had been initiated by liberal activists.

As well as contesting the processes of socialisation, the Swedish New Left also challenged the role of the family as the foundation for all social organisation. Family-based policies did not match the "realities" of modern, industrial post-war societies; in fact, they were seen as reinforcing some of the most reactionary concepts still existing in society⁵⁶² – the "nuclear" family was the epitome of such concepts. It nevertheless seemed to be the most resilient one, even when "primitive" conceptions of womanhood were abolished, as many of the traditions were part and parcel of the family structure.⁵⁶³ As a "consumer group", the family effectively neutralised every attempt at political activism by the working classes.⁵⁶⁴ But the New Left argument against the family was not just anti-capitalist, it also highlighted the "disharmony" caused by the modern family's isolation. This isolation could have an impact on children's upbringing by giving them "emotional neuroses". The economic reasoning behind family structures should therefore be abolished, not merely reformed, as these

⁵⁵⁹ TiS 21/68, "Frankrikes nya suffragetter arbetar för socialismen", 4.

⁵⁶⁰ Jørgensen 2011, 56.

⁵⁶¹ Zenit 2/67, Carin Mannheimer, "Klass och kön", 105-106; TiS 15/67, Gunnel Granlid, "Kvinnorna – den längsta revolutionen", 4.

⁵⁶² TiS 4/66, Irene Matthis, "Aretarrörelsens svek mot kvinnan".

⁵⁶³ Konkret 7-8/67, Gunnar Bengtson, "Familjedebatt eller könsrollpolitik?", 67-75

⁵⁶⁴ TiS 6/66, Gudrun Ekeflo, "Könsrollsdebatten: Vad vi måste angripa är hela samhällstrukturen".

entrenched traditions were also supported by the major political parties.⁵⁶⁵ The Swedish New Left clearly analysed the way in which mental and economic structures had become intertwined to produce the conservative attitudes present in Swedish society.

However, radical activists were not just criticising existing social conditions in the 1960s. They also had proposals for renewing key cultural practices in a highly practical manner. In more moderate versions, the Swedish New Left proposed collective daycare policies that would ease the counterproductive influences of traditional family values. Through collective action, which encouraged a more sociable upbringing, these policies would provide contacts and activities for children that were otherwise not readily available via the traditional nuclear family setup.⁵⁶⁶ Taken one step further, collective childcare was also envisioned as a way to include otherwise isolated adult family members too. Meanwhile, collective housing would effectively redistribute domestic labour and thus automatically increase equality between the sexes.⁵⁶⁷ Completely transforming the practical living conditions would force a necessary change in the ultimate problem – the power structure of families. Transnational examples were cited here, such as the Israeli system of collective housing; Kibbutzes were described in several Swedish New Left publication issues as tangible proof of their effectiveness as a model assuring intra-family equality.⁵⁶⁸ Such comprehensive and far-reaching conclusions were nowhere to be seen in Finnish radical debates; even leftist women's organisations were still concentrating on relatively non-radical issues, such as kindergartens.⁵⁶⁹

While considerable differences can be found between Nordic radical papers and their framing of gender-related themes, these differences were relatively small when compared to the way similar issues were debated in the West German radical press. On a general level, Sweden was often cited when evaluating the impact of sexual liberation on a society.⁵⁷⁰ In practice, the progressive reputation of Sweden meant that educational books were sometimes translated from Swedish to German.⁵⁷¹ But in the radical sphere, the example of "Swedish Sin" and Sweden's reputation as a sexually liberal, and perhaps even indecent culture were far more significant than any reformist educational policies and texts.

As Dagmar Herzog and other scholars of the West German radical movement and its gender relations have noted, the way in which the West German radical press used sensationalised, scantily-clad women as a part of its public communications is striking. *Konkret*, the most widely circulated German New Left paper was no exception in this; rather, it can be seen as one of the most

⁵⁶⁵ *Konkret* 7-8/67, Gunnar Bengtson, "Familjedebatt eller könsrollpolitik?", 67-75; *TiS* 33/69, Jörn Svensson, "Kritik vid ett jubileum", 4-5.

⁵⁶⁶ *Konkret* 7-8/67, Gunnar Bengtson, "Familjedebatt eller könsrollpolitik?", 67-75.

⁵⁶⁷ *TiS* 4/66, Irene Matthis, "Aretarrörelsens svek mot kvinnan".

⁵⁶⁸ *TiS* 5/66, Dick Urban Vestbro, "Hur ska vi bo utan familjer?"; *TiS* 24/66, "Hon fick inte bli ombudsman i FCO", 7-9.

⁵⁶⁹ Katainen 1994, 343-348.

⁵⁷⁰ Eder 2014, 107.

⁵⁷¹ Sauerteig 2009, 130.

influential public channels that helped set off this sensationalist and misogynist trend. While the voyeuristic imagery was sometimes seen as part political protest, even the German radicals involved have later acknowledged that the images were mainly used to boost sales. In this respect, they did not differ that much from the way Springer press tabloids also used the female figure to sell products. However, these images would not have fitted Nordic New Left papers in any shape or form, as they were counterintuitive to the political position of Nordic activists, who had been specifically fighting against just these kinds of representation. The general emphasis on measured public argumentation was maintained in Nordic gender debates even after the Swedish New Left press adopted more visual methods elsewhere.

It is interesting, in this respect, that the only articles in *Konkret* which explicitly dealt with Nordic countries were ones that dealt with “Swedish Sin”, and relaxed Nordic censorship laws.⁵⁷² For instance, *Konkret* featured Danish porn,⁵⁷³ and Swedish openness on sexual matters was described more as an artistic choice. Vilgot Sjöman, the provocative Swedish movie director, provided the main talking point for these articles. While *Konkret* had already published excerpts from *491*, Lars Görlings novel that Sjöman had made into a movie in 1964,⁵⁷⁴ it was Sjöman’s *Jag är nyfiken* movies that really got discussed in the paper. Both the ‘yellow’ and ‘blue’ parts of his double feature for *Konkret* were significant, as they combined nudity with social commentary. While this feature could be explained as part of the Swedish tradition of accepting public nudity (e.g., sauna and public bathing), it had also been a feature of Swedish films from the 1950s onwards. Ingrid Bergman was one of the forefathers of scandalous films, and had used his artistic reputation to push the limits of public decency. Interestingly, *Konkret* explained that the strict German attitudes towards such movies had to do with the prominence of the Catholic Church. While these Swedish films were scandalous because of their explicit nature in terms of nudity, *Konkret* maintained that it was the human aspect of sexuality that was more important – this was clearly an attempt to distance the paper and films from vilified commercial motives. But it was not just Sjöman’s role as an innovator of cinema, that interested *Konkret*, it was also the social impact of the way his work tested the limits of censorship: “it is possible that in Sweden, no one will take offence in the near future.” The Swedish decision to loosen censorship regulation showed what appeared to be a progressive tolerance, and the author even speculated as to whether “cinesexual excesses” would lead to the eventual disappearance of prostitution.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷² Arnberg 2012.

⁵⁷³ *Konkret* (german) 9/68, “das märchen vom befreiten Erds”, 12-14.

⁵⁷⁴ *Konkret* (german) 2/65, “491”, 24-26.

⁵⁷⁵ “So oder so - möglich ist daß in Schweden, schon in naher zukunft überhaupt niemand mehr Anstoß nehmen wird.” *Konkret* (german) 4/68, Klaus Lakschewitz, “Schwedenfilme”, 28-32. *Konkret* also covered sex films from other countries in this series, see e.g., *Konkret* 5/68, “Sex-Schoker aus Nippon”, 28-31.

4 SOCIAL CARE AND CONTROL POLITICS

In this chapter, I argue that Nordic activism concerning social policy in the Sixties was profoundly shaped by a political tradition calling for the implementation of more objective, scientific, and democratic care methods. As a universal model, this approach was to be applied across all possible institutions of the modern welfare state. The same tradition was certainly present in the gender debates discussed in above, but while gender issues were seen primarily as an abstract cultural matter to begin with, social control policies – especially those that included involuntary treatment – impinged on individual freedoms, so right from the start the discourse was tied to concrete care practices and policies. In Finland, both cultural radicals and the New Left were somewhat hesitant in taking part in concrete policy matters; and while the Swedish New Left press had been critical of liberal gender activism, *social* care was a critical issue for activism on their agenda from the beginning, and because it could impinge on individual freedoms, it was also one of the primary ways they used to criticise the hegemony of the social democratic welfare state.

However, focusing only on the criticisms of social policy does not do justice to the profound worldview of the social policy activists that inspired these critical remarks. They were ready to offer a constructive model of their own that could replace existing institutions and practices while still following similar values and principles. Interpreting Sixties radicalism merely as a challenge to Nordic welfare state policies is thus too simple; the rhizomatic mixture of redefining, reorganising, and challenging existing policies and practices was a complex process that featured many different types of political argument. While a basic trust in the welfare state was one of the more common threads present in almost all Nordic discussions, radicalisation did introduce some elements that challenged the foundational logic of the Nordic welfare state (especially in New Left circles), which often existed alongside more traditional viewpoints. Analysing these interchanges and continuities provides a more nuanced picture of the way traditional and radical ideas were mixed in everyday political debates; and the different spheres of radicalism in each country also played a significant role in the social care practices debated in the radical press. In an effort to

adequately take into consideration the rhizomatic nature of these social policy debates, I have therefore divided Chapter 4 into two parts: the first half deals with reformist discussions; while the last covers the politicisation of social analysis and later anti-psychiatric approaches that denied any possibility of reform.

Social policy activism in the Nordic countries was a peculiar strand of 1960s radicalism, as it was more clearly centred around SMOs. This organised nature can be explained as the outcome of a more distinct focus on specific concrete issues that had a clear policy dimension. This was in stark contrast to the forebears of 1960s radicalism – general pacifist movements such as the Finnish Committee of 100, the KMA, and the early New Left focused on essentially theoretical and globally oriented discussions. The particularist nature of this social policy activism meant issues and policies were clearly defined, but the movements themselves were also a byproduct of the radicalisation process. Their more organised structure was seen as a way to prevent the over-intellectualisation that had befallen Nordic cultural radicalism. The “Swedish Association for Penal Reform”, KRUM (*Riksförbundet för kriminalvårdens humanisering*), was founded in 1966,⁵⁷⁶ and the Finnish “November Movement” or ML (the *Marraskuun liike* briefly mentioned in 2.3 above) followed soon after in 1967.⁵⁷⁷ While these movements bore a stark resemblance – both SMOs were using concepts from social science to describe their intention to make real concrete reforms to national social policy – actual cooperation between them was rather limited. One isolated example of such cooperation was an anthology of texts and essays written by prison inmates from across the Nordic countries, published in 1968.⁵⁷⁸

Although links were quite sporadic between the organisations in each country, the arguments and concepts used were similar. The term “deviant” (*poikkeava* in Finnish, *avvikande* in Swedish), for instance, was of particular interest as it conveniently grouped all forms of atypical behaviour into one category on the basis of society’s definitions of the so-called neutral categories of “normal” or “decent”. For Sixties’ activists, however, “normal” was a thorny notion which, at its worst, was seen as a way of simply controlling unorthodox behaviour. A common radical argument maintained that people subjected to coercive treatment were not to be *morally* judged just because their behaviour differed from social norms; there were different degrees to this relativist paradigm, of course, but all of them aspired to broaden existing definitions of normalcy.⁵⁷⁹ Notions of normalcy and deviancy also varied on whether they were used in individualist or class-conscious arguments too.

⁵⁷⁶ TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, “Fångvård – inte vedergällning”, 11; Adamson 2004.

⁵⁷⁷ Ylioppilaslehti 26/67, Marraskuun liikkeen valmisteleva komitea, “Marraskuun liike”, 13; TYL 28/67, Raija Alho, “Tapahtui marraskuussa 1967, perustettiin yhdistys”, 3.

⁵⁷⁸ TYL 17/68, Esko Sammaljärvi, “Eläinsuojelulaki on, entä ihmissuojelu?”, 6.

⁵⁷⁹ The issue of relativism was also a contemporary philosophical debate, see Strang 2010.

While they may have used similar concepts, KRUM and ML differed as organisations in significant ways. KRUM was founded with the intention of reforming the penal system in Sweden, while Finnish social policy activists came to the topic later. Despite the difference in timing, ML activists used predominantly similar arguments as they had used when debating other less controversial social institutions and their care practices. At the same time, the political differences on social policy between student and New Left papers in Finland were greatly diminished as both printed articles by the ML.

4.1 Radical Social Movements and Objective Social Care Reform in a Nordic Welfare State

While some of the issues discussed in Sixties' social policy debates had not traditionally been part of the agenda for either students or the Left, others were. Social policies for coping with atypical behaviour – in particular, alcohol consumption – had always concerned students. Indeed, it had been passed down from previous student generations⁵⁸⁰ – the continued existence of academic temperance organisations was a testament to this.⁵⁸¹ In fact, the laws on drinking had been an important part of the long Nordic tradition of religious motivated civil activism, but for the New Left, the association between the Old Left and the temperance movement only reinforced the idea that the traditional Left was dogmatic and culturally conservative.⁵⁸² Campaigning for the relaxation of drinking laws was also a rare way for the Finnish New Left to illustrate their usually rather abstract general cultural criticism with something tangible, like this particularly unpopular policy.

For Finnish activists, this showed that control practices were common even in modern and advanced Nordic societies. As in the gender debates, Finnish activists were keen to compare social policy in different Nordic contexts to their own. Transnational comparisons with other Nordic countries threw the coercive nature of Finnish penal and social institutions into stark relief.⁵⁸³ While the

⁵⁸⁰ See e.g., JYL 5/64, -H.R. "Raittiustyö, -aate, -liike, -nuoriso" 4; YL 7/68, Antti Kuusi, "Leukojen väliin viinaa, juu", 1, 15; TYL 31/67, Pekka Puska, "50 jopa 100 vuotta holhouksen alla - nyt alkoholipolitiikka kaipaa päämäärää", 1.

⁵⁸¹ Kolbe 1996a, 32-35; Lamberg 2004, 198-199.

⁵⁸² Aikalainen 3/64, "Katsauksia/Mökin pojan kilju", 53-55; TiS 28/65, Sune Lantz, "Mysteriet med de 1000 kommitteerna", 19; Aikalainen 5/66, Rauno Setälä, "Raittiuspöytäkirjasta alkoholipolitiikkaan", 16-19; JYL 31/67, J.-O. Hannes, "Erisnimillä", 3.

⁵⁸³ Jacob Söderman (suom. Risto Hannula), "Tarvitaanko velkavankilaa?", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 58-77; TYL 28/67, Raija Alho, "Tapahtui marraskuussa 1967, perustettiin yhdistys", 3; *Ylioppilaslehti* 13/68, Risto Jaakkola, "Vankeuden merkityksestä", 9; Aviisi 18/67, S.H., "Silmä silmästä", 3; Aviisi 17/68, Matti Tuomisto, "" Auta jos voit, täällä on ihmisen paha olla! " ", 2; JYL 6/68, -K.K., "Auta armias", 5; OYL 15/68, Juhana Lepoluoto, "Vangittu turvallisuuden nimeen", 2; Ajankohta 3/67, "Rattijuoppous arka asia", 16-17, 32.

attempts to form concrete links between Finnish and Swedish SMOs proved futile, academic contacts – especially between criminal sociologists – flourished.⁵⁸⁴ It was no wonder then that Finnish prison reform was frequently compared to that of their Nordic neighbours. Sweden was often held up as the gold standard of penal systems, where legislation was based on research, and prisoners treated humanely.⁵⁸⁵ Even the Swedish New Left – usually critical of their own domestic policies – were quite aware of the world renown of their welfare state.⁵⁸⁶ As Ingemar Mundelbo, lecturer at the *Socialinstitutet* in Stockholm (and early social policy activist), put it (with his tongue lodged firmly in his cheek), “on solemn occasions and in front of foreign delegations, we state that Sweden is a social model country, a welfare society, where distress and insecurity are unknown concepts.”⁵⁸⁷ Nevertheless, for Finnish social policy activists, the fact that the Swedish government had a policy for caring for prisoners once they had served time was proof enough of a progressive society.⁵⁸⁸ Rather than KRUM or other Swedish SMOs, it was Sweden’s welfare state policies that caught Finnish activists’ attention – as we shall see in the radical debates on social policy – even if it was relatively difficult to establish transnational networks and contacts.

While they were, at the same time, fully aware of the inadequacies of the existing welfare state, reformist activists in Sweden were also focused on improving the way state supported welfare of its citizens.⁵⁸⁹ The welfare state was only as durable as its weakest link;⁵⁹⁰ and as one of the richest countries in the world, Sweden could certainly afford even more comprehensive and integrating forms of care.⁵⁹¹ By socialising private ventures, “society would take responsibility”.⁵⁹² At the same time, Swedish policy discussions were already undergoing a change from reformist, growth-oriented policies towards a more critical stance that took into consideration the social costs of growth.⁵⁹³ This change would soon have a marked impact on the reformism discussed in the radical press.

⁵⁸⁴ Konkret 2/67, Bengt Börjesson, “Rättsociologins nya kontor”, 68-70.

⁵⁸⁵ Tilanne 4/66, Lyhennellen referoinut Aira Sinervo, “Miten kohtelemme epäsosiaalisia yksilöitä? Eräitä Jörgen Erikssonin ajatuksia”, 323-329; Jacob Söderman (suom. Risto Hannula), “Tarvitaanko velkavankilaa?”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 58-77.

⁵⁸⁶ LiBD 1/63, Nordal Åkerman, “Fångvården från fångens synpunkt”, 22-25; LibD 3-4/67, Ingemar Mundebo, “Ideologi och vårdpolitik”, 63-65; LibD 2/68, Per Gahrton, “Upp till kamp – gubbar och gummor!”, 6-7.

⁵⁸⁷ “I högtidliga sammanhäng och inför utländska studiedelegationer konstaterar vi, att Sverige är ett socialt mönsterland, ett välfärdsamhälle, där nöd och otrygghet är okända begrepp.” LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, “Brister i välfärdsamhället”, 24-27.

⁵⁸⁸ Aikalainen 3/67, Stig Nystrand, “Havaintoja vankeinhoidosta”, 22-27.

⁵⁸⁹ TiS 32/67, Lorenz Olsson, “Vårdkarusellen”, 7; TiS 26/65, Kerstin Holmgren, “Kan vi lita på tekniken?”.

⁵⁹⁰ TiS 40/66, Sven O. Bergkvist, “De långtids sjuka och moralen”, 7.

⁵⁹¹ TiS 24/67, Lillemor Ramstedt, “Ge oss chans att vara människor”, 6; LibD 1/69, Vilhelm Ekensteen, “Det handikappade samhället”, 15-18.

⁵⁹² TiS 17/65, Ingemar Svensson, “Blir inte sjuk i sommar!”.

⁵⁹³ Andersson 2006, 46-62.

The statist focus of Nordic policy discussions directed attention to the activism present in expert circles. Like in the gender role debate, researchers and concepts from sociology were used to challenge existing traditions. Sometimes the influence could be traced back to the research papers it first came from, even to the point where some of the expressions/conceptualisations used were quoted directly.⁵⁹⁴ Often, the difference between activism and research was unclear. The expertise of social sciences seemed to provide a new level of objectivity and universalism that were free from the prejudices inherent in established practices.⁵⁹⁵ "Research" was often a heal-all solution;⁵⁹⁶ but in practice, demands for a "scientific"⁵⁹⁷ approach usually meant an emphasis on the "young generation" of social sciences.⁵⁹⁸ "Sociological facts"⁵⁹⁹ gathered from empirical research⁶⁰⁰ were seen as the logical basis for dictating social policy, legislation, and care methods alike, thus bridging the gap between activism and research. As elsewhere, demands for scientific solutions and "rational organisation of care"⁶⁰¹ also provided a way of increasing the legitimacy of demand by appealing to a more neutral authority, even if in practice the researchers were often radical activists themselves.

The social sciences – which were clearly implicated in *social* policy⁶⁰² – were expanding into new fields at this point.⁶⁰³ One of these was criminal sociology – a new interdisciplinary way of reconceptualising jurisprudence and the penal system. Members of KRUM were particularly keen to cite criminological research in their arguments, as legal and sociological perspectives could easily be combined.⁶⁰⁴ Another field that seemed to redefine approaches to social studies in the 1960s was "alcohol social research". A pioneer in this field was the Swedish-speaking Finn, Kettel Bruun, who was already an internationally renowned scholar by this point (with a notably normative approach). His highly

⁵⁹⁴ See, for example *Ajankohta* 2/67, Ritva Turunen, "Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä", 12-13.

⁵⁹⁵ Klaus Mäkelä, "Pakkoauttajat", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁵⁹⁶ LiBD 6/62, Lars Furhoff, "Dårhus i fårakläder", 38-43; TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, "Fångvård – inte vedergällning", 11; LiBD 6/67, Stig Åke Ståhlacke, "Fängelset som undermedicin", 57-58; TYL 31/67, Raija Alho, "Tätä mieltä/Tiesittekö tämän koulukodeista?", 6.

⁵⁹⁷ TiS 24/65, Eric Davidsson, "Prästen kommer oftare till ålderdomshemmen än läkaren", 7; Aikalainen 5/66, P.S., 2-3.

⁵⁹⁸ Aikalainen 5/66, Rauno Setälä, "Raittiuspolitiikasta alkoholipolitiikkaan", 16-19.

⁵⁹⁹ Kristin Olsoni (suom. Katarina Eskola & Risto Hannula), "Tummien diskriminointi", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 164-185.

⁶⁰⁰ Konkret 3-4/67, Bengt Börjesson, "Juristens nya ansikte", 95-99.

⁶⁰¹ LiBD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, "Brister i välfärdssamhället", 24-27.

⁶⁰² LiBD 6/62, Lars Furhoff, "Dårhus i fårakläder", 38-43; Aikalainen 5/66, Rauno Setälä, "Raittiuspolitiikasta alkoholipolitiikkaan", 16-19; TYL 29/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, "Hoito vai rangaistus", 4; this definition also included prisons, see TiS 12/65, "En titt in i svensk fångvård", 8-9.

⁶⁰³ Konkret 2/67, Bengt Börjesson, "Rättsociologins nya kontur", 68-70.

⁶⁰⁴ TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, "Fångvård – inte vedergällning", 11; Konkret 1/69, Per Gahrton, "KURM-liberal piss-humanism?", 45; Konkret 3-4/67, Bengt Börjesson, "Juristens nya ansikte", 95-99.

influential studies were funded by the Finnish state-owned monopoly of off-licences, *Alko*,⁶⁰⁵ and the articles published in *Alkoholipolitiikka* – the Finnish journal for alcohol studies – were often cited by social policy activists. Despite his association with a state-owned monopoly, Bruun's research was very much part of the radical agenda. It also showed how national institutions could be used to further radical political goals. Finnish social policy discussions were highly dependant on the legitimising effect of scientists like Bruun, and an unwillingness to listen to experts (such as Bruun) was a common criticism directed at the political elite.⁶⁰⁶

The transnationally entangled nature of many academics meant that many of the Nordic comparisons were based on the research of people like the liberal professor of criminal justice, Inkeri Anttila.⁶⁰⁷ The radical sociologist, Klaus Mäkelä, was also keen to highlight Finland's backwardness when compared to other Nordic countries. In the context of the prison reform movement, Mäkelä argued that "we Finns measure the value of the prison sentence on a different scale than the Scandinavians".⁶⁰⁸ Norwegian criminologists were particularly famous,⁶⁰⁹ as was the radical sociologist Jörgen Eriksson who was often cited in Finnish radical papers.⁶¹⁰ Eriksson's influential book *Svenska Botten* was even reviewed in the leading sociological journal *Sosiologia*, the same forum that published many articles that were also influential in the activist circles. In the review of *Svenska Botten*, Pertti Hemanus praised Eriksson as an active reformer, but also condemned some of the book as an example of "utopian anarchism", since he did not "systematically" justify his arguments.⁶¹¹ This case shows how firmly Finland's activism was tied to the positivism of mainstream social science; Hemanus was both a veteran of the cultural radicalist press, and a scholar of media studies. Eriksson may have been occasionally referred to in Sweden,⁶¹² but it was the works of Gunnar and Maj-Britt Inghe that were the most important in the Swedish radical press. *Fattiga i folkhem* and especially *Den ofärdiga väfärden* were important books because they straddled the gap between expertise and political criticism. The writers were not only experts working in the field but also

⁶⁰⁵ Aikalainen 3/64, "Katsauksia/Mökin pojan kilju", 53-55.

⁶⁰⁶ Ajankohta 6/67, Ritva Hurme, "Tampereen nuorisoasema", 13; Kristin Olsoni (suom. Katarina Eskola & Risto Hannula), "Tummien diskriminointi", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 164-185.

⁶⁰⁷ *Sosiologia* 2/64, Inkeri Anttila, "Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Alaikäiset ja siveellisyysrikokset", 88-90; Ajankohta 1/67, Ritva Turunen, "Oikeusturva Suomessa", 4.

⁶⁰⁸ "Ilmeisesti me suomalaiset mittaamme vapausrangaistuksen kärsimysarvoa toisella asteikolla kuin skandinaavit." Ajankohta 1/67, Klaus Mäkelä, "Silmä silmästä ja kuukausi viinipullosta", 18.

⁶⁰⁹ Klaus Mäkelä, "Pakkoauttajat", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57; *Ylioppilaslehti* 13/68, "Epäkohtia vankiloissa", 8-9.

⁶¹⁰ *Tilanne* 4/66, Lyhennellen referoinut Aira Sinervo, "Miten kohtelemme epäsosiaalisia yksilöitä? Eräitä Jörgen Erikssonin ajatuksia", 323-329.

⁶¹¹ *Sosiologia* 1/67, Pertti Hemanus, "Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Anarkstinen utopisti?", 48.

⁶¹² *TiS* 38/65, Stig Åke Stålnacke, "Nio frågor om fångvård", 4.

devout leftists.⁶¹³ Despite this double role, Gunnar Inghe downplayed his political commitments when writing about social policy, so that his expertise would still be valued even by those who might not have accepted his ideological conclusions.⁶¹⁴

General sociological explanations also meant that the range of institutions included in the debate was vast. Topics included reformatory schools, prisons⁶¹⁵, retirement homes⁶¹⁶, psychiatric hospitals⁶¹⁷, prostitutes⁶¹⁸, homeless people,⁶¹⁹ alcoholics⁶²⁰, drug addicts,⁶²¹ disabled people⁶²², chronically ill patients⁶²³, and juvenile offenders⁶²⁴. The sheer variety of social issues covered shows how fascinated Nordic Sixties' activists were with general explanations and how easy it was for them to direct this criticism at social institutions to reveal just how controlling their methods really were. This aspect was particularly pronounced in Finland: the ML did not direct its actions at just one particular form of social control like the Swedish SMOs (such as KRUM), but on the shared features of control in seemingly different contexts (for instance, how institutions defined 'deviancy'). As a consequence, all forms of social control were *potentially* part of the agenda of the movement, and these features were sometimes applied to rather idiosyncratic cases. This diversity would seem to argue against the traditional way of labelling Finnish social movements of the Sixties as being dedicated to a "single-issue".⁶²⁵ As the list of topics above amply demonstrates, ML and its actions can hardly be described as fixed.

Social sciences and sociology were doubly important as legitimators of radicalist criticisms as even those defending current forms of social care acknowledged the objective value of the disciplines.⁶²⁶ For the sociologists

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- ⁶¹³ LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, "Brister i välfärdssamhället", 24-27; TiS 32/67, Lorenz Olsson, "Vårdkarusellen", 7; LibD 3-4/67, Ingemar Mundebo, "Ideologi och vårdpolitik", 63-65; TiS 1/68, Kjell E. Johanson, "Alkoholfrågansom socialt problem"; TiS 14/67, Georg Palmer, "Klassamhället under folkhemsytan"; TiS 27/67, Georg Palmer, "Såcialvård på våran gård...", 4-5; Andersson 2006, 46.
- ⁶¹⁴ TiS 5/67, "Boken man talar om", 12-13; LibD 3-4/67, Ingemar Mundebo, "Ideologi och vårdpolitik", 63-65; TiS 27/67, Georg Palmer, "Såcialvård på våran gård...", 4-5.
- ⁶¹⁵ TYL 12/68, "Tapahtumateatteri - teatterissa tapahtui...", 6; Konkret 3-4/67, Nårdal Åkerman, "Kriminalvårdsdebattens återvändsgränd", 7-9; TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, "Fångvård - inte vedergällning", 11.
- ⁶¹⁶ LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, "Brister i välfärdssamhället", 24-27.
- ⁶¹⁷ TYL 12/68, "Tapahtumateatteri - teatterissa tapahtui...", 6; TYL 12/68, "... tapahtui muissakin tiloissa", 7; LiBD 6/62, Lars Furhoff, "Dårhus i fårakläder", 38-43; LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, "Brister i välfärdssamhället", 24-27.
- ⁶¹⁸ Sosiologia 1/67, Pertti Hemanus, "Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/ Anarkstinen utopisti?", 48.
- ⁶¹⁹ LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, "Brister i välfärdssamhället", 24-27; TiS 36/65, Signe Eriksson, "Sextio slipper sova ute i vinter", 10.
- ⁶²⁰ Ylioppilaslehti 28/67, Eero Hankonen, "Pois myynnistä?", 6; Ajankohta 11/67, Sauli Salmi, "Kodittomat kuolevat", 25.
- ⁶²¹ LibD 3-4/67, Ingemar Mundebo, "Ideologi och vårdpolitik", 63-65.
- ⁶²² JYL 10/68, "JYY:n sosiaaliseminaari", 1.
- ⁶²³ LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, "Brister i välfärdssamhället", 24-27.
- ⁶²⁴ JYL 10/68, "JYY:n sosiaaliseminaari", 1; Konkret 2/67, Ingmar Rexed, "Mot en ny kriminalpolitik", 71.
- ⁶²⁵ Bonsdorff 1986, 164; Tuominen 1991, 131-150.
- ⁶²⁶ TYL 30/67, Seppo Oinonen, "Tiesittekö tämän koulukodeista", 6.

themselves, their objectivity was assured by remaining outside the system itself.⁶²⁷ “The reform school community looks at their problems too narrowly”, noted Pirkko Sirén in *Sosiologia*. “Sociologists and psychologists might be of some use to them.”⁶²⁸ Maintaining a general, universalist approach meant that social sciences could also have a wider, and more influential reach. The usefulness of a new, more sociological perspective was highlighted further by the fact that atypical behaviour, or deviancy, was seen as an intrinsically sociological concept.⁶²⁹ The general nature of sociological argumentation ensured that the studies were applicable irrespective of the context, so when it came to transnational applicability, Swedish studies could be quite directly applied to the Finnish context.⁶³⁰ This meant that, unlike in the Nordic gender debate, progressive sociological findings *and* practices from Sweden were more easily adopted in Finland – Joachim Israel’s specialism that became known as “hospital sociology”⁶³¹ was one such instance.

Social policy activists questioned many forms of social control, such as civilian national service, which they framed as a *de facto* punishment, using the imprisonment of Jehovah’s Witnesses to illustrate this.⁶³² Jehovah’s Witnesses had refused any form of armed or civilian national service for decades, and as a punishment had been sent to a labour camp in Karvia, Western Finland. Media reports revealed that the camp was very much like a prison,⁶³³ and the issue became hotly debated by Finnish social policy activists. The Jehovah’s Witnesses case was covered as an integral part of the book, “Forced Help” (*Pakkoauttajat*), a key publication for Finnish social policy activists, and it mentioned all the concepts typically associated with atypical behaviour to describe the conditions in which this “discriminated minority” were being kept. Jehovah’s Witnesses were also a particularly interesting example of social discrimination. As Christer Kihlman, a Swedish-speaking novelist pointed out, “the intellectual basis of the faith system is logical and coherent; the movement has an intellectual character

⁶²⁷ *Sosiologia* 4/65, Pirkko Sirén, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Uudistuksia tarvitaan”, 179-180; Ajankohta 3/67, “Rattijuoppous arka asia”, 16-17, 32.

⁶²⁸ “Koulukotiväki tarkastelee ongelmiaan mahdollisesti liian suppeasti. Sosiologeista saattaisi ehkä olla heille psykologien ohella jotakin hyötyä.” *Sosiologia* 4/65, Pirkko Sirén, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Uudistuksia tarvitaan”, 179-180.

⁶²⁹ Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁶³⁰ Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä”, 12-13; Siv Dahlin (translated by Matti Haavio), “Mielisairaala ja vapaus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 108-125.

⁶³¹ Ajankohta 4/67, Ilkka Taipale, “Sairaat jonoon ja herätys kello kuusi”, 14-15; Siv Dahlin (translated by Matti Haavio), “Mielisairaala ja vapaus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 108-125; *Sosiologia* 3/67, Sirkka-Liisa Säilä & Klaus Mäkelä, “Totaalisia yhteisöjä on erilaisia”, 114-122.

⁶³² *Aviisi* 22/67, PK, “Ase kädessä”, 5; *Aviisi* 22/67, “Monipuolista asevelvollisuutta”, 6-7.

⁶³³ Christer Kihlman (suomentanut Risto Hannula), “Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142.

that is not common in western religious life.”⁶³⁴ Jehovah’s Witnesses were also a useful example because they otherwise clearly followed all the other core values of Nordic society – they were law-abiding and willing to work, yet still incarcerated and persecuted by the system.⁶³⁵

The key theoretical text that had originally suggested it was possible to deal with such a wide array of seemingly different forms of social control was Erving Goffman’s *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, published in 1961.⁶³⁶ The essays were widely cited by both Finnish sociologists and ML activists, and by 1969 the ML made a Finnish translation of four of the essays.⁶³⁷ Goffman’s theory of “total institutions” was hugely influential, because these could be as equally applied to monasteries as they could to concentration camps.⁶³⁸ According to Goffman, anyone working inside a total institution was already too compromised by conforming to its methods to be able to make any meaningful changes.⁶³⁹ Naturally, those working in these institutions refuted his claims by pointing out that his theory over-generalised;⁶⁴⁰ while the Swedish New Left, for their part, preferred to rely on theories that were more explicit in their class-based analysis than Goffman.

At roughly the same time as the ML was being founded in 1967, the concept of “control politics” had become a hot topic in radical circles, and the two academics that had written *Forced Help* actually went on to found the ‘Radical Society Against Control Politics’ (just days before the ML in fact) that remained active until 1971.⁶⁴¹ Control politics was used just as extensively as Goffman’s theory, in arguments which aimed to humanise the way “deviant behaviour” was being controlled.⁶⁴² The founding declaration of the ML spread this concept of control politics even further, as it appeared all over the radical press in late

⁶³⁴ ”Uskonjärjestelmän älyllinen perusta on looginen ja johdonmukainen, liikkeellä kaikkinaan on älyllinen sävy, joka ei länsimaisessa uskonelämässä ole kovin tavallinen.” Christer Kihlman (translated by Risto Hannula), ”Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142.

⁶³⁵ *ibid.*

⁶³⁶ See, e.g., *Sosiologia* 1/65, Kettil Bruun, ”Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13; *Sosiologia* 3/65, Pirkko Sirén, ”Tavoitteet ja todellisuus”, 101-112; *Sosiologia* 4/65, Pirkko Sirén, ”Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Uudistuksia tarvitaan”, 179-180; *Ajankohta* 4/67, Ilkka Taipale, ”Sairaat jonoon ja herätys kello kuusi”, 14-15; Kettil Bruun, ”Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁶³⁷ Goffman, Erving, Riitta Suominen, and Auli Tarkka. *Minuuden Riistäjät: Tutkielma Totaalisista Laitoksista*. [Helsinki]: Marraskuun liike, 1969.

⁶³⁸ *Sosiologia* 3/67, Sirkka-Liisa Säilä & Klaus Mäkelä, ”Totaalisia yhteisöjä on erilaisia”, 114-122.

⁶³⁹ *Sosiologia* 4/65, Pirkko Sirén, ”Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Uudistuksia tarvitaan”, 179-180.

⁶⁴⁰ *Sosiologia* 4/65, Sirkka Vesterinen, ”Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Vastinetta koulukodeista”, 178-179.

⁶⁴¹ Parhi & Myllykangas 2019.

⁶⁴² *Ylioppilaslehti* 26/67, Marraskuun liikkeen valmisteleva komitea, ”Marraskuun liike”, 13; *Konkret* 8-9/68, Gustav Jonsson & Nils Gustavsson, ”Två svar till Kenneth Keniston”, 53-55; *Ajankohta* 11/67, Ritva Turunen, ”ajankohtaista puheenaihetta/Marraskuun liike”, 26.

1967.⁶⁴³ In Sweden, however, there was no single concept used in such a universal manner, but there were similar criticisms of involuntary treatments and restrictions inside social care institutions.⁶⁴⁴ Jörgen Eriksson had listed those minorities and segments of society deemed “deviant” in his book *Svenska botten*, which was often referred to in discussions on the shortcomings of social care practices.⁶⁴⁵

What connects the concepts of total institutions and control politics is their essentially similar logic regarding human behaviour and the ways in which they thought it should be altered. These were not individualist arguments, as they were not ruling out *all* societal interventions. Almost all the critics using the concepts argued that human behaviour could (and should) be directed towards socially sustainable ends, but what distinguished their views from the mainstream, was their ideas on how and to what ends this behaviour could be managed. At the core of this behavioural understanding was criticism of certain restrictive measures; many articles in the radical press pointed to evidence which showed that they plainly did not work.⁶⁴⁶ Not only were they inhumane, but also inefficient as in many cases they proved to not actually change behaviour.⁶⁴⁷ In Sweden, KRUM focused on prisons and drew attention to how the official concept of “correctional treatment” (*fångvård*) was actually self-defeating if prisons were supposed to be institutions of “care”.⁶⁴⁸ The ML followed suit; in many cases punishments were categorically rejected and portrayed as harmful – even in the cases of violent criminality. The key to understanding violent behaviour was to relativise it, they argued: since these grave crimes were often spontaneous, they were neither rational nor conscious and so most likely the result of primitive instincts.⁶⁴⁹ Control politics, they argued, dictated that a moral judgement be made, which unfortunately prejudiced any real objective assessment of the situation.⁶⁵⁰

Even when these more extreme forms of relativism were not the central argument, adopting a more tolerant approach to individual characteristics was nonetheless heavily encouraged. More “humane” approaches, closely tied to the ideals of logical and rational reforms, highlighted the freedom of choice and

⁶⁴³ Konkret 8-9/68, Gustav Jonsson & Nils Gustavsson, “Två svar till Kenneth Keniston”, 53-55.

⁶⁴⁴ LiBD 1/63, Nordal Åkerman, “Fångvården från fångens synpunkt”, 22-25; Konkret 3-4/67, Gustav Jonsson, “Vällingskeden i välfärdsstaten”, 92-94; Andersson 2006, 47-49.

⁶⁴⁵ TiS 32/67, Lorenz Olsson, “Vårdkarusellen”, 7; Sosiologia 1/67, Pertti Hemanus, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/ Anarkstinen utopisti?”, 48.

⁶⁴⁶ TYL 9/67, Marja-Liisa Väänänen, “Rattijuoppokeskustelu/ Olisi siirryttävä emootioista rationaaliseen alkolpolitiikkaan”, 1; Aviisi 18/67, S.H., “Silmä silmästä”, 3; TYL 29/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, “Hoito vai rangaistus”, 4.

⁶⁴⁷ Ylioppilaslehti 26/67, Antero Jyränki, “Väkivallan käytön organisointi yhteiskunnassa”, 1, 12.

⁶⁴⁸ LiBD 7/65, Maria Berglind, “Långholmen – en helvetets förgård”, 37-39.

⁶⁴⁹ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, Risto Jaakkola, “Vankeuden merkityksestä”, 9.

⁶⁵⁰ Konkret 3-4/67, Gustav Jonsson, “Vällingskeden i välfärdsstaten”, 92-94.

potential of the individual.⁶⁵¹ Social policy activists questioned why existing legal practices were, in this respect, logically lacking because they still used religiously dogmatic notions of good and bad personality traits.⁶⁵² For many in the New Left, the existing social care system was closely tied to Christian concepts, such as “vengeance” and philanthropy.⁶⁵³ This showed that even so-called “modern” Nordic societies were still practising “primitive” and “superstitious” methods.⁶⁵⁴ Care was a meaningless concept unless it was supported by the humane ideals of solidarity, compassion, and freedom of speech.⁶⁵⁵ Criticisms intensified as the debate turned to the issue of Finnish alcohol legislation – often framed as being downright “perverse” as it did not even entertain the possibility that people might drink responsibly nor that there might actually be a positive social side to drinking.⁶⁵⁶ One writer proclaimed that if tougher punishments really led to less criminality, then the death penalty should be the only reasonable option. He then went on to mock the absurdity of this situation, by adding that the other benefit of this measure, would be that it would definitively stop recidivism.⁶⁵⁷

Social care institutions were also criticised for having routines that did not necessarily have any pedagogical value.⁶⁵⁸ Isolation was one routine that was seen as particularly inhumane in these institutions, just as it was also in the broader social context. Institutionalisation not only isolated inmates from normal personal relationships, but also from society as a whole.⁶⁵⁹ The passivity caused by this isolation, social policy activists argued, helped to explain the aggressive

⁶⁵¹ Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä”, 12-13; TiS 32/67, Lorenz Olsson, “Vårdkarusellen”, 7.

⁶⁵² Aikalainen 5/66, P.S., 2-3; Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57; Konkret 3-4/67, Gustav Jonsson, “Vällingskeden i välfärdsstaten”, 92-94; Aviisi 17/68, Matti Tuomisto, “”Auta jos voit, täällä on ihmisen paha olla!””, 2; Tilanne 4/66, Lyhennellen referoinut Aira Sinervo, “Miten kohtelemme epäsosiaalisia yksilöitä? Eräitä Jörgen Erikssonin ajatuksia”, 323-329; Aikalainen 5/66, P.S., 2-3.

⁶⁵³ OYL 15/68, Juhana Lepoluoto, “Vangittu turvallisuuden nimeen”, 2; LiBD 7/65, Maria Berglind, “Långholmen – en helvetets förgård”, 37-39; TiS 30/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Vård eller vedergällning?”, 7; TiS 5/67, Stig Åke Ståhlacke, “Efter 4 år på anstalt...”, 14; Ajankohta 12/67, Kalervo Huttu, “vankiloiden antikvaariset kirjakokoelmat”, 16-17; Aikalainen 3/67, Ahti Susiluoto, “Kirjallisuus/Näin puhui Suomen akateemisen raittiusliiton periaateohjelma”. 50-53; Kristin Olsoni (suom. Katarina Eskola & Risto Hannula), “Tummien diskriminointi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 164-185.

⁶⁵⁴ TiS 28/65, Sune Lantz, “Mysteriet med de 1000 kommitteerna”, 19; Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁶⁵⁵ LiBD 7/65, Maria Berglind, “Långholmen – en helvetets förgård”, 37-39.

⁶⁵⁶ Aikalainen 5/66, P.S., 2-3.

⁶⁵⁷ Aviisi 18/67, S.H., “Silmä silmästä”, 3.

⁶⁵⁸ TiS 12/65, “En titt in i svensk fängvård”, 8-9; Sosiologia 3/65, Pirkko Sirén, “Tavoitteet ja todellisuus”, 101-112.

⁶⁵⁹ Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, “Työ tekee vapaaksi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163; TiS 13/65, “Fångvårdsstyrelsen dumpar priserna för handikappade”; Jacob Söderman (transl. Risto Hannula), “Tarvitaanko velkavankilaa?”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 58-77; TiS 49/66, Georg Palmer, “Det handikappade samhället”, 3-4; Konkret 3-4/67, Nårdal Åkerman, “Kriminalvårdsdebattens återvändsgränd”, 7-9.

behaviour of inmates.⁶⁶⁰ Alienation, loneliness, and sedate or aggressive behaviour were thus not personality traits as many institutions maintained, but the outcome of institutionalised isolation by the modern welfare state.⁶⁶¹ In Swedish debates, this notion of isolation eventually crystallised into the concept of “outcasts” (*de utstötta*) which featured prominently in the texts of Inghes.⁶⁶² Since society was responsible for making these people feel like outcasts, it seemed only logical that “one of the preventive tasks of social policy” was “to prevent alienation among those who are isolated.”⁶⁶³ Similar criticisms were made of all educational institutions.⁶⁶⁴ These discourses show how social policy activists believed that, given the right care, these so-called “deviants” could in fact be resocialised.

Radicals were particularly concerned with how a strict penal code and the isolation of prisoners in institutions were combining to push “deviant” individuals into a vicious circle of institutionalisation and recidivism.⁶⁶⁵ Harsh practices, like physical punishments, were not only against all codes of conduct, they showed the authoritarian nature of the institution and a patent lack of trust towards juvenile inmates.⁶⁶⁶ Isolation therefore not only reinforced the conservative attitudes of society *en large*, but the boredom of long-term institutional incarceration led to passivity in individuals.⁶⁶⁷ To counter this, methods built on research could and should enable the more active participation of inmates, empowering people from the ground up. ⁶⁶⁸ In some cases, particularly in the prison reform movement, social policy activists demanded more complete forms of participation such as giving prisoners the same democratic rights as others:⁶⁶⁹ ML pointed out that “The various institutions of a democratic society should also be democratic from the inside and, therefore,

⁶⁶⁰ Sosiologia 3/65, Pirkko Sirén, “Tavoitteet ja todellisuus”, 101-112.

⁶⁶¹ Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, “Työ tekee vapaaksi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163; TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, “Fångvård – inte vedergällning”, 11; LiBD 2/68, C.G. Stenkula, “fritid för gamla”, 14-15; LibD 1/69, Vilhelm Ekensteen, “Det handikappade samhället”, 15-18.

⁶⁶² LibD 3-4/67, Ingemar Mundebo, “Ideologi och vårdpolitik”, 63-65.

⁶⁶³ “Det ligger i socialpolitikens förebyggande uppgifter att förhindra alienation bland de grupper som lätt isoleras.” LibD 1/69, Arne Granholm, “Vi måste få en socialpolitisk ideologi”, 3-7.

⁶⁶⁴ YL 26/65, Reijo Wilenius, “9 teesiä koulun uudistamiseksi”, 1; TYL 27/67, Tribunus, “Oppilaasta on kysymys – hän vaietkoon”, 3; YL 28/67, Vasara, “Teinit”; YL 28/67, Veikko Rinne, “Kasvatusnäkökulma ja tyhjen tynnyreiden kolistelu”, 4.

⁶⁶⁵ TYL 31/67, Raija Alho, “Tätä mieltä/Tiesittekö tämän koulukodeista?”, 6; Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä”, 12-13; TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, “Fångvård – inte vedergällning”, 11.

⁶⁶⁶ Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

⁶⁶⁷ Ajankohta 4/67, Ilkka Taipale, “Sairaat jonoon ja herätys kello kuusi”, 14-15; Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁶⁶⁸ Ajankohta 4/67, Ilkka Taipale, “Sairaat jonoon ja herätys kello kuusi”, 14-15.

⁶⁶⁹ Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

prison democracy needs to be implemented.”⁶⁷⁰ Without democratic measures, inmates of the penal system had no reason to feel socially integrated with the world outside.⁶⁷¹

Social policy activists maintained that inmate participation would increase their political consciousness. Increasing participation was, after all, one of the key principles of social movements in the Sixties. The core of the argument was that the perspective of the institutionalised inmates themselves should be taken seriously and their individual rights respected.⁶⁷² It was precisely because the experiences of inmates were being ignored that existing control politics were so harsh.⁶⁷³ In this respect, statistical analyses of the attitudes of inmates were useful, as they showed both the extent and intensity of institutionalisation. One Finnish study claimed that 40 per cent of inmates saw their care as a form of punishment, while 65 per cent of those who had spent more than a year in institutional care felt that they were being punished more than “helped”.⁶⁷⁴

Focusing on the experiences of inmates often coincided with highly abstract discussions about the need for social sciences to be precise and objective – loose and abstract terminology to define medical diagnoses was strongly frowned upon,⁶⁷⁵ while vague language was a sign of “pseudoscientific”⁶⁷⁶ methodology. Social care was therefore found to be lacking as it did not meet the rigorous objective criteria that sociological research required. Often punishments were handed out with any apparent logical consistency, and so it was usually the officials’ personal, often emotional reaction that ultimately determined the fate of a patient.⁶⁷⁷ No one could guarantee that custody decisions, for example, were based on expertise or knowledge of the “real” state of affairs inside each family.⁶⁷⁸ This was because traditional “behavioural sciences” used in these official decisions were far from exact,⁶⁷⁹ with the result that existing social care was an attempt to influence the attitudes of inmates, if not brainwash them.⁶⁸⁰ It

⁶⁷⁰ ”Demokraattisen yhteiskunnan eri laitosten tulisi olla demokraattisia myös sisältä käsin ja niin ollen vankilademokratia toteutettava.” *Ylioppilaslehti* 13/68, ”Epäkohtia vankiloissa”, 8-9.

⁶⁷¹ *Konkret* 6/67, Inghe Ihsgrén, ”Kåken fram och tillbaka”, 48-50.

⁶⁷² *LiBD* 7/65, Maria Berglind, ”Långholmen – en helvetets förgård”, 37-39; *Aikalainen* 7-8/66, Leo R. Hertzberg, ”Koulukotijärjestelmästä”, 29-36; *Sosiologia* 1/65, Kettil Bruun, ”Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13; *LiBD* 7/65, Maria Berglind, ”Långholmen – en helvetets förgård”, 37-39.

⁶⁷³ Kettil Bruun, ”Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁶⁷⁴ *Sosiologia* 3/65, Pirkko Sirén, ”Tavoitteet ja todellisuus”, 101-112.

⁶⁷⁵ *Sosiologia* 1/65, Kettil Bruun, ”Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13.

⁶⁷⁶ Klaus Mäkelä, ”Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁶⁷⁷ Kettil Bruun, ”Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁶⁷⁸ Pirkko Sirén, ”Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

⁶⁷⁹ Klaus Mäkelä, ”Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁶⁸⁰ *TYL* 29/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, ”Hoito vai rangaistus”, 4.

was not too late for the state to solve these matters, as long as it thoroughly reformed its system of social care in a scientific and objective fashion.⁶⁸¹ Kettil Bruun had already found a practical example of this inexactitude, for instance, when he criticised the farm work that children were made to do in Finnish reform schools – especially the girls who had little experience of this, having usually come from an urban background.⁶⁸² Equally Klaus Mäkelä argued that the agricultural routines described as “work therapy” in the schools were in fact just a tedious form of traditional manual labour.⁶⁸³ Agriculture was the only sphere of professional training available for students when they had finished elementary schooling, but many of the activists suspected it was used merely to fill up the institutions’ weekly schedule.⁶⁸⁴ Focusing on agriculture rather than any other profession showed how isolated reform schools were from the rest of society – typical of the old-fashioned penal system of limiting social contact with the outside world.⁶⁸⁵

More knowledge was a key reformist demand: a basic theoretical understanding of the current state of the behavioural sciences and psychology would mean that the social care system could be replanned in a rational fashion.⁶⁸⁶ A lack of resources and expertise in social care was also one of the common reasons used to explain the lack of equality and objective decision-making.⁶⁸⁷ The legitimacy of such claims was enhanced by the fact that the staff in care institutions also shared the view that it would increase professionalism and lead to a more personalised form of care if they got a proper training.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸¹ Sosiologia 1/65, Kettil Bruun, “Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13; Konkret 3-4/67, Gustav Jonsson, “Vällingskeden i välfärdsstaten”, 92-94; TYL 2/68, Raija Alho, “Marraskuun liike, asunnottomat ja Oinonen”, 7.

⁶⁸² Sosiologia 1/65, Kettil Bruun, “Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13.

⁶⁸³ Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁶⁸⁴ TYL 30/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, “Tiesin ja vähän muutakin”, 7; TYL 31/67, Raija Alho, “Tätä mieltä/Tiesittekö tämän koulukodeista?”, 6; Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

⁶⁸⁵ Ylioppilaslehti 28/68, “Marraskuun liikkeen koulukotiviikko: Epäkohtaluettelo koulukodeista”, 17; Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, “Työ tekee vapaaksi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163; LiBD 7/65, Maria Berglind, “Långholmen – en helvetets förgård”, 37-39; Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

⁶⁸⁶ TiS 23/65, “Svensk sjukvård 1965. Men nu ska polisen få utbildning”, 7; TiS 17/65, Nils Bejerot, “Det behövs skärpt organisation inom vår sjukvård!”, 20; Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107; TYL 29/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, “Hoito vai rangaistus”, 4; Konkret 3-4/67, Nårdal Åkerman, “Kriminalvårdsdebattens återvändsgränd”, 7-9; Konkret 3-4/67, Bengt Börjesson, “Juristens nya ansikte”, 95-99; Jacob Söderman (suom. Risto Hannula), “Tarvitaanko velkavankilaa?”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 58-77.

⁶⁸⁷ Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57; TiS 40/66, Sven O. Bergkvist, “De långtids sjuka och moralen”, 7.

⁶⁸⁸ Sosiologia 4/65, Sirkka Vesterinen, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Vastinetta koulukodeista”, 178-179; LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, “Brister i

“Experts are hired to carry out a survey”, reported one Swedish prison inmate to *Tidsignal* (after he had been jailed for refusing conscription), “but care work is largely left to unskilled staff”.⁶⁸⁹ Indeed, radicals emphasised that clergy were often the only staff in institutions that had received academic training.⁶⁹⁰

Radical papers tended to see sickness as a biological phenomenon and therefore as a medical concept that should not so much be questioned but instead extended. For instance, criminals were “socially sick” (“*sosiaalisairas*”), alcoholics were patients, and “deviants” were simply atypical people in need of caring therapy that would remedy their streaks of antisocial behaviour.⁶⁹¹ Klaus Mäkelä in particular expressed his faith in medical science by framing it as an inherently voluntary form of treatment, and thus hinting that the social institutions that were allowed to coerce their patients lacked similar characteristics.⁶⁹² By emphasising the voluntariness of medical care in comparison to the forced social care, Mäkelä drew a clear line between the rational and irrational, objective and arbitrary, and therapeutic and coercive disciplines.

4.2 Reformist Utilitarianism and Behavioural Approaches to Institutional Care: “Who benefits? No one. What's the benefit? Nothing.”⁶⁹³

Nordic social policy activism directly followed on from earlier traditions of cultural radicalism that offered rational political solutions for a range of social problems – in some cases, both traditions even featured the same activists and topics. Targets of criticism were again outdated⁶⁹⁴ features of national culture and the nation state: “harmful traditions”, inherent “conservatism”, “moralism”, and emotive nationalism,⁶⁹⁵ which perpetuated themselves in authoritative and

välfärdssamhället”, 24-27; LibD 5/66, Ingemar Mudebo, “Permanent vårdkris?”, 9-10.

⁶⁸⁹ “Experter anlitas för undersökningen men vården överlätes till i stort sett oskolad personal.” TiS 32/65, Anders Carlberg, “En ung man berättar för er om hur han fick fängelse för värnpliktsvägran och bestraffning för att han var vegetarian”, 3.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ylioppilaslehti* 13/68, “Epäkohtia vankiloissa”, 8-9.

⁶⁹¹ Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57; TiS 40/66, Sven O. Bergkvist, “De långtids sjuka och moralen”, 7; *Konkret* 1/67, Stig Jutterström, “Sånt läder ska så'n smörja ha. Kriminalvårdschefen ställd mot väggen”, 73-75.

⁶⁹² *Ajankohta* 2/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 5.

⁶⁹³ “Kenen hyödyksi? Ei kenenkään. Minkä hyödyksi? Ei minkään.” Christer Kihlman (translated by Risto Hannula), “Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142.

⁶⁹⁴ *Sosiologia* 4/65, Pirkko Sirén, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Uudistuksia tarvitaan”, 179-180.

⁶⁹⁵ JYL, Ilkka-Pekka Innanen, “65-vuotisjuhla”, 5:4/63; *Ajankohta* 4/67, Ilkka Taipale, “Sairaat jonoon ja herätys kello kuusi”, 14-15; JYL, -H.R. “Raittiustyö, -aate, -liike, -nuoriso” 4:5/64; *Aikalainen* 3/64, “Katsauksia/Mökin pojan kilju”, 53-55; TiS 17/65, Nils Bejerot, “Det behövs skärpt organisation inom vår sjukvård!”, 20; *Aikalainen* 5/66, Rauno Setälä, “Raittiuspoltiikasta alkoholipolitiikkaan”, 16-19; TYL

patronising methods, rigid moral codes, and “puritan” approaches.⁶⁹⁶ Christian ideals regarding drinking and sexual mores helped explain many of these social features.⁶⁹⁷ For some Finnish radicals, there was also a pattern of continuity from the era of prohibition – the ‘spirit of the law’ still existed in current legislation even if the law itself had been overturned.⁶⁹⁸ What distinguished social policy activists from earlier cultural radicals was that they were now focusing on the tangible effects of these “old-fashioned”, “cruel”, and “inefficient” attitudes on social care practices.⁶⁹⁹ In essence, they were borrowing many of the arguments from cultural radicalists, but applying them to a more tangible set of cases. This would eventually cause a fundamental change in the radical frame.

Social policy activists saw themselves as the vanguard of “modern”, “objective”, and “rational” thought.⁷⁰⁰ Yet, demands for more humane approaches stemmed from the wider social context; rather than as a result of radical activism itself, changes in social care were seen as a part of being a

9/67, Marja-Liisa Väänänen, “Rattijuoppokeskustelu/Olisi siirryttävä emootioista rationaaliseen alkopolitiikkaan”, 1; TYL 31/67, Pekka Puska, “50 jopa 100 vuotta holhouksen alla – nyt alkoholipolitiikka kaipaa päämäärää”, 1; Ajankohta 1/67, PK, 3; Ajankohta 3/67, “Rattijuoppous arka asia”, 16-17, 32; Konkret 3-4/67, Gustav Jonsson, “Vällingskeden i välfärdsstaten”, 92-94; Sosiologia 1/65, Kettil Bruun, “Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13; LiBD 7/65, Maria Berglind, “Långholmen – en helvetets förgård”, 37-39; Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, “Työ tekee vapaaksi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163.

⁶⁹⁶ Sosiologia 3/65, Pirkko Sirén, “Tavoitteet ja todellisuus”, 101-112; LiBD 6/62, Lars Furhoff, “Dårhus i fårakläder”, 38-43; Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107; TYL 30/67, Heikki Palmu, “Masentavaa sosiaalipolitiikkaa: luu kurkkuun epäsosiaalisille aineksille”, 2; Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32; Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁶⁹⁷ TiS 24/65, Eric Davidsson, “Prästen kommer oftare till ålderdomshemmen än läkaren”, 7; TYL 29/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, “Hoito vai rangaistus”, 4; TYL 29/68, “Ei punahilkkaa ilman susihukkaa”, 3; Konkret 3-4/67, Gustav Jonsson, “Vällingskeden i välfärdsstaten”, 92-94

⁶⁹⁸ Aikalainen 5/66, “Suomalaisesta alkoholipolitiikasta”, 26-31; Ajankohta 3/67, “Rattijuoppous arka asia”, 16-17, 32; Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁶⁹⁹ Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32; Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57; Konkret 3-4/67, Gustav Jonsson, “Vällingskeden i välfärdsstaten”, 92-94; TiS 38/65, Stig Åke Stålnacke, “Nio frågor om fångvård”, 4.

⁷⁰⁰ Aikalainen 5/66, Rauno Setälä, “Raittiuspolitiikasta alkoholipolitiikkaan”, 16-19; Ajankohta 6/67, Ritva Hurme, “Tampereen nuorisoasema”, 13; Christer Kihlman (translated by Risto Hannula), “Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142; TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, “Fångvård – inte vedergällning”, 11; Ajankohta 1/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Silmä silmästä ja kuukausi viinipullosta”, 18; TiS 26/65, Kerstin Holmgren, “Kan vi lita på tekniken?”; TiS 17/65, Nils Bejerot, “Det behövs skärpt organisation inom vår sjukvård!”, 20; TiS 17/65, Ingemar Svensson, “Blir inte sjuk i sommar!”; TYL 9/67, Marja-Liisa Väänänen, “Rattijuoppokeskustelu/Olisi siirryttävä emootioista rationaaliseen alkopolitiikkaan”, 1; JYT 31/67, J.-O. Hannes, “Erisnimillä”, 3; Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Koululaisen oikeus”, 4-5.

progressive modern Nordic society.⁷⁰¹ Changes in social values meant institutions also had to change theirs,⁷⁰² and now those changes needed to be adequately reflected in social care policies.⁷⁰³ This called for a broad change in attitudes towards social beneficiaries and those previously thought of as deviants.⁷⁰⁴ The policies needed to be “sensible”, “realistic”, “pertinent”, “modern”, and most importantly, “utilitarian”⁷⁰⁵. The problem was that politicians and civil servants were clearly not capable of such rational decision making,⁷⁰⁶ as they were still caught up in the vested interests of the existing system.

Focusing on rationality, generalised explanations, and theories might seem like it distanced social policy activists from the people who were actually in the social care institutions, but activists themselves did not see any meaningful contradictions between these general and individual approaches. Their demands for a more humane and egalitarian approach⁷⁰⁷ were almost as integral a part of their argument as their demands for logical consistency and rigour – especially after the establishment of SMOs like the ML, which even had the expression “rational and humane” (*järkiperäinen ja inhimillinen*) in its founding declaration. The expression spread to both Finnish student and New Left papers;⁷⁰⁸ and while Swedish prison activism may not have had such a catchphrase, it did also want the country’s institutions to be working towards the “betterment of humanity”.⁷⁰⁹ Some Nordic activists even challenged traditional notions of rational behaviour

⁷⁰¹ Aikalainen 3/67, Ahti Susiluoto, “Kirjallisuus/Näin puhui Suomen akateemisen raittiusliiton periaateohjelma”. 50-53; Tilanne 4/66, Lyhennellen referoinut Aira Sinervo, “Miten kohtelemme epäsosiaalisia yksilöitä? Eräitä Jörgen Erikssonin ajatuksia”, 323-329; Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, “Työ tekee vapaaksi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163.

⁷⁰² Konkret 7-8/67, Paul Lindblom, “Socialvården – en klasslagstiftning?”, 86-87.

⁷⁰³ Sosiologia 1/65, Kettil Bruun, “Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13; Konkret 1/67, Stig Jutterström, “Sånt läder ska så’n smörja ha. Kriminalvårdschefen ställd mot väggen”, 73-75.

⁷⁰⁴ TYL 9/67, Marja-Liisa Väänänen, “Rattijuoppokeskustelu/Olisi siirryttävä emootioista rationaaliseen alkopolitiikkaan”, 1; Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, “Työ tekee vapaaksi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163.

⁷⁰⁵ TiS 5/67, Stig Åke Ståhlacke, “Efter 4 år på anstalt...”, 14; Ylioppilaslehti 26/67, Marraskuun liikkeen valmisteleva komitea, “Marraskuun liike”, 13; TYL 31/67, Raija Alho, “Tätä mieltä/Tiesittekö tämän koulukodeista?”, 6; Aviisi 15/67, “Alkoholiton vaihtoehto”, 5; Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107; Christer Kihlman (translated by Risto Hannula), “Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142; Aviisi 25/67, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1, 8; Konkret 3-4/67, Nårdal Åkerman, “Kriminalvårdsdebattens återvändsgränd”, 7-9; TiS 37/65, Signe Eriksson, “Inackorderingshem underlättar alkoholskadades övergång till en normal livsföring”, 18; TYL 6/68, Sampo Simonen, “Marraskuulaiset menettelytavat puntarissa”, 6.

⁷⁰⁶ Siv Dahlin (translated by Matti Haavio), “Mielisairaala ja vapaus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 108-125.

⁷⁰⁷ Konkret 6/67, Inghe Ihsgren, “Kåken fram och tillbacka”, 48-50.

⁷⁰⁸ TYL 6/68, Sampo Simonen, “Marraskuulaiset menettelytavat puntarissa”, 6; Ajankohta 11/67, Ritva Turunen, “ajankohtaista puheenaihetta/Marraskuun liike”, 26.

⁷⁰⁹ Konkret 1/67, Stig Jutterström, “Sånt läder ska så’n smörja ha. Kriminalvårdschefen ställd mot väggen”, 73-75.

altogether; Klaus Mäkelä, for instance, pointed out that alcoholics were quite capable of being rational when it came to being precise about the alcoholic content of their drinks.⁷¹⁰ The point here was that all people – even those usually dismissed as irrational – were in fact surprisingly rational when viewed from a more comprehensive and understanding perspective.

A central pillar in the Finnish reformist argument was the idea that all matters of policy (social or otherwise) were thoroughly interconnected, and so any changes should happen democratically, and across many areas of policy at the same time. Expert guidance was again important in implementing “rational”, and “long-term” plans with the active participation of the state.⁷¹¹ SMOs began to look at the bigger picture too, and the ML saw itself as instrumental in contributing to it: “the November Movement aims to make better plans.”⁷¹² In Sweden activists were much more sceptical about overall reform; even in the early Sixties they highlighted the inconsistency between general plans and the resources available to implement them at the local level.⁷¹³ But as SMOs radicalised, and class-based conceptualisations of the issue became more prevalent, the Swedish New Left press started to make demands for more comprehensive structural changes to the whole of society.⁷¹⁴ By stressing the holistic nature of political problems, activists were underlining the internecine complexity of social policies and structures. Often interpreted as a leftist turn within Nordic radical movements, it’s worth bearing in mind that cultural radicalism had already emphasised structural explanations, but in terms of moral and cultural factors rather than material or political power structures.

Reformers accepted the traditional utilitarian goal of maximising happiness and social well-being but the factors used to calculate this needed to be expanded. Again, comprehensiveness and empathy were the key. Did the phenomenon affect society as a whole?⁷¹⁵ Did it cause individuals to suffer? Only “real”, proven, and calculable benefits could justify the intervention of the state in someone’s private life.⁷¹⁶ As the ML declared in its founding manifesto, a “factual” approach meant also taking into account the harm caused to those

⁷¹⁰ JYL 5/64, -H.R. “Raittiustyö, -aate, -liike, -nuoriso”, 4.

⁷¹¹ Ajankohta 3/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Onko oikeuskansleri erehtymätön”, 16; Tilanne 4/66, Lyhennellen referoinut Aira Sinervo, “Miten kohtelemme epäsosiaalisia yksilöitä? Eräitä Jörgen Erikssonin ajatuksia”, 323-329; Konkret 3-4/67, Bengt Börjesson, “Juristens nya ansikte”, 95-99; 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 186-188; LibD 1/64, Birger Möller, “Minoritet under förmyndare”, 30-32; LibD 1/69, Arne Granholm, “Vi måste få en socialpolitisk ideologi”, 3-7; Aikalainen 5/66, Rauno Setälä, “Raittiuspolitiikasta alkoholipolitiikkaan”, 16-19.

⁷¹² “Marraskuun liikkeen tarkoitus on toteuttaa parempia suunnitelmia.” TYL 30/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, “Tiesin ja vähän muutakin”, 7.

⁷¹³ LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, “Brister i välfärdssamhället”, 24-27.

⁷¹⁴ See, e.g., TiS 39/66, Ts., “Det rättslösa barnet”, 2.

⁷¹⁵ Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁷¹⁶ Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

considered 'deviant' at the epicentre of society's control politics.⁷¹⁷ Conservative objections to this approach showed just how blissfully unaware they were of certain segments of society. "When some conservatives say that a hospital is not a hotel", highlighted Ilkka Taipale, "they are forgetting that hotels would actually be much cheaper than hospitals".⁷¹⁸ Incarcerating patients and prisoners was indeed remarkably expensive and many activists argued that the money would be better spent on increasing the overall safety and wellbeing of society.⁷¹⁹ What was genuinely new, particularly in the Finnish radical discourse, was explicit references to "state finances".⁷²⁰ This was a clear break from cultural radicalism's avowed avoidance of fiscal argumentation altogether; the years of constant economic growth in the early Sixties gave little reason to ponder such things. As a political argument, it was a reversal of usual roles too, as here was a case where conservative attitudes were actually costing taxpayers more.⁷²¹ A more "rational" (and at the same time caring) approach would mean that these deviants would actually be more likely to play a "productive" role in society again.⁷²² The idea that reforms would not cost anything, and probably in fact save money was equally compelling.⁷²³ One ML supporter from Oulu highlighted this aspect: "attitudes cost nothing, and that's what the November Movement is trying to change."⁷²⁴ In Sweden, similar arguments were often used as a justification of the welfare state; once social policy expenses were framed as a form of investment, they ceased to be expenses, making it harder to be politically

⁷¹⁷ Ylioppilaslehti 26/67, Marraskuun liikkeen valmisteleva komitea, "Marraskuun liike", 13; TYL 30/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, "Tiesin ja vähän muutakin", 7.

⁷¹⁸ "Kun jotkut konservatiivit sanovat, ettei sairaala ole mikään hotelli, he eivät muista hotellien tulevan paljon halvemmaksi kuin sairaaloiden." Ajankohta 4/67, Ilkka Taipale, "Sairaat jonoon ja herätys kello kuusi", 14-15; hotel references also in e.g., LiBD 7/65, Maria Berglind, "Långholmen - en helvetets förgård", 37-39.

⁷¹⁹ Ajankohta 3/67, Klaus Mäkelä, "Onko oikeuskansleri erehtymätön", 16; Ajankohta 3/67, "Rattijuoppous arka asia", 16-17, 32; Ajankohta 3/67, "Rattijuoppous arka asia", 16-17, 32; Kettil Bruun, "Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32; Christer Kihlman (translated by Risto Hannula), "Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142; Kristin Olsoni (suom. Katarina Eskola & Risto Hannula), "Tummien diskriminointi", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 164-185; Aviisi 18/67, S.H., "Silmä silmästä", 3; Ajankohta 11/67, Ritva Turunen, "ajankohtaista puheenaihetta/Marraskuun liike", 26; Konkret 6/67, Inghe Ihsgrén, "Kåken fram och tillbaka", 48-50.

⁷²⁰ Ajankohta 3/67, Klaus Mäkelä, "Onko oikeuskansleri erehtymätön", 16.

⁷²¹ Ylioppilaslehti 14/68, Johan Åkerblom, "Vanki n:o 481 Marraskuun liike on hyvä liike", 7.

⁷²² LiBD 1/64, Claes-Adam Wachtmeister, "Fullmäktiges fördomar", 39; Kristin Olsoni (transl. Katarina Eskola & Risto Hannula), "Tummien diskriminointi", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 164-185.

⁷²³ Ajankohta 9/67, Klaus Mäkelä, "Uudistuva sosiaalihuolto", 13-14; Kettil Bruun, "Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁷²⁴ "asenteet eivät maksa mitään, ja niitähän marraskuun liike pyrkii muuttamaan." OYL 13/68, J.L., "Valoa vankiloihin", 3.

opposed to them.⁷²⁵ And such claims not only had a legitimising role in mainstream Swedish political culture, they were also common in the radical reformist circles of both Nordic countries.⁷²⁶

Although reformist activists were strong believers in the system, their desire for reform was so strong it was often mistaken for provocative radicalism by the staff of those institutions they were criticising. But rather than questioning the fundamental tenets of the welfare state, activists wanted to expand key concepts into new spheres of society.⁷²⁷ Understanding the synchronic relationship between general planning and individualism in radical social policy activism is key here. By removing any assumptions of personal responsibility and thus morality,⁷²⁸ radicals were maintaining that the needs of an individual patient could now be fully and scientifically assessed.⁷²⁹ Adopting a behaviouristic position was important here, as ideas of personal responsibility were gradually replaced by a scientific determinism that defined the limits of conscious decision-making and free will. But rather than seeing this environmental determinism of human behaviour as a limiting factor, many saw it as liberating. Understanding the limits of individual choice would mean more tolerance of atypical and antisocial behaviour, making it pointless to morally reprehend.⁷³⁰ The perpetrator was now a victim.⁷³¹ This was quite radical, especially in the criminal context, since it questioned whether criminals should even be punished, and yet there was a firm trust in sociological explanations. Klaus Mäkelä was explicit in his positivist relativism: "If general sociological theory predicts that those living in certain difficult circumstances will regularly commit crimes, it will become difficult to resent them morally."⁷³²

This newly-found relativism did not, however, call into question the traditional rhetoric of rationality. "Purposeful"⁷³³ was a key concept that helped redefine the sphere of rationalist models, and usually meant advocating

⁷²⁵ LiBD 1/69, Arne Granholm, "Vi måste få en socialpolitisk ideologi", 3-7; Andersson 2006, 28-43.

⁷²⁶ TiS 24/65, Eric Davidsson, "Prästen kommer oftare till ålderdomshemmen än läkaren", 7.

⁷²⁷ Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, "Työ tekee vapaaksi", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163.

⁷²⁸ Ajankohta 9/67, Klaus Mäkelä, "Uudistuva sosiaalihuolto", 13-14.

⁷²⁹ LiBD 1/63, Nordal Åkerman, "Fångvården från fångens synpunkt", 22-25; Konkret 3/68, Bengt Börjeson, "En angelägen utredning!", 4-5, 67.

⁷³⁰ Klaus Mäkelä, "Pakkoauttajat", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57; TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, "Fångvård - inte vedergällning", 11; Christer Kihlman (translated by Risto Hannula), "Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142.

⁷³¹ TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, "Fångvård - inte vedergällning", 11.

⁷³² "jos jonkin yleisen sosiologisen teorian nojalla voidaan ennustaa, että tietyissä vaikeissa oloissa elävät säännönmukaisesti syyllistyvät rikoksiin, lienee vaikea paheksua heitä moraalisesti." Klaus Mäkelä, "Pakkoauttajat", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁷³³ Aviisi 15/67, "Alkoholiton vaihtoehto", 5; Aikalainen 7-8/66, Leo R. Hertzberg, "Koulukotijärjestelmästä", 29-36; Ajankohta 1/67, PK, 3; Konkret 7-8/67, Paul Lindblom, "Socialvården - en klasslagstiftning?", 86-87.

preventive methods over punishments.⁷³⁴ Reforms that exhibited purposefulness in social care and its institutions were championed.⁷³⁵ Klaus Mäkelä argued that “appropriate public policy” was wider and more inclusive when compared to traditional judicial procedures, because the latter did *not* take individual characteristics into consideration.⁷³⁶ Generalising from individual experiences to the problems of social policy was an important feature of the radical debate as it helped to pinpoint interconnections between the various branches of social policy – essential for carrying out comprehensive reforms.⁷³⁷ While widening public policy was clearly acknowledged to be a challenge, especially for legal experts, any possibility of open conflict was usually downplayed. Radical sociologists were not automatically refusing the legitimacy of more traditional definitions of normal behaviour, just saying that these definitions needed to be wider than previously.⁷³⁸ For some, this meant the “time has come to critically examine the meaning of punishment, discipline, retribution, and protection in society”;⁷³⁹ in other words, to take a decisive turn from punishment to “proper care”.⁷⁴⁰

Comprehensive reform meant not just reallocating care-service funding, but actually reducing the overall amount needed.⁷⁴¹ Sociological theories of the inner dynamics of institutions were important here, as it was important to understand how “group pressure” in institutions (especially the more coercive) actually aggravated deviant behaviour further.⁷⁴² Activists who shared a hopeful, progressive stance foresaw a real “turn” towards more caring methods, and not just in social institutions, but everywhere control politics was being practised. Prison guards, for example, could learn a more “educational” approach.⁷⁴³ “Therapeutic” was a key concept here, as it was seen as theoretically opposed to the prevailing “custodial” form of care.⁷⁴⁴ New methods, focusing on

⁷³⁴ LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, “Brister i välfärdssamhället”, 24-27; LiBD 1/63, Nordal Åkerman, “Fångvården från fångens synpunkt”, 22-25; TiS 4/65, Ingmar Svensson, “Sveriges dyraste korvbit”, 7.

⁷³⁵ Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57; Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, “Työ tekee vapaaksi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163.

⁷³⁶ Ajankohta 3/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Onko oikeuskansleri erehtymätön”, 16.

⁷³⁷ Ajankohta 9/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Uudistuva sosiaalihuolto”, 13-14.

⁷³⁸ Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁷³⁹ “Aika on tullut tutkia kriittisesti rankaisemisen, kurittamisen, kostamisen ja yhteiskunnan suojelemisen mielekkyyttä.” TYL 29/68, “Ei punahilkkaa ilman susihukkaa”, 3.

⁷⁴⁰ Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁷⁴¹ Konkret 7-8/67, Paul Lindblom, “Socialvården – en klasslagstiftning?”, 86-87.

⁷⁴² Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

⁷⁴³ Sosiologia 4/65, Pirkko Sirén, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Uudistuksia tarvitaan”, 179-180; Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, “Epäkohtia vankiloissa”, 8-9; Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, Risto Jaakkola, “Vankeuden merkityksestä”, 9.

⁷⁴⁴ Sosiologia 3/67, Sirkka-Liisa Säilä & Klaus Mäkelä, “Totaalisia yhteisöjä on erilaisia”, 114-122; Ajankohta 6/67, Ritva Hurme, “Tampereen nuorisoasema”, 13; Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki:

the whole family were envisioned, aimed at solving the problems of the wider social context, not just the atypical behaviour of an individual. Coercive institutions were not the only institutions these reforms applied to, although the ultimate goal of the prison reform movement was to turn prisons into institutions of care.⁷⁴⁵

Arguments that stressed a positive understanding were especially common concerning alcohol, since its level of harmfulness was open to interpretation and clearly subject to social and historical constructs. It was often used, for instance, when radical arguments tried to relativise definitions of social harmfulness. A holistic approach to alcohol also revealed that the conventional policy goal of simply reducing the overall consumption of alcohol was somewhat short-sighted.⁷⁴⁶ Alcoholism was to be seen as a disease,⁷⁴⁷ not a moral condition caused by *all* forms of drinking. Alcohol policy clearly demonstrates how radicals were not arguing for the complete abandonment of institutional care, but on details: restricting how long alcoholics were institutionalised for was one of the most frequent points of criticism. The reformist discourse, though keen on 'logical' policies, was thus still concerned about 'normal' behaviour, but were arguing that it be based on a wider set of variables.⁷⁴⁸ Current methods were seen as too harsh, and punishments were clearly an inefficient form of care,⁷⁴⁹ but when challenged, Mäkelä admitted that sometimes isolating measures were required, especially if repeat offenders remained plainly indifferent about their behaviour.⁷⁵⁰

Care as an Ideology

Radical activists distinguished their versions of the welfare state's core values from the state's by pointing out the dishonesty of official rhetoric about "care". In these debates, one can already see a more politicised perspective, but instead of directly analysing class structures or hegemonies like the Swedish New Left, Finnish social policy activists were more ambiguous. In *Pakkoauttajat*, they systematically criticised the "ideology of care" (*hoitoideologia*), or terminology

Tammi, 33-57; Konkret 3-4/67, Gustav Jonsson, "Vällingskeden i välfärdsstaten", 92-94; LibD 2/68, "Daghem för gamla?", 13.

⁷⁴⁵ Ajankohta 12/67, Kalervo Huttu, "vankiloiden antikvaariset kirjakokoelmat", 16-17; TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, "Fångvård - inte vedergällning", 11; Konkret 1/67, Stig Jutterström, "Sånt läder ska så'n smörja ha. Kriminalvårdschefen ställd mot väggen", 73-75; Sosiologia 1/65, Kettil Bruun, "Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt", 3-13; Pirkko Sirén, "Ei kotia ei koulua", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.), *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107; Konkret 3/68, Bengt Börjeson, "En angelägen utredning!", 4-5, 67.

⁷⁴⁶ Ajankohta 4/67, Pertti Hemanus, "Miksi emme mekin painostaisi", 17.

⁷⁴⁷ Aikalainen 3/67, Ahti Susiluoto, "Kirjallisuus/Näin puhui Suomen akateemisen raittiusliiton periaateohjelma". 50-53; Ajankohta 4/67, "Tuntematon alkoholisti: minä paranin", 16-17; Ajankohta 12/67, P. Veistola, "Lukijain kirjeitä/Riskitön keino elää", 20.

⁷⁴⁸ Sosiologia 1/65, Kettil Bruun, "Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt", 3-13.

⁷⁴⁹ Sosiologia 3/65, Pirkko Sirén, "Tavoitteet ja todellisuus", 101-112.

⁷⁵⁰ Ajankohta 9/67, Klaus Mäkelä, "Uudistuva sosiaalihuolto", 13-14.

used by experts to justify their control politics as a form of care, often without proper legal foundation.⁷⁵¹ This jargon, it was claimed, alienated even those who were actually working in the institutions and who could have contributed valuable knowledge about the bigger picture; instead of harnessing these people's enthusiasm, the system encouraged elitism – administrators and caretakers focused on titles, medical concepts, and the jargon of expertise.⁷⁵² Social policy activists maintained that ideology of care had been adopted to create the illusion of methodological progress in the field.⁷⁵³ By associating care practices with the pejorative concept of "ideology", social policy activists were able to criticise the system without altogether questioning its legitimacy, or blaming the staff of these institutions for its failings.

In Sweden, "welfare" and "care" had become part of the official language of the State, and were now used, the New Left argued, somewhat indiscriminately to define all sorts of policies. The effect had been to devalue the meaning of these terms, while at the same time ignoring the dark sides of Swedish society.⁷⁵⁴ "The picture [...] conjured up of the care provided for alcoholics in Sweden in 1967," one journalist writing for *Tidsignal* reported, "should not exist in a society that uses the term 'welfare'."⁷⁵⁵ The New Left argued that simply changing terms from "prison" (*fångvårdsstyrelsen*) to "correctional treatment" and "rehabilitation" (*kriminalvårdsstyrelsen*)⁷⁵⁶ were a bluff – the only thing that had changed in the penal system were the labels.⁷⁵⁷ Such bureaucratic jargon was simply a sign of the power wielded by officials, and being able to interact effectively with this machinery of experts required skills that many inmates simply did not have.⁷⁵⁸

Nordic social policy activists based their criticism of bureaucratic jargon on the fairly straightforward idea that language can never be an exact representation of physical or material reality. Yet somehow they did not seem to consider that their own language might be affected by the same inadequacies. In this sense, social policy activists were following in the footsteps of the cultural radicalists

⁷⁵¹ Lars D. Eriksson, "Alkusanat", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi; Kettil Bruun, "Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁷⁵² Klaus Mäkelä, "Pakkoauttajat", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁷⁵³ Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, "Työ tekee vapaaksi", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163; Klaus Mäkelä, "Pakkoauttajat", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁷⁵⁴ TiS 38/65, Stig Ake Stålnacke, "Nio frågor om fångvård", 4; TiS 12/65, "En titt in i svensk fångvård", 8-9.

⁷⁵⁵ "Den bild han gav av hur alkoholistvård i Sverige anno 1967 kan fungera är en bild man tycker inte skulle få existera i ett samhälle som älskar att använda sig av förstavelsen "välfärds-". TiS 32/67, Lorenz Olsson, "Vårdkarusellen", 7.

⁷⁵⁶ TiS 12/65, "En titt in i svensk fångvård", 8-9.

⁷⁵⁷ LiBD 1/69, "De oförbätterliga/En praktikers syn på fångvården", 22-25.

⁷⁵⁸ TiS 45/65, Kai Blomqvist, "rätt med ord", 12; TiS 16/66, "Ge invandrarna medborgerliga rättigheter!"; TiS 44/68, Bo Hammar, "Sveriges största kommunala rättsskandal", 11, 13; Konkret 8-9/68, Arne H Lindgren, "Utdrad ur svart dagbok", 24-28.

who had also claimed that their perspective was somehow less biased than those of the conservative society that surrounded them. Those in control of care institutions may have thought they were providing humane help and care,⁷⁵⁹ but these good intentions were not enough.⁷⁶⁰ As Lars D. Eriksson wrote in the introduction to *Pakkoauttajat*, “[h]as the official ideology of care given us a wrong idea of what the actual reality is?”⁷⁶¹ The reality, social policy activists argued, was a “prison system” or “ghetto”.⁷⁶² The complex language of expertise used in social care seemed to blur exactness and hide the truth from the people who were actually in the institutions. Complex medical concepts could actually be used to condone a form of control politics; the sharpest critics described this conceptual murkiness as a deliberate and malicious choice.⁷⁶³

Radical critics illustrated the deceptive nature of expert language with concrete examples. In their eyes, “mental asylums” were in effect prisons,⁷⁶⁴ and child welfare services “kidnapped” children from their parents.⁷⁶⁵ “Care” was just a label used in official jargon,⁷⁶⁶ that was in fact quite far from the actual “reality”⁷⁶⁷ of institutionalised care. The “ideology of care” touted by such experts was the dominant discourse that actually blocked any real reforms.⁷⁶⁸ For Klaus Mäkelä it seemed, as we can see from the quote below, that only a complete revolution of penal and care systems would suffice.

“The whole ideological and organisational system must first be torn down before anything good can be created. Currently, care facilities only differ from penal institutions in name. The real goal is to actually make it the other way round, so penal institutions become only nominally different from institutions of care.”⁷⁶⁹

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- ⁷⁵⁹ Sosiologia 1/65, Kettil Bruun, “Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13; TiS 12/65, “En titt in i svensk fängvård”, 8-9; Ajankohta 2/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 5
- ⁷⁶⁰ Aikalainen 7-8/66, Leo R. Hertzberg, “Koulukotijärjestelmästä”, 29-36.
- ⁷⁶¹ “Onko virallinen hoitoideologiamme antanut meille erheellisen käsityksen siitä, miltä todellisuus oikeasti näyttää?”. Lars D. Eriksson, “Alkusanat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi.
- ⁷⁶² Aikalainen 7-8/66, Leo R. Hertzberg, “Koulukotijärjestelmästä”, 29-36; Sosiologia 1/65, Kettil Bruun, “Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13; Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57; Sosiologia 1/67, Pertti Hemanus, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Anarkstinen utopisti?”, 48.
- ⁷⁶³ Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.
- ⁷⁶⁴ Konkret 3-4/67, Nårdal Åkerman, “Kriminalvårdsdebattens återvändsgränd”, 7-9.
- ⁷⁶⁵ Ajankohta 2/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 5.
- ⁷⁶⁶ Konkret 7-8/67, Paul Lindblom, “Socialvården – en klasslagstiftning?”, 86-87.
- ⁷⁶⁷ TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, “Fängvård – inte vedergällning”, 11; Jacob Söderman (suom. Risto Hannula), “Tarvitaanko velkavankilaa?”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 58-77; JYL 6/68, -K.K., “Autta armias”, 5.
- ⁷⁶⁸ TYL 29/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, “Hoito vai rangaistus”, 4.
- ⁷⁶⁹ “Koko ideologinen ja organisatorinen järjestelmä on ensiksi revittävä hajalle, ennen kuin mitään kunnollista voidaan luoda tilalle. Tällä hetkellä hoitolaitokset eroavat vain nimellisesti rangaistuslaitoksista. Oikea päämäärä on saada rangaistuslaitokset eroamaan hoitolaitoksista vain nimellisesti.” Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

4.3 Social Policy Activism and Practical Reforms: “The social welfare state is far from complete.”⁷⁷⁰

One challenge for social policy activists was how to include inmates or patients into their activism. One way was to make political activism more concrete, which gradually happened at roughly the same time as radical discourses were polarising. KRUM and the ML were founded in 1966 and 1967 respectively, as mentioned at the start of this chapter, and through these SMOs a network of scholars, activists, and care professionals was quickly formed. These new developments soon started to redirect the focus of debates in the press, and including the voices of inmates became more and more important.

Social policy activism radicalised gradually, still relying on many of the same core ideas as reformist approaches had done; there were demands for sociological research, for example, to be used extensively in the government’s intended reform of the Finnish school system,⁷⁷¹ and many of the practical suggestions proposed were justified by sociological research in that particular field.⁷⁷² As social scientists openly discussed policy papers and legislation in their own research, it seemed only natural that their ideas might one day have a direct impact on national policies (as indeed was their aim).⁷⁷³ Policy suggestions were particularly common over what should be included in the national curriculum.⁷⁷⁴ Almost all radical discourses focused on this, as enlightening the general public was seen as one of the most important ways to advance radical politics. Another palpable practical dimension was provided by the networks and contacts of the social policy activists themselves, since many of them actually had full time jobs in the fields in question. This meant they had real-life experiences of how deficiencies in care affected people in practice.⁷⁷⁵

Not only were there academic activists who were now actually working in social policy contexts related to their research, but there were also many SMO activists who had medical training. Ilkka Taipale, for instance, was one such young “radical doctor”⁷⁷⁶ and as such he was seen as a practical reformer. As an understanding and non-authoritarian professional who knew how to approach patients and consider their perspective – still a rarity in the medical profession – Taipale was portrayed as setting a good example of how comprehensive care could be through his own professional practice, and he could also suggest

⁷⁷⁰ “Det sociala väfrädssamhället är långt ifrån färdigbyggt.” LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, “Brister i välfärdssamhället”, 24-27.

⁷⁷¹ Sosiologia 1/66, Kettil Bruun/PK, 1-2.

⁷⁷² Ajankohta 6/67, Ritva Hurme, “Tampereen nuorisoasema”, 13.

⁷⁷³ Sosiologia 3/65, Pirkko Sirén, “Tavoitteet ja todellisuus”, 101-112; Fridjonsdottir 1991.

⁷⁷⁴ Kristin Olsoni (transl. Katarina Eskola & Risto Hannula), “Tummien diskriminointi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 164-185.

⁷⁷⁵ TiS 32/67, Lorenz Olsson, “Vårdkarusellen”, 7.

⁷⁷⁶ JYL 30/67, Jussi, “Normaalius”, 13.

detailed reforms to medical training and assignments.⁷⁷⁷ Claes Andersen was another medically trained activist who brought the latest psychiatric expertise to the ranks of the ML,⁷⁷⁸ while Gunnar and Maj-Britt Inghe played a similar role in Sweden.⁷⁷⁹ The inclusion of inmate/patient experiences was one form of expertise that the academic world could not provide.⁷⁸⁰ These experiences would ultimately redefine and adapt concepts used rather than completely innovate them. Social policy activism broadened the meaning of the concept of *participation*, for instance, which had been used in many different strands of radical activism since the early Sixties. A firm trust in the progressiveness of modern society underlined the importance of a participatory democracy. "The general democratisation of society should also be made to apply to healthcare and be implemented at all stages", argued one Swedish doctor in *Tidsignal*.⁷⁸¹ Participation had been one of the cornerstones of the Nordic welfare state, and radical activists were well aware of this.⁷⁸² Indeed, the organisational frame of Nordic civil society that encouraged mass participation was an integral part of this tradition – how exactly this wider participation would be achieved was a completely different matter though.

One way suggested by Nordic social policy activists was to highlight the role of social communication. The first step was to remove isolation and improve communication within the institution to support the re-socialisation of inmates.⁷⁸³ To increase their self-confidence, "real", "open", and "honest" discussions were encouraged between inmates and staff;⁷⁸⁴ the hierarchies⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁷⁷ Ajankohta 4/67, Ilkka Taipale, "Sairaat jonoon ja herätys kello kuusi", 14-15.

⁷⁷⁸ JYL 10/68, "JYY:n sosiaaliseminaari", 1.

⁷⁷⁹ See, e.g. LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, "Brister i välfärdssamhället", 24-27; LibD 3-4/67, Ingemar Mundebo, "Ideologi och vårdpolitik", 63-65; TiS 5/67, "Boken man talar om", 12-13; TiS 1/68, Kjell E. Johanson, "Alkoholfrågansom socialt problem"; TiS 14/67, Georg Palmer, "Klassamhället under folkhemsytan".

⁷⁸⁰ TiS 17/65, Nils Bejerot, "Det behövs skärpt organisation inom vår sjukvård!", 20; TiS 17/65, Ingemar Svensson, "Blir inte sjuk i sommar!"; TiS 20/65, Anders Carlberg, "Gör fängelserna studievänliga!", 6; TiS 32/67, Lorenz Olsson, "Vårdkarusellen", 7; LiBD 7/65, Maria Berglind, "Långholmen – en helvetets förgård", 37-39; TiS 5/67, Stig Åke Ståhlacke, "Efter 4 år på anstalt...", 14; LiBD 1/69, "De oförbättrliga/En praktikers syn på fångvården", 22-25.

⁷⁸¹ "Samhällets allmänna demokratiseringsprocess bör även föras in i sjukvården och drivas på alla stadier." TiS 17/65, Nils Bejerot, "Det behövs skärpt organisation inom vår sjukvård!", 20. see also Konkret 7-8/67, Paul Lindblom, "Socialvården – en klasslagstiftning?", 86-87.

⁷⁸² Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, "Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä", 12-13.

⁷⁸³ TiS 20/65, Anders Carlberg, "Gör fängelserna studievänliga!", 6; TiS 12/65, "En titt in i svensk fångvård", 8-9; Sosiologia 3/65, Pirkko Sirén, "Tavoitteet ja todellisuus", 101-112; TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, "Fångvård – inte vedergällning", 11; Pirkko Sirén, "Ei kotia ei koulua", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

⁷⁸⁴ TiS 12/65, "En titt in i svensk fångvård", 8-9; TiS 13/65, "Fångvårdsstyrelsen dumpar priserna för handikappade"; Konkret 7-8/67, Paul Lindblom, "Socialvården – en klasslagstiftning?", 86-87

⁷⁸⁵ Sosiologia 3/65, Pirkko Sirén, "Tavoitteet ja todellisuus", 101-112; Pirkko Sirén, "Ei kotia ei koulua", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107; TiS 51/66, Hans Nestius, "Fångvård – inte vedergällning", 11.

needed to be dismantled as they increased the passivity of inmates.⁷⁸⁶ Focusing more on the individual would increase their comfort and well-being, and lead to increased participation.⁷⁸⁷ One strategy for showing the futility of institutional hierarchies was to emphasise the intellectual abilities of inmates.⁷⁸⁸ Radical papers maintained that, despite their subordinate position, many inmates and patients were very talented and capable when actually given the benefit of the doubt and trusted.

Another strategy for promoting participation was to encourage contact with the outside world.⁷⁸⁹ At that time, any socialising, if any, was kept within the walls of the institution and there was little incentive to get inmates involved with the outside world – especially those “with a normal social life”.⁷⁹⁰ Pertti Hemanus borrowed directly from Jörgen Eriksson when he maintained that “instead of relying on supervision and control --- there could be intelligent and meaningful human contact between social and asocial individuals”.⁷⁹¹ Suitable venues for establishing a new democratic form of “social communication” were required, and bars and restaurants were most often suggested as “potential cultural forums”.⁷⁹² These examples show how radicals generally saw urban environments as a more natural environment for healthy social communication. An institution lacking proper contact with the outside world was in danger of reinforcing deviant behavioural patterns behind its walls.⁷⁹³ Some tried to set up tangible experiments to achieve this. One such contributor, for instance, suggested that psychiatric patients participate in cultural events organised by the Student Union of Turku University. The event would encourage contacts to be made and hopefully lessen the effects of solitude and isolation among inmates, while at the same time making students aware of the suffering still present in modern society.⁷⁹⁴ Some Swedish activists also believed that contact with

⁷⁸⁶ Siv Dahlin (translated by Matti Haavio), “Mielisairaala ja vapaus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 108-125.

⁷⁸⁷ *TiS* 12/65, “En titt in i svensk fängvård”, 8-9; *TiS* 13/65, “Fångvårdsstyrelsen dumpar priserna för handikappade”; Ajankohta 1/67, Ritva Turunen, “Oikeusturva Suomessa”, 4; Ajankohta 4/67, Ilkka Taipale, “Sairaat jonoon ja herätys kello kuusi”, 14-15; *TiS* 24/67, Lillemor Ramstedt, “Ge oss chans att vara människor”, 6; *LibD* 2/68, “Daghem för gamla?”, 13.

⁷⁸⁸ *TiS* 20/65, Anders Carlberg, “Gör fängelserna studievänliga!”, 6; *TiS* 5/67, Stig Åke Ståhlacke, “Efter 4 år på anstalt...”, 14.

⁷⁸⁹ *TiS* 20/65, Anders Carlberg, “Gör fängelserna studievänliga!”, 6; *TiS* 12/65, “En titt in i svensk fängvård”, 8-9; *Sosiologia* 3/65, Pirkko Sirén, “Tavoitteet ja todellisuus”, 101-112; *TiS* 51/66, Hans Nestius, “Fångvård – inte vedergällning”, 11.

⁷⁹⁰ *TiS* 30/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Vård eller vedergällning?”, 7; *Konkret* 3-4/67, Nårdal Åkerman, “Kriminalvårdsdebattens återvändsgränd”, 7-9; Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

⁷⁹¹ “Valvonnan ja kontrollin sijasta on saatava aikaan inhimillinen, tietävä ja taitava kontaktien luominen sosiaalisten ja asosiaalisten yksilöiden välille.” *Sosiologia* 1/67, Pertti Hemanus, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/ Anarkstinen utopisti?”, 48 This idea was borrowed from Jörgen Eriksson's book.

⁷⁹² Aikalainen 5/66, “Suomalaisesta alkoholipolitiikasta”, 26-31

⁷⁹³ Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

⁷⁹⁴ *TYL* 12/68, “... tapahtui muissakin tiloissa”, 7.

students and other “decent people” might enlighten prisoners and provide them with new perspectives.⁷⁹⁵ Other less direct ways suggested for increasing their contact with the outside world were libraries, movies, art exhibitions, and writing letters.⁷⁹⁶ Social participation was the key to a “therapeutic environment”,⁷⁹⁷ one that would include meaningful and inspiring social activities.⁷⁹⁸ As one activist pointed out, “frantic cleaning” did not make an institution therapeutic. These new therapeutic activities, were to be the cornerstone of truly individual approaches that no longer relied on authoritarian coercion, but were instead based on the voluntary participation of patients.⁷⁹⁹ They demanded a different attitude, based on solidarity and joint responsibility instead of hierarchical structures.⁸⁰⁰ Inclusive attitudes were seen as a natural part of modern society, defined by participation and lively communication in all walks of life.⁸⁰¹

“Outpatient care” was one of the most common suggestions for making medical, social, and criminal institutions more open to therapeutic methods.⁸⁰² Following Goffman’s theoretical model of “total institutions”, this concept could be applied in a range of contexts: from reform schools and mental hospitals to the resocialisation and reintegration of prison inmates.⁸⁰³ UK examples of such

⁷⁹⁵ TiS 12/65, “En titt in i svensk fängvård”, 8-9; TiS 30/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Vård eller vedergällning?”, 7.

⁷⁹⁶ Ajankohta 4/67, Ilkka Taipale, “Sairaot jonoon ja herätys kello kuusi”, 14-15; LiBD 1/63, Nordal Åkerman, “Fångvården från fångens synpunkt”, 22-25; LiBD 7/65, Maria Berglind, “Långholmen – en helvetets förgård”, 37-39; TiS 38/65, Stig Åke Stålnacke, “Nio frågor om fångvård”, 4; TiS 30/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Vård eller vedergällning?”, 7; Sosiologia 1/65, Kettil Bruun, “Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 313; Eriksson, Lars D., “Uudistusehdotuksia”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 186-188.

⁷⁹⁷ Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

⁷⁹⁸ TiS 12/65, “En titt in i svensk fängvård”, 8-9; Konkret 1/67, Stig Jutterström, “Sånt läder ska så’n smörja ha. Kriminalvårdschefen ställd mot väggen”, 73-75.

⁷⁹⁹ Siv Dahlin (translated by Matti Haavio), “Mielisairaala ja vapaus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 108-125. See also TiS 17/65, Nils Bejerot, “Det behövs skärpt organisation inom vår sjukvård!”, 20; Konkret 3/68, Bengt Börjeson, “En angelägen utredning!”, 4-5, 67; Sosiologia 1/65, Kettil Bruun, “Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13; Ajankohta 9/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Uudistuva sosiaalihuolto”, 13-14.

⁸⁰⁰ TYL 6/68, Sampo Simonen, “Marraskuulaiset menettelytavat puntarissa”, 6.

⁸⁰¹ Siv Dahlin (translated by Matti Haavio), “Mielisairaala ja vapaus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 108-125.

⁸⁰² LiBD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, “Brister i välfärdssamhället”, 24-27; LiBD 1/63, Nordal Åkerman, “Fångvården från fångens synpunkt”, 22-25; Aikalainen 5/66, “Suomalaisesta alkoholipolitiikasta”, 26-31; Siv Dahlin (translated by Matti Haavio), “Mielisairaala ja vapaus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 108-125; TYL 31/67, Raija Alho, “Tätä mieltä/Tiesittekö tämän koulukodeista?”, 6; TYL 2/68, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, “Tätä mieltä tällä viikolla/Vielä kerran koulukodeista”, 6; LiBD 3-4/67, Ingemar Mundelbo, “Ideologi och vårdpolitik”, 63-65; Konkret 3-4/67, Nördal Åkerman, “Kriminalvårdsdebattens återvändsgränd”, 7-9; Konkret 7-8/67, Paul Lindblom, “Socialvården – en klasslagstiftning?”, 86-87; LiBD 2/68, Ingemar Andersson, “Bättre åldringsbostäder”, 16.

⁸⁰³ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, “Epäkohtia vankiloissa”, 8-9.

open institutions were cited in the Nordic press, emphasising a trust and faith in human abilities.⁸⁰⁴ The model was validated by simple win-win arguments, as social policy activists were convinced that outpatient care would prove to be both more efficient and cheaper.⁸⁰⁵ Because of the openness and voluntariness, it would be less morally judgemental, and so less harmful to the patient.⁸⁰⁶ In essence, outpatient models were seen as permanent solutions to the “lifelong” nature of institutional care.⁸⁰⁷ Many hoped that the outpatient model would change care into a genuine “service”.⁸⁰⁸ Consequently, these models would also enable new forms of social communication and inclusion.⁸⁰⁹ And yet, despite all the positive aspects, these supposedly modern and tolerant approaches had still not gained widespread approval by the Nordic establishment.⁸¹⁰ Fostering knowledge was again an important goal for activism: increasing the awareness of outpatient models among professionals would enlighten those in responsible positions and hopefully increase the amount of outpatient care actually being carried out in practice.⁸¹¹

To illustrate how outpatient care could make a tangible difference, the concept of pluralism was adopted (from sociology), as it provided a theoretical basis for including atypical people in the modern welfare state.⁸¹² To effectively apply the concept of pluralism to atypical behaviour, it was necessary to frame those with atypical behavioural characteristics as being part of a social minority. This way, there could be a convenient way of both analysing their particular characteristics and showing how they still could function as productive and legitimate members of a modern society. Pluralism also opened up some politically useful comparisons. Associating atypical behaviour with a social minority helped highlight how negative attitudes towards ‘deviants’ in a non-pluralistic society severely restricted their individual freedoms. Reforming these attitudes was therefore essential if social and medical care was to be improved for atypical minorities⁸¹³ – their situation provided a good illustration of the bureaucratic obstacles and inflexible attitudes they had to face every day.⁸¹⁴ “In

⁸⁰⁴ Christer Kihlman (translated by Risto Hannula), “Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142.

⁸⁰⁵ *Sosiologia* 1/66, Kettil Bruun/PK, 1-2.

⁸⁰⁶ Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, “Työ tekee vapaaksi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163; Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁸⁰⁷ Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä”, 12-13.

⁸⁰⁸ “Uudistusehdotuksia”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 186-188; *TiS* 37/65, Signe Eriksson, “Inackorderingshem underlättar alkoholskadades övergång till en normal livsföring”, 18.

⁸⁰⁹ Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä”, 12-13; *TiS* 27/67, Georg Palmer, “Såcialvård på våran gård...”, 4-5.

⁸¹⁰ *Sosiologia* 1/66, Kettil Bruun/PK, 1-2.

⁸¹¹ *TYL* 30/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, “Tiesin ja vähän muutakin”, 7; Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

⁸¹² *Ylioppilaslehti* 15/68, “Kansalliseen kulutukseen”, 8.

⁸¹³ Ajankohta 4/67, Pertti Hemanus, “Miksi emme mekin painostaisi”, 17.

⁸¹⁴ *Aviisi* 22/67, “Monipuolista asevelvollisuutta”, 6-7.

the 1960s,” remarked Mundelbo, “social policy has to pay much more attention to special minority groups than it has so far done.”⁸¹⁵ This was because it was still the norm, even in progressive Nordic welfare states, to vigorously control minorities who did not fit the demands of the system.⁸¹⁶ In fact, he argued, some of the general well-being created by the welfare state was actually being acquired at their expense. All the research that had gone into developing welfare state policies had not taken into account these minorities.⁸¹⁷ Since this discussion featured strongly among the Swedish New Left, Finnish activists naturally followed suit and replicated much of their arguments.⁸¹⁸

So that pluralism could be effectively applied, atypical behaviour was to be defined in as wide terms as possible.⁸¹⁹ Pluralist definitions of minorities applied to conscientious objectors⁸²⁰, handicapped people⁸²¹, and Jehovah’s Witnesses. In the Finnish context, Erik Allardt’s original definition of pluralism discussed atypical minorities by drawing attention to how a “once intimidating minority” – the Finnish Communists – had become a legitimate and integrated part of the government after the 1966 elections.⁸²² Pluralism also helped legitimise the role of SMOs: according to Allard, such “pressure groups” were an integral part of organised, modern society.⁸²³ Indeed, their role was to show how a planned welfare state often did not take into account how minorities were affected by its policies.⁸²⁴

While a social minority might be defined in terms of atypical or deviant behaviour, some activists also drew attention to ethnic minorities. Because of intersecting disadvantages, ethnic minorities were in fact a prime example of isolation in modern society.⁸²⁵ The Sami people were sometimes discussed in this context,⁸²⁶ but more often the Roma people provided a useful example of a local, oppressed ethnocultural minority. In Finland, the Roma issue was a clear part of social policy activism.⁸²⁷ This general lack of awareness of the disadvantages that the Roma population faced were described in the radical press as “unconscious

⁸¹⁵ “Socialpolitiken måste under 1960-talet i långt högre rad än hittills uppmärksamma vårdområdena och de speciella minoritetsgrupperna.” LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, “Brister i välfärdssamhället”, 24-27.

⁸¹⁶ Konkret 6/67, Inghe Ihsgren, “Kåken fram och tillbaka”, 48-50; OYL 29/68, Juha Mikkonen, “Kohti opintoanarkiaa”, 5.

⁸¹⁷ LibD 1/62, Ingemar Mundelbo, “Brister i välfärdssamhället”, 24-27.

⁸¹⁸ TiS 40/66, Sven O. Bergkvist, “De långtids sjuka och moralen”, 7; Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä”, 12-13; Andersson 2006, 48-50.

⁸¹⁹ See, e.g. Aviisi 15/67, “Terveet elämäntavat kunniaan”, 4-5.

⁸²⁰ Aviisi 22/67, “Monipuolista asevelvollisuutta”, 6-7.

⁸²¹ LibD 1/69, Vilhelm Ekensteen, “Det handikappade samhället”, 15-18.

⁸²² Christer Kihlman (translated by Risto Hannula), “Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142.

⁸²³ Ajankohta 4/67, Pertti Hemanus, “Miksi emme mekin painostaisi”, 17.

⁸²⁴ LibD 1/69, Vilhelm Ekensteen, “Det handikappade samhället”, 15-18.

⁸²⁵ LibD 1/69, Arne Granholm, “Vi måste få en socialpolitisk ideologi”, 3-7.

⁸²⁶ LibD 1/64, Birger Möller, “Minoritet under förmyndare”, 30-32.

⁸²⁷ The publication of Krisin Olsoni’s article in *Pakkoauttajat* highlights this emphasis.

discrimination",⁸²⁸ with direct comparisons made to the extensive Finnish press coverage of racial discrimination in Selma, Alabama.⁸²⁹ Parallels such as these,⁸³⁰ with the US, set the Finnish case within a transnational framework of racism. In Sweden, too, *Liberal debatt* noted that foreign cases of minority discrimination were often easier to spot than domestic ones⁸³¹ – it seemed that the media found foreign matters easier to report, as it meant they could avoid actively implying that any one part of Swedish society was to blame. At the same time, it meant that home-grown grievances went largely unreported.⁸³² The solutions proposed were still, by and large, statist in nature: only an "active" and "effective" state policy could change this state of affairs while also preserving the integrity of minority groups.⁸³³

Again, Sweden was the obvious source of inspiration for framing domestic minorities, especially when Swedish Roma activist and author, Katarina Taikon,⁸³⁴ came to give a lecture in Finland. Her criticism was directed at the "preachy" attitudes towards Roma people, as vehemently expressed by the religious organisation (*Mustalaislähetys ry*) that was the primary NGO responsible for roma issues. As an expert, Finnish activists noted that Taikon made her criticisms "not only as a representative of the gypsies, but as a Swede." In this respect, Sweden was seen as "a pioneer in this area too."⁸³⁵ Meanwhile in Sweden, *Tidsignal* demanded development aid be sent to Finnish roma people, backing this up with Taikon's expert opinion and a vivid portrayal of the squalid conditions that one family in Helsinki were forced to live in. *Tidsignal* pressed for a Nordic "civil rights law" that would penalise racial segregation – in restaurants and hotels, for instance. The Roma's plight was also framed in non-ethnic terms; modernisation had removed their traditional sources of income and exacerbated their situation.⁸³⁶ Guest workers, who started immigrating to Sweden in an ever accelerating phase from the 1960s onwards, were another social minority in a similar situation, but this was only rudimentarily dealt with in terms of job-related bureaucracy in the Swedish radical press and the ethnic dimension of this minority was only occasionally hinted at.⁸³⁷

While there are echoes of the transnational New Left discussions on minority rights in these Nordic writings, they were still rather rare and national

828 Kristin Olsoni (suom. Katarina Eskola & Risto Hannula), "Tummien diskriminointi", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 164-185.

829 Aikalainen 2/65, "Kirsti", 3; Aikalainen 2/65, "Kirsti ja Selma", 3-5.

830 Kristin Olsoni (suom. Katarina Eskola & Risto Hannula), "Tummien diskriminointi", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 164-185.

831 LibD 1/64, Claes-Adam Wachtmeister, "Fullmäktiges fördomar", 39.

832 Aikalainen 2/65, "Kirsti ja Selma", 3-5.

833 LibD 1/64, Claes-Adam Wachtmeister, "Fullmäktiges fördomar", 39; LibD 1/69, Arne Granholm, "Vi måste få en socialpolitisk ideologi", 3-7.

834 LibD 1/64, Claes-Adam Wachtmeister, "Fullmäktiges fördomar", 39.

835 "Hän ei sanonut sitä ainoastaan mustalaisten edustajana, vaan ruotsalaisena. Ruotsi on, kuten seuraavasta voimme todeta, edelläkävijämaa tälläkin alueella." Kristin Olsoni (suom. Katarina Eskola & Risto Hannula), "Tummien diskriminointi", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 164-185.

836 TiS 26/66, Christer Hogstedt, "Ge u-hjälp till finska zignare!".

837 TiS 16/66, "Ge invandrarna medborgerliga rättigheter!"; LibD 1/69, Arne Granholm, "Vi måste få en socialpolitisk ideologi", 3-7.

in focus. The fact that they existed at all, indicates the multifaceted nature of Nordic radical publics. Despite the efforts of individual Roma activists, the matter stayed on the margins of Nordic radical discourse even with its radicalisation towards the end of the 1960s; foreign examples became the focal point for defending oppressed cultural and ethnic minorities instead. These will be dealt with in later chapters.

4.4 Conservative Hegemonies and the Rule of Law

With the intensification of radicalisation towards the end of the Sixties, social policy discussions became more openly politicised and focused on the decision-making processes of Nordic societies. While reformist discourse had focused more on the incoherent implementation of policies; the new interest in decision-making focused more on the legality of these policies. Initially, activists were not challenging the publicly declared principles of Nordic society – equality, individual rights, and democratic decision-making – just the way they were being implemented, but this changed as the radical press adopted a more political stance. The issue of legality first appeared in general discourses that focused on individual rights and equality. While legal arguments were a new strand in radical discourse, the universality of rights was not. In the field of social policy, coercive measures were seen as severely limiting basic universal rights; patients were not only patients but also citizens.⁸³⁸ Such infringements were not acceptable in a Nordic country supposed to be following the rule of law.⁸³⁹ Legal argumentation and concepts were therefore an intrinsic part of social policy activism from the offset. Liberal Swedish reformists and members of the ML (even before it was founded) had cited the importance of human rights in the past,⁸⁴⁰ but they had never been invoked as the actual basis for a legal argument before.

Perhaps the single most important universal right that was implicated in legal terms was equality. It had been a hallmark of radicalism since the early Sixties as it combined individual rights, tolerance, and diversity in a single universal concept. Although only a minority of population were subject to actual coercive measures, it did not make them any more acceptable.⁸⁴¹ Care practices

⁸³⁸ TiS 12/65, "En titt in i svensk fängvård", 8-9; TiS 36/66, Ingrid och Nils Palm, "Kund hos kommunen", 4-5; Klaus Mäkelä, "Pakkoauttajat", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57; Ajankohta 2/67, Klaus Mäkelä, "Pakkoauttajat", 5.

⁸³⁹ Jacob Söderman (transl. Risto Hannula), "Tarvitaanko velkavankilaa?", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 58-77.

⁸⁴⁰ LiBD 1/63, Nordal Åkerman, "Fängvården från fångens synpunkt", 22-25; TiS 38/65, Stig Åke Stålnacke, "Nio frågor om fångvård", 4 *Ylioppilaslehti* 26/67, Marraskuun liikkeen valmisteleva komitea, "Marraskuun liike", 13; TiS 27/67, Georg Palmer, "Såcialvård på våran gård...", 4-5.

⁸⁴¹ TYL 30/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, "Tiesin ja vähän muutakin", 7.

which involved isolation and physical punishment were bluntly described as “illegal” in the radical press.⁸⁴² Equality could also be employed in both individualist terms as “equality of opportunity”⁸⁴³ and in more leftist terms as “equality of outcomes”. In many ways, it also bridged the gap between legal minority rights and politics. As one liberal Swedish writer put it: “conscious politics and great efforts will be needed to achieve real equality.”⁸⁴⁴ In addition to equality, other equally universalist concepts cited were “human dignity” – a strong moral justification for legitimising policies in the radical press,⁸⁴⁵ and “civil rights” – particularly in the prison reform movement.⁸⁴⁶ Understanding that basic universal rights were not being made available to all,⁸⁴⁷ eventually led to a more complex relationship with statist institutions and state-led approaches that had previously been in the spotlight of the reformist social policy activists.

The rule of law came under greater scrutiny in specific care placement decisions too – frequently criticised because they flouted the concept of equality before the law.⁸⁴⁸ Minority groups, such as the Jehovah’s Witnesses, were once again the focus of attention; their treatment before the law was not only deemed unconstitutional,⁸⁴⁹ but critics also drew attention to the punishing effects of care placements on individuals. Reformist social policy activists explicitly demanded, often in the name of civil rights, that these decisions be brought before an official court of law, and be given the right to an equal hearing.⁸⁵⁰ Ensuring that people had full knowledge of their legal rights and the establishment of an equal system would offer a welcome alternative to the opaque bureaucracy and arbitrary inequality of decisions that were currently hobbling the legal system.⁸⁵¹ Many of

⁸⁴² Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

⁸⁴³ *TiS* 45/65, Kai Blomqvist, “rätt med ord”, 12.

⁸⁴⁴ “En medveten politik och starkt aktiva insatser blir erforderliga för att reell likställighet skall kunna uppnås.” *LibD* 1/64, Birger Möller, “Minoritet under förmyndare”, 30-32.

⁸⁴⁵ *Konkret* 3-4/67, Nördal Åkerman, “Kriminalvårdsdebattens återvändsgränd”, 7-9; *YL* 26/67, Marraskuun liikkeen valmisteleva komitea, “Marraskuun liike”, 13; *TYL* 30/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, “Tiesin ja vähän muutakin”, 7; Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107; *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/68, Johan Åkerblom, “Vanki n:o 481 Marraskuun liike on hyvä liike”, 7; *YL* 14/68, Esko Pirinen, “Vangin laulu Kakolassa”, 7.

⁸⁴⁶ *Aviisi* 8/68, PK, “Vangin osa”, 3.

⁸⁴⁷ *TYL* 9/68, Timo Vuortama, “Oikeuksien suhteellisuudesta”, 4.

⁸⁴⁸ *Aikalainen* 7-8/66, Leo R. Hertzberg, “Koulukotijärjestelmästä”, 29-36; *Sosiologia* 1/66, Kettil Bruun/PK, 1-2; Siv Dahlin (translated by Matti Haavio), “Mielisairaala ja vapaus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 108-125.

⁸⁴⁹ Christer Kihlman (translated by Risto Hannula), “Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142.

⁸⁵⁰ *LiBD* 1/63, Nördal Åkerman, “Fångvården från fångens synpunkt”, 22-25; *Sosiologia* 1/65, Kettil Bruun, “Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13; *Aviisi* 25/67, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1, 8; Jacob Söderman (suom. Risto Hannula), “Tarvitaanko velkavankilaa?”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 58-77; “Uudistusehdotuksia”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 186-188.

⁸⁵¹ Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

these inequalities were embedded in social structures, and this affected the way in which individuals were able to provide information about their position when, for instance, they could not hire a defence lawyer.⁸⁵² Another factor was that decisions were not based on the same kind of official investigation into matters as would be at the core of a criminal prosecution, with the result, it was argued, that sound decisions could not be made.⁸⁵³ Experts such as Inkeri Anttila, a liberal law professor, supported attempts at strengthening the legal basis of the social care system.⁸⁵⁴ For Klaus Mäkelä, the matter was simply a choice between constitutional democracy or the control politics of a “care state” (*huoltovalta*).⁸⁵⁵ In the Swedish radical press, attention was drawn to the way in which conditional punishments only increased the already significant role of bureaucrats in implementing and interpreting them.⁸⁵⁶

Calls for institutional care decisions to be judged before the law show a clear faith in the non-partisan nature of the judicial process. Once again, Sweden provided an enlightened example for Finnish radicals, since all cases of juvenile crime were dealt with by a real court, not local social workers. Finnish activists maintained that this Swedish practice ensured juvenile offenders always ended up in the institute that best suited to their particular case.⁸⁵⁷ The Swedish New Left press, however, did not see this in such a positive light though, as they focused more on rights of the individual, which needed to be at the centre of all care practices.⁸⁵⁸ Sometimes, the tone was condemnatory; as Bror Rexed wrote in his *Brott och straff* anthology, statistical evidence showed how arbitrary judges’ decisions could be, and questioned the independency and fairness of the whole judicial process.⁸⁵⁹ Transnational examples reinforced these suspicions. “The entire legal security issue cannot be judged from a purely legal point of view”, reported James de Gaalitz from West Germany, “but must be linked to political and national conditions and trends.”⁸⁶⁰ Even if reforms inside the courts were possible, traditional structures elsewhere in society remained remarkably stable; education in particular was seen as a key structural factor affecting the way legal professionals approached their cases.⁸⁶¹ Widening the range of lay members allowed in court could also bring a more socially diverse interpretation of legislation into the courtroom.⁸⁶² While the attitude of the Swedish New Left was

⁸⁵² TYL 31/67, Raija Alho, “Tätä mieltä/Tiesittekö tämän koulukodeista?”, 6.

⁸⁵³ Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57; Ajankohta 2/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 5.

⁸⁵⁴ Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Koululaisen oikeus”, 4-5.

⁸⁵⁵ Ajankohta 2/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 5.

⁸⁵⁶ LiBD 1/63, Nordal Åkerman, “Fångvården från fångens synpunkt”, 22-25; TiS 25/67, Bo Hammar, “Min kamrat drevs till självmord...”, 3-4.

⁸⁵⁷ Aikalainen 7-8/66, Leo R. Hertzberg, “Koulukotijärjestelmästä”, 29-36.

⁸⁵⁸ Konkret 7-8/67, Paul Lindblom, “Socialvården – en klasslagstiftning?”, 86-87;

Konkret 3/68, Bengt Börjeson, “En angelägen utredning!”, 4-5, 67.

⁸⁵⁹ Konkret 2/67, Ingmar Rexed, “Mot en ny kriminalpolitik”, 71.

⁸⁶⁰ “Hela rättssäkerhetsfrågan kan inte bedömas ur enbart juridisk synpunkt utan den måste kopplas ihop med politiska och nationella betingelser och tendenser.” TiS 31/65, James de Gaalitz, “Vilka dömer i Västtyskland!”, 16.

⁸⁶¹ Konkret 8-9/68, Kaj Håkanson, “Psykiatri, moral och samhälle”, 30-38.

⁸⁶² TiS 14/65, Ingemar Svensson, “Vi skall vara allmänhetens samvete”, 3.

markedly more critical, their focus on education shows that there was still room for analysis that did not explicitly rely on Marxist interpretations of the inherent class bias of jurisprudence.

The fact that social care officials had considerable power over the individuals in their care was not the main focus of reformist radicalism. Most Finnish activists, for example, actually admitted that the officials had a right to intervene in personal matters as they represented society; but it was the decisions they took that mattered – they had to be reasonable and unbiased, and this could go some way to explaining the fascination Finnish radicals had for legal concepts. For Klaus Mäkelä, coercive measures were acceptable, but only as long as the person was being protected from “the despotism of bureaucrats”.⁸⁶³ This bureaucracy was subjected to critical inspection, and the basis for decision-making inside them was questioned. Activists were convinced that administrative control measures were often harsher than criminal sentences from a proper court, as decisions made without the proper legal process could lead to varying consequences, even in cases that were very similar.⁸⁶⁴ Unlike law courts, there were no consistent standards – even if some administrative bodies assumed the form and name of a proper court.⁸⁶⁵ As Klaus Mäkelä put it, bureaucrats did not have to concern themselves with the legal rights of the individuals they dealt with.⁸⁶⁶ In child care services, for instance, rulings were rarely coherent and usually depended on the different reactions of the parents. The child had no official role in the decision-making process, which implied that their legal rights had been sacrificed for the purposes of efficiency.⁸⁶⁷ Similar criticisms were also levelled at foster care decisions.⁸⁶⁸

What is interesting in these debates is the fact that most of the activists had medical or social science background, not a legal one. Yet, Swedish criminal sociologists, for example, were rather outspoken about wanting laws to change.⁸⁶⁹ They were by no means just observing; they were actively suggesting that others outside the legal profession should be involved: “the psychologist, the social worker, and the vocational trainer need to be equal to the judge”⁸⁷⁰, as Hans Nestius argued in *Tidsignal*. Having no legal training was not considered

⁸⁶³ Ajankohta 2/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 5.

⁸⁶⁴ Jacob Söderman (transl. Risto Hannula), “Tarvitaanko velkavankilaa?”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 58-77; Aikalainen 7-8/66, Leo R. Hertzberg, “Koulukotijärjestelmästä”, 29-36; JYL 6/68, -K.K., “Auta armias”, 5.

⁸⁶⁵ Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32; Lars D. Eriksson, “Alkusanat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi; Jacob Söderman (transl. Risto Hannula), “Tarvitaanko velkavankilaa?”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 58-77.

⁸⁶⁶ Ajankohta 2/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 5.

⁸⁶⁷ Sosiologia 1/65, Kettil Bruun, “Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13

⁸⁶⁸ Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

⁸⁶⁹ Konkret 2/67, Bengt Börjesson, “Rättsociologins nya kontur”, 68-70.

⁸⁷⁰ “Jämställd med domaren måste psykologen, socialvårdaren och fackläraren vara.” *TiS* 51/66, Hans Nestius, “Fångvård – inte vedergällning”, 11.

an obstacle to them urging that legislation change. As in other spheres, “purposefulness” was still seen, in many cases, as the best assurance of legal equality.⁸⁷¹ A more comprehensive, planned, and “societal” perspective to the concept of “security” was therefore needed, and criminal sociology would help reveal the narrowness of traditional legal argumentation.⁸⁷² As some parts of the Finnish criminal code dated right back to 1889, it was easy to frame it as old-fashioned and in dire need of modernisation.⁸⁷³ Some activists even went so far as to point out that prison administration laws partly contradicted modern animal protection laws;⁸⁷⁴ and convicted criminals lost their civil and therefore political rights to vote and stand for election.⁸⁷⁵ The Swedish New Left argued for practical reforms to be made to legal training to replace moral dogmatism with a more objective, impersonal approach based on behavioural understanding.⁸⁷⁶

The universal rights approach to social care would cite the United Nations (UN) as a key part of its arguments. This had begun with the founding of the Nordic peace movements, as the organisation had particular significance in neutral countries like Finland and Sweden, and then it began to be used to legitimise radical arguments in other spheres. Universalist arguments could use actual UN sources to support their case, and social care policies were sometimes flagged up for being in conflict with the UN declaration of human rights.⁸⁷⁷ The ML talked about protecting human rights and following UN recommendations for institutions right from the start.⁸⁷⁸ The highly abstract and principled language of the UN’s Declaration should not, it was argued, stop it from being applied to local political struggles – for instance, the right of prisoners to get paid for their work, the treatment of Jehovah’s Witnesses, or demands for autonomic legal procedures.⁸⁷⁹ The Declaration of Human Rights was not the only UN text

⁸⁷¹ Ajankohta 1/67, PK, 3.

⁸⁷² Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Koululaisen oikeus”, 4-5; see also Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, Esko Pirinen, “Hyvä, Valentin Soine”, 9; Ajankohta 3/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Onko oikeuskansleri erehtymätön”, 16; TiS 5/68, Carl Gunnar Edanius, “Våra verkilga säkerhetsrisker/Här flaggas stolt för ambulanserna men hur är det?”, 8-9.

⁸⁷³ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, “Epäkohtia vankiloissa”, 8-9.

⁸⁷⁴ TYL 17/68, Esko Sammaljärvi, “Eläinsuojelulaki on, entä ihmissuojelu?”, 6; references to animal-like treatment also in LiBD 7/65, Maria Berglind, “Långholmen – en helvetets förgård”, 37-39.

⁸⁷⁵ Ajankohta 1/67, Ritva Turunen, “Oikeusturva Suomessa”, 4.

⁸⁷⁶ Konkret 3-4/67, Bengt Börjesson, “Juristens nya ansikte”, 95-99.

⁸⁷⁷ JYL 11/67, TuNi., “Sosiaaliministeriössä olisi jonkun ryhdyttävä ajattelemaan”, 4; JYL 6/68, -K.K., “Auta armias”, 5.

⁸⁷⁸ TYL 28/67, Raija Alho, “Tapahtui marraskuussa 1967, perustettiin yhdistys”, 3; Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, Ilkka Taipale, “Puhe mellakoita pelkääville”, 9; TYL 17/68, Esko Sammaljärvi, “Eläinsuojelulaki on, entä ihmissuojelu?”, 6.

⁸⁷⁹ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, “Epäkohtia vankiloissa”, 8-9; Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä”, 12-13; Christer Kihlman (translated by Risto Hannula), “Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142; Jacob Söderman (suom. Risto Hannula), “Tarvitaanko velkavankilaa?”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 58-77.

that was cited; institutions that demanded inhabitants to work were seen as violating the ILO convention against forced labour,⁸⁸⁰ while the UN conference on prison care (1955)⁸⁸¹ was cited when prison reformers argued that denying prisoners sexual rights were not in accordance with UN directives.⁸⁸² Radicals believed for this reason that “prisoners feel strong solidarity with the United Nations”.⁸⁸³

It is interesting to note here that the radical press were now using the universal perspective of UN declarations to interpret legal texts in paradoxically moral terms, which quickly began to replace any detailed legal analysis.⁸⁸⁴ Citing the UN focused attention to the universality of individual rights and on general legal principles instead of their particular application.⁸⁸⁵ “Human dignity is the starting point”, declared one student activist from Turku: “It is different from other values (e.g., economic and political). It cannot be used as if it was rational and completely controllable.”⁸⁸⁶ While in some respects universal rights were being used to depoliticise an issue, freeing said issue from its specific contextual limitations allowed debates in the press to rage over the general question of equal rights in the justice system. “Legal security” became a concept to describe how those with less financial and political clout were in dire need of legal assistance.⁸⁸⁷ Not only could the wealthy hire lawyers, but because of usually having a higher education, they were more able to speak in the way the bureaucracy expected.⁸⁸⁸ This meant that, contrary to appearances, not everyone was equal before the law.⁸⁸⁹ This “hidden” criminality – the fact that those in a better position could get away with it – showed that the modern Nordic welfare state was neither equal or just.⁸⁹⁰ This problem was exacerbated by the fact that even a minor conviction could become a social stigma that could ruin an individual’s economic prospects.⁸⁹¹ This therefore made prosecution of these minor offences a political act.⁸⁹²

880 Ajankohta 9/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Uudistuva sosiaalihuolto”, 13-14.

881 YL 13/68, “Epäkohtia vankiloissa”, 8-9.

882 OYL 15/68, Juhana Lepoluoto, “Vangittu turvallisuuden nimeen”, 2.

883 “vangit, jotka tuntevat voimakasta solidaarisuutta Yhdistyneitä kansakuntia kohtaan”. YL 13/68, “Epäkohtia vankiloissa”, 8-9.

884 Christer Kihlman (translated by Risto Hannula), “Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142.

885 YL 26/67, Antero Jyränki, “Väkivallan käytön organisointi yhteiskunnassa”, 1, 12; Aviisi 22/67, PK, “Ase kädessä”, 5; Ylioppilaslehti 12/68, PK, “Vankeuden alku”, 3.

886 “Ihmisarvo on lähtökohta-arvo. Se on erilainen kuin muut, esim. taloudelliset ja poliittiset arvot. Sillä ei voida operoida ikään kuin se olisi rationaalinen ja täysin hallittavissa.” TYL 32/68, Kaarina Lehtonen, “Ihmisarvon pieni joulu”, 1.

887 Aikalainen 7-8/66, Leo R. Hertzberg, “Koulukotijärjestelmästä”, 29-36; TiS 14/67, Ann Margret Dahlquist, L. Junberg, “Elva kapitel om justitiemord”, 6-7; Ajankohta 1/67, Pentti Holappa, “Reino Paasilinna: Kohtalo lyö kovaosaista”, 14-15; TiS 44/68, Bo Hammar, “Sveriges största kommunala rättskandal”, 11, 13.

888 TiS 45/65, Kai Blomqvist, “rätt med ord”, 12.

889 Ajankohta 1/67, “Kirjeitä Paasilinnalle”, 16.

890 Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä”, 12-13.

891 Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

892 Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

Case examples show that the inherent conflict between legal and political concepts began to show in the radical debate, especially among the Finnish radical papers that had been more inclined to borrow legal concepts and definitions and shy away from explicitly political ones. The Swedish New Left was comparatively more clear-cut in its approach, though some reformist voices were still present. It had predominantly defined its stance with the usage of concepts that emphasised the class nature of legislation (see chapter 4.6). One of the Finnish cases that best demonstrates how the usage of legal conceptualisations became more polarised, was when *Ylioppilaslehti* published a piece on kidney patients in the autumn of 1967. The organ transplant program for kidney patients was lacking funds, and this highlighted the bigger issue that health care in general was not being adequately funded. The demands *Ylioppilaslehti* made for “a national state of emergency” show how this situation provoked student activists into more direct action. There was no time now for measured opinion building and research; people were simply going to die if activists used established political channels.⁸⁹³ Even the Editor of *Ylioppilaslehti*, Yrjö Larmola, usually scorned by radicals for his conservative views, argued that purely economic-based arguments about the matter was a sign of political “backwardness”. To help in the emergency, students organised a spontaneous campaign to collect money for the cause, even if the sum eventually collected only covered the cost of half a kidney.⁸⁹⁴

While the kidney case illustrates the moralising tendency of this process of politicisation, other interpretations saw the positive empowering side of openly admitting the political significance of radical activism. Indeed, Pentti Holappa – novelist and editor of the short-lived Finnish New Left journal *Ajankohta* – encouraged them to be incorporated into existing parliamentary procedures.⁸⁹⁵ This not only showed that Holappa still had faith in the current system, but that the Finnish New Left still trusted the state. This was probably due to the prominence of the cultural intelligentsia in the Finnish New Left; interpreting society through a rigid class-perspective was *not* the dominant tradition in these circles, as they wanted to criticise these very traits inside the Left as a whole.

Social science intersected with leftist activism most obviously via those agents who practised both. This was particularly visible in the 1968 National Conference on Social Policy, which raised the political sights of the social sciences in Finland. Because politics was now seen as the most important factor defining the social, conference participants were adamant that politics should not be left to the political scientists – it was now their concern too.⁸⁹⁶ On another occasion, Kettil Bruun admitted that, even if social care reform committees did pay close attention to sociologists’ proposals, the committee papers would remain full of abstract wishes that did not promise real change. Bruun saw that the problem

⁸⁹³ *Ylioppilaslehti* 31/67, Vasara, “Kysymys on elämästä”, 3.

⁸⁹⁴ *Ylioppilaslehti* 15/68, PK, “Keinomunuaiset”, 3; *Ylioppilaslehti* 17/68, 1.

⁸⁹⁵ *Ajankohta* 1/67, PK, 3.

⁸⁹⁶ *Aviisi* 29/68, Georg Walls, “Mitä sanot, minne menet sosiaalipoliitikko?”, 1-2.

would be in implementing these policies, as they would be left to bureaucrats who were naturally more conservative.⁸⁹⁷ Social care was thus inevitably tied to general social reforms via the state.

Statism was usually an indirect way of acknowledging the role of political decision-making, and many Finnish social policy activists believed that the state should take over the work done by SMOs.⁸⁹⁸ In the Swedish context, a longer tradition of welfare state policies meant there was more reason to criticise the inadequacy of comprehensive, state-wide reforms; no matter how well implemented, these policies had not been able to eradicate poverty, nor solve many of the other problems with Swedish society. Many New Left activists actually saw welfare policies as exacerbating matters by causing alienation.⁸⁹⁹ While the Finnish political context was, in principle, less critical of statism, the clear disillusionment with the leftist government elected in 1966 certainly challenged this faith in state-centred solutions.⁹⁰⁰ Several articles in *Pakkoauttajat* had already questioned the trustworthiness and effectiveness of the bureaucrats in charge of social policy.⁹⁰¹ A direct influence on politics was clearly needed to address these issues. One local ML activist from Turku stated that “the actions and criticisms of the November Movement are directed at the inefficiency of the system, the laws and the legislators, not those who have to do their jobs according to these bad laws. One hopes that they would instead join the November Movement and bring their expertise with them.”⁹⁰² Pinpointing reasons for bureaucratic obstructions, such as the inflexibility of legal training⁹⁰³ and “inherited” positions,⁹⁰⁴ was certainly important but getting the politicians on board was clearly the decisive factor: the Finnish New Left still, for the most part, trusted that the political machinery could actually control its bureaucrats.⁹⁰⁵

For some Finnish radicals, the disillusionment with statism led to a comprehensive reassessment of the concepts used to analyse social situations.

⁸⁹⁷ Sosiologia 1/66, Kettil Bruun/PK, 1-2.

⁸⁹⁸ Ylioppilaslehti 7/68, Esko Pirinen, “Tällä viikolla/raportti marraskuun liikkeestä”, 4; TYL 2/68, Raija Alho, “Marraskuun liike, asunnottomat ja Oinonen”, 7; TYL 30/67, Heikki Palmu, “Masentavaa sosiaalipolitiikkaa: luu kurkkuun epäsosiaalisille aineksille”, 2; Ylioppilaslehti 14/68, Johan Åkerblom, “Vanki n:o 481 Marraskuun liike on hyvä liike”, 7.

⁸⁹⁹ Andersson 2006, 50.

⁹⁰⁰ Ajankohta 12/67, PK, 3; Ylioppilaslehti 14/68, Esko Pirinen, “Vangin laulu Kakolassa”, 7.

⁹⁰¹ “Uudistusehdotuksia”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 186-188.

⁹⁰² “Marraskuun liikkeen toiminta ja kritiikki kohdistuu huonoon järjestelmään, huonoihin lakeihin ja lainlaatijoihin, ei niihin, joiden tulee tehdä työnsä huonojen lakien mukaan. Pikemminkin näiden toivoisi liittyvän marraskuun liikkeeseen ja tuovan asiantuntemuksensa mukaan.” TYL 2/68, Raija Alho, “Marraskuun liike, asunnottomat ja Oinonen”, 7.

⁹⁰³ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, Esko Pirinen, “Hyvä, Valentin Soine”, 9.

⁹⁰⁴ Ylioppilaslehti 14/68, Johan Åkerblom, “Vanki n:o 481 Marraskuun liike on hyvä liike”, 7.

⁹⁰⁵ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, Ilkka Taipale, “Puhe mellakoita pelkääville”, 9; *Uudistusehdotuksia*, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 186-188; Ajankohta 12/67, PK, 3.

Antti Eskola, a professor of social psychology, pushed for a new understanding of Finnish society as one dominated by a conservative hegemony. While Eskola admitted that “hegemony” was originally a Gramscian concept,⁹⁰⁶ his usage incorporated strands of Finnish cultural radicalism too. For Eskola, conservative hegemonies were a complicated mix of cultural, religious, economic, and political factors that manifested themselves in all walks of life (not to mention the press, higher education, and party politics). Hegemony was also present in social policy discussions⁹⁰⁷ – furthering a more nuanced understanding of social policy as a political expression of priorities. As Kimmo Kevätsalo wrote, because “things need to be prioritised” to get things done, one needed “to be aware of the basis” of this prioritisation.⁹⁰⁸ Revealing this political stance would mean that even experts were guilty of bias⁹⁰⁹ thereby challenging the tradition of expert advice being somehow neutral.

In contrast to these positive Finnish notions in that one could change the state from within, the Swedish New Left had based their whole political identity on having given up on that possibility, and their attitude to social policy was no exception. The New Left were highly suspicious of the judiciary in Sweden, as it had repeatedly proved itself to be uncomprehending, authoritative, inflexible, incompetent, and riddled with conservative attitudes – only to be expected in such a high-status profession.⁹¹⁰ The Swedish courts were biased about class and ethnicity, they argued, and this was borne out by the increasing number of legal processes against foreign workers.⁹¹¹ Although some of the debates did feature reformist discussions on, for instance, the lack of psychiatric expertise in courts, or on the defendant’s right to make their own investigations, the framework was nevertheless more explicitly political.⁹¹² These more strident criticisms were also echoed in Finland: the political nature of Jörgen Eriksson’s works was highlighted in reviews,⁹¹³ while the anti-legal rhetoric⁹¹⁴ of KRUM chairman, Hans Nestius, was also noted when activities of KRUM were discussed. Early Finnish activism also had political dimensions of its own too. The Introduction to *Pakkoauttajat* had already acknowledged that even reforms were essentially political. “It appeals to those members of political parties, parliament and government who understand that our current institutional care is inhumane and

⁹⁰⁶ Sosiologia 4/67, Antti Eskola, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Porvarillinen hegemonia ja ääriivasemmistolaisuus”, 185-186.

⁹⁰⁷ Aviisi 29/68, Georg Walls, “Mitä sanot, minne menet sosiaalipoliitikko?”, 1-2.

⁹⁰⁸ “Asioilla on tärkeysjärjestyksensä, ja tämä tärkeysjärjestys on tiedostettava.” Ajankohta 8/67, Kimmo Kevätsalo, “Akateemikko kulttuurin kukka”, 6-7.

⁹⁰⁹ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, Ilkka Taipale, “Puhe mellakoita pelkääville”, 9.

⁹¹⁰ TiS 5/67, Stig Åke Ståhltnacke, “Efter 4 år på anstalt...”, 16; Konkret 3-4/67, Nårdal Åkerman, “Kriminalvårdsdebattens återvändsgränd”, 7-9 TiS 5/67, Stig Åke Ståhltnacke, “Efter 4 år på anstalt...”, 14; Konkret 3-4/67, Bengt Börjesson, “Juristens nya ansikte”, 95-99.

⁹¹¹ TiS 25/67, Bo Hammar, “Min kamrat drevs till självmord...”, 3-4.

⁹¹² Konkret 3-4/67, Nårdal Åkerman, “Kriminalvårdsdebattens återvändsgränd”, 7-9.

⁹¹³ Sosiologia 1/67, Pertti Hemanus, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Anarkstinen utopisti?”, 48.

⁹¹⁴ YL 13/68, Esko Pirinen, “Hyvä, Valentin Soine”, 9.

discriminatory, and who cannot accept this.”⁹¹⁵ Similar arguments were repeated in later chapters.⁹¹⁶ *Pakkoauttajat* is a prime example of the way in which expertise and the politicisation of social care could exist side by side in the same text. In its concluding chapter, the editor(s) proposed a detailed 15-step policy plan, in which the words “concrete” and “realisable” featured strongly. The program proposed social goals while at the same time protecting individual rights.⁹¹⁷ Proposing practical reforms were also a key part of marketing the book.⁹¹⁸ Right from the beginning, the ML had the twin goals of both funding research *and* providing material help for the underprivileged.⁹¹⁹ The concept of “direct action” (see Chapter 5) was a way not only to get public exposure, but also to provoke inmates to take matters into their own hands and organise themselves into a direct action pressure group.⁹²⁰ These goals show how the ML were clearly aware that they might seem elitist if they did not do something about it. The fear was their actions would be mistaken for being one of the “charitable approaches”⁹²¹ to social aid from the past that they had so disparaged. But this was still reform in fairly understandable terms; more radical demands for a complete change in the system would only follow later, and as a part of a discourse that focused on different themes.

For Finnish social policy activists, anti-elitist principles were often more important than class-conscious politics when putting “direct action” into practice. Homeless alcoholics became a hot topic for the radical press after many homeless died in Helsinki over the winter of 1967. Free food & alcohol in a purpose-built rehab centre was a practical policy suggestion that met the ML’s call for alcoholics to be treated more humanely.⁹²² Not long after, this direct action bore fruit, as the 1967 Independence Party for the Homeless⁹²³ was formed and got itself a lot of attention in the national media. Despite the politically provocative timing for founding the Party on Independence Day – when an elitist ball was also happening simultaneously in the President’s Palace – the activists maintained that their alternative ball was not meant as a criticism of the formal one in the palace.⁹²⁴ Nevertheless, the provocation was clear; making people

⁹¹⁵ “Sentähden tämä kirja on poliittinen. Se vetoaa niihin poliittisten puolueiden, eduskunnan ja hallituksen jäseniin, jotka käsittävät, että meidän tämänhetkinen laitoshuoltomme on epäinhimillinen ja diskriminoiva ja jotka eivät voi hyväksyä että asia on näin.” Lars D. Eriksson, “Alkusanat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi.

⁹¹⁶ See, e.g., Jacob Söderman (suom. Risto Hannula), “Tarvitaanko velkavankilaa?”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 58-77.

⁹¹⁷ “Uudistusehdotuksia”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 186-188.

⁹¹⁸ See, e.g., TYL 29/67, 4.

⁹¹⁹ Ylioppilaslehti 30/67, “Köyhyydenjulistus”, 1; TYL 30/67, Heikki Palmu, “Masentavaa sosiaalipolitiikkaa: luu kurkkuun epäsosiaalisille aineksille”, 2.

⁹²⁰ TYL 28/67, Raija Alho, “Tapahtui marraskuussa 1967, perustettiin yhdistys”, 3; TYL 6/68, Sampo Simonen, “Marraskuulaiset menettelytavat puntarissa”, 6.

⁹²¹ Ajankohta 11/67, Ritva Turunen, “ajankohtaista puheenaihetta/Marraskuun liike”, 26.

⁹²² Ajankohta 11/67, Sauli Salmi, “Kodittomat kuolevat”, 25; Parhi & Myllykangas 2019.

⁹²³ Ylioppilaslehti 32/67, PK, “Nevanlinna, Taipale, kurjat”, 3.

⁹²⁴ TYL 2/68, Raija Alho, “Marraskuun liike, asunnottomat ja Oinonen”, 7.

aware of the contract between the national elite and those left out of the system altogether was a radical break from consensus-oriented tradition. In another case, a group of doctors set up a voluntary network to provide medical care at the homeless shelter on the island of Lauttasaari in Helsinki.⁹²⁵ This equally showed up the failings of the state: by participating in care practices that were supposed to be handled by the state or the municipality, the ML were showing how the state was not living up to expectations. In the Finnish radical press, this led to a degree of openly political campaigning – for instance, when publicly naming those responsible for the dismantling of the old shelter operated by the city.⁹²⁶ When the ML organised the “prison week” of 1968,⁹²⁷ activists visited Kakola prison – a high-security facility in Turku – and suspected that they had only been improved because of their visit.⁹²⁸ At the same time they gathered information from the prisoners which revealed various criticisms of the institution, such as forced Christian services⁹²⁹ and a general lack of books.⁹³⁰ Listing grievances in such a concrete fashion was an efficient way to bring bigger issues to the public’s attention and to make them harder for the authorities to deny.⁹³¹ Defenders of the status quo would have to come up with their own concrete examples of how conditions were in fact otherwise.⁹³² While practical activism seemed to provide many opportunities for politicising social care, offering concrete help to patients was not only time-consuming, but it also needed these practical networks to be successful.

The principle of direct action, when implemented in the ML, demonstrated how not all effective action needed to have its justification in social science. The medical treatment of homeless alcoholics, for example, seemed to improve rapidly after ML’s spectacular and widely published independence day event.⁹³³ SMO actions could become political by simply making societal issues public. “The general principle is to provoke pressure against grievances by battling the acute circumstances that have caused them, and thus pressuring larger groups into feeling these grievances”, argued Klaus Mäkelä in a panel discussion about ML’s methods. “All activities by the movement are subject to political and socio-political goals.”⁹³⁴ Thus, direct action questioned the primacy of rationality in the radical agenda. The ML protests had shown that purely rational arguments were

⁹²⁵ Ylioppilaslehti 7/68, Esko Pirinen, “Tällä viikolla/raportti marraskuun liikkeestä”, 4.

⁹²⁶ Ajankohta 11/67, Sauli Salmi, “Kodittomat kuolevat”, 25.

⁹²⁷ Ylioppilaslehti 12/68, PK, “Vankeuden alku”, 3.

⁹²⁸ Ylioppilaslehti 14/68, Esko Pirinen, “Vangin laulu Kakolassa”, 7.

⁹²⁹ Ajankohta 4/67, R.T.S., “Lukijain kirjeitä/Elää elämäänsä vankilassa”, 20.

⁹³⁰ Ajankohta 12/67, Kalervo Huttu, “vankiloiden antikvaariset kirjakokoelmat”, 16-17.

⁹³¹ See, e.g., Ylioppilaslehti 28/68, “Marraskuun liikkeen koulukotiviikko: Epäkohtaluettelo koulukodeista”, 17.

⁹³² Ylioppilaslehti 32/67, PK, “Nevanlinna, Taipale, kurjat”, 3.

⁹³³ TYL 2/68, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, “Tätä mieltä tällä viikolla/Vielä kerran koulukodeista”, 6.

⁹³⁴ “Yleisenä periaatteena on provosoida painetta epäkohtia vastaan niin että joudutaan konfliktiin olevien olojen kanssa ja näin saadaan laajat joukot mieltämään epäkohdat. Kaikkeen toimintaan kytketään poliittisia ja yhteiskuntapoliittisia lisävaatimuksia.” TYL 6/68, Sampo Simonen, “Marraskuulaiset menettelytavat puntarissa”, 6.

simply not enough; underprivileged groups needed political power to further their demands. "The procedures of the November movement are interesting and promising", noted one student activist. "It has shown itself to be ready to pursue a really tough policy for a legitimate interest group if necessary."⁹³⁵ While openly political argumentation was a new feature in the Finnish radical scene, these new challenges did not completely throw into doubt the need for these actions to appear legitimate. The idea of those excluded from society being an interest group with political goals was perfectly valid within the existing system. Direct action simply meant that the organisation now had a more socially oriented approach.⁹³⁶

4.5 Class, Gender, and Anti-Psychiatry

While Finnish social policy activists remained within the bounds of reformism towards the end of the 1960s, one should bear in mind that even some of the early reformist texts in sociology hint at a more total form of social criticism. Behavioural criticisms, for example, homed in on the "dictatorial" control politics used in mental institutions where trivial chores were more important than "real communication" with patients;⁹³⁷ and on municipal social services intent on preserving, if not increasing,⁹³⁸ their power by simply coercing children rather than adopting more holistic solutions.⁹³⁹ The sociologist Pirkko Siren, for instance, accused reform schools of administering tranquillisers instead of actual therapy as a simpler means of controlling students.⁹⁴⁰ The power structures analysed were thus quite tangible, only they were presented as general examples, not specific cases.

While Finnish discussions were often rather vague about the exact location, nature, and source of the power structures they were criticising, there were occasionally more specific hints. Curiously citing modernist poet Ezra Pound⁹⁴¹ – rather than contemporary critics of mental health care – Kettil Bruun refused to accept that specialists should automatically have the right to administer coercive methods of care.⁹⁴² The fact that asocial patients were more likely to be diagnosed

⁹³⁵ "Marraskuunliikkeen menettelytavat ovat mielenkiintoisia ja lupaavia. Se on ilmoituksensa mukaan valmis tarvittaessa ajamaan todella kovaa mutta laillista eturyhmäpolitiikkaa." TYL 9/68, Timo Vuortama, "Oikeuksien suhteellisuudesta", 4.

⁹³⁶ Ylioppilaslehti 7/68, Esko Pirinen, "Tällä viikolla/raportti marraskuun liikkeestä", 4.

⁹³⁷ Siv Dahlin (translated by Matti Haavio), "Mielisairaala ja vapaus", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 108-125.

⁹³⁸ Ajankohta 2/67, Klaus Mäkelä, "Pakkoauttajat", 5.

⁹³⁹ TYL 29/67, Hannu-Olavi Piilinen, "Hoito vai rangaistus", 4.

⁹⁴⁰ Sosiologia 3/65, Pirkko Siren, "Tavoitteet ja todellisuus", 101-112.

⁹⁴¹ Pound was particularly controversial reference point because his close association with both Italian fascism and modernist poetry. see e.g. Tilanne 5/63, "Onko kapinalla eroa?"

⁹⁴² Kettil Bruun, "Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot", 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). Pakkoauttajat. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

with a mental illness questioned the objectivity of doctors.⁹⁴³ In this way the real power of medical professionals was being laid bare: traditional treatment methods seemed to be more a matter of maintaining the status quo than actually benefitting the patients.⁹⁴⁴ Since mental illness was not defined in law, it was a vague category and easily misused. Rather than simply focusing on personal experiences of mental health, the environment should be taken much more into account.⁹⁴⁵ Klaus Mäkelä followed similar lines, claiming that the mainstream definition of deviant behaviour was an understandable consequence of the social status quo,⁹⁴⁶ while Ilkka Taipale took this a step further by provocatively quoting the Danish physician Jarl Wagner Smitt to suggest that society was in fact “raising” deviants for fun, only to then hunt them down “like pheasants”.⁹⁴⁷ While both Mäkelä and Taipale were using quite exaggerated rhetoric to question the power to define normality, they did not *totally* reject the possibility of such a definition. It was still possible to use mental illness as a category, but the definition must be broader and more inclusive of social factors.⁹⁴⁸ Indeed, Finnish criticism of psychiatry generally aimed for relativisation, not for denying that there was any need for mental care altogether.

Liberal Swedish activists kept within the reform paradigm too,⁹⁴⁹ even while the Swedish New Left were taking a more radical perspective on power-relations in institutions – particularly psychiatric institutions. While still not that common, there were overtly anti-psychiatric discourses in the Swedish New Left press. The transnational anti-psychiatric movement had made more of an impact on Swedish activist groups. *The Myth of Mental Illness* by Thomas Szasz, for example, was reviewed in *Konkret* and declared a must-read because its structural perspective gave a new means for analysing stigmatisation. According to the review, the book provided a “deep perspective” that was otherwise lacking in Swedish New Left discussions. Szasz was also explicitly used to challenge domestic reformism; his theory was that demands for money and research were “phoney reforms” that only supported conventional methods, perpetuated the old-fashioned attitudes of experts, and distracted activists from “the real issues”.⁹⁵⁰ Szasz also argued that psychiatrists interpreted issues as personal and/or internal so that they could then present themselves as the experts with

⁹⁴³ Siv Dahlin (translated by Matti Haavio), “Mielisairaala ja vapaus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 108-125.

⁹⁴⁴ Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁹⁴⁵ Siv Dahlin (translated by Matti Haavio), “Mielisairaala ja vapaus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 108-125.

⁹⁴⁶ Klaus Mäkelä, “Pakkoauttajat”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 33-57.

⁹⁴⁷ Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, “Työ tekee vapaaksi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163.

⁹⁴⁸ Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁹⁴⁹ LibD 3-4/67, Ingemar Mundebo, “Ideologi och vårdpolitik”, 63-65.

⁹⁵⁰ *Konkret* 3/68, Bengt Börjeson, “En angelägen utredning!”, 4-5, 67.

effective solutions.⁹⁵¹ Szasz was perhaps the most visible of the anti-psychiatric theorists in the Swedish radical press, but there were others too⁹⁵² – anti-psychiatric arguments served the New Left well, as they laid bare the power structures still present in reformist discourse. Yet, there was room for individual characteristics in the New Left’s criticism of psychiatric methods: care should foster “the individual’s adaptation to society.”⁹⁵³ Established care practices seemed to lack sensitivity towards individual differences, and be based on the idea that a “fixed state” was the ideal, which led to the “deintellectualisation” (*avintellektualisera*) and “dehumanisation” (*avhumanisera*) of patients.⁹⁵⁴ However, a fixed understanding of human behaviour was bound to lead to isolation since they no longer fitted in with standardised forms of productivity (as defined by competitive capitalism and labour markets).⁹⁵⁵ This sensitivity towards individual characteristics was one of the ways the New Left differentiated itself from the Old Left.

Interviews and ethnographic surveys among mental patients were an important way of contextualising anti-psychiatric criticisms and demonstrating the tangible effects of institutionalisation. They were also a means of raising the political consciousness of the masses, so dear to the Swedish New Left. These field reports not only provided first-hand reports of unfair treatment by patronising doctors, but also showed how easily people could lose their free will and become conditioned into seeing themselves as senseless, or medicated, or apathetic and depressed fools.⁹⁵⁶ While detailed field reports provided moving portrayals of the monotony of institutional life,⁹⁵⁷ these reports also demonstrated how conventional definitions of health were tied to conformist attitudes and the capitalist economy. They were also a good example of “*psykologism*” – the use of psychiatric concepts in political arguments – adopted from Adorno’s works to better analyse practices that supported the conservative status quo.⁹⁵⁸ If patients were critical of their institutional setting, it was seen as one of their symptoms.⁹⁵⁹ So, while individual experiences were important in themselves at the micro-level, they only fully became a part of the New Left agenda when generalisations could be made from them in the radical press. Criticisms were meant to spur reform of the entire system, not remove individual people, and yet simultaneously involving patients in the discourse would also

⁹⁵¹ Konkret 8-9/68, Kaj Håkanson, “Psykiatri, moral och samhälle”, 30-38.

⁹⁵² For early Foucault-references, see Kommentar 5/68, 33 (ad for a Swedish magazine *Komma*); Konkret 8-9/68, Kaj Håkanson, “Psykiatri, moral och samhälle”, 30-38.

⁹⁵³ “försvårar individens anpassning i samhället”. Konkret 3/68, Bengt Börjeson, “En angelägen utredning!”, 4-5.

⁹⁵⁴ Konkret 8-9/68, Kerstin Vinterhed, “Effekten av den terapeutiska miljön”, 39-41.

⁹⁵⁵ LibD 1/69, Vilhelm Ekensteen, “Det handikappade samhället”, 15-18.

⁹⁵⁶ Konkret 8-9/68, Intervjuare Nordal Åkerman, “Vård – finns det?”, 56-60.

⁹⁵⁷ Konkret 8-9/68, Arne H Lindgren, “Utdrad ur svart dagbok”, 24-28.

⁹⁵⁸ Konkret 8-9/68, Kaj Håkanson, “Psykiatri, moral och samhälle”, 30-38.

⁹⁵⁹ Konkret 8-9/68, Intervjuare Nordal Åkerman, “Vård – finns det?”, 56-60.

have a broader impact.⁹⁶⁰ In the end, the state had ultimate responsibility for defining care⁹⁶¹ and therefore treating individual patients.

Since the Swedish New Left saw the state as an accumulation of bourgeois power, social care institutions were implicated and seen as a part of this. For those in the Swedish New Left interested in social policy issues, mental asylums were therefore merely slightly modified prisons.⁹⁶² In fact, they exemplified the barest possible form of social hierarchy,⁹⁶³ mentally breaking people and presenting it as recovery⁹⁶⁴ was just another instance of the welfare state's power structures in action. Those on the anti-psychiatry wing of the Swedish New Left accused psychiatrists of presenting themselves as knowledgeable experts in control of all aspects of human life,⁹⁶⁵ and because of their seemingly unchallenged position as the definers of control, the help they offered implied a latent threat of the consequences that would follow if this help was not accepted.⁹⁶⁶ In terms of societal power structures, the experts exercised their real power through a complex system of bureaucracy that usually concealed this; and this needed to be laid bare.⁹⁶⁷ Since the authority of experts was derived from education and not via the political or economic system, analysing the presuppositions provided by educational institutions could possibly reveal how psychiatrists were tied to the wider economic and political system. An article in *Konkret* aspired to do just that, even though the analysis was taken from Anglo-American textbooks. While many working in the field openly acknowledged the moral responsibilities of psychiatrists, *Konkret* wanted to emphasise the explicitly political connotations of psychiatry: experts used normative power and disguised their own views as the general morals of society. This meant that the educational system accentuated the petit-bourgeois world-view of the upper middle classes, in which existing political and economic values could be legitimised in the name of objectivity.⁹⁶⁸ This upper-class background was also referred to elsewhere as explaining the particular professional approach of psychiatrists.⁹⁶⁹

Defining the political position of Swedish New Left as the opponent of current methods often led to a rather dogmatic refusal of any reformist approaches. This dogmatism is demonstrated in its clearest form by the discourses on "therapeutic communities". Originally developed in the UK, the

⁹⁶⁰ *Konkret* 8-9/68, "Mentalvård some fängelse", 23; *Konkret* 8-9/68, Arne H Lindgren, "Utdrad ur svart dagbok", 24-28.

⁹⁶¹ *Konkret* 8-9/68, Gustav Jonsson & Nils Gustavsson, "Två svar till Kenneth Keniston", 53-55.

⁹⁶² *Konkret* 8-9/68, "Mentalvård some fängelse", 23.

⁹⁶³ *Konkret* 8-9/68, Kerstin Vinterhed, "Effekten av den terapeutiska miljön", 39-41.

⁹⁶⁴ *TiS* 38/65, Stig Åke Stålnacke, "Nio frågor om fångvård", 4; *Konkret* 8-9/68, Arne H Lindgren, "Utdrad ur svart dagbok", 24-28.

⁹⁶⁵ *Konkret* 8-9/68, Kaj Håkanson, "Psykiatri, moral och samhälle", 30-38.

⁹⁶⁶ *Konkret* 3/68, Bengt Börjeson, "En angelägen utredning!", 4-5.

⁹⁶⁷ *Konkret* 8-9/68, Arne H Lindgren, "Utdrad ur svart dagbok", 24-28.

⁹⁶⁸ *Konkret* 8-9/68, Kaj Håkanson, "Psykiatri, moral och samhälle", 30-38.

⁹⁶⁹ *Konkret* 8-9/68, Erik Fredin, "Det terapeutiska samhället/Experiment i Demokrati", 61-62.

idea of these communities was to radically reform institutional conditions by giving significantly more power to the inmates themselves.⁹⁷⁰ An initially favourable reaction to the therapeutic communities in Stockholm and in Linköping, quickly turned into staunch criticism in the Swedish New Left press. The Swedish applications of the therapeutic community model were doomed to be just another form of the familiar power system, albeit better hidden.⁹⁷¹ They typified a “distortion of reality”⁹⁷² that bolstered the power of the nurse and the existing “diagnostic culture”.⁹⁷³ While Swedish activists were in no doubt that the original therapeutic community model in the UK had been radical, they saw the Swedish version as tamed-down version which was more focused on discourse instead of “redistributing power.”⁹⁷⁴

Anti-psychiatric New Left discourses offered a whole new way to apply structural analysis.⁹⁷⁵ By generalising the issues they essentially highlighted how mental health and other social problems were but symptoms of a bigger problem. For Bror Rexed, criminal policy was the best way to uncover how criminality was embedded in the structures of society.⁹⁷⁶ Others pointed to how social care policies were out of synch with the rest of the society, not keeping up with the progress of democratic practices in schools, politics, and the workplace.⁹⁷⁷ New Leftists criticised KRUM for its “liberal piss-humanism” as it aligned itself politically with the Liberal *Folkpartiet*, focused on charity work and “phoney reforms”⁹⁷⁸ that did not really change anything substantial.⁹⁷⁹ The people voicing these opinions in the Swedish New Left clearly held a more direct political position, arguing that patients and inmates were socially alienated for material rather than personality reasons.⁹⁸⁰

A key social policy text for the Swedish New Left press, *Den ofärdiga välfärden* – by Gunnar and Maj-Britt Inghe – stressed the importance of class structures as a key analytical tool for understanding why welfare state policies still produced social problems.⁹⁸¹ It highlighted the control politics involved in class-based oppression, “terror”, and prejudices in institutionalised care

⁹⁷⁰ Crossley 1998; Fussinger 2011.

⁹⁷¹ Konkret 8-9/68, Kerstin Vinterhed, “Effekten av den terapeutiska miljön”, 39-41.

⁹⁷² Konkret 8-9/68, Erik Fredin, “Det terapeutiska samhället/Experiment i Demokrati”, 61-62.

⁹⁷³ Konkret 8-9/68, Kerstin Vinterhed, “Effekten av den terapeutiska miljön”, 39-41.

⁹⁷⁴ “Nej – det terapeutiska samhällets idé är en idé om maktfördelning.”; Konkret 8-9/68, Erik Fredin, “Det terapeutiska samhället/Experiment i Demokrati”, 61-62.

⁹⁷⁵ Konkret 3/68, Bengt Börjeson, “En angelägen utredning!”, 4-5.

⁹⁷⁶ Konkret 2/67, Ingmar Rexed, “Mot en ny kriminalpolitik”, 71.

⁹⁷⁷ Konkret 7-8/67, Paul Lindblom, “Socialvården – en klasslagstiftning?”, 86-87.

⁹⁷⁸ LibD 1/69, Vilhelm Ekensteen, “Det handikappade samhället”, 15-18.

⁹⁷⁹ Konkret 1/69, Per Gahrton, “KURM-liberal piss-humanism?”, 45.

⁹⁸⁰ Konkret 6/67, Inghe Ihsgren, “Kåken fram och tillbaka”, 48-50; Konkret 8-9/68, Kaj Håkanson, “Psykiatri, moral och samhälle”, 30-38.

⁹⁸¹ TiS 5/67, “Boken man talar om”, 12-13; TiS 1/68, Kjell E. Johanson, “Alkoholfrågansom socialt problem”.

settings.⁹⁸² Better economic resources would not only made it easier to get treatment, but could ease the negative mental and physical effects of a class-society.⁹⁸³ Indeed the reason the New Left had been formed was because the Swedish welfare state had not removed poverty.⁹⁸⁴ It was time “a welfare society that boasts of its humanity and understanding of minorities”⁹⁸⁵ put its publicly declared values of solidarity and equality into practice. The legal system, so important for reformist liberals, was seen as reinforcing the importance of social status in Swedish society, while welfare state policies concerning poverty, mental issues, and segregation were presented as inherited qualities and problems that led to the cumulation of underprivileged positions.⁹⁸⁶

The Swedish New Left press combined anti-psychiatry analysis with Marxist concepts in a fashion that often followed the examples elsewhere in Europe. Their uncompromising stance usually pitted them against the welfare state establishment, which they argued increased the need for psychiatric care instead. Combining sociological, psychological and Marxist traditions was a real possibility for the Swedish New Left: when politically conscious, social psychology could be a potential aid of socialist society, evaluating the significance of “social psychiatry” with structural social analysis and strands of critical theory. By virtue of its theoretical underpinnings, Swedish New Left saw anti-psychiatry first and foremost as a class critique: since psychiatrists were part of the social upper structure, their medical concepts were clearly ideological. Care practices should only be inspected in the context of the class they are serving. These positions were reflected in the way New Left’s own actions were presented. One case example from the anti-Vietnam demos was a highly symbolic one, since a psychiatrist had publicly called the participants “childish” and “naïve”.⁹⁸⁷ For the New Left Press, this reflected how mental health professionals functioned essentially as guardians of the existing order, “securing a good night’s sleep for the bourgeoisie”.⁹⁸⁸ No wonder that these discussions had language in them urging for “revolution in correctional institutions”.⁹⁸⁹

Even if relatively positive notions of the welfare state still dominated leftist Finnish social policy discussions, a more critical approach was also developing there.⁹⁹⁰ Debaters adopted from Sweden the argument that social welfare policies

⁹⁸² Konkret 7-8/67, Paul Lindblom, “Socialvården – en klasslagstiftning?”, 86-87; Konkret 8-9/68, “Mentalvård some fängelse”, 23; Konkret 8-9/68, Erik Fredin, “Det terapeutiska samhället/Experiment i Demokrati”, 61-62.

⁹⁸³ TiS 14/67, Georg Palmer, “Klassamhället under folkhemsytan”.

⁹⁸⁴ Konkret 3-4/67, Gustav Jonsson, “Vällingskeden i välfärdsstaten”, 92-94.

⁹⁸⁵ “Det är sensationellt nog i ett välfärdssamhälle som berömmar sig av sin humanitet och förståelse för minoriteter”. Konkret 8-9/68, “Mentalvård some fängelse”, 23.

⁹⁸⁶ Konkret 3-4/67, Bengt Börjesson, “Juristens nya ansikte”, 95-9; Konkret 3-4/67, Gustav Jonsson, “Vällingskeden i välfärdsstaten”, 92-94.

⁹⁸⁷ Konkret 8-9/68, Kaj Håkanson, “Psykiatri, moral och samhälle”, 30-38.

⁹⁸⁸ Konkret 8-9/68, Gustav Jonsson & Nils Gustavsson, “Två svar till Kenneth Keniston”, 53-55.

⁹⁸⁹ Konkret 1/69, Per Gahrton, “KURM-liberal piss-humanism?”, 45.

⁹⁹⁰ Tilanne 2/65, Peritus, “Vedenjakajilla/Suomi ja sukupuolisesti hairahtunut tyttö”, 114-115.

benefitted only those who fitted the norms of existing society. One of the most prominent welfare state critics in Finland was Ritva Turunen – active also in the Finnish gender equality debate and frequent collaborator for the New Left journals *Ajankohta* and *Aikalainen*. Turunen pointed out that legal counselling was only available for those who could afford it, essentially meaning the whole legal process was subject to class hierarchies.⁹⁹¹ Turunen even persuaded the reformist legal professor Inkeri Anttila to acknowledge the presence of class antagonisms in the Finnish legal system, even if Anttila did not see them as the single most important issue affecting equality of legal procedures.⁹⁹²

The Finnish sociologist, Kettil Bruun, had already used the concept of class discrimination in a number of seminal articles published in *Sosiologia*. Bruun argued that reform schools had a disproportionate number of students from a working-class background.⁹⁹³ Equally, it was only lower class youths who were classified as drunks, juvenile offenders and mentally ill and who ended up being institutionalised. Finding similar results in the research of Nils Christie on the background of prison inmates in Norway, led Bruun to conclude that the explicit class structure of Finland was to blame.⁹⁹⁴ “Class discrimination” became a widely used term in *Pakkoauttajat*, and was also mentioned, along with gender discrimination, in relation to restrictive social care methods in the founding declaration of the ML.⁹⁹⁵ Ilkka Taipale summarised the ethos of Finnish legislation as being based on “marital sex, owner-occupied flats, and regular jobs”.⁹⁹⁶ One of the concrete policy goals of *Pakkoauttajat* was the “removal of class-based discrimination”,⁹⁹⁷ but class was predominantly still a problem for most radicals in Finland that could be solved with reformism within the system. The Finnish New Left’s focus on wider, cultural structures was evident here; the upper classes had more than just economic means to help their children if they got into trouble.⁹⁹⁸ Class structures were not only a matter of property but also of societal attitudes, which explained why social workers from a predominantly middle-class background had such a poor understanding of their patients’ lives.⁹⁹⁹ In Sweden, Jörgen Eriksson described how discriminating against deviants was a sign of racial, political, and religious oppression in society, which also showed how the class system discriminated those on the fringes of

⁹⁹¹ Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä”, 12-13.

⁹⁹² Ajankohta 1/67, Ritva Turunen, “Oikeusturva Suomessa”, 4.

⁹⁹³ Sosiologia 1/65, Kettil Bruun, “Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairautuneet tytöt”, 3-13; Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁹⁹⁴ Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.

⁹⁹⁵ TYL 28/67, Raija Alho, “Tapahtui marraskuussa 1967, perustettiin yhdistys”, 3; *Ylioppilaslehti* 7/68, Antti Kuusi, “Leukojen väliin viinaa, juu”, 1, 15.

⁹⁹⁶ Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, “Työ tekee vapaaksi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163.

⁹⁹⁷ “Uudistusehdotuksia”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 186-188.

⁹⁹⁸ *Aikalainen* 7-8/66, Leo R. Hertzberg, “Koulukotijärjestelmästä”, 29-36.

⁹⁹⁹ Pirkko Sirén, “Ei kotia ei koulua”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 78-107.

society.¹⁰⁰⁰ These cases also served as clear points of contrast, e.g., when the cultural endeavours of the middle classes were contrasted with the demolition of a night shelter for the homeless.¹⁰⁰¹

While class-based rhetoric was not as mainstream in Finnish New Left discourses as it was in Sweden, Finnish social policy activists used other structural concepts to point to the significance of social policy issues, and Sweden often acted as the role model for this new breed of social activism. For instance, Jeja-Pekka Roos, a young, politically active sociology student, praised *Klassamhället i Sverige* for showing the class-structure of the welfare state.¹⁰⁰² In the Roma debate, contrasting the situation with Sweden showed how societies could actively hide social evils out of sight.¹⁰⁰³ Meanwhile, relativising concepts such as “vagrancy” was also useful; vagrancy was more descriptive of social stigma and neglect than any other particular way of life that individual may have – the implication being that the bourgeois moral perspective was dominant.¹⁰⁰⁴ Paying attention to those actually missing out on welfare benefits showed how an increase in living standards during the post-war years was mostly just an illusion that only bettered the lives of the middle class.¹⁰⁰⁵

The rarity of class-based arguments in the Finnish debates were more than made up for with social criticism. Alcohol was one theme that really made clear what was considered normal and healthy in Finnish society, and it also encouraged Finnish New Leftists to adopt more class-based explanations regarding the sale of alcohol. The culturally focused New Left journal *Aikalainen* was one of the main proponents of the alcohol question, stating i.a., “why should a poor country boy have more difficulty getting alcohol than a pharmacist or a police chief?”¹⁰⁰⁶ They also enthusiastically pointed out how alcoholism was a label that only applied to the lower classes. The middle classes not only avoided a label concerning their use of alcohol, but they also controlled legislation, thereby forcing their views about the proper way to consume alcohol on everyone in society.¹⁰⁰⁷ Former editor of *Ylioppilaslehti* and social democratic MP Arvo Salo, had for instance asked that there be some bars reserved exclusively for the lower classes and alcoholics.¹⁰⁰⁸ Alcohol issues also revealed how the legal system was also profoundly rigged: according to Bruun, only one per cent of

¹⁰⁰⁰ Tilanne 4/66, Lyhennellen referoinut Aira Sinervo, “Miten kohtelemme epäsosiaalisia yksilöitä? Eräitä Jörgen Erikssonin ajatuksia”, 323-329; Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä”, 12-13.

¹⁰⁰¹ Ajankohta 8/67, Kimmo Kevätsalo, “Akateemikko kulttuurin kukka”, 6-7.

¹⁰⁰² Sosiologia 4/67, Jeja Pekka Roos, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Hyvinvoinnille tausta”, 191-192.

¹⁰⁰³ *Aikalainen* 2/65, “Kirsti ja Selma”, 3-5.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä”, 12-13.

¹⁰⁰⁵ OYL 33/67, PK, “Ensimmäinen veitsenteroittaja”, 3; TYL 9/68, Timo

Vuortama, “Oikeuksien suhteellisuudesta”, 4; *Aikalainen* 2/65, “Kirsti ja Selma”, 3-5.

¹⁰⁰⁶ “Miksi mökin pojalla pitää olla huonommat mahdollisuudet saada alkoholia käyttöönsä kuin apteekkarilla tai nimismiehellä?” *Aikalainen* 3/64, “Katsauksia/Mökin pojan kilju”, 53-55

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Ylioppilaslehti* 7/68, Antti Kuusi, “Leukojen väliin viinaa, juu”, 1, 15.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Ylioppilaslehti* 7/68, Jorma Ojajarju, “Arvo Salo valitsijamiesvaalien jälkeen”, 11.

alcohol-related crimes were actually enforced and the risk of getting caught differed greatly depending on social class.¹⁰⁰⁹ Alcohol not only demonstrated how societal structures were a class problem, but also highlighted the social differences between regions, the complicated way overall that alcohol was dispensed, and how all these factors caused mental stress and aggressive reactions.¹⁰¹⁰ Despite structural observations by Mäkelä and Bruun, who were internationally renowned scholars in the field of alcohol studies, governmental policy reforms were still dominated by old-fashioned, moralist attitudes. Confiscating cars from drunk drivers was criticised for only serving to reinforce “class justice”, as many white collar jobs did not even require a car.¹⁰¹¹ The ML and New Left press also pointed out that alcohol restrictions only served to increase illegal trade.¹⁰¹² As a controversial cultural figure, the editor of *Aikalainen*, Pentti Saarikoski, knew from personal experience how alcohol-related issues could shake the status quo in Finnish society and pushed the price argument – why was excessive drinking only ok for those that could afford it?¹⁰¹³ But more traditional approaches to alcohol consumption were also changing – the academic temperance organisation, for instance, suggested that the brewery industry be “socialised”, so that the state liquor monopoly Alko could control all alcoholic consumption.¹⁰¹⁴

Gender also featured in the social policy debate, though perhaps not so much as class. Although Finnish gender debates lacked the Swedish emphasis on the intersections between gender, class, and ethnicity, as discussed in Chapter 3, care institutions were a sphere where nascent gender analysis had a role. Gendered practices inside care institutions were rather obvious points of criticism, as they were a clear example of the old-fashioned attitudes so often scorned in radical debates. Critical remarks were not only directed towards institutional conditions; often, the official reason for care placements was, for instance, that a girl had engaged in extramarital sex, which according to Bruun was reinforcing an unofficial norm in decision-making that did not respect the requirements of equal rights. Firstly, why was premarital sexual relations a reason for institutionalising only girls and not boys¹⁰¹⁵; and secondly, why should the system assume that institutionalised kids should be sexually abstinent when living at reform school¹⁰¹⁶? Vagrancy legislation was also profoundly gendered, and based on the idea that women’s place was, first and foremost, in the home. Taipale ridiculed such practices, adding that teenagers ended up in

¹⁰⁰⁹ Kettil Bruun, “Yhteiskunnan valvojat ja vapaudenriistot”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 9-32.; *Ylioppilaslehti* 7/68, Antti Kuusi, “Leukojen väliin viinaa, juu”, 1, 15.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ajankohta 12/67, P. Veistola, “Lukijain kirjeitä/Riskitön keino elää”, 20; *Aikalainen* 5/66, Rauno Setälä, “Raittiuspolitiikasta alkoholipolitiikkaan”, 16-19.

¹⁰¹¹ Ajankohta 3/67, “Rattijuoppous arka asia”, 16-17, 32.

¹⁰¹² *Ylioppilaslehti* 7/68, Antti Kuusi, “Leukojen väliin viinaa, juu”, 1, 15.

¹⁰¹³ *Aikalainen* 5/66, “Suomalaisesta alkoholipolitiikasta”, 26-31.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Aviisi* 15/67, “Alkoholiton vaihtoehto”, 5.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ajankohta 2/67, Ritva Turunen, “Yhteiskunnan sokeassa pisteessä”, 12-13.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Sosiologia* 1/65, Kettil Bruun, “Koulukotijärjestelmämme ja sukupuolisesti hairahtuneet tytöt”, 3-13

reform school after suspected premarital sex mainly because their behaviour did not fulfil the expectations of the traditional gender role of a woman. Gender roles also provided provocative parallels between marriage and prostitution; marriage was a site of gendered power relations as much as prostitution – middle-class women could use a bourgeois marriage to increase their standard of living – and yet prostitution (which only applied to the lower classes) was illegal.¹⁰¹⁷

While mixing gender analysis with other social features was certainly new, the solution was usually to increase the provision of social services. Finnish society did not provide institutions designated specifically for female alcoholics. To add insult to injury, the system automatically associated them with prostitutes by classing both groups as “vagrants”.¹⁰¹⁸ But the focus was not explicitly on women; as Christer Kihlman put it, authoritative ideals of manhood were also reinforced by focusing on only traditional occupations for men.¹⁰¹⁹ Although sociological studies had from the start focused on gender-specific institutions (like girl-only reform schools), using gender to explain the oppressive features of existing social policy was still quite rare. In contrast, the Swedish New Left featured more overtly structural gender concepts. “Patriarchal traditions”, especially dominant in charitable institutions, were still based on changing an individual’s behaviour rather than changing the social structures surrounding them.¹⁰²⁰ Patriarchal and conservative care practices, and relationships with patients followed old-fashioned, nineteenth-century morals.¹⁰²¹ The gender discussions of Swedish social policy activism thus followed the wider national trend of focusing on systematic, structural analysis, inspired by transnational New Left literature. The psychological sciences saw female problems as psyche-related, which avoided all structural factors. Betty Friedan’s criticism of Freud was poignantly repeated here to highlight the conservative attitudes of psychiatric professionals.¹⁰²²

The heated debates during the transnational moment of 1968 also affected social policy discussions. Third-world guerrilla movements, for example, could become associated with human rights goals of Nordic SMOs.¹⁰²³ Some went further; *Konkret*, for instance, published a travel article by someone who had visited a mental hospital in Havana that was apparently run by its patients. As the reporter enthusiastically proclaimed, “we have been given a concrete picture

¹⁰¹⁷ Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, “Työ tekee vapaaksi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ilkka & Vappu Taipale, “Työ tekee vapaaksi”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 143-163.

¹⁰¹⁹ Christer Kihlman (translated by Risto Hannula), “Jehovan todistajat ja asevelvollisuus”, 1967, In Eriksson, L. D. (ed.). *Pakkoauttajat*. Helsinki: Tammi, 126-142.

¹⁰²⁰ *Konkret* 7-8/67, Paul Lindblom, “Socialvården – en klasslagstiftning?”, 86-87.

¹⁰²¹ *Konkret* 8-9/68, Arne H Lindgren, “Utdrad ur svart dagbok”, 24-28; *Konkret* 3/68, Bengt Börjeson, “En angelägen utredning!”, 4-5.

¹⁰²² *Konkret* 8-9/68, Kaj Håkanson, “Psykiatri, moral och samhälle”, 30-38.

¹⁰²³ “Latinalaisen Amerikan vallankumouksellisissa liikkeissä onkin ihminen, hänen asemansa ja arvonsa kohottaminen keskeinen liikkeelle paneva voima.” *TYL* 32/68, Kaarina Lehtonen, “Ihmisarvon pieni joulu”, 1.

[...] of what revolution is, and how revolutions are needed on many different spheres, not least in the *Folkhemmet*.”¹⁰²⁴ Another writer in *Konkret* saw it necessary that mental care patients raise their self-awareness, even arguing that a “black power period” among them was necessary.¹⁰²⁵ Although citing third-world revolutionary rhetoric was rare, it shows how global examples could both inspire and provide tangible material that could be reassigned to Nordic contexts. The majority of these uses were present in the discussions on revolution – the topic of the next Chapter.

¹⁰²⁴ “Vi har fått ett konkret bild och en stark upplevelse av vad revolution är – och vi känner hur det skulle behövas revolutioner på många områden och inte minst i *Folkhemmet*.” *Konkret* 8-9/68, Kerstin Vinterhed, “Effekten av den terapeutiska miljön”, 39-41.

¹⁰²⁵ *Konkret* 8-9/68, Intervjuare Nordal Åkerman, “Vård – finns det?”, 56-60.

5 REVOLUTION AND PROTEST

In this chapter, I argue that a nuanced reading of the concept of *revolution* is vital if we want to understand the political goals and actions of Nordic radical activists in the 1960s. So far, most scholars have focused on the dramatic, violent connotations of the concept rather than its actual meaning for activists at the time. The term has also been used as the common denominator for all movements of the period:¹⁰²⁶ Eric Hobsbawm saw the Sixties as the last, utopian revolution of the labour movement,¹⁰²⁷ and Tony Judt used the subtitle “The Spectre of Revolution” for his chapter on the social and political movements of the Sixties in his magnum opus, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*.¹⁰²⁸ Despite its use as an analytical concept by modern-day scholars, revolution was also common in the radical rhetoric of contemporaries.¹⁰²⁹ For New Left movements, the concept of revolution was far more heterogeneous than it had been in established leftist rhetoric – more focused on the cultural rather than the economic.¹⁰³⁰ Its meaning was shaped via theoretical reflections, but also more concrete forms such as demonstrations, marches, sit-ins, and examples of violence in global contexts. The latter were of course mediated through the press and TV, but direct contact with transnational agents also greatly affected the way revolution was used as a concept that aspired to fundamentally change social structures. Revolution should therefore be approached as a heterogeneous and fragmented historical concept,¹⁰³¹ open to contestation, redefinition, and varied uses. By analysing the different ways in which revolution, public protests, and violence were conceptualised among Nordic radical publics, I will highlight how complex and divisive the issue really was, and how different political traditions greatly affected uses of the concept in public discourses.

¹⁰²⁶ Rucht 1998, 117.

¹⁰²⁷ Östberg 2002, 20.

¹⁰²⁸ Judt 2005, 390.

¹⁰²⁹ Brown 2014, 105; Vinen 2018, 5.

¹⁰³⁰ Horn 2007, 153.

¹⁰³¹ On the tendency to ready concepts as holistic entities, see Freedon 2017, 126.

From a conceptual history perspective, revolution is an important Koselleckian “basic” concept – it has been studied in the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, as well as the contexts of the French Revolution and its Marxist interpretations.¹⁰³² But the lexicon of Finnish political concepts, *Käsitteet liikkeessä*, also includes a rather comprehensive article on the different meanings of the concept throughout Finnish political history, including the post-war context.¹⁰³³ While Risto Alapuro convincingly shows how dramatically the meaning of revolution changed during the Sixties, he contextualises these discussions with previous definitions of the concept, rather than on its transnational uses among contemporaries in the Sixties. Looking at revolution as a predominantly national issue – associating it first and foremost with the Finnish Civil War of 1918 – is certainly justifiable, but perhaps we could learn more from a comparative and transnational perspective that contrasts uses of the term in Finland with Sweden – a country that lacks the same history of a bloody “revolution” turned civil war – especially as comparisons have so far been rather limited. Indeed, no such overview of the concept of “revolution” in Swedish political culture appears to exist as yet.¹⁰³⁴

Differences in the way the radicalisation process influenced concepts like revolution on the national and local level should not be underestimated. As the Finnish student movement radicalised, sociological and psychological explanations of hidden hegemonic conservatism became particularly important. Since hegemonic structures were resilient, they could not be overturned with simple reforms, so the answer was revolution. For the Swedish New Left, the political association of the concept with anti-authoritarian and anti-fascist activism could be traced back to Swedes volunteering for the Spanish Civil War. However, there were also some important new transnational challenges facing Swedish definitions of the concept, as we will see towards the end of this chapter. Revolution meant the discourse of both student and New Left radicals would turn from being descriptively critical to openly urging social change; and the rhizomatic network of different conceptualisations from different political traditions would intersect in this discourse. One common feature of revolution was that it was not a concept for describing the current state of society, it was about the future, so it affected the temporal dynamics of radical discourse. Demands for gradual reforms were replaced with calls for drastic social change, and the horizon of expectations simultaneously opened up. The question was how were these sudden changes to be achieved, and so there were discussions over the merits of public demonstrations and whether or not to use violence. This chapter looks at the reservations activists had, at the balancing act many had to

¹⁰³² Dunn 1989.

¹⁰³³ Alapuro 2003.

¹⁰³⁴ For a study in the 1930s context, see Jonsson 2017. Apparently, a more comprehensive conceptual history volume is currently being written; see Partti 2019, 46.

perform, and the continuum between seemingly different spheres of the radical discourse.

The historical aspects of revolution weighed heavily in the Finnish context, where the events and political legacy of the 1918 Civil War were still a very sore point. It was not until the early 1960s that more open discussions could be had about the subject.¹⁰³⁵ Politicisation of certain events in the Civil War as a sign of oppression and bourgeois terror was still associated mainly with the Communists and something that neither the Finnish New Left nor the student movement were very keen to touch on. Unbiased research that took into consideration both sides of the war were the norm in radical discussions. They made sure their criticisms were directed more at the political usages of Civil War history by right-wing politicians.¹⁰³⁶ The Swedish New Left, on the other hand, was more keen on using historical revolutions to support contemporary political arguments. The 50th anniversary of the Russian October Revolution in 1967 was a natural point for reevaluating where it had succeeded and where it had gone wrong. Historical events were certainly essential, but to use revolution as a concept, both leftist theory¹⁰³⁷ and the global tensions between socialist countries¹⁰³⁸ were equally important. The Swedish New Left were not only concerned with Russian revolutionary history, however, they were also interested in the Finnish Civil War. From the viewpoint of Swedish leftists, new Finnish research had finally reevaluated how there had been a bourgeois distortion of civil war history by the 'victors'. This meant that stories about the Red terror could finally be put to rest, by revealing the equally horrific acts of the Whites, such as arbitrary sentencing and horrendous conditions in prison camps. One writer even argued that "It has rightly been said that Finland introduced the era of concentration camps to modern Europe at this time"¹⁰³⁹. Intriguingly, historical reevaluations were extended to claiming there had also been the possibility of a Swedish revolution in 1917-1918.¹⁰⁴⁰ In one estimation, only the passivity of Swedish leftists and the lack of a revolutionary leader had stopped

¹⁰³⁵ Suominen 1997, 158-159; Haapala 2001, 25-26; Kuusi 2003, 366; Rentola 2003, 113; Vesikansa 2004, 232.

¹⁰³⁶ See, e.g., Tilanne 9/64, "Otto Ville Kuusinen", 305-309; Aikalainen 1/65, Ossi Hedman, "Historiankirjoitus, -opetus ja kansalaisihanteet", 22-34; YL 30/67, Heikki Palmu, "Täysi-ikäisyys saavutettu?", 4, YL 31/67, "Punainen horrori ja valkoinen errori - Ihmisvihan Suomi 1917-1918", 8-9; YL 35/68, Seppo Väisänen, "Torpparit ja kanslaissota", 4; TYL 2/68, Keijo Perälä, "Vuoden 1918 sodan luonteesta", 2; TYL 28/67, *Tribunus*, "Sinimustia näköaloja", 4; OYL 4/68, PK, "Tunteella: 1918-1968", 3; *Aviisi* 22/66, Pertti Hémanus, "Kunnia kummallekin", 1.

¹⁰³⁷ *Clarté* 3/67, Bo Gustafsson, "Arbete och kapital", 28-40; *Konkret* 3-4/67, "Ryssland 1917/Sverige 1967", 43; *Konkret* 3-4/67, Isaac Deutscher, "Lenins moraliska dilemma", 50-54.

¹⁰³⁸ *TiS* 44/67, .Is, "Sovjet och revolutionen", 2.

¹⁰³⁹ "det har med all rätt sagts att Finland då införde koncentrationslägeriden i det moderna Europa." *TiS* 4/68, Finn Sommershield, "Politiska våldsdåd i Finland 1918", 12-13; see also *TiS* 6/68, Gösta Ågren, "Finland 1918 - den vita lögnen", 10.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Konkret* 3-4/67, Carl-Göran Andreæ, "Revolutionsåret 1917", 44-45.

revolution from occurring: "This small scene could be seen symbolically; "the Swedish calm" prevented clashes, mutiny, shootings and revolution."¹⁰⁴¹

Historical revolutions were not the only way the concept was used by radicals. Revolution as a sudden, pronounced, and often irreversible change could also happen without the violence and conflict associated with historical examples such as the French Revolution - "the scientific revolution" and the "sexual revolution"¹⁰⁴² being two such examples. Revolutionary rhetoric in the liberal and cultural radicalist press, for instance, was usually closer to this more abstract use of the word, especially when explicitly political definitions needed to be avoided: e.g., the revolution of pop culture,¹⁰⁴³ revolutions in the social sciences,¹⁰⁴⁴ and the post-war revolution of scientific industrialism.¹⁰⁴⁵ While these cases are interesting and illustrate the multifaceted uses of the concept, I've decided not to analyse them in this chapter as they were not a political use of the term. The metaphorical dimensions of revolution (be it scientific, cultural, or technical), and these histories remain to be written by someone else.

If the goal of revolutionary social change is to profoundly change society, it raises the questions of *how* this change should be pursued; which means are justifiable; and how political movements should position themselves against the institutions, laws, and practices they want to get rid of. Social movements in the Sixties clearly faced these questions, especially in the evolving transnational context of anti-war protests and Vietnam, increasing racial violence in the US, and third-world guerrilla movements. Rhizomatic discourses touched on all these topics and evaluated their significance for Nordic radical activism.

5.1 Individual Revolutions

Kjell Östberg has argued that one of the keys to understanding Sixties' social movements in Sweden and their particularly moral focus is to look at the long Nordic tradition of civil society and religious popular movements.¹⁰⁴⁶ While this seems logical in the sense that there were clearly parallels in the topics covered and their modes of action, Östberg does not provide any concrete examples of just how these moral practices and discourses were adapted and used by Sixties' social movements. Looking at the research on them in other contexts, however,

¹⁰⁴¹ "Denna lilla scen kunde ses symboliskt: "det svenska lugnet" hindrade sammanstötning, utlösning av myteri, skottlösning och revolution." Konkret 3-4/67, Jan Olof Olsson, "Sverige en folkrepublik?", 46-49.

¹⁰⁴² Dagmar Herzog has made a compelling point, arguing that "the sexual revolution" was a rather long and complex process, far from a sudden change; see Herzog 2006.

¹⁰⁴³ Aikalainen 3/64, "Muut lehdet/Pop", 44-46; Ajankohta 6/67, Pasi Rutanen, "Ryhmämatkat rakkauteen", 10-11.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Tilanne 5/66, Jaakko Blomberg, "Myytti teollisesta yhteiskunnasta", 373-379; Tilanne 1/66, Raimo Malm, "Vallankumous ja teorian", 1-39.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Tilanne 1/64, R.M., "Kapitalismi pistöksissä", 11-16; Tilanne 11/64, "Intian ammattiyhdistysliike", 476-479.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Östberg 2002, 12-13, 172-175.

does show that religious activism did indeed shape the focus and tone of radical argumentation. For many in the UK New Left, for example, it meant that an ethical and moral emphasis was a natural focus point.¹⁰⁴⁷ Many anti-nuclear protests incorporated religious groups,¹⁰⁴⁸ and in the 1962 Port Huron statement of the US New Left student organisation, Students for a Democratic Society, one also finds aspects that prioritised the moral realignment of society over any concrete legislative reforms.¹⁰⁴⁹

In the Nordic national context there was a marked difference in the way radical agents approached the role of religious institutions such as the national church. Swedish cultural radicalism was actually for the most part areligious, and in a similar fashion the Lutheran Church of Finland was avoided by many in the radical field as it was seen as one of the causes for the conservatism of Finnish society and culture. However, a closer reading of the discussions around the Church reveals a more nuanced and even appreciative attitude towards the traditions of Lutheranism. When it comes to the concept of revolution, for instance, the Christian tradition was all for deep personal changes, and while they were never part of the mainstream, interpretations that emphasised the radical social mission of religious communities certainly did exist. Furthermore, in the post-war period, the National Lutheran Church of Finland actively adopted a more socially oriented perspective,¹⁰⁵⁰ making it possible to at least imagine more radical change.

One of the important contributing factors here was the sheer prevalence of Lutheranism in Nordic societies. Religious education, strong support from the state, academic traditions, and a relatively respected social position – above the petty feuds of politics – meant that the Church could potentially be turned into an ally. For some in the Finnish New Left, their dedication to humanism meant that traditional Marxist atheism was either rejected or simply bypassed. Jarno Pennanen, the editor of *Tilanne*, was one such activist who focused on redefining the relationship between leftist intelligentsija and the radical social potential of the Church. For Pennanen, socialism was closely linked with humanist traditions and individualism,¹⁰⁵¹ while other writers at *Tilanne* also connected religious conviction with a strong social mission.¹⁰⁵² Swedish New Left journals, by and large, avoided concepts like humanism and preferred a more class-conscious reading of their position towards the Church¹⁰⁵³; but even for them, there was no questioning of the fact that Lutheran traditions were a central feature of Nordic

¹⁰⁴⁷ Nehringer 2011, 20.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Brown 2013, 88.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Klimke 2011, 18.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Markkola 2014.

¹⁰⁵¹ *Tilanne* 1/60, Jarno Pennanen, "Sosialismin kysymyksiä 1960-luvulla", 18-20, 25; *Tilanne* 1/65, JP, "Kristillinen ja maallinen humanismi", 1-4; *Tilanne* 6/64, Jarno Pennanen, "Muurahaisen valinnat", 129-131.

¹⁰⁵² *Tilanne* 9/64, Veikko Laukkanen, "Keskustelua/Raamatun sosialismi", 405-408; *Tilanne* 5/66, Veikko Laukkanen, "Yhteiskunnan uudistus kristinuskon hengessä", 396-403.

¹⁰⁵³ For an exception, see *TiS* 51-52/67, Gösta Ågren, "Om taktiken i en mörk tid", 14, 20. Quite tellingly Ågren was actually a Finn temporarily residing in Stockholm.

society; whether they could be used as a revolutionary tool though was another matter altogether.

While social readings of Christian teachings never gained prominence in radical discourse, there were some common points of reference. Some liked to associate the Church with the core Enlightenment values of the French revolution, while others went a step further – the New Testament had a “truly revolutionary” message. Jesus was portrayed as a true radical, and his progressivism was only watered down by the conservatism of Paul the Apostle.¹⁰⁵⁴ What made these definitions different from the average charismatic discourse was that they were directly associated with the need for urgent social change: “Jesuses die daily in both Vietnam and in Africa. The most famous Jesus of these times is Martin Luther King, Or Rudi Dutschke, the ‘gentle provocateur’.”¹⁰⁵⁵

There were also theologians who were sympathetic towards the radical agenda and saw the potential for change inside the Church.¹⁰⁵⁶ The Archbishop himself, Martti Simojoki, was one such understanding voice in these debates, encouraging dialogue by giving several interviews in the Finnish student papers.¹⁰⁵⁷ His books were also widely read and reviewed in the radical press.¹⁰⁵⁸ As a moderate liberal who was trying to keep the balance between different schools of thought within the Finnish Lutheran Church, Simojoki saw the importance of getting the Church closer to the working class and more open to international influences.¹⁰⁵⁹ In the radical press, Simojoki acknowledged that in its past the Church had been more on the conservative side of Finnish society, prioritising stability over social change; but now he argued that the Church could be a revolutionary institution, in the abstract sense that change was “inevitable”.¹⁰⁶⁰ Defined in this way, the concept of revolutionary Christianity comes close to the way radical sociologists defined their efforts to raise political

¹⁰⁵⁴ YL 3/65, “Kirkon pilkka”, 15; JYL 26/67, M.S., “Apartheid ja ihmisyy”, 3; YL 17/68, Eugen Parkatti, “Eroan”, 12; Aviisi 14/68, Dürer, “Vaskipiirroksia/Jeesus, vallankumouksellinen”, 5.

¹⁰⁵⁵ “Jeesuksia kuolee päivittäin sekä Vietnamissa että Afrikassa. Näitten viikkojen tunnetuin jeesus on Martin Luther King. Tai Rudi Dutschke, “lempeä provokaattori”.” Aviisi 14/68, Dürer, “Vaskipiirroksia/Jeesus, vallankumouksellinen”, 5.

¹⁰⁵⁶ TYL 26/68, “Arkkipiispa ja Antti Eskola eri mieltä tiedottamisesta”, 5; TYL Tribunus, “Piispat siitä”, 2:27/66; TYL 19/67, Heikki Palmu, “Repoko sensori Suomessa”, 3; 25/67, Heikki Palmu, “Piispat ajassamme”, 3; YL 36/64, Martti I Miettinen, “Kirkon puolitiestä”, 12.

¹⁰⁵⁷ TYL 26/68, “Arkkipiispa ja Antti Eskola eri mieltä tiedottamisesta”, 5; YL 19/65, “Kirkon tehtävä on naamioiden riisuminen”, 4-5; YL 28/67, Y Lla, “Vallankäytön riski ja vastuun etiikka”, 1.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Aviisi 14/68, Matti Tuomisto, “Kirjat: Arkkipiispa ajastamme”, 24; TYL 27/66, PK “Piispat asialla”, 3; JYL 14/67, M.K., “Kirkko ja asia”, 4; OYL Heikki Hautala, “Kirkon kannanotto seksuaalikäytöksen ja sen arvostelu”, 2:26/66; Nya Argus 20/66, Gun Hemming, “Sju biskopar om sex”, 297-299; Aikalainen 3/65, P.S., “Mistä on kysymys?”, 48-49.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Lauha, Aila: Simojoki, Martti. The Finnish national biography. Studia Biographica 4. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997- (cited 1.4.2020).

¹⁰⁶⁰ TYL 26/68, “Arkkipiispa ja Antti Eskola eri mieltä tiedottamisesta”, 5.

consciousness. Personal enlightenment would lead to a reassessment of social justice, to radical social activism, and to new policies.

But the interaction between Finnish radical activism and religious circles did not go only one way. For instance, radical activists organised a “Church and Marx” seminar as a part of the Jyväskylä Cultural Festival held in the summer of 1967. The key issue in these debates (and elsewhere in the student press) was to find a more socially conscious mission for the Church.¹⁰⁶¹ While a search for similarities and some sort of a compromise was one strand of the debate, another was to push for a more comprehensive criticism of the Church’s role in establishing and maintaining social hierarchies and power structures.¹⁰⁶² Student activists in Jyväskylä were particularly keen to keep the radical potential of religious activism in the discussion, and continued to bring it up after the seminar too.¹⁰⁶³ Meanwhile, some in the New Left thought there was potential in the Church since it had moved to the left after the conservatism of the 1950s.¹⁰⁶⁴ One of the most radical Finnish activists, Pentti Saarikoski, for instance, wanted there to be greater dialogue between Socialists and Christians – he even asked members of the clergy to submit articles to *Aikalainen* (which he edited) – but in the end, much to his disappointment, none of them did.¹⁰⁶⁵

Yet, an essential part of the discourse on the topic in circles close to the Finnish Lutheran Church, was to clearly renounce socialist definitions of revolution. Even if Christian doctrines could be used to legitimise a new social mission, that mission needed to be dictated by religious conviction – there was little to no understanding of those who sought inspiration from materialist Marxist definitions. While the concept of revolution might be shared with Marxism, its true meaning could only be found in Christian traditions.¹⁰⁶⁶ In practice, even the most liberal of clergy were cautious about using the concept of revolution, because of its violent, historical connotations – they were far more interested in the personal and spiritual side of revolution in the individual.¹⁰⁶⁷

Antti Eskola was one radical who had a highly individual interpretation of the Christian tradition of revolution.¹⁰⁶⁸ In fact, he dedicated a whole chapter in his book, “*Suomi sulo pohjola*”, to the role of the Church in 1960s Finland. According to Eskola, Luther was the last significant Christian thinker who had

¹⁰⁶¹ TYL 18/67, Jouko Martikainen, “Raskaimman sarjan MM-ottelu: Kristinusko ja Marxismi Jyväskylän kesässä”, 5; for a similar aspirations in Sweden, see Kommentar 6-7/68, Ragnar Öhlsson, “Mot en revolutionär teologi?”, 12-15.

¹⁰⁶² YL 26/67, Jouko Martikainen, “Hassisen synodaalitutkielma kristinuskosta ja kommunismista/Uskonpuhdistajat”, 7; TYL 26/67, Keijo Perälä, “Pertuskan teroituksesta ja käytöstä/Myöhäistä herätystä”, 6.

¹⁰⁶³ e.g., JYL 7/68, Annikki Saari, “Kiroileva kirkko”, 2; JYL 8/68, Annikki Saari, “Kiroileva toimitus”, 3.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *Aikalainen* 7-8/65, Ahti Susiluoto, “Herrat kirkon herrat”, 45-48.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Aikalainen* 7-8/65, P.S., 3-5.

¹⁰⁶⁶ TYL 10/67, Jouko Martikainen, “Teologit vallankumoushankkeissa/Haaste Hannu Taanilalle”, 5; TYL 26/68, “Arkipiispa ja Antti Eskola eri mieltä tiedottamisesta”, 5.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Lauha, Aila: *Simojoki, Martti*. The Finnish national biography. *Studia Biographica* 4. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997– (cited 1.4.2020).

¹⁰⁶⁸ Eskola never gave up these sympathies, writing several books reflecting his relationship with the Christian faith even after his retirement.

still subscribed to the idea of a “constant revolution”. Eskola was a staunch critic of state religion, as he saw that by having a semi-official position it had compromised fundamental doctrines to gain popular support. This loss of revolutionary potential had nothing to do with the system of faith or its teachings, but because it had become a state religion to appeal to the masses. For Eskola, the bourgeois status of clergymen actually meant that they had deeply unchristian attitudes towards social issues – the only way to stay true to the original teachings of Christ was to follow a “socially radical and politically leftist” path.¹⁰⁶⁹ *Suomi sulo pohjola* was one of the most heavily discussed books in the radical student papers of 1968, and it received mostly positive reviews.¹⁰⁷⁰

Elements of Eskola’s argument reappeared when Arvo Salo criticised Archbishop Simojoki in *Ylioppilaslehti* for working in cooperation with the army and other reactionary forces to attempt what he called “a religious coup”.¹⁰⁷¹ This was clearly linked to statements made by Simojoki after the ‘Salama Affair’ – a literary scandal in 1966 when the author Hannu Salama was sentenced for having authored the blasphemous book “Midsummer Dances” (*Juhannustanssit*). Although the charges had initially been proposed by conservative politicians, the Archbishop was also critical of the book being published. For Salo, the affair clearly showed that the Church was in fact on the side of the reactionaries,¹⁰⁷² and Simojoki’s reputation as a liberal archbishop was dented. Nevertheless, religious matters did not completely vanish from the radical agenda; “New Testament” (*Uusin Testamentti*), written by a young radical priest, Terho Pursiainen, was a bestselling paperback in the popular *Huutomerkki*-series. Yet, its approach was quite different from that of Eskola, perhaps because Pursiainen published his book in 1969, when the political climate was quite different – radicalisation had reached its apex; Pursiainen, among other things, was open in his support for Latin American Liberation theology.¹⁰⁷³

The overall popularity of Archbishop Simojoki, in spite of these criticisms, guaranteed that there was a real momentum driving the Church towards a more radical social consciousness in the Sixties. But not everyone saw it like that; others saw the Church as an institution that was instead guaranteeing a continuation of the status quo. Simojoki may have shown liberal sympathies, but a large proportion of the clergy (and political establishment) were still wary of any deviations from the traditional position. The Salama Affair could be seen as a conservative backlash against the radicalisation of Finnish students and cultural intelligentsia. But the concept of revolution was not only used by left-wing radicals in the 1960s; it was also used by the “Moral Rearmament” movement (MRA) – a radical anti-communist organisation that blended personal religious

¹⁰⁶⁹ Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki, 89-100.

¹⁰⁷⁰ YL 28/68, Ilkka Sumu, “Hyvinvointiyhteiskunnan maksakirroosi?”, 6; TYL 31/68, Matti Vimpari, “Eskolan huulet altavastaajien suissa”, 5; Aviisi 27/68, “Uusvasemmiston kriisi”, 4-5.

¹⁰⁷¹ Arvo Salo, *Turun Ylioppilaslehti* 18/65, “Vallankaappajat”, 2.

¹⁰⁷² YL 3/65, “Kirkon pilkka”, 15.

¹⁰⁷³ Pursiainen, Terho 1969, *Uusin testamentti*. Tammi, Helsinki.

convictions with the politics of the Cold War.¹⁰⁷⁴ Indeed, it was a member of the MRA, Margit Borg-Sundman, who had initiated the charges against Salama. An MP in the National Coalition party, Borg-Sundman was one of the most public figures of moral conservatism, and yet she defined her political position in radical terms as a “spiritual revolutionary”. Borg-Sundman was using the political forum provided her by the Finnish radical press, and using the positive connotations of radicalism and revolution to assure her interviewers that the only thing differentiating her policies from those of “progressives” was *where* the revolution was being attempted. The socialists she opposed were watering down the concept of revolution to be one which simply involved changing governing political parties, whereas she was proposing a much more fundamental revolution, as she saw it, *inside* each individual.¹⁰⁷⁵

Although the Church had a liberal archbishop, conservative counter-measures meant that in practice, this moral revolution never got beyond the stage of dialogue between the interested parties. While Eskola and others maintained their positive outlook on religion as a valid belief system, not all radical intellectuals were happy with the slow and reactionary nature of it. Conservative counter-measures in the Church had clearly taken their toll on the institution’s revolutionary potential. Radicals were now directing their energies against an institution that had formerly been considered a potential ally. Pentti Saarikoski’s campaign in *Aikalainen*, for instance, aimed to make it easier for Finns to leave the Lutheran Church.¹⁰⁷⁶

While the Swedish New Left were not that enthusiastic about cooperating with domestic religious institutions and groups, the Third World was one topic which understandably brought them together.¹⁰⁷⁷ One of the defining moments was the World Council of Churches meeting, held in Uppsala in 1968. The New Left paper *Kommentar* was particularly interested in the meeting’s focus on social and economic development. The report focused on the fact that the Council was discussing the need for concrete political action that would remedy the injustices of the world economy through “revolutionary theology”. While the Council was careful to iterate the organisational difficulties and political compromises this could cause, some of the panel discussions cited in *Kommentar* did show that speakers did support a broad definition of revolution: “churches have a special role in developing a revolutionary strategy for social change”. *Kommentar*’s perspective focused on the structural aspect of this strategy.

¹⁰⁷⁴ YL 10/60, Tapani Jauhiainen ja Pertti Peussa, “Tulevaisuuden ideologia” 13; Vesikansa 2004, 190-196; Ekstrand 1993.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ajankohta 2/67, Ilkka Saulo, “Jumala ja laki”, 14-15.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Aikalainen 1/65, P.S., “Uskonnonvapauden toteuttamiseksi”, 4; Aikalainen 1/65, P.S., “Kristinuskon kuolinkamppailu”, 5-6; Aikalainen 1/66, nauhoituksen suoritti ja otteet valitsi Kullervo Aura, “Puolustuksella on puheenvuoro”, 4-23; YL 4/65, Jaakko Pakkasvirta, “Juhannustanssit”, 12; YL 8/65, Erik Stenius, “Suvaitsemattomuus nostaa päätään?”, 8; YL 15/68, Pekka Lounela, “Eroan”, 6-7; YL 17/68, Eugen Parkatti, “Eroan”, 12. These cases were all directly related to the Salama affair.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Jørgensen 2011; Östberg 2002, 38-39.

“The construction of political structures suitable for national development includes revolutionary changes to social structures. [...] The churches have a special part in developing a strategy for revolution and social change that is effective and excludes violence. It is our job to actively work to build political institutions to bring about the much-needed social changes.”¹⁰⁷⁸

Third-world issues took on a more tangible form in *Kommentar*, when an interview with a radical leftist priest from Columbia was published in the same issue. In the interview, held during the conference in Uppsala, Gonzalo Castillo-Cárdenas defined revolution in concrete terms as a total structural change in society: “I believe that there are things in the gospel that give Christians the capacity to make a positive contribution to the revolutionary process.”¹⁰⁷⁹ While Uppsala demonstrates that new connections were being forged between Swedish and third-world religious organisations, the contradiction between “guerrilla priests” and official declarations of non-violence limited any concrete action.¹⁰⁸⁰

5.2 Revolution of Information, or Information on Revolutionary Theory?

The idea that individuals could undergo a personal change (or ‘revolution’) was nothing new *per se*, and it was certainly not restricted to the kind of religious frameworks discussed above (5.1). In fact, Nordic cultural radicalists had embraced the idea since the late fifties. By the Sixties, this formerly apolitical idea of changing one’s mind had become a cultural quest for new art forms and non-normative language to explicitly politicise a new social consciousness. This had particular ramifications for conceptualising revolution, and raised its value as a central concept in the radical frame. Openly acknowledging the political dimensions of radical discourse was in many ways significant, and while it would seem to compromise the principles of liberal activism, both traditions were in fact closely linked by a rather elitist belief in the possibility of intellectual growth through critical evaluation and debate. Liberal cultural radicalism and New Left positions on the commercialisation of culture were thus fairly close. The quality of media consumed was an essential element in personal growth, and these debates were often rather explicit in their evaluations of the radical

¹⁰⁷⁸ “Uppbyggandet av politiska strukturer som är lämpade för nationell utveckling innefattar revolutionerande förändringar i de sociala strukturerna. --- Kyrkorna har ett särskilt bidrag att ge till utvecklingen av en strategi för revolutionen och den sociala förändringen som är effektiv och utesluter våld. Inte desto mindre är det vår uppgift att aktivt arbeta på att bygga upp politiska institutioner för att åstadkomma de sociala förändringar, som är så bittert nödvändiga.” *Kommentar 6-7/68*, Ragnar Ohlsson, “Mot en revolutionär teologi?”, 12-15.

¹⁰⁷⁹ “Jag tror att det i det kristna evangeliet finns sådant som ger de kristna kapacitet till ett positivt bidrag till en revolutionär process.” *Kommentar 6-7/68*, Ragnar Ohlsson, “Det kristna evangeliet kan ge bidrag till en revolutionär process. Intervju med Gonzalo Castillo-Cárdenas”, 16-18.

¹⁰⁸⁰ LiB D 3/69, Anres Küng, “Gerillan i Latinamerika”, 22-28.

potential of different texts, art forms, and media. More often than not, this also led to a shared wariness of popular forms of mass culture. In some instances, anti-commercial and anti-elitist discourses were closely intertwined with the heightened social consciousness of the Nordic New Left. Since entertainment was explicitly commercial, it clearly had an instrumental role in homogenising the working classes, rendering them idle, and sustaining the hegemonic status quo:¹⁰⁸¹

“Efforts should be made to influence the reactionary forces that prevent people from becoming more aware of their own position in society, such as mass culture, which contributes to lowering all mental activity, impoverishes its consumers and makes people passive. These shackles of commercialism, advertising, pop culture, the ideology of well-being and higher living standards etc., all bind people to a kind of static one-eyedness.”¹⁰⁸²

Since the shortening attention span of humankind was threatening its progress, the only solution was revolution within every individual.¹⁰⁸³ This had clear theoretical implications for the New Left, as they could be generalised and used to depict a significant increase in political consciousness at a more general level.¹⁰⁸⁴ Rauno Setälä, the cultural secretary of the SKDL, in a clear effort to distance himself from the Old Left, declared that a truly socialist society would need a “revolution of the consciousness” to really succeed. Setälä saw culture as a more fertile field for social activism, than focusing exclusively on the materialist goals of mainstream Finnish socialists. In his opinion, the most important factor in this revolution of the consciousness was that all public forums be used to spread information.¹⁰⁸⁵ In Sweden, the author Göran Palm used similar measures to criticise existing cultural politics of the Left and to push for a wider definition of culture.¹⁰⁸⁶ The growth in cultural “happenings” was another phenomenon which showed a new approach to art that spread throughout the Nordic countries in the Sixties. Happenings were supposed to engage spectators in a way that would make them critical of established definitions of art and artistry.¹⁰⁸⁷ Meanwhile, concepts like “*revolutionär humanism*”¹⁰⁸⁸ tried to eliminate the

¹⁰⁸¹ See, for example Aikalainen 4/64, Kalevi Haikara, “Antakaa meille kaupallista kulttuuria”, 31-37; JYL 16/67, Pertti Nurminen, “Meillekin kulttuurivallankumous”, 2; Ajankohta 1/67, Pekka Gronow, “Musiikki/Älylliset äidit”, 25; TYL 19/68, Kaarina Lehtonen, “Tilanne ylioppilaiden kristillisessä liikkeessä”, 8; JYL 4/68, Juha Manninen, “Marx Marsissa”, 4, 8.

¹⁰⁸² “Olisi pyrittävä vaikuttamaan sellaisiin taantumuksellisiin voimiin, jotka estävät ihmistä kasvamasta tietoisuuteen omasta asemastaan yhteiskunnassa, kuten esimerkiksi massakulttuuriin, joka osaltaan madaltaa kaiken henkisen toimeliaisuuden, köyhdyttää turruttamalla kuluttajansa ja tekee ihmisestä passiivisen. Nämä kaupallisuuden kahleet, mainonta, pop-kulttuuri, hyvinvointi ja elintaso-ideologia jne. jne. kaikki sitovat ihmistä eräänlaiseen staattiseen yksisilmäisyyteen.” Ajankohta 12/67, Ritva Enbäck, “kaupallisuuden ylivalta”, 3-4.

¹⁰⁸³ JYL 16/67, Pertti Nurminen, “Meillekin kulttuurivallankumous”, 2.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Kommentar 9_68, Trygge Hedtjärn, “Rapport från Detroit”, 5-14.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Aikalainen 2/66, Rauno Setälä, “SKDL:n kulttuuripolitiikka”, 20-24.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Sundgren 2014.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Östberg 2002, 55-56.

¹⁰⁸⁸ TiS 27/68, Gösta Ågren, “Revolutionen och författaren”, 10.

differences between art and other forms of political communication, and were critical of the excessive intellectualism of some forms of radicalism.¹⁰⁸⁹

Like their counterparts in West Germany, the Swedish New Left encouraged the kind of ‘personal revolutions’ that would fulfil the traditional leftist goals of anti-capitalism.¹⁰⁹⁰ Consequently they paid attention to the manipulative role of culture and especially in the media. In the New Left press, they focused on the way, for instance, marketing created artificial needs and unnecessary social constructs for people.¹⁰⁹¹ A protest against *Teenage Fair*, a trade show for youth organised in Stockholm in the autumn of 1968 provides an interesting, if rather rare, example of this. For activists who took part, the demo marked the beginning of protest activities that would eventually weaken consumer society. Through these protest actions and a “counter-fair”, they hoped to provide alternatives to consumerism and the commercial exploitation of the human need for contact.¹⁰⁹² The most important thing was to raise political consciousness among the young, so that it “would become clear that the boundary was between those who sell themselves and those who don’t, between those who were not conscious of this, and those who were conscious.”¹⁰⁹³

Revolution was also seen in more concrete social terms too, as a method of directly overturning bourgeois society. This was not only true of Marxists, but also in more general labour union and leftist party political rhetoric, but different local and political contexts varied their interpretation considerably. Because of its obvious radical potential and historical weight, revolution was a highly controversial rhetorical tool. In the West German context, it provided ample opportunity for drawing on a continuum between revolutionary pasts and the present activities of the New Left. The Spanish Civil War, the 1871 Paris Commune, the 1848 German Revolution, the Weimar Republic, and the Russian Revolution – all these exemplified past revolutionary moments that could provide the Sixties’ radicals in West Germany with both continuity and hope. T.S. Brown has explained this as a way of filling in the breaks in German history with new interpretations that would fit the radical narrative and activists’ understanding of themselves.¹⁰⁹⁴ The Swedish New Left used similar historical examples especially from the antifascist activism of the 1930s and the Spanish Civil War to legitimise their own political position.¹⁰⁹⁵ While German and Swedish radicals emphasised their place in a historical continuum of political activism and violent struggles against repressive forces, the Finnish New Left

¹⁰⁸⁹ TiS 50/66, Bo Hammar, “Alla är vi PROVIES”, 8-9.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Sedlmaier 2014.

¹⁰⁹¹ Clarté 3/67, Gilbert Mury, “Varför jag blev kommunist – och varför jag lämnat partiet”, 14-19; TiS 45/68, “Mässfall”, 3; Kommentar 6-7/68, Robert Jacobson, “Världsrevolution eller socialism i ett land”, 20-25; TiS 45/68, Sven Wernström, “Har folk börjat förstå?”, 8; see also chapter 3.7.

¹⁰⁹² TiS 45/68, “Mässfall”, 3.

¹⁰⁹³ “Då framstod det tydligt att gränsen råg mellan dem som säljer sej och dem som inte säljer sej, mellan de omedvetna och de medvetna.” TiS 45/68, Sven Wernström, “Har folk börjat förstå?”, 8.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Brown 2013, 104-113.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Scott 2009.

looked to 1930s cultural organisations as a more tempting point of reference, than for example the Civil War (see above). Their position was therefore more closely tied to cultural modernism than to past revolutions or political actions.¹⁰⁹⁶

While the political differences between liberal cultural radicals and the New Left in Finland were not as pronounced as in some other countries, they nonetheless existed. The New Left criticised cultural radicalism for its unnecessary closeness to established institutions, which had compromised the potential of a “cultural revolution”.¹⁰⁹⁷ Nevertheless, reforms based on the findings of social science did coexist alongside newer, more explicitly political ideas for a while. For many Finnish activists combining ideologies based on personal political conviction with the structural “facts” delivered by the social sciences represented a true revolution in the history of radical thought; it would now be possible to find solutions to issues that had been hotly debated since the beginning of the Sixties. This was a popular argument, especially among Sixties radical social scientists: Norwegian peace researcher, Johan Galtung, argued in *Kommentar* that the role of the social sciences was to inform people about social oppression and provide the tools for achieving “revolutionary change”.¹⁰⁹⁸ Indeed, phrases such as “from soul to structures”¹⁰⁹⁹ show how the focus of cultural radicalism was, at this point, being reframed by the New Left and radicalised students.

Discursive choices made at this time highlight the gradual change from cultural to a more explicitly political definition of revolution. In its broadest sense, revolution came to mean the systematic realisation of radical goals: questioning authorities through participatory methods, emphasising true equality, and investing in cultural development.¹¹⁰⁰ Some activists had more faith in individual abilities than others. Through a “revolution of information”, people would realise the need for drastic changes to be made in society; and an increase in global communication would prove to be a new revolutionary force, they argued.¹¹⁰¹ The Student Theatre in Jyväskylä, for example, saw themselves as part of “the revolution of information”; by simply informing audiences, a student theatre could participate in radical politics.¹¹⁰² The more moderate Swedish New Left papers also believed they were part of this revolution; they would, for example, recommend foreign papers to subscribe to.¹¹⁰³ Activists aimed to spread “real”

¹⁰⁹⁶ Olavi Auranen, TYL 3/64, “Aikalainen”, 5.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ajankohta 6/67, Osmo Lahdenperä, “Eräs mielipide radikalismista”, 11.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Kommentar* 3/68, Johan Galtung, “Fredsforskning och revolution”, 10-13.

¹⁰⁹⁹ JYL 17/67, J.O. Hannes, “Sielusta struktuureihin”, 3.

¹¹⁰⁰ OYL 33-34/68, Oulun yliopiston arkkitehtiosaston I vuosikurssi, “Marraskuun manifesti”, 1.

¹¹⁰¹ JYL 3/68, “Kehitys yhteistyö politiikkaan”, 1; YL 24/68, Veli-Pekka Hämäläinen, “Taskukirja, massakirja ja kustannuspolitiikka”, 9; *Konkret* 7/68, Raymond Williams, “Kommunikation och tänkade”, 43-49.

¹¹⁰² JYL 23-24/68, Ismo Porna, “JYT jytisee”, 4.

¹¹⁰³ *Konkret* had a series of articles focusing on just this mission. *Konkret* 3-4/67, “Tidskriftsspalten”, 42.

factual information and material:¹¹⁰⁴ “the intention is not to scare people but to inform.”¹¹⁰⁵ When the role of information as a means of revolution was not stressed enough, then criticism was sure to follow. One commentator dismissed a seminar during the Helsinki International Student Week for not being global enough in its outlook, and for not having included the necessary *structural analysis*: “revolution as distribution of information remained unaddressed, as was the importance of spreading information being the precondition of revolution. There was no real emphasis on social structures. Perhaps the seminar participants lacked the necessary intellectual capacity.”¹¹⁰⁶ Accusing participants for lacking “intellectual capacity” poignantly shows how this “revolution of knowledge” was still rather closely tied to the somewhat elitist tradition of cultural radicalism. Structural and revolutionary approaches were first and foremost a matter of individual political enlightenment, and personal agency of the intelligentsia was a precondition for any meaningful social change to happen.

Swedish social democratic economist Gunnar Myrdal used revolution as a metaphor for comprehensive change rather than as a concept that explicitly referred to historical or theoretical models of leftist politics. As a researcher of global economic structures (and one-time member of the cabinet in a Social Democrat government), Myrdal’s definitions of revolution were closely tied to his work in the Third World, but he also reacted to radical criticisms of the social democratic policies of the government. For Myrdal, “comprehensive reforms” to reduce bureaucracy, improve education, reduce corruption and overturn existing systems of land ownership deserved the label “revolution”. Myrdal explicitly refused definitions that saw revolution as a *coup d’état*: “[t]he political revolution we wish for must be disciplined, purposeful and controlled.” For him, the increase in living standards, wealth, and social services that “den Svenska revolution” had brought was one of the best examples of peaceful and fundamental social change. Yet, Myrdal was somewhat pessimistic that it could be exported so easily to other countries, and was sceptical of western interventionism of any kind. In fact, he was ready to give up the democratic emphasis that had for a long time been one of the primary conditions for western (and Swedish) development aid. Since economics was the priority in Myrdal’s way of thinking, he saw one-party systems as acceptable as long as they could provide “a rational alternative” for overcoming social oppression and economic need. When it came to science, “enlightened ideals” (*upplysningsidealen*), and progress, Myrdal was quite the optimist, however: “I am convinced that developments in the world will work towards an internationalised form of

1104 TiS 19/67, “Stödt åt Latinamerika!”; TiS 13/67, Allan Johansson, “Solidaritet med Vietnam!”, 6; TiS 22/67, “Vårt revolutionära asnvar”, 13.

1105 “Men meningen är inte att skrämma människor utan att informera.” TiS 35/67, Gunnel Granlid, “Världsfred genom frihetskamp”.

1106 “Vallankumouksen merkitys tiedon levittäjänä jäi käsittelemättä, samoin tiedon merkitys vallankumouksen levittäjänä. Sosiaalirakenteisiin ei pureuduttu kiinni. Kenties seminaarilaisilta puuttui tarvittava henkinen kapasiteetti.” OYL 24/68, PK, “Odotettavissa jäykistyvää”, 3.

aid.”¹¹⁰⁷ Myrdal’s thoughts were echoed by other liberal writers not ready to accept the radical left’s reading of revolution, and were proud of the fact that Sweden was already actively supporting aid efforts in the developing world.¹¹⁰⁸ “Despite our insignificance,” they argued, “we can play an important role as a pioneer in the field of international equality.”¹¹⁰⁹ In the liberal opinion, economic and social revolutions were necessary “to further develop the Earth’s communities and peoples.”¹¹¹⁰

For the Swedish New Left, definitions of revolution as radical reformism were unacceptable. Theoretical concepts of hegemony, class-structure, and capitalism were important parts of revolutionary theory, and formed part of a continuity of theoretical debates even inside leftist groups that were otherwise looking for a new political position. Conservative hegemonies were not abstract structures, but the dominant “capitalist-bourgeois” ideology with a tangible effect on, for instance, the media.¹¹¹¹ The Nordic welfare state was still a profoundly class-based society, and convergence theories that saw a future amalgamation of capitalism and socialism as a third-way compromise were actually playing down the fact that certain social policy improvements so dear to social democracy only made capitalist exploitation more efficient.¹¹¹² Bureaucracy was one of the defining features of the alienation produced by “post-capitalist society”.¹¹¹³ Expert solutions to social problems hid the fact that research was profoundly political and the social sciences could be effective only if they adopted a class-conscious perspective.¹¹¹⁴ When taking such a rigid theoretical framework as the basis of its political perspective, there was little room for reformist approaches. The rebuttal of reformism by the Swedish New Left also extended to political methods – elections and parliamentary politics were written off by some as a revisionist illusion.¹¹¹⁵ Theories became much more rigidly adhered to, and this meant that different New Left papers took different stances. *Clarté*, for example, prioritised the theory of labour union activism, and

¹¹⁰⁷ “Den politiska revolution vi skulle önska måste vara disciplinerad, målmedveten och styrd.”; “Jag är övertygad om att utvecklingen i världen kommer att tvinga fram en utveckling till internationalisering av hjälpen.” *Konkret* 7-8/67, Nordal Åkerman, “Konkret-intervju”, 9-19.

¹¹⁰⁸ LiB D 1/68, David Wirmark, “Che Guevara och revolutionen”, 13-17; LiB D 1/68, “Liberal stöd åt Latinamerikas revolution”, 17; LiB D 3/69, Anres Küng, “Gerillan i Latinamerika”, 22-28.

¹¹⁰⁹ “Trots vår obetydlighet kan vi spela en viktig roll som föregångsland på den internationella jämlikhetens område.” LiB D 3/69, Anres Küng, “Gerillan i Latinamerika”, 22-28.

¹¹¹⁰ TiS 13/67, Allan Johansson, “Solidaritet med Vietnam!”, 6.

¹¹¹¹ *Clarté* 3/67, Bo Gustafsson, “Arbete och kapital”, 28-40; TiS 3/68, Sten Sjöberg, “Rätten att demonstrera”, 11.

¹¹¹² *Kommentar* 2/68, Anders Formsmann, “En revolutionär fredsforskning”, 6-10; *Clarté* 3/67, Bo Gustafsson, “Arbete och kapital”, 28-40.

¹¹¹³ TiS 3/68, Sten Sjöberg, “Rätten att demonstrera”, 11; *Kommentar* 6-7/68, Robert Jacobson, “Världsrevolution eller socialism i ett land”, 20-25.

¹¹¹⁴ *Kommentar* 2/68, Anders Formsmann, “En revolutionär fredsforskning”, 6-10.

¹¹¹⁵ *Zenit* 2/67, Andre Gorz, “Reform och Revolution”, 4-29, 121; *Clarté* 3/67, Gilbert Mury, “Varför jag blev kommunist – och varför jag lämnat partiet”, 14-19; *Zenit* 3/68, Erik Furumark, “Marcuse och revolutionen”, 77-78.

wanted to implement models taken from local democracy to reduce the bureaucratisation of labour unions.¹¹¹⁶ To support their theoretical positions, transnational connections once again proved useful. An article by Andre Gorz, from the French New Left, provides a fitting example. Although this particular text was translated from *Les Temps Modernes*, it still warned readers of the dangerous compromises of Scandinavian social democracy, in which the bourgeoisie were only using reforms to stabilise their own positions of power.¹¹¹⁷

In comparison, the Finnish New Left rarely used the concept of revolution. While a few may have adopted a sufficiently wide definition of the concept to not cause offence, most ignored it altogether. As previous studies on the leftist scene in Finland during the 1960s have shown, reformism and rejection of dogmatic, violent revolutionary ideals were ways to realign the SKDL so it could be eligible for cabinet positions.¹¹¹⁸ It is not a huge surprise then, that such definitions were so rare; using such a controversial concept would have made accusations of dogmatic Marxism rather easy.¹¹¹⁹ What is certainly worth noting is that this realignment of the Left happened at the same time as the Social Democrats adopted a more Soviet-friendly position. This demonstrates that immediate domestic politics clearly had priority, even among a group like the New Left, which had a relatively transnational frame of reference.

5.3 Total Revolution

Many interpretations of Sixties social movements group the changes that happened – at both the individual and structural levels – into one all-encompassing revolution touching on politics, personal lifestyle, media, family, and gender relations.¹¹²⁰ Some scholars have used this rather general political goal as a way of uniting different movements from different national and local backgrounds, or for using analytical concepts like “counterculture” as a way of tying together different demands for change that occurred during the decade.¹¹²¹ A similar trend can be seen in popular descriptions of the Sixties, where hippies and banner-waving activists are portrayed as two sides of the same global youth movement. Perhaps the most famous example of combining the personal and political spheres of protest was *Kommune 1* in West Berlin, where political and personal revolution were combined in one of the most classic examples of Sixties’ activism. Members of *Kommune 1* believed that their actions would reshape not only the behavioural patterns of those taking part, but the whole of society too,

¹¹¹⁶ Clarté 3/67, Bo Gustafsson, “Arbete och kapital”, 28-40; Zenit 2/67, Andre Gorz, “Reform och Revolution”, 4-29, 121.

¹¹¹⁷ Zenit 2/67, Andre Gorz, “Reform och Revolution”, 4-29, 121.

¹¹¹⁸ Viitanen 1994, 436-443.

¹¹¹⁹ JYL 19-20/68, Liisa Manninen, “Toukokuun vallankumous”, 7-9.

¹¹²⁰ Klimke & Scharloth 2008.

¹¹²¹ Suri 2009.

as the group aimed to bridge the divide between the public and private spheres of politics. While the Socialist German Student Union was planning a future socialist society, *Kommune 1* and the “Subversive Action” group would actually live that revolution in the present.¹¹²² These methods of protest – based on a radical change of lifestyle to communal living rather than one based on the nuclear family – were often bitterly criticised by those who favoured a more straightforward Marxist approach.¹¹²³ Rudi Dutschke, for instance, was all for replacing wholesale old social structures with new ones, not simply reforming them, but drew the line at sacrificing his marriage.¹¹²⁴ Indeed, many SDS members left the *Kommune* as it radicalised. There clearly remained a fundamental divide between political protests that tried to directly influence social conditions, and radicalism that focused on personal change.¹¹²⁵ The inability to combine these two viewpoints into a coherent, practical political strategy has often been cited as one explanation for why the radical social movements of the 1960s ultimately failed to achieve their goals.

The countercultural politics of *Kommune 1* certainly got a lot of attention, but they were a minor part of the West German protest movement. To assume that such a total understanding of revolution was the norm in the Nordic context would be misleading though. Combining New Left ideas and countercultural lifestyles was relatively rare, and they never really entangled with student movements in the same way they did in West Germany. In Sweden, the New Left retained strong ties with the labour movement, and because of this emphasis on class-consciousness, collaborating with students and countercultural activism was not encouraged. Instead, a more traditionally Marxist notion of class, and owning the means of production prevailed throughout the Sixties.¹¹²⁶ However, though the political goals of the Swedish New Left did not directly mix the public and private spheres, the way New Left papers advocated for key issues in the Sixties was still influenced by transnational protest culture. In Finland, the cultural emphasis of the New Left certainly signalled a more open approach towards “personal revolution”, though most activists did not advocate traditional Marxism or communal politics.

But in some cases one does find hints of the all-encompassing definitions of revolution in the Nordic “peripheries” of 1960s radical thought. Pentti Saarikoski, editor of *Aikalainen*, was a poet, translator, man of letters, and one of the leading cultural figures of the Finnish New Left. After the parliamentary elections in 1966, which eventually led to a coalition government between leftist parties and the Agrarian Union, Saarikoski used the concept of revolution in a way that was highly peculiar to the Finnish context. He argued that in spite of the landslide victory of the Social Democrats, the truly revolutionary potential of the SKDL (who were more to the left) should be used to raise intellectual well-

¹¹²² Brown 2011, 134, 138; Brown 2013, 46-47, 57, 113.

¹¹²³ Brown 2009, 73.

¹¹²⁴ Thomas 2003, 59-60.

¹¹²⁵ Brown 2013, 70-71.

¹¹²⁶ Jørgensen 2011, 58.

being and provide true freedom for all citizens. Saarikoski argued that the surest sign of the coming revolution was not the election, but the fact that the radical youth had risen against the war in Vietnam. For Saarikoski, a new period of ideological thinking had begun, with a focus on intellectual radical activism in the leftist political sphere.¹¹²⁷ Trusting in the abilities and intellectual capacity of the young had not previously been granted by the older left intelligentsia; Saarikoski was one of the few writers constantly crossing the line between student radicals and the New Left. As a former columnist of *Ylioppilaslehti*, he had concrete experience of working in both spheres.

In an effort to distinguish itself from the rigid Marxist theories of the Old Left, the New Left in Finland needed a new compound concept that would combine elements of both individual and social change. Curiously, the term “cultural revolution” started to be used, albeit in a very different sense from the Chinese Communist Party’s. Whereas there had been references to Maoism in *Kommune 1* and the West German New Left¹¹²⁸, in Finland, “cultural revolution” was used on many occasions without any clear reference to Maoist theory. Quite often it was merely used as a way to distance themselves from the old-school Marxism that was associated with historical examples of violence and a strictly material understanding of social change. This multifaceted understanding of the different nuances of revolutionary politics also shows how the Finnish New Left was borrowing some aspects from the cultural radicalism of a few years earlier. “Cultural revolution” conveniently combined the radical tradition of total social change with the need to modernise the culturally transmitted attitudes of individuals. The radicalisation process had combined these two threads, from the New Left and cultural radicalism, into a new tradition that would provide a more effective solution for overcoming conservative hegemonies. Cultural revolution offered a new way of grasping how conservative morals and class structures slotted so conveniently together in society. For Antti Eskola, “cultural revolution” was above all an approach which encouraged vigilant social criticism as a way to overcome these conservative hegemonies.¹¹²⁹ Eskola saw societal hegemonies as an amalgamation of cultural and economical capital, and to effectively counter this required both personal and societal forms of action.

Some Finnish activists did factor in the possibility that their abstract ideas about cultural revolution would inevitably be confused with events in China though. Pertti Hynynen, one of the leading New Left theorists in Finland at this point, wrote to *Ylioppilaslehti* to defend what he saw as the fundamental ideas of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Theoretically, Hynynen emphasised how the Chinese revolution was a creative reading of Marx – interested in controlling the elitist bureaucracy. When it came to applying these doctrines to the particularities of the Finnish Left, however, Hynynen became more hesitant.

¹¹²⁷ Aikalainen 3/66, Pentti Saarikoski, 2-5.

¹¹²⁸ Sedlmaier 2014, 40.

¹¹²⁹ *Sosiologia* 2/67, Antti Eskola, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Kulttuurivallankumouksen aineksia”, 84.

Although the revolution inspired by Maoist theory should not be watered down to “a social democratic May Day”, he clearly did not want to advocate the violence of the Chinese Cultural Revolution or the dogma of traditional Marxism either. Interestingly, Gunnar Myrdal had voiced similar opinions in his *Konkret* interview a year earlier.¹¹³⁰ According to Hynynen, demands for further democracy were consistent with revolutionary ideals, as long as “revolution” was not describing the means, so much as the depth, of change.¹¹³¹ For Hynynen, at least, it was possible to both admire the depth of the Chinese cultural revolution while simultaneously condemning the methods used (as they would not work in a Western context).

In Sweden, because Social Democracy and Soviet models of socialism already faced a lot of criticism, Maoism was followed, in most cases, in a more rigid form – *Clarté* in particular had shown signs of interest towards Maoist China pretty early on.¹¹³² But Maoism was not just a way to distance oneself from the Soviet Union and domestic implications of the Cold War;¹¹³³ as Perry Johansson has shown, many of the leaders of pro-Chinese and pro-Vietnamese radical organisations in Sweden had actually been directly trained by the Communist Party in China – Jan Myrdal was one of the more vocal of these.¹¹³⁴ China was a tempting source of inspiration because of its unwavering support for global revolution. Chinese examples of cultural revolution seemed to represent “a truly revolutionary line”¹¹³⁵ because they aspired to fundamentally change the whole of society and its traditions. The Chinese Cultural Revolution showed that all culture was political, and a truly revolutionary culture was meant for the masses, not intellectuals.¹¹³⁶ This was in line with the Swedish New Left’s goal of spreading outwards from its intellectual base to include the working classes. Moreover, Chinese Communists supported many of the third-world movements so admired by the Swedish New Left.¹¹³⁷ Yet, the issue of aligning with the Chinese definition of socialism was a divisive issue, and not all New Leftists were comfortable with it. Some in the anarchist group, *Proviés*, were more vocal in distancing themselves and subscribing to a definition that closely resembled the one used in Finland: they wanted to achieve “a kind of cultural revolution (but without any comparison to China).”¹¹³⁸

¹¹³⁰ “Fastan som förhållandena är i dessa länder *kand det sällan blir fredsamt som en solig svensk förstamajdemonstration* eller ett politiskt val.” *Konkret* 7-8/67, Nordal Åkerman, “Konkret-intervju”, 9-19.

¹¹³¹ Ylioppilaslehti 14/67, Pertti Hynynen, “Kiinan linjan mielekkyydestä ja mielettömyydestä”, 7.

¹¹³² Heden 2008, 86, see e.g., *Clarté* 1/57, 21.

¹¹³³ *Clarté* 3/67, 17.

¹¹³⁴ Johansson 2010.

¹¹³⁵ *Clarté* 3/67, Gilbert Mury, “Varför jag blev kommunist – och varför jag lämnat partiet”, 14-19; *Clarté* 3/67, Bo Gustafsson, “Arbete och kapital”, 28-40.

¹¹³⁶ *Clarté* 1/68, Hans Seyler, “En fransk filmfascist”, 36-39.

¹¹³⁷ “Den kinesiska teorins inflytande på de revolutionära rörelserna i den Tredje världen är uppenbar.” Kommentar 6-7/68, Robert Jacobson, “Världsrevolution eller socialism i ett land”, 20-25.

¹¹³⁸ “Men det gäller ett slags kulturrevolution (dock utan varje jämförelse med Kina).” *TiS* 50/66, Bo Hammar, “Alla är vi PROVIÉS”, 8-9; Östberg 2002, 90.

In Finland, where comparable organisational contact was less significant, creative readings of revolutionary traditions were often the work of individual activists. Antti Kuusi is a poignant example of a radical student activist whose texts combined different definitions of revolution. His activism was also shaped by personal experiences. Kuusi visited Leningrad on the 50th anniversary of the October revolution, and while there he was clearly inspired by what he described as "the myth of the revolution". In his later, more theoretical writings on the possibility of a Finnish student revolution, Kuusi explained his fascination with the Soviet revolution with the need to accelerate social change. "The worship of revolution is partly explained by the stagnation we feel in the slow pace of our state's public affairs."¹¹³⁹ Kuusi thus defined a widespread social revolution as the best way to fight social stagnation. While the rhetoric of Finnish radical discourses usually stressed the importance of rational decision making, Kuusi was finding comfort in the romantic, even irrational side of revolution; he saw conventional political debates as mere rhetorical exercises, not meaningful solutions to actual problems. Yet, his definitions were far from partisan; to underline his independence from the Soviet hosts at the anniversary celebrations, Kuusi stressed that he was there to celebrate revolutions in general, not the particular one from 1917. He found fault, for example, with how the Soviet history of the revolution had been written.

While generational explanations are not sufficient to fully explain the changes in the radical frame, it is notable in the Finnish context that many of those pushing for revolutionary change were young students who had become part of student and radical publics in the second half of the Sixties. Besides Antti Kuusi, there was also Erkki Tuomioja, who proposed a "revolution of attitudes" to overcome the stagnation of social and political life through "continuous learning, the acquisition and dissemination of information by any means, and a radical change in thinking habits and attitudes, leading to a change in the basic structure of society."¹¹⁴⁰ For Tuomioja, personal revolution through information was part and parcel of fundamental social changes. Tuomioja's definition of revolution had a deep, almost epistemological quality to it: "The revolutionary situation begins when the leaders are no longer blindly obeyed, when all available information is treated with due circumspection, when open conflict with the forces that preserve old ideologies are openly encouraged. The conflict is the beginning."¹¹⁴¹ What is even more distinctive about Tuomioja and his

¹¹³⁹ "Vallankumouksen palvonta selittyy osaltaan tympäytyneisyydestä, jota tunnemme hidasliikkeisen valtiollisen elämämme seisovien ongelmien edessä." *Ylioppilaslehti* 28/67, Antti Kuusi, "Vallankumousjuhlinnan perusteita", 1.

¹¹⁴⁰ "jatkuva opiskelua, tietojen hankkimista ja levittämistä millä keinoin hyvänsä, ja ajattelutottumusten ja asennoitumisten radikaalia muuttamista, joka johtaa yhteiskunnan perusrakenteen muuttumiseen." OYL 31/68, J.L., "Uusi vasemmisto tekee kumouksen/Erkki Tuomioja etsii keinoja ja mahdollisuuksia", 4.

¹¹⁴¹ "Vallankumous alkaa tilanteesta, jolloin ei enää alistuta ja totella sokeasti käskenhaltijoita, jolloin epäillään kaikkea saatavissa olevaa tietoa niin että jodutaan konfliktiin vanhan ideologiaa säilyttävien voimien kanssa. Ristiriitatilanne on alku." OYL 31/68, J.L., "Uusi vasemmisto tekee kumouksen/Erkki Tuomioja etsii keinoja ja mahdollisuuksia", 4.

revolutionary definitions is the fact that he openly acknowledged his intellectual debt to Herbert Marcuse. This was a rather rare feat among Finnish radicals, and emphasised the forward-looking, transnational dimension of Tuomioja's political position. Nor did this go unnoticed in the radical press.¹¹⁴² While it seems that his statements here were deliberately provocative, Tuomioja played a careful balancing act with the traditions of Finnish radicalism by simultaneously demanding a rational approach based on objective knowledge and research. Among other things, he noted that one of the key issues slowing the revolution of information was the lack of transnational radical texts in Finnish.¹¹⁴³ Balancing between the rational, informative approach and these new, more explicitly political definitions shows that the change from one to the other was not sudden. Younger radicals, such as Tuomioja, were aware of previous traditions (he was also a vocal member of the Finnish 'Committee of 100', with its emphasis on rational planning and non-partisan actions) and in many ways they relied on them - moulding them into new forms when needed.

The ongoing nature of revolution, meant it could be defined outside leftist circles too. This is clearly evident in, for instance, in the "New Ten Commandments" - a programme formulated by the Student Theatre in Helsinki. In addition to listing all the obvious radical goals like questioning authorities, calling for more information, and demands for greater economic fairness and fearless solidarity, the ninth and tenth commandments were "make the revolution" and "continue it" respectively.¹¹⁴⁴ Swedish liberals followed a similar path when trying to assume the otherwise leftist connotations of revolutionary rhetoric. Olle Wästberg, the General Secretary of the Swedish liberal youth movement was ready to use revolution as a concept that defined liberalism as the *de facto* radical option. While Marxists were looking to change societal structures, Wästberg defined liberalism as the aspiration for there to be a continuous process of never-ending change.¹¹⁴⁵ These attempts to redefine revolution as a part of the liberal, reformist agenda were obvious answers to the challenges presented by new, more polarised readings of Nordic radicalism.

In Sweden's New Left circles, however, calls for continuous revolution were usually references to either Trotskyist or Maoist theory.¹¹⁴⁶ Often, they were also criticisms of the way the USSR had abandoned its revolutionary heritage after the Russian Civil War¹¹⁴⁷ - instead of world revolution, the Soviets had turned inwards to focus on domestic issues. It seemed that when concepts of hegemony and imperialism were added to the mix of revolution as change on both personal and societal levels, then the definitions ended up not being that far from old-

¹¹⁴² YL 26/68, Vasara, "Meni miten meni", 3; YL 11/67, Juha Vakkuri, "Tahditon muttei tahdoton", 14; TYL 29/67, Timo K. Saarniemi, "Huonomainen mutta aikaansaapa radikalismi", 1.

¹¹⁴³ OYL 31/68, J.L., "Uusi vasemmisto tekee kumouksen/Erkki Tuomioja etsii keinoja ja mahdollisuuksia", 4.

¹¹⁴⁴ TYL 31/68, Kaarina Lehtonen, "Kolme ajankohtaista teesiä itsenäisyydestä", 1.

¹¹⁴⁵ LiB D 3/69, Olle Wästberg, "Liberalismen - en permanent revolution", 29-32.

¹¹⁴⁶ Kommentar 6-7/68, Robert Jacobson, "Världsrevolution eller socialism i ett land", 20-25.

¹¹⁴⁷ Konkret 3-4/67, "Ryssland 1917/Sverige 1967", 43.

school Marxism. Although in Finland the clear shift towards leftist party politics occurred only after 1968, some cultural figures were already inspired by the possibility of identifying with the working classes. Eija-Elina Bergholm, a member of the Helsinki University Theatre group saw drama as an important catalyst in "the chain of revolution". She criticised the academic elitism of established radicalism by highlighting the fact that mere discussions were not actions and would never accomplish anything. Bergholm also had harsh criticism for the definition of revolution as being only change within the individual; to expect a revolution without victims was an example of "wishful humanist revisionism".¹¹⁴⁸ While this is reminiscent of traditional leftist rhetoric, it is worth noting here that Bergholm's background was nevertheless in the cultural sphere of student life, not in party politics or labour unions.

5.4 Public Demonstrations

Whether it was religious conviction, individual experiences, or theoretical texts that motivated Nordic activists to talk about revolution, Bergholm was right that the concept remained abstract and intellectual. What certainly electrified discourses concerning the means of societal change were the public protests that became ever more common towards the end of the decade. These demonstrations provided the practical dimension many saw as a necessary step forward for Nordic radicalism. The gathering pace of the protest movement elsewhere (both in Europe and the US) provided plenty of transnational inspiration, and not just the anti-Vietnam protests; the US Civil rights movement was also important as it provided a highly legitimate example of virtuous civil disobedience. At a theoretical level, public demonstrating was closely tied to criticism of power relations in the media. Public demos showed that activists were not yielding to the rules of cultural production set up by the bourgeois hegemony; a spontaneous public protest opened new arenas for public communication, unburdened of existing power hegemonies. Associating protests with communication placed them in a longer logical tradition of radicalism that also provided a certain legitimacy. The communication frame made it possible to maintain that the protests were not actually against principles of Nordic democracy, but strengthening it instead. This was crucial to the legitimacy of early Nordic protests, and featured in many debates on the issue.

Again, national and local differences profoundly influenced the contextualisation of these debates. The tradition of acting within the law and avoiding conflict in Nordic political cultures, particularly the Finnish is significant here. Historically speaking, public and even violent protests were not a novel thing in Nordic countries – especially when it came to labour union activism. In the Ådalen demonstration of 1931, Swedish police had actually shot

¹¹⁴⁸ Ylioppilaslehti 29/68, "Vallankumous lähtee teatterista", 6-7.

5 demonstrators; while as late as 1949 in Finland, a riot following a strike at a government-run paper mill in Kemi had led to two casualties.¹¹⁴⁹ In reaction, public demos in the Sixties were often assumed to have been initiated by communists.¹¹⁵⁰ Perhaps the most readily available argument to those who opposed the protests, was that the demos had been subject to Soviet or (in West German cases) East German infiltration – protesters could then be framed as foreign agents. For the West German police, any association with Communism was reason enough to prohibit the protests altogether,¹¹⁵¹ but in the Nordic context, views were less polarised. The SMOs themselves were often active in legitimising their activities; the Swedish AMSA, for instance, an umbrella organisation for demonstrating against the Swedish nuclear weapons programme, actively banned Communists from its membership in an effort to avoid such criticisms.¹¹⁵² In Finland, too, the Committee of 100 actively shied away from direct party politics in an effort to silence those critics who saw it as a mouthpiece for the Communists. At the same time, both countries had powerful leftist parties and labour organisations which they could refer to, so they would not be accused of dogmatic anticommunism either. Swedish New Left papers in particular legitimised public protests by referring frequently to labour union history.¹¹⁵³

Past experiences of protests also had an effect on how demonstrations were received. Both Sweden and West Germany had experienced peace movements and anti-nuclear protests already in the 1950s.¹¹⁵⁴ *Kampf dem Atomtod* (KfA), the Easter Marches (*Ostermärsche*), and *Kampagne für Abrüstung* were important, not only for legitimising protests (whether against rearmament, or the Bomb in general), but also for bringing together protesters from a range of backgrounds.¹¹⁵⁵ The debate in West Germany was more focused on the means of protest – especially direct action.¹¹⁵⁶ In Sweden, the Social Democratic youth organisation had not protested against the Algerian War in the late 1950s, but by early Sixties public demos were an integral part of the Anti-Apartheid campaign.¹¹⁵⁷ Through these early protests, people became aware that not all demos were automatically related to the labour movement. In Finland, however, they were, and so student radicals felt more of a need to highlight the legitimacy of their extra-parliamentary politics. When students at the University of Helsinki, for example, protested against VAT being added to the cost of books in 1963, the

¹¹⁴⁹ Östberg 2002, 18.

¹¹⁵⁰ Thomas 2003, 32, 35-40; Etzemüller 2005, 72.

¹¹⁵¹ Thomas 2003, 95.

¹¹⁵² Östberg 2002, 42.

¹¹⁵³ Clarté 3/66, "Ur advokat Rudlings slutplädering", 20-21; TiS 1/68, "Batonger kan inte krossa den växande vietnam-opinionen", 3-4; Konkret 4-5/68, Stig Jutterström, "Rätten att demonstrera -första maj och andra dagar", 4-6.

¹¹⁵⁴ Frey 2008.

¹¹⁵⁵ Thomas 2003, 31-32; Etzemüller 2006, 240; Richter 1998, 44.

¹¹⁵⁶ Klimke 2011, 58; Brown 2013, 86-88.

¹¹⁵⁷ Östberg 2002, 39-41.

event was strongly opposed in the media, even though it turned out to be quite a calm student protest.¹¹⁵⁸

Even in West Germany – often noted for its vigorous protest culture – the student sphere had been dominated for a long time by reformism. What is notable here, is that even these reformist circles turned to openly protesting on a daily basis, especially after the protests in 1967 against the German Emergency Acts (*Notstandsgesetze*), which brought together a diverse set of youth, labour, and radical organisations from both liberal and leftist camps.¹¹⁵⁹ These kinds of domestic issues brought different radical groups together in Nordic contexts, too. While anti-Vietnam demonstrations were often the most visible in the media and literature, there was opposition to the Greek military junta, for instance,¹¹⁶⁰ domestic social policy issues such as those discussed in Chapter 4, and opposition to compulsory military service. Heidi Kurvinen has also noted how the Finnish gender activist organisation, *Yhdistys 9*, used public demos to also push for practical issues like better daycare services.¹¹⁶¹ It is clear, therefore, that this interplay between transnational and national topics of protest complicates comparisons between different national contexts.

How public demonstrations were conceptualised in the radical press is a good starting point for dealing with their role as a public form of political communication. The Finnish term, *mielenosoitus* and the Swedish *demonstration* both literally translate as “demonstration of opinion” in English, rather than a “protest” as such. In this respect, they embody the communicative goals of radical activists. In some cases, more radical concepts like “riot” were used (*mellakka* in Finnish and *kravall* in Swedish); but rather than having straightforwardly negative connotations; they were being used to emphasise the spontaneous nature of demonstrating. Vaguer expressions were also occasionally used when different aspects of public protesting were highlighted: concepts like “extra-parliamentary”¹¹⁶² extended the sphere of political action, yet it could also signal a more profound rejection of established political institutions. These strands were reflecting the West German concept of *Außerparlamentarische Opposition* that wanted to show opposition to the Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats to show that Parliament was not the only forum for opposition; and perhaps it showed that they did not trust the opposition party *in* Parliament (FDP) to effectively represent them.

Differences in the historical experience of public demonstrations were clearly visible in radical discourses, and the cautious support for open protests says a lot about the overall wariness of them in Finnish political culture. Even

¹¹⁵⁸ Kolbe 1996, 171.

¹¹⁵⁹ Thomas 2003, 128, 131.

¹¹⁶⁰ See, e.g., *TiS* 38/66, CH. Kotsinas, “Spionage mot grekerna i Sverige”, 6; *Clarté* 5/69, Örebro Clartésektion, “Facistmöte stoppat”, 13.

¹¹⁶¹ Kurvinen 2019.

¹¹⁶² *Ylioppilaslehti* 25/67, Ilkka Taipale, “Väkivallattomuuden tekniikka sisäpolitiikassa”, 5, 8; *TiS* 50/66, Bo Hammar, “Alla är vi PROVIES”, 8-9; *Zenit* 3/68, Erik Furumark, “Marcuse och revolutionen”, 77-78.

Pentti Saarikoski was sometimes openly doubtful about their value – “it has been said that such demonstrations will lead nowhere”, he began.

“I do not know. Of course, it would be ideal if a congress could, in a non-passionate and scientific spirit, reflect on peace issues, develop sure methods for the peaceful resolution of conflicts, make proposals that would be useful. But recent events in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and elsewhere have shown that the United States is unwilling, in other words, its government cannot afford to listen to the voice of reason, to follow the advice presented in a non-zealous scientific spirit.”¹¹⁶³

As this quote shows, this was a careful balancing act between rational discussion and the open politicisation of global issues at the local level. The need for openly political action was justified not by a comprehensive theoretical definition of the political, but by the apparent lack of rationality in the opposition (in this case, the US and its supporters). A couple of years later, Saarikoski made a deliberate turn against mainstream declarations of rational action which refused to commit to a political position.¹¹⁶⁴ This turn to explicit politics was clear when Saarikoski opposed Finnish anti-war demonstrations, arguing that “boat trips” would not make a difference to the actual conditions of the Vietnamese.¹¹⁶⁵

In the more general debate about the benefits of public demonstrations, attitudes towards them in the radical press gradually became more positive. Shifts in the radical frame became apparent in the growing distrust towards conventional forms of politics – both parliamentary decision-making and public debate. This was especially true for the young who seemed to lack any effective channels for influencing the mainstream political agenda.¹¹⁶⁶ For the New Left, bourgeois control of the media and state institutions also restricted political opportunities.¹¹⁶⁷ For Ilkka Taipale, demonstrations were thus a natural method for leftists in a country dominated by a right-wing press.¹¹⁶⁸ Taipale was now applying the hegemony argument to the press, and saw public demonstrations as a viable alternative. Minorities needed demonstrations as a means of communication and at the same time this would defend their legitimacy. There was also a need, however, to assess just how representative demonstrations were.¹¹⁶⁹ Although most discussions about demonstrations were inspired by

¹¹⁶³ “on sanottu, etteivät tällaiset mielenosoitukset vie mitään mihinkään päin. En tiedä. Tietysti olisi ihanteellista, jos tällaisessa kongressissa voitaisiin kiihkottomassa ja tieteellisessä hengessä pohtia rauhankysymyksiä, kehitellä varmoja menetelmiä konfliktien rauhanomaiseksi ratkaisemiseksi, tehdä ehdotuksia joista olisi hyötyä. Mutta viimeaikaiset tapahtumat Vietnamissa, Dominikaanisessa tasavallassa ja muualla ovat osoittaneet, että Yhdysvallat ei ole halukas, sen hallituksella toisin sanoen ei ole varaa kuunnella järjen ääntä, noudattaa kiihkottomassa tieteellisessä hengessä esitettyjä neuvoja.” *Aikalainen* 5/65, P.S., “Pax”, 3-5.

¹¹⁶⁴ *Ylioppilaslehti* 7/67, Leo Lindsten, ““Osallistumisen” madonlukuja”, 5.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Ylioppilaslehti* 19/67, Jussi Taskinen, “Suomalainen mielenosoitus -67”, 10.

¹¹⁶⁶ Ajankohta 4/67, Klaus Mäkelä, “Nuoriso on eturyhmä”, 3.

¹¹⁶⁷ Clarté 4/65, Christer Hogstedt, “Vägra värnplikt! sista alternativet i en absurd situation”, 22-23; *TiS* 43/67, Allan Gardner, “Demonstrant bet polis”, 13; *TiS* 1/68, “Batonger kan inte krossa den växande vietnam-opinionen”, 3-4.

¹¹⁶⁸ *Ylioppilaslehti* 25/67, Ilkka Taipale, “Väkivallattomuuden tekniikka sisäpolitiikassa”, 5, 8.

¹¹⁶⁹ *Ylioppilaslehti* 30/68, Jorma Ranta, “Kuka vielä kylttiä pelkää?”, 9.

isolated events, there were some who contributed significantly to the formulation of a general theory of demonstrating that could fit the particular political culture of Finland. These theorisations were closer to non-violent civil rights ideas than the impulsive protesting we may usually associate with 1968. Taipale was one of the activists most keen to define what made Finnish protest methods unique. As one of the most active members of ML, the role was a natural fit. Not only did he have practical experience from organising rallies, protests, and festivities for underprivileged groups, but he had ideas of his own about non-violent action, centred around his idea of “steps of escalation”¹¹⁷⁰ or “scale of conflict”¹¹⁷¹ – that is, a way of modelling changing social tensions and their escalation through a handy, step-by-step “chart”.

To acquire legitimacy for his theory, Taipale appealed to the long global history of dissent and social activism. While Finnish labour unions had their tradition of protesting that could have provided a domestic role model, Taipale chose instead to appropriate international examples while openly admitting that using them would demand further studies on their applicability to the Finnish context. The classics of peaceful protesting, like Gandhi, Albert Luthutli, Danilo Dolci, and Martin Luther King offered tangible and applicable examples. The choice can be interpreted as a yet another example of how the Finnish New Left and student movements wanted to avoid association with the Old Left. Taipale also made a clear distinction between passive and non-violent protests, theorising that passive protests were inherently more varied; 105 variations were proven to be in existence already, and more were being constantly invented. The most important thing was to publicise the protest: “Direct action is a form of applying extra-parliamentary pressure on the course of public affairs”.¹¹⁷² However, Taipale claimed that direct actions could only be efficient if the motives were virtuous and methods sound. Public protests had to be “strong in character, moral, take into account the opposing party, and stay as far away from fascism as possible.”¹¹⁷³ A clear political awareness was therefore needed, as well as an organisation that would fit the new demands for a wider democracy.

In an attempt to make his ideas as appealing as possible, Taipale did ponder on the problem of a strong leadership; while a sound approach from an organisational standpoint, such a structure would quickly invalidate the anti-authoritarian principles so important for the protesters. This was rather unusual in the grand scheme of things, as other movements in the Sixties were relatively ambiguous when it came to the question of personal leadership. According to Taipale, nonviolent action that was based on collective knowledge of resistance techniques could substitute the need for an actual hierarchal leadership.¹¹⁷⁴ In an

¹¹⁷⁰ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, Ilkka Taipale, “Puhe mellakoita pelkääville”, 9.

¹¹⁷¹ JYL 17/68, Ilkka Taipale, “Nuoriso riistetty luokka”, 15, 22, 24.

¹¹⁷² “Suora toiminta on ulkoparlamentaarista vaikuttamista yleisten asioiden kulkuun.” YL 25/67, Ilkka Taipale, “Väkivallattomuuden tekniikka sisäpolitiikassa”, 5, 8.

¹¹⁷³ “luonteeltaan voimakasta, moraalista, vastapuolen huomioon ottavaa ja mahdollisimman kaukana fasismista.” JYL 17/68, Ilkka Taipale, “Nuoriso riistetty luokka”, 15, 22, 24.

¹¹⁷⁴ YL 25/67, Ilkka Taipale, “Väkivallattomuuden tekniikka sisäpolitiikassa”, 5, 8.

another article, he further enhanced this theory by defining it as “organisationalism without organisations”, where every member should be capable of acting as the leader. This seemingly contradictory principle was clearly inspired by the writings of Mao, and Taipale made it clear with several references to his works.¹¹⁷⁵ Taipale even asked the public for help in getting back his copy of Mao’s *Selected works* after he had lost his during the Jyväskylä student forum of 1968.¹¹⁷⁶

Taipale was clearly inspired by the writings of prominent Finnish sociologists, especially Erik Allardt and Klaus Mäkelä, who had attempted systematising the way in which societal and political conflicts work and manifest themselves. Taipale was obviously aware of these theories, as they were prevalent in social policy discussions he had been a central part of. Yet, these same sociologists were also interested in the political motives of the protesters. In accordance with the logic of critical research, Antti Eskola wanted to improve the efficiency of public protests; “It is also important to study the general technique of influencing: only controlled demonstrations, carefully calculated attempts to influence, and precisely identified criticisms are effective; not random riots or general complaints. A good protest is one that is not itself illegal, but irritates the police and the public to act in a way that disturbs the public order.”¹¹⁷⁷ While a radical statement in its original context, Eskola’s argument still emphasised organisation and lawfulness. His thinking was profoundly inspired by his own personal, religious reflections that provided him with a source of moral authority when defending public protests. Radical students followed similar arguments by emphasising the legal right to expressing one’s opinion within the confines of the law; protests could be provocative, as long as they followed rules.¹¹⁷⁸ Moderation in protesting would ensure the realisation of fundamental social changes.¹¹⁷⁹

Another way to legitimise protests in Nordic contexts was to garner popular support.¹¹⁸⁰ According to one *Tidsignal* reporter, 79 per cent of Swedes were in support of withdrawing US troops from Vietnam, while another reporter quoted a Gallup international poll that showed Swedes and Finns to be the nationalities most opposed to American involvement in Vietnam.¹¹⁸¹ Popular

¹¹⁷⁵ JYL 17/68, Ilkka Taipale, “Nuoriso riistetty luokka”, 15, 22, 24.

¹¹⁷⁶ JYL 17/68, Ilkka Taipale, “Veitkö Maon”, 23.

¹¹⁷⁷ “Tärkeää on myös tutkia vaikuttamisen yleistä tekniikkaa, sillä vain hallitut mielenosoitukset, tarkoin lasketut vaikutusyritykset ja täsmällisesti yksilöity kritiikki on tehokasta: ei sattumanvarainen mellastus tai yleinen valittelu. Hyvä protesti on sellainen, joka itse ei ole lainvastainen, mutta ärsyttää poliisin, katuyleisön tai protestin kohteen lainvastaisiin ja yleistä järjestystä horjuttaviin tekoihin.” Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki., 98. See also TYL 6/68, Sampo Simonen, “Marraskuulaiset menettelytavat puntarissa”, 6.

¹¹⁷⁸ OYL 20/66, Prof. Antti Eskola, “Temppelein puhdistamisen keinoista”, 5.

¹¹⁷⁹ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, Ilkka Taipale, “Puhe mellakoita pelkääville”, 9.

¹¹⁸⁰ Ylioppilaslehti 19/67, Jussi Taskinen, “Suomalainen mielenosoitus -67”, 10; TiS 50/66, “Det är bra att någonting görs”, 7; TiS 43/67, “Solidaritet med Vietnam!”; TiS 45/67, Carl Gunnar Edanius, “Kyrkan skydder ej demonstranter”.

¹¹⁸¹ TiS 1/68, “Batonger kan inte krossa den växande vietnam-opinionen”, 3-4; TiS 2/68, James de Gaalitz, “Farligare än CIA”, 6.

support was closely tied to the Nordic civil society way of doing democracy. Influencing public perceptions was seen as an integral part of the democratic process, since exposing the public to new political ideas was believed to support the growth and maturation of democracy itself.¹¹⁸² Proponents of public demonstrations pointed out their importance for democracy, and mistrust of demonstrations could be interpreted as a dangerous mistrust of public opinion:¹¹⁸³ "At the core of democracy is the right to raise opinion."¹¹⁸⁴ In essence, protests were defined as means of communication and for marketing new political ideas.¹¹⁸⁵ Public demonstrations could thus be seen as a natural part of the 'democratic process' (*demokratins teknik*), as they gave people who ordinarily would not have had the means the chance to make a political impact. As an attorney defending protesters against traffic violation charges declared in *Clarté*, demonstrators were not uprooting democracy but actually supporting it: "It is this formation of opinion, of getting out on the street and agitating, which are in the basic A-Z of a democracy".¹¹⁸⁶ Since Swedish democracy had originally been acquired through active demands and protests, it could only be maintained in the same way. This link to the universal suffrage movement of the early 20th century provided historical legitimacy for street protests; those against demonstrations clearly had a far too limited understanding of the ways in which democratic societies functioned¹¹⁸⁷ - the right to assemble and voice one's opinion in public were one of their central features.¹¹⁸⁸ However, this communicative role was not necessarily obvious in the demonstrations themselves. As Nina Yunkers noted in a rather cynical fashion, demonstrators often preferred to stand outside in the rain with their signs, rather than get into situations where they might actually reach the media and the young.¹¹⁸⁹

Demonstrating was hence not necessarily working against parliamentarism.¹¹⁹⁰ If a demonstration was a public forum comparable to the press, then radicals were arguing that the focus should be more on ensuring the political diversity of the protesting groups and on the impartial nature of the

¹¹⁸² Ylioppilaslehti 25/67, "Vietnamin puolesta marssittiin", 1; Konkret 4-5/68, Stig Jutterström, "Rätten att demonstrera -första maj och andra dagar", 4-6; Ylioppilaslehti 30/68, Jorma Ranta, "Kuka vielä kylttiä pelkää?", 9.

¹¹⁸³ TYL 25/67, Tribunus, "Painostavia asioita", 2.

¹¹⁸⁴ "Demokratins kärnpunkt är rätten att väcka opinion." *Clarté* 3/66, Arvid Rudling, "Rätten till opinionsbildning", 13-14.

¹¹⁸⁵ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, Ilkka Taipale, "Puhe mellakoita pelkääville", 9; Ylioppilaslehti 25/67, Ilkka Taipale, "Väkivallattomuuden tekniikka sisäpolitiikassa", 5, 8; Ylioppilaslehti 30/68, Jorma Ranta, "Kuka vielä kylttiä pelkää?", 9.

¹¹⁸⁶ "Det är denna opinionsbildning, att få gå ut å gatan och agitera, som är A och O i en demokrati." *Clarté* 3/66, "Ur advokat Rudlings slutplädering", 20-21.

¹¹⁸⁷ *Clarté* 4/67, "Vår politiska polis", 6-12.

¹¹⁸⁸ *Clarté* 3/66, "Ur advokat Rudlings slutplädering", 20-21; *TiS* 38/66, CH. Kotsinas, "Spionage mot grekerna i Sverige", 6; *Clarté* 1/68, "Skapa opinion för demonstrationsrätt", 2-3.

¹¹⁸⁹ *TiS* 45/68, Nina Yunkers, "Snacka om att påverka!", 9.

¹¹⁹⁰ Ylioppilaslehti 30/68, Jorma Ranta, "Kuka vielä kylttiä pelkää?", 9.

organising body.¹¹⁹¹ A united front of different organisations¹¹⁹² typified how a “growing peoples movement” was set in motion: “Demonstration methods should be engaging, participation comprehensive, slogans concrete; not distinctive, difficult to understand or individualist.”¹¹⁹³ Among Finnish radicals, the essential goal was that the methods should be chosen in relation to the goals of the protests, and that the protesters would show “good spirits”, act honestly and cause no harm to outsiders.¹¹⁹⁴ Such restraint might be a demanding task for the protesters, and a level of “mental maturity” among participants was therefore required.¹¹⁹⁵ While still defining demonstrations as an integral part of democracy, early Swedish New Left protests also described how protests could provide a new, more visual form of political communication.¹¹⁹⁶ Their focus was already on how public protests could not only make up for but also replace some existing radical practices.¹¹⁹⁷

In the protests against the Vietnam War, popular and democratic legitimacy was maintained by making it very clear that the protesters were against the war, not the American people. Supporting American anti-war students or the American opposition in general would ensure that any claims of anti-American bias could be avoided.¹¹⁹⁸ The role of academics further legitimised it as a moderate, rational movement, too.¹¹⁹⁹ In Sweden, pressure was put directly on the US representatives in the country. The US embassy and trade centre in Stockholm were recurrent sites for demonstrations.¹²⁰⁰ *Tidsignal* even tried to start a letter campaign aimed directly at sabotaging the work of the embassy.¹²⁰¹ Some protests were directed beyond the US to NATO, while others aspired to lessen Swedish dependency on both US institutions and private companies alike.¹²⁰²

1191 Ylioppilaslehti 25/67, “Vietnamin puolesta marssittiin”, 1; Ylioppilaslehti 26/67, Vasara, “Mielen osoittamisesta”, 3.

1192 TiS 43/67, “Solidaritet med Vietnam!”.

1193 “Demonstrationsformerna bör vara engagerande, deltagandet, omfattande, parollerna konkreta; ej särpräglade, svårtförståeliga eller individuella.” TiS_4/68, Jan Myrdal, “Anmärkningar om ett förhörprotokoll”, 10-11, 14.

1194 Ylioppilaslehti 25/67, Ilkka Taipale, “Väkivallattomuuden tekniikka sisäpolitiikassa”, 5, 8; Ylioppilaslehti 19/67, Jussi Taskinen, “Suomalainen mielenosoitus -67”, 10.

1195 TYL 20/68, Kaarina Lehtonen, “Kyky löytää väkivallattomia ratkaisuja terveytemme kriteeri”, 4-5.

1196 TiS 35/67, Gunnel Granlid, “Världsfred genom frihetskamp”; Clarté 3/67, Bo Gustafsson, “Arbete och kapital”, 28-40.

1197 TiS_4/68, Jan Myrdal, “Anmärkningar om ett förhörprotokoll”, 10-11, 14.

1198 Ylioppilaslehti 19/67, Jussi Taskinen, “Suomalainen mielenosoitus -67”, 10; Ylioppilaslehti 25/67, “Vietnamin puolesta marssittiin”, 1; Ylioppilaslehti 26/67, minister referens, “Vanhan vintillä”, 4; YL 15/68, “Mielekäs mielenosoitus, eläköön Alenius”, 7; Clarté 3/67, Jan Myrdal, “Fyra argument mot demonstrationer”, 12-13; TiS 5/68, Ts, “Myrdal den äldre”, 2.

1199 TiS 50/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Stoppa USA:s krig!”, 6-7.

1200 TiS 10/68, Elisabet Hermodsson, “Svar på Gunnar Myrdals fortsatta mardröm”, 12; TiS 43/67, Allan Gardner, “Demonstrant bet polis”, 13; Clarté 1/68, “Skapa opinion för demonstrationsrätt”, 2-3

1201 TiS 13/67, Allan Johansson, “Solidaritet med Vietnam!”, 6.

1202 TiS 4/68, Jan Myrdal, “Anmärkningar om ett förhörprotokoll”, 10-11, 14.

Changes were also visible in the arguments used to oppose demonstrations. The reactions to public protests are interesting because they often used concepts and arguments that had been considered radical only couple of years previous. They therefore show the flip side of the radicalisation process – the spread of radical conceptualisations that often legitimised more radical positions. Because of its rhizomatic nature, the Finnish student press presents a good example of this. Yrjö Larmola, the editor of *Ylioppilaslehti* was one of the most outspoken opponents of extra-parliamentary action. He opposed anti-war demonstrations as they furthered neither “international understanding” nor “harmony” – the true prerequisites of peace.¹²⁰³ Larmola also criticised the style of language used in protests. “The downside of demonstrations”, he argued, “is that they stylise their messages, and condense ideas into slogans.”¹²⁰⁴ Larmola was ready to accept, at least in theory, the means of public demonstrations, but only if they appealed to reason rather than emotions. Demonstrators should not simply oppose the status quo but also offer positive solutions.¹²⁰⁵ Comprehensiveness and inclusivity were indeed some of the demands most often repeated by those who were against direct action.¹²⁰⁶ Others demanded that issues needed to be generalised, so that the protest was against war in general.¹²⁰⁷ In this respect, they closely followed the early Sixties’ argumentation of the Finnish ‘Committee of 100’ which, at the time, was considered to be a radical pacifist organisation.

But why was there a need for demonstrations in the first place? Their legitimacy lay in showing that they could be both efficient and peaceful. Many of the early protests borrowed heavily from academic traditions: one of the early Swedish anti-war protests in 1966 featured a traditional torchlight procession, a Nordic academic tradition that had also been an integral part of national jubilees.¹²⁰⁸ Public demonstrations did not have to mean riots; done right they could provide participants with a sense of belonging and power. After one of the first Finnish anti-war protests in Porvoo in 1967, *Ylioppilaslehti* reported it as the start of a new tradition of Finnish protests: “Short and effective speeches did their job, rhythmic shouts united people, quick sit-ins in front of police ranks showed that our demonstration culture is at a high level despite the lack of experience.”¹²⁰⁹

Yet, the novelty quickly wore off and the search for a reason behind lacklustre demonstrations begun. In the Finnish radical press, the explanation for the lack of protests was found to lie in the general culture of Finnish student

¹²⁰³ *Ylioppilaslehti* 18/67, PK, “Porvoon valtiomiehet”, 3.

¹²⁰⁴ “Mielenosoitusten paha puoli on se, että ne tyyllittelevät sanomansa, tiivistävät ajatuksen iskusanoin.” *Ylioppilaslehti* 24/67, PK “Mielenosoitus”, 3.

¹²⁰⁵ *Ylioppilaslehti* 19/67, Yrjö Larmola, 3.

¹²⁰⁶ *Ylioppilaslehti* 30/68, Ilkka Saulo, “Tällä viikolla/Mr. Ian Taylor”, 4.

¹²⁰⁷ *Ylioppilaslehti* 15/68, PK, “Mielenosoitus”, 3.

¹²⁰⁸ *TiS* 50/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Stoppa USA:s krig!”, 6-7; Kolbe 1996, 35.

¹²⁰⁹ “Lyhyet ja tehokkaat puheet ja tekivät tehtävänsä, rytmikkäät iskuhuudot yhdistivät ihmiset kompaktiksi kokonaisuudeksi, nopeat istumalakot poliisirivistöjen edessä osoittivat että mielenosoituskulttuurimme on korkealla tasolla vähästä kokemuksesta huolimatta.” *YL* 15/68, “Mielekäs mielenosoitus, eläköön Alenius”, 7.

unions, or perhaps in the naturally phlegmatic national character of Finns.¹²¹⁰ Finnish students were seen as passive, apolitical, and unprepared to take any political initiative. As a consequence, participation was only superficial, and those who did demonstrate, only did so for shallow personal motives.¹²¹¹ According to these critics, Finland had no real culture of public speaking, and so the few demonstrations that did take place were often rather boring and uncoordinated. For some, the lack of proper meta-discussions about the significance of public protests was to blame.¹²¹² Ulf Sundqvist, chair of the National Student Association tried to respond to these criticisms by showing that these were not problems limited only to Finland. "It's surprising", he said, "but student passivity and alienation seem to be a problem everywhere except perhaps in the Free University of Berlin."¹²¹³ The Swedish New Left took a more structuralist stance on the issue – the fact that the Swedish government was not joining the protest against the War in Vietnam but *was* ready to sentence egg-throwing protesters showed the bourgeois bias of society.¹²¹⁴ The presence of hegemonic power could be seen in the most mundane matters: the convoys of the royal family were not seen as traffic obstructions, but anti-war protests were.¹²¹⁵ Those in power were not interested in the root causes of public protests, they only focused on moral evaluations of individual behaviour.¹²¹⁶ Even if the Finnish student and anti-war movements did not systematically use hegemonic analysis, they did notice the bias of the media against protests. Even in instances where they did get some coverage, only the events and actions were reported, not the content of the speeches given or the political message of the demonstration.¹²¹⁷ Media reporting was rebuked not only for its bourgeois bias, but also for its incompetence, laziness, and indifference to the problems of young people.¹²¹⁸ This was challenged by using the political platform of the radical press to, for instance, publish the content of speeches that were given.¹²¹⁹ Taipale saw the press as instrumental in the future of social conflicts and protests: problems needed first to be aired and acknowledged, if progressive attitudes were to prevail.¹²²⁰

1210 Ylioppilaslehti 19/67, Jussi Taskinen, "Suomalainen mielenosoitus -67", 10.

1211 TYL 19/68, "Turun opiskelijoiden tuskatilat eivät puhkea mellakoiksi", 6-7.

1212 Ylioppilaslehti 19/67, Jussi Taskinen, "Suomalainen mielenosoitus -67", 10.

1213 "Hämmästyttävää kyllä opiskelijoiden passiivisuus ja vieraantuminen tuntui olevan ongelma joka puolella Berliinin Vapaata yliopistoa ehkä lukuunottamatta." TYL 16/68, "TISW ja teemat: eurooppalaisista intellektuelleista kehitysmaiden ongelmiin", 1.

1214 TiS 4/68, Jan Myrdal, "Anmärkningar om ett förhöringsprotokoll", 10-11, 14; TiS 1/68, "Batonger kan inte krossa den växande vietnam-opinionen", 3-4.

1215 Clarté 3/66, "Ur advokat Rudlings slutplädering", 20-21.

1216 Konkret 4-5/68, Stig Jutterström, "Rätten att demonstrera -första maj och andra dagar", 4-6.

1217 Ylioppilaslehti 19/67, Jussi Taskinen, "Suomalainen mielenosoitus -67", 10; OYL 14/68, P.K., "Pohjoinen mellakka", 2.

1218 OYL 14/68, P.K., "Pohjoinen mellakka", 2.

1219 YL 15/68, "Mielekäs mielenosoitus, eläköön Alenius", 7.

1220 Ylioppilaslehti 25/67, Ilkka Taipale, "Väkivallattomuuden tekniikka sisäpolitiikassa", 5, 8.

Not all public protests were measured by the same standard. Spontaneous demonstrations by the young were more problematic for political activists, since the political message and moral legitimacy of such demos was ambiguous at best. In addition to the often vague reasons for the demo, the sheer fact that the protests might also be initiated by working-class youths made the separation clear.¹²²¹ Youth protests were still an important part of the discussion about public demos. The Swedish Mods (*Modsen*) did take part, for instance, in some large-scale riots; 622 were arrested during one incident in Hötorget, Stockholm in August of 1965.¹²²² Finland also witnessed some protests against the Lutheran tradition of “prayer days” – state-governed religious holidays that during the Sixties also meant restrictions to entertainment in cities. Some students did show a tendency to understand, and even rationalise the problems of youth. One Finnish writer even suggested that a governmental court of inquiry should be formed in an effort to find out the reasons behind youthful unrest.¹²²³ On a more general level, youth protests did not fit the purposes of the student or New Left movements; instead of increasing active political participation, they reflected more of a refusal to take part in social and political issues at all.

Even protests which had a clear and shared political goal could demonstrate how the same event could actually become sharply divisive even within a political group. Such was the case when a hunger strike was organised to protest against the 1966 visit to Finland of US Secretary of State, Dean Rusk. On the pages of *Aikalainen*, the demonstration was criticised for being emotional, unrealistic, irrational, and thus ineffective. While the chosen method seemed morally appealing, it was simply not effective. The lack of moral perspective meant that the protest had been decidedly apolitical and so could not have any real impact on global *realpolitik*.¹²²⁴ In stark contrast to this, however, the other New Left paper, *Tilanne*, praised the demonstration for its originality and peaceful commitment which showed how the demonstrators had triumphed.¹²²⁵

As Swedish anti-war protests also became more polarised, they became personified in the figure of Sköld Peter Matthis – convicted of traffic violations and resisting police arrest during one such demo on 14 June 1965. Matthis is commonly known as the first Swedish anti-war protester; Former chair of the student organization *Clartéförbundet*, he would go on to become the chair of the pro-Vietnamese NFL-Group (the DFFG) in 1968.¹²²⁶ The New Left press followed Matthis’ court case closely by publishing court documents. The prosecution used the planned nature of the demonstration to argue that anti-war protests were examples of mob power, lacking any respect for social order. The defence, both in court and outside of it, referred to the democratic rights of public protest as a

¹²²¹ Horn 2007, 25; Brown 2013, 58.

¹²²² TiS 29/65, Georg Palmer, “Tror ni att det var bättre förr så ska ni läsa det här...”; Östberg 2002, 88-89.

¹²²³ OYL 14/68, P.K., “Pohjoinen mellakka”, 2.

¹²²⁴ Aikalainen 6/66, Ahti Susiluoto, “Onko Sadankomitea sodomia-komitea”, 9-24.

¹²²⁵ Tilanne 3/66, Peritus, “Puolueellisuutta ja puolueettomuutta/Kaupporilla”, 207-208.

¹²²⁶ Salomon 1996, 38, 79, 111.

form of information.¹²²⁷ Matthis eventually ended up getting fined for resisting the police, but the court case had proved an important publicity channel for the nascent Swedish anti-war movement and, as a radical media event, his physical struggle with the police reached an almost iconic status – it also brought a certain concreteness to some otherwise abstract topics.¹²²⁸ The same logic applied on a more general level too; any personal experiences at demonstrations legitimised the journalistic reporting of them.¹²²⁹

One particularly decisive incident that electrified debates on public demonstrations in Finland was a rally in May 1967 organised by the Committee of 100 in which four demonstrators burned their military ID (*sotilaspassi*). One of these was writer and translator, Markku Lahtela, who had already raised the issue of not being able to resign from the Army reserves in *Ylioppilaslehti*. In spite of the fact that the rally was to protest about compulsory national service on a more general level, the images of burning IDs took precedence in the media,¹²³⁰ and the discussion turned from military service to the underlying values and motives of public protests – which clearly challenged the established norms of social institutions, especially the Army. “The perpetrators” defended their actions by appealing to the broadly accepted principles of rationality and democracy and framed their protest as a rational reaction to the “irrational” responsibility of military service. In this way, “democratic rights” legitimised an action that had anyway not caused any personal harm to anybody.¹²³¹ Radicals sympathetic to the protest were quick to point out to the critics that they had wrongly focused on the action in isolation, and not considered the context or reasons why the four protesters had set fire to their ID. For radical students, the main question was whether or not the action had achieved the goals it had meant to. While the general response was mostly negative, the protest still garnered more attention and publicity than it otherwise would have done through statements alone. By referring to the division inside the Committee that had appeared the same year, a columnist of *Turun ylioppilaslehti* argued that both marching and research were needed, as different methods convinced different people.¹²³² This way, the matter was brought back into the sphere of public communication.

When transnational examples of protests featured in the Finnish radical press before the seminal events of 1968, it was usually as a positive example or standard for comparison. One reason was the scale of foreign protests: whereas an anti-war protest rally organised by Helsinki Student’s Union had only persuaded about 500 people to turn up, a similar protest in Vasaparken in Stockholm had about 8,000 participants. According to one eyewitness report

¹²²⁷ Clarté 3/66, Arvid Rudling, “Rätten till opinionsbildning”, 13-14; Clarté 3/66, “Ur advokat Rudlings slutplädering”, 20-21.

¹²²⁸ Clarté 3/67, Bo Gustafsson, “Arbete och kapital”, 28-40; Salomon 1996, 95-96.

¹²²⁹ TiS 1/68, Marcel Cohen, “En erfänhet och ett problem”, 5; Östberg 2002, 81-85.

¹²³⁰ *Ylioppilaslehti* 15/67, Helsingin Sadankomitea, “Aseistakieltäytyjän oikeudet”, 1.

¹²³¹ *Ylioppilaslehti* 15/67, “Markku Lahtelan vertauskuvallinen ele”, 1.

¹²³² TYL kesä/67, *Tribunus*, “Lahtelan passi”, 2.

from Stockholm, it was hard to think of Finnish protests as real demos after seeing the elegant efficiency of the one in Sweden. "It was so elegantly organised, it was remarkably calm but opinions and feelings were expressed so effectively that I couldn't help thinking that this was a truly meaningful demonstration."¹²³³ First and foremost, the Swedish demonstration had been "clever", especially compared to the relative "monotony" of Finnish demos. Instead of emotional outbursts, Swedes focused on "tangible factors". A review of the Vasaparken protest referred to Taipale's "steps of escalation" theory to show that Sweden was clearly ahead of Finland. What the report found most inspiring was that the Swedish media did not make the accusations of Communism that would have appeared in a Finnish paper. "It seems as if only Finland has made Vietnam a question of party politics."¹²³⁴ The size of this particular demonstration was also noted as a positive thing in the Swedish radical press, even if it was criticised in some other respects.¹²³⁵ When Finnish activists did get the chance to directly ask their Swedish counterparts just why their national protest events were so popular, the Swedes could not give clear reasons.¹²³⁶

Swedish protest culture soon polarised further. A Vietnam demonstration on 20 December 1967, saw open conflict with the police and Jan Myrdal being assaulted by a counter-demonstrator in civilian clothes.¹²³⁷ All in all, about one thousand demonstrators clashed with roughly 300 police, and there were 40 arrests.¹²³⁸ The clash was politically significant because it questioned the solidarity of the Social Democrat governmental policy about Vietnam. While the radical press acknowledged that the event had not been strictly legal, this was of only secondary importance when the "social conditions"¹²³⁹ were taken into account - i.e., the political significance of anti-war activism. Establishing the moral righteousness of protesting at all costs was a complex process though. On the one hand it was legitimised by theories that revealed the omnipotent role of imperialism dictating global conditions, while on the other, it was a response to critical remarks strictly within the Swedish context. Particularly controversial was the way in which the Social Democrat Prime Minister, Tage Erlander, directly compared the event to the Ådalen shootings in 1931.¹²⁴⁰ Erlander's

¹²³³ "Niin erinomaisen elegantisti se oli järjestetty, niin elegantin rauhallisesti mutta tehokkaan tuntuaisesti mieltä osoitettiin, etten voi välttää käyttämästä sanaa mielekäs mielenosoitus." *Ylioppilaslehti* 27/67, Esko Pirinen, "McNamara är en galen hund eli mielekäs mielenosoitus", 6.

¹²³⁴ "Tuntuu kuin ainoastaan Suomessa olisi tehty Vietnamin-kysymyksestä puoluepoliittinen." *Ylioppilaslehti* 27/67, Esko Pirinen, "McNamara är en galen hund eli mielekäs mielenosoitus", 6, see also *JYL* 6/68, Maija Raittila, "Sillisalaattia Tukholman ylioppilaista", 4.

¹²³⁵ *TiS* 43/67, "Solidaritet med Vietnam!"; *TiS* 45/67, Carl Gunnar Edanius, "Kyrkan skydder ej demonstranter".

¹²³⁶ *TYL* 16/68, "TISW ja teemat: eurooppalaisista intellektuelleista kehitysmaiden ongelmiin", 1.

¹²³⁷ *TiS* 14-15/68, Jan Myrdal, "Angående uppvigling", 17.

¹²³⁸ Salomon 1996, 213.

¹²³⁹ *TiS* 1/68, "Batonger kan inte krossa den växande vietnam-opinionen", 3-4; *TiS* 27/68, Svante Bohman, "Onödiga oklarheter", 11.

¹²⁴⁰ *TiS* 3/68, Sten Sjöberg, "Rätten att demonstrera", 11; Salomon 1996, 213-214.

description of the events as “violent demonstrations” irritated radicals¹²⁴¹ to the point that many sympathised more with the protesters and even went so far as to hold the Prime Minister as directly and personally responsible for the actions of the police.¹²⁴² This was underlined by the fact that Erlander was not the only member of the Cabinet who opposed the demonstration.¹²⁴³ No longer was it just the right-wing youth members of *Högerpartiet* who were opposing anti-war demonstrations; the social democratic government had revealed through their negative reactions, that the whole of society was against the protesting anti-war activists.¹²⁴⁴ Official reactions were an important part of this: limiting the freedom of speech based on ordinance regulations¹²⁴⁵ had made basic individual rights an internal security threat.¹²⁴⁶ Swedish activists were henceforth open about the political aspects of legal definitions that were still dominating Finnish demonstrations.

While Finnish anti-war protesters looked mainly to Sweden for inspiration, Swedish demonstrators set their sights on establishing “international protests in Sweden”,¹²⁴⁷ which resulted, for example, in the 1967 march in support of Che Guevara, organised after the death of the famous revolutionary guerrilla. Some of the signs in the crowd were in Spanish,¹²⁴⁸ as there were members of the Swedish Latin American community present.¹²⁴⁹ The presence of Vietnamese representatives also added to the transnational nature of Swedish demonstrations.¹²⁵⁰ Meanwhile, on a more abstract level, events like the “International Vietnam Week” created a tangible demonstration of international solidarity.¹²⁵¹ These also exposed the Swedish protest movement to some tangible transnational comparisons; while Swedish demonstrations were arguably more composed and consisted mainly of throwing snowballs, or eggs, and burning some flags, their format was still similar to those elsewhere.¹²⁵² Calls for “active solidarity” with the Vietnamese people¹²⁵³ reveal how the rhetoric of solidarity with third-world movements had now spread to almost all corners of

1241 TiS 18/68, Björn Häggqvist, “Vad är egentligen “våld”?”, 10.

1242 Clarté 1/68, “Vänstervriden vetenskap?”, 4-6.

1243 TiS 26/68, Lorenz Olsson, “När SSU följde CIA:s spelregler”, 3.

1244 TiS 28/66, Gunnar Thorell, “Stoppa polisens provokationer mot demonstranterna!”, 6-7, 10.

1245 TiS 1/68, “Batonger kan inte krossa den växande vietnam-opinionen”, 3-4; Konkret 4-5/68, Stig Jutterström, “Rätten att demonstrera -första maj och andra dagar”, 4-6.

1246 Clarté 3/66, Arvid Rudling, “Rätten till opinionsbildning”, 13-14.

1247 TiS 28/66, Gunnar Thorell, “Stoppa polisens provokationer mot demonstranterna!”, 6-7, 10.

1248 TiS 42/67, Sven Wernström, “Ernesto Che Guevara”, 11.

1249 TiS 19/67, “Stödt åt Latinamerika!”. The demonstration was organised by SF and VUF, see TiS 43/67, Allan Gardner, “Demonstrant bet polis”, 13.

1250 TiS 50/66, Gunnel Granlid, “Stoppa USA:s krig!”, 6-7 reports the participation of ambassador Nguen van Dong; the famous 1968 case where newly selected prime minister Olof Palme marched alongside a Vietnamese representative will be discussed in chapter 8.

1251 TiS 43/67, “Solidaritet med Vietnam!”.

1252 Konkret 4-5/68, Stig Jutterström, “Rätten att demonstrera -första maj och andra dagar”, 4-6.

1253 Clarté 1/68, “Vänstervriden vetenskap?”, 4-6.

the political discourse, and how the Swedish New Left had distanced itself from mainstream uses of the concept by showing the more tangible and active dimensions of its own solidarity actions. New Left theories of direct action as a political strategy made this difference more concrete. As it was described in *Zenit*, Marcuse had considered demonstrations important as they made the oppressive violence of the state visible. Yet, in an effort to be effective, demonstrations were not to be concerned with their own legality. Objecting to existing social conditions while remaining within its bounds was "bland ritualism".¹²⁵⁴ Conflict with "established society" – and the police in particular – revealed the true nature and attitudes of those in power, and increased pressure on them further.¹²⁵⁵ In the context of third-world solidarity movements, demonstrations were feasible only if they did not mean compromising with imperialists.¹²⁵⁶ Jan Myrdal, one of the more theoretically oriented Swedish protesters, was ready to accept demos as part of the strategy; and yet demonstrations were but a first step – further action was obviously needed.¹²⁵⁷ What exactly could follow on from public protests was left open for debate, but expressing even clearer resentment towards existing social structures exposed the social movements to the question of violence.

¹²⁵⁴ *Zenit* 3/68, Erik Furumark, "Marcuse och revolutionen", 77-78.

¹²⁵⁵ *Konkret* 4-5/68, Stig Jutterström, "Rätten att demonstrera -första maj och andra dagar", 4-6.

¹²⁵⁶ *Clarté* 3/67, Gilbert Mury, "Varför jag blev kommunist – och varför jag lämnat partiet", 14-19.

¹²⁵⁷ *Clarté* 3/67, Jan Myrdal, "Fyra argument mot demonstrationer", 12-13.

6 VIOLENCE

Well aware of the violent examples of historical revolutions, the war in Vietnam, and indeed some of their own protests, Nordic activists in the Sixties were soon turning their attentions to defining the limits of acceptable political activism. Nordic activists had now encountered the possibility of violence as a result of their demands for revolutionary change in society. But by international standards they were relatively far from actual scenes of bloodshed in the Third World; whereas their counterparts in the US, France, and West Germany had to come to terms with the possibility of facing life-threatening police brutality – as the death of Benno Ohnesorg during a protest against the visit of the Shah of Iran in June 1967 in Berlin demonstrated – Nordic activists were operating in a wholly different context. Discussions of violence were thus often abstract, and distant from what was actually happening locally (in Nordic societies) and at that time. The possible violent rupture of society was considered more of a looming threat that could only be avoided if action was taken about the welfare state, and the state of affairs elsewhere in the world.

What constituted violence was already a highly divisive topic, and one that repeatedly came up, especially in Swedish New Left papers. Contrasting established definitions found in dictionaries with the usage of the concept in conservative political rhetoric was one way of pointing out asymmetrical uses of the concept. Public debates about the violent nature of Swedish anti-war protests were criticised for not being aware of the ways in which status and ownership determined legitimate and illegitimate usages of violence.¹²⁵⁸ The Swedish New Left's definition of violence was, understandably, linked to class structure: "The concept 'violence' remains offensive to ordinary people and yet the 'necessary' violence that supports society is not talked about."¹²⁵⁹ In a bourgeois society like Sweden, it seemed that only resistance towards existing conditions and social

¹²⁵⁸ Kommantar 5/68, G.H., "Talet om våld", 2.

¹²⁵⁹ "Begreppet "våld" förblir motbjudande för vanliga människor och det "nödvändiga" våld som bygger upp samhället låter man bli att tala om." TiS 18/68, Björn Häggqvist, "Vad är egentligen "våld"?", 10.

structures was seen as violence.¹²⁶⁰ This led the New Left to conclude that violence was never a neutral concept; the way it was used indicated the political position of the user.¹²⁶¹ This perspective obviously had an impact on the way media and its political role was debated, especially when it came to assessments of different revolutionary movements both within the west and the Third World.

As structural violence defined the boundaries of public speech, highlighting how violence was a common feature of everyday media was one way of bridging the gap between global events and the domestic context. Similar arguments can be found in texts that indicated how violence was present in everyday popular culture.¹²⁶² As already discussed in Chapter 3, the male gender role was predominately framed as being aggressive, violent, and insensitive. In the intersection between gendered and entertaining portrayals of violent behaviour were examples like James Bond movies, which seemed to crystallise both issues of violence and masculine male gender and were thus heavily criticised by the radical press.¹²⁶³ These generally observable traits also cropped up in more particular radical debates. The Finnish Committee of 100 was a natural participant, because of its unequivocally pacifist principles. The Committee was clearly affected by the shifts that had occurred to the radical frame, and it was now prepared to widen its understanding of violence to include features present in the social environment and people's upbringing.¹²⁶⁴ For Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung, the structuralist definition of violence underlined the difference between reformist and radical activists. As he explained to the *Kommentar*, "Violence does not mean just external, collective physical violence. No one has proved so skilful as today's neo-radical to show how hollow such a conceptualisation of violence is, and yet it is this conceptualisation that is included in national and international law, not the violence contained in the very structure of society."¹²⁶⁵

Structural violence was thus argued to exist in central welfare state policies, as discussed in Chapter 4; when taken to its logical conclusion, all restrictions, especially ones that led to imprisonment and arrest, could be framed as examples of structural violence.¹²⁶⁶ Harder criminal punishments would thus inevitably increase the total amount of violence in society,¹²⁶⁷ and any attempts control deviancy could contribute to these structures of social violence, as they demonstrated clear usages of power: "Everyday violence is present in the

¹²⁶⁰ TiS 18/68, Björn Häggqvist, "Vad är egentligen "våld"?", 10.

¹²⁶¹ TiS 27/68, Svante Bohman, "Onödiga oklarheter", 11.

¹²⁶² See, e.g. JYL 27/67, 1. Support for alternative forms of culture underlined this feature, see Saksholm 2015, 82-85.

¹²⁶³ See, e.g. JYL 16/67, Pertti Nurminen, "Meillekin kulttuurivallankumous", 2.

¹²⁶⁴ Ylioppilaslehti 29/68, "Kasvatus ja väkivalta", 1.

¹²⁶⁵ "Och med våld menas inte bara det rent yttre, kollektiva fysiska våldet. Ingen har så skickligt som dagens nyradikala påvisat hur ihåligt ett sådant våldsbegrepp är, och det är det våldsbegreppet som är inbegripet i nationell och internationell rätt, inte det våld som finns inneslutet i själva samhällsstrukturen." *Kommentar* 3/68, Johan Galtung, "Fredsforskning och revolution", 10-13.

¹²⁶⁶ Aikalainen 7-8/66, "Poliisillako auttava käsi", 37-47.

¹²⁶⁷ Aviisi 18/67, S.H., "Silmä silmästä", 3.

treatment of the sick and abnormal, institutionalised care for the elderly, the suppression of children and young people, many control measures and selection procedures. Any use of more power by the stronger towards the weaker is violence."¹²⁶⁸ Occasionally, the definition of violence was widened to the point that it did not even require any active agency, even from a collective subject like society. Such was the case when Matti Vimpari, a controversial writer for the student paper in Turku, demanded that traffic incidents be considered violent crimes. He was clearly demonstrating a rather critical take on middle-class norms: "Violence is a part of our way of life. It is violence to poison the waters, to pollute the air or to whip people to get them to do things for economic gain; this will only lead to an emotionally tired middle class."¹²⁶⁹ Other radicals argued that via popular media or institutionalisation, structural violence could become normalised, to the extent where it would become too familiar to get noticed: "[e]veryday violence includes thousands of incidents in homes, workplaces, offices, and streets, where a vulnerable person is in some way pressured, repressed, threatened, insulted, beaten, exploited, or forgotten by public institutions, the press, leaders and individuals."¹²⁷⁰ Violence could therefore be used in quite an abstract sense, like this, to lend support for leftist radical arguments.

To radicals who saw power as the *de facto* definition of violence, it was necessary to reassess traditional radical arguments if they were going to fit in with the new, more polarised radical frame. Many of the sociologists that had been active in the radical press had trusted in reform and evaded the issue of social conflicts. And yet sociological arguments were still far too important and legitimising for Finnish radicals to be completely abandoned. Indeed, in an effort to supplement these theoretical models, violence was to be framed in a rational, social sciences fashion. An article published in 1965, 'Some Social Functions of Violence' by Lewis A. Coser provided some much needed theoretical support. Coser's theorisations explained violence as being a normal societal phenomenon, present in situations where other means of communication were not available. Coser's theory, along with widening the means of social communication as part of the revolution through information (see Chapter 5), helped to tie ideas oppositional violence into the general progressivist and structuralist social

¹²⁶⁸ "Arkipäivän väkivaltaa on aikaisemmin mainittu sairaiden ja poikkeavien käsittely, vanhusten laitosmainen alistava huolto, lasten ja nuorten energisyysilmiöiden tukahduttaminen, monet valvontatoimenpiteet ja valintamenettelyt. Voimakkaamman vallankäyttö heikompaan on väkivaltaa." OYL 25/68, "Arkipäivän väkivalta", 2.

¹²⁶⁹ "Väkivalta on osa elämänmuotoamme. On väkivaltaa myrkyttää vedet, saastuttaa ilma tai piiskaus erilaisiin saavutuksiin, päämääränä taloudellinen etu ja tympääntynyt keskiluokka." TYL 20/68, Matti Vimpari, "Turkulaiset lyövät toisiaan nokkaan vain tarvittaessa", 4-5.

¹²⁷⁰ "Arkipäivän väkivaltaa ovat tuhannet kotien, työpaikkojen, toimistojen ja katujen tapahtumat, joissa jollain tavalla heikompiaseista yksilöä julkisten laitosten, instituutioiden, lehdistön, johtavassa asemassa olevien ja yksityisten henkilöiden taholta painostetaan, tukahdutetaan, uhataan, loukataan, pahoinpidellään, ivataan, käytetään hyväksi tai unohdetaan." OYL 25/68, "Arkipäivän väkivalta", 2.

science framework. Instead of seeing violence as a rupture that challenged the basic norms of society, the interpretations based on Coser saw violence as a useful indicator of conflict, or “pain in the social body”.¹²⁷¹ Thus, violent action could be seen as a form of rational action, insofar as it would be the last possible method of protest for a group that otherwise would not get their voices heard. For Antti Eskola, violence was an essential part of the democratic system and, indeed, a positive aspect of society – providing that democratic system was still functioning. If the “differences in power” (“*valtaerot*”) grew and became entrenched, Eskola saw violence as becoming an instrument used to support the status quo – in which case there was a need for “counter-violence” (*vastaväkivaltaa*). From his sociological perspective, Eskola saw an unmistakable resemblance between structural and individual acts of violence. The US was an important context here: “the murders of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Robert Kennedy are also structurally equivalent to the means used by the US in Vietnam or the establishment’s response to the reform efforts by their own country’s negro population.”¹²⁷²

Eskola’s idea of “counter-violence” is interesting as not only did it clearly attempt to establish a legitimate form of violent protest and resistance, it also echoed the conceptualisations used by West German radicals when they defined and framed their own counter-measures against society. The texts of the Frankfurt School of critical theory had paid a lot of attention to the structures of power and coercion; although they used the concept of *Gewalt* more in the sense of power and force rather than in its most violent connotations.¹²⁷³ Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey has demonstrated how the ambiguity of the German *Gewalt* supported anticapitalist strategies and protests that used “violence against things”; but it also made possible even more fluid uses, where situationists and other counterculturally inspired groups revolted in a highly symbolic way, not only against societal institutions but also established ways of using political language.¹²⁷⁴ Karin Bauer has demonstrated that Ulrike Meinhof also employed the concept of *Gegengewalt* in her opposition of societal structural violence. As it could mean both counter-violence and countering violence, *Gegengewalt* could also be used quite fluidly and shows how the concepts used by the German New Left were a balancing act between new definitions of Marxist theory and countercultural protesting.¹²⁷⁵ Within the Swedish New Left, the *Clarté* group and especially its Maoist members, were much more straightforward in their definitions. These dogmatic groups were adamant in their theoretical stance that

1271 YL 25/65, Ilkka Taipale, “Väkivallattomuuden tekniikka sisäpolitiikassa”, 5, 8; JYL 27/67, JOHANNES, “Saturno – sankari”, 1.

1272 “Eräässä mielessä myös John F. Kennedyn, Martin Luther Kingin ja Robert Kennedyn murhat ovat ratkaisuna rakenneyhtäläiset niiden keinojen kanssa, joita Yhdysvaltojen vallassaolijat käyttävät Vietnamin, tai joilla he vastaavat oman maansa neekeriväestön uudistusyrityksiin.” Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki., 134.

1273 Sedlmaier 2014, 69-77.

1274 Gilcher-Holtey 2010.

1275 Bauer 2010.

only violent revolution could bring about social change – demands peaceful transition to socialism were an immediate sign of bourgeois influences.¹²⁷⁶ In more moderate texts, too, the omnipotent presence of violence in the structures of society, allowed activists to ponder how it could be fashioned to achieve a better society.¹²⁷⁷ Again, the focus was more on politically empowering the masses rather than opening new insights into personal politicisation.

6.1 Relative and Absolute Pacifism: Violence in the Third World

Examples of transnational events and activists were not only important contextual factors, they also forged new political positions in Finland and Sweden. As well as inspiring completely new protest movements like the Swedish FNL movement (who supported the Viet Cong), they also affected existing organisations and their policies.¹²⁷⁸ At the beginning of 1968, the conflict that had been simmering within the Finnish Committee of 100 for some time reached the wider public through a series of debates in *Ylioppilaslehti*. The Committee was not a student organisation as such, and the matter at hand was clearly not in line with the wider opinions of student union members, so the paper was criticised for its detailed coverage of the issue.¹²⁷⁹ While some saw the debate as the inevitable culmination of tensions that had existed inside the Committee from the beginning,¹²⁸⁰ it was clear that the changing transnational context also greatly affected this debate.

The former editor of *Ylioppilaslehti* and Social Democrat MP, Arvo Salo, and another key member of the Committee, Marja-Leena Mikkola, were the most vocal supporters of giving up the principle of absolute non-violence in the debate. Salo's personal trajectory of political opinions, from the positivist modernism of early sixties cultural radicalism towards a more politically conscious analysis of societal power structures, is a good example of the radicalisation that was occurring in the wider radical frame.¹²⁸¹ Salo and Mikkola argued that in practice, the Committee's former position of abstaining from all violence actually meant supporting the "oligarchs".¹²⁸² According to Mikkola, "unconditional solidarity" for the Vietnamese people meant that supporters needed to act on the same terms as the Vietnamese. Mikkola was open about her reservations with this new policy, but argued that the conditions of third-world countries made her moral judgement irrelevant: "I am uncomfortable with the

¹²⁷⁶ Clarté 3/67, Bo Gustafsson, "Arbete och kapital", 28-40.

¹²⁷⁷ TiS 18/68, Björn Häggqvist, "Vad är egentligen "våld"?", 10.

¹²⁷⁸ Salomon 1996.

¹²⁷⁹ *Ylioppilaslehti* 6/68, AK, "Tällä viikolla/Uusi Suomi on roikale", 4.

¹²⁸⁰ *Ylioppilaslehti* 7/68, Seppo Väisänen, "Erään komitean viisivuotistaival", 6.

¹²⁸¹ Supporters of relative approach were at times named as "Saloitte". See OYL 4/68, PK, "Sisseistä puhutaan", 3; OYL 6/68, PK, "Kannattaako osallistua?", 3; *Ylioppilaslehti* 11/67, Juha Vakkuri, "Tahditon muttei tahdoton", 14.

¹²⁸² *Ylioppilaslehti* 1/68, A.K., "Tällä viikolla/Pasifismi puntarissa", 4.

nationalism and fighting spirit of developing countries. But who am I, civilised and well-fed, to condemn them, to recommend non-violent resistance and parliamentary politics to Latin American movements, when there is no parliamentarism, and when a large part of the population does not even know how to read."¹²⁸³ Her open recognition of the moral conflict between the tradition of absolute pacifism and more relativist notions was unique and highlights how seriously some activists of the Committee pondered the issue. The quotation also highlights the new perspective on politics that was emerging and the impossibility of making 'neutral' claims that were somehow free of political positions.

The relativist redefinition of pacifism took economic and political conditions as the premises for its political argument. Following her outspoken rebuttal of fanaticism, Mikkola explained that romanticism and violent agitation obviously did not fit the Scandinavian context. Mikkola defined "Guerrilla romanticism" as escapism from the "real" (or structural) problems of the Third World. Curiously though, understanding structural matters was possible only through reading and studying – a method reminiscent of earlier days in the Committee. Most of the books recommended by Mikkola were Swedish critiques of neo-colonial economics, but they also included the Swedish translation of Fanon's *Les Damnés de la Terre*.¹²⁸⁴ In a later interview, Mikkola affirmed that she did not support the shipment of arms to Vietnam, but this was not so much a moral objection, as a concern that it was not an *effective* means of direct support. As a compromise, Mikkola tried to build a bridge between the old and new traditions of the Committee – "Russell and Guevara are not exclusive options", she maintained. Traditional methods of the Committee were still relevant, at the same time setbacks like the death of Che were not to be interpreted as a sign of any fundamental fault in Guerilla methods either.¹²⁸⁵ Mikkola's redefinition of pacifism is yet another example of the way radical politics used existing political traditions to legitimise new ones.

Arvo Salo also based his arguments on politicising the neutrality and non-partisan help formerly presented as simple humanitarian aid. For Salo, the tradition of absolute non-violence meant political indifference; western activists took credit for the results without doing any of the dirty work done by local activists – a sign of clear double standards. Salo employed a moral argumentation to defend his position: "doesn't ethics also require unpleasant deeds from us?"¹²⁸⁶

¹²⁸³ "Minulle on vierasta kehitysmaiden nationalismi ja taistelumielialan lietsominen. Mutta mikä minä, sivistetty ja hyvinvoinen, olen niitä tuomitsemaan, suosittamaan väkivallatonta vastarintaa latinalaisamerikkalaisille kapinaliikkeille, parlamentaarisia keinoja, silloin kun ei mitään parlamentarismia ole olemassa ja kun suuri osa väestöstä ei osaa edes lukea." Ylioppilaslehti 2/68, Marja-Leena Mikkola, "Pasifismista", 9.

¹²⁸⁴ Ylioppilaslehti 2/68, Marja-Leena Mikkola, "Pasifismista", 9.

¹²⁸⁵ Ylioppilaslehti 5/68, Antti Kuusi & Yrjö Larmola, "Rauha ei ole aina tavoiteltava arvo eikä väkivalta aina vältettävissä", 1, 9.

¹²⁸⁶ "eikö etiikka vaadi meiltä myös epämiellyttäviä tekoja?" Ylioppilaslehti 3/68, A.K., "Paneeli pasifismista/Sadankomitea ja Ylioppilaslehti asialla", 21.

Despite his new radical definition of peace and the use of violence, Salo still used familiar reasoning from the social sciences when defending his new support for violent methods: "Violence is part of the social technique that creates a better society." It is not entirely clear whether social technique ("*sosiaalitekniikka*") meant violence as the means of communication defined by sociologists cited earlier, but Salo saw that the change in social context legitimised his new stance as being just as ethical as absolute pacifism. Like Mikkola, Salo also stressed that his support for violent movements was not unconditional or universal: actual arms could only be shipped if there was "a guarantee" that they would be given up (not sold on) when no longer necessary.¹²⁸⁷ Loyalty to the FNL was clearly a divisive issue in Salo's rhetoric. While his support for smuggling weapons to North Vietnam was only relative, and certainly meant to be provocative, it was also a courageous attempt to show the logical result of his new political position.¹²⁸⁸ Similar arguments that legitimised new, more explicitly violent methods as supportive of social progress were present in the deliberation of other contemporary Finnish agents. Nils Torvalds, the chair of student development aid organization YKA, was ready to support revolutionary movements, as long as they had the support of a popular majority and were "democratically organised".¹²⁸⁹ This framing again exemplifies how legitimate political concepts were still relevant in the new transnational context.

The debate on pacifism spread to other universities via the national circulation of *Ylioppilaslehti*, and the relationship between the new relativist pacifism and the tradition of absolute pacifism proved to be a hot topic of debate. This was certainly the case with the Committee of 100's subgroup in Jyväskylä, who together with the local chapter of the UN association were keen to discuss its ramifications for radical activism.¹²⁹⁰ Jorma Veijola, one of the more radical of the local debaters, claimed that discussions about the legitimacy of violence were naïve, since they did not take into account the options available in third-world contexts. Veijola supported the conceptualisations used by Mikkola and Salo, boldly stating that in the third-world context, violence was often the only real option.¹²⁹¹ Others noted how new questions about social justice need new answers, and so pacifism needed to be reassessed: "It is clear that the demand for the complete rejection of violence, pampered by bourgeois liberalism, is nothing more than a hypocritical way of withdrawing from all responsibility."¹²⁹² Non-alignment policies, so central to absolute pacifism and liberal cultural radicalism

¹²⁸⁷ "Väkivalta kuuluu sosiaalitekniikkaan, jolla luodaan parempi yhteiskunta." *Ylioppilaslehti* 5/68, Antti Kuusi & Yrjö Larmola, "Rauha ei ole aina tavoiteltava arvo eikä väkivalta aina vältettävissä", 1, 9.

¹²⁸⁸ YL 15/68, "Mielekäs mielenosoitus, eläköön Alenius", 7; *Ylioppilaslehti* 1/68, A.K., "Tällä viikolla/Pasifismi puntarissa", 4.

¹²⁸⁹ JYL 3/68, "Kehitys yhteistyö politiikkaan", 1.

¹²⁹⁰ JYL 7/68, Erkki Lehtinen, "JYY:n politrukeille ja etenkin jäsenille", 4; JYL 8/68, Erkki Lehtinen, "JYY:n politrukeille ja etenkin jäsenille II", 2.

¹²⁹¹ JYL 13/68, "Päivän ylioppilaspoliitikoja", 12.

¹²⁹² "Selvää on, ettei porvarillisen liberalismmin hellimä vaatimus "tasapuolisesta" väkivallan tuomitsemisesta ole muuta kuin tekopyhä tapa vetäytyä vastuusta." TYL 5/68, Timo Vuortama, "Eikö väkivaltaa", 4.

(and Nordic foreign policy for that matter) were now represented as policies that only benefitted the oppressor. Ideals of equality and non-partisanship were framed as utopian, and the potential moral dilemmas of choosing a side were deflected by showing how violence was a feature of both sides of the global conflict.¹²⁹³ Swedish third-world activists relativised global violence with structural readings of omnipotent violence. For them, violence was an empirical question, not some moral dogma.¹²⁹⁴ And while third-world activists were accused of being “guerilla romantics”, or “peace romantics”¹²⁹⁵, they argued that those who simply relied on diplomatic solutions were being no less self-righteous.¹²⁹⁶ These perspectives relativised violence and opened new, more critical takes of pacifist heroes like Gandhi: was non-violent action really an effective way of stopping US aggression?¹²⁹⁷ Had not Gandhi succeeded only because of favourable conditions, i.e., those in power let him succeed?¹²⁹⁸ Relativising violence and defining it as one of the central structures of contemporary society focused attention on factors that explained why violence existed in the first place.¹²⁹⁹

For this new relative and “radical” pacifism,¹³⁰⁰ contextual evaluations were the key. Sometimes, relativism was explicit and aimed at redefining the concept of violence by pointing to its different manifestations: As one Finnish radical argued, there was a marked difference between the violence of guerrilla movements and the systematic violence of the SS and Nazi death camps. The strategy was to point out the difference in levels of observed violence and maintain that these differences led to correspondingly different moral obligations. For New Left activists, institutional violence manifested through racial and economic policies was more efficient and interpreted to be less offensive by the public when compared to armed conflict. Hence, the absolute non-violence of established radical organisations was too individualist as a form of ethical reasoning and led to an arrogant dismissal of the “imperfect realities of the world”.¹³⁰¹ In essence, personal moral arguments were not based on structural analyses, and so they did not provide enough information about “real” social conditions. Antti Eskola, for example, demanded that there be less high-minded moral ultimatums, and more social relativism. Although he directly opposed violence, he was ready to accept it as an occasional necessary evil. Eskola saw that purposeful moral standards should be based on actions rather than simply high ideals – comparing it to alcohol temperance laws. If violence

¹²⁹³ TYL 5/68, Timo Vuortama, “Eikö väkivaltaa”, 4.

¹²⁹⁴ Kommentar 2/68, Anders Formsmän, “En revolutionär fredsforskning”, 6-10.

¹²⁹⁵ “fredsromantik”. TiS 42/67, Sven Wernström, “Ernesto Che Guevara”, 11.

¹²⁹⁶ Clarté 3/67, Jan Myrdal, “Fyra argument mot demonstrationer”, 12-13.

¹²⁹⁷ TiS 10/68, Elisabet Hermodsson, “Svar på Gunnar Myrdals fortsatta mardröm”, 12.

¹²⁹⁸ OYL 9/68, Juha Mikkonen, “Haaste väkivallattomuudelle”, 4-5; Ylioppilaslehti 26/67, Mikko Valtasaari, “Väkivallaton tekniikka kansainvälisissä konflikteissa”, 4.

¹²⁹⁹ TiS 21/67, “Medan Sverige sov”, 14.

¹³⁰⁰ Clarté 4/65, Christer Hogstedt, “Vägra värnplikt! sista alternativet i en absurd situation”, 22-23.

¹³⁰¹ TYL 5/68, Timo Vuortama, “Eikö väkivaltaa”, 4.

was made into a similarly hypocritical black and white issue of ethics (as most people were in practice flouting drinking laws), then the ethical principle became empty and meaningless – so an absolute (or black and white) attitude to pacifism was equally unrealistic in acute situations.¹³⁰²

But there were many Finnish radicals who objected to this relative pacifism, or looked for a compromise. Even inside the Committee, with the leftist bias of its leading members, support for violence in any form was highly contested. Kalevi Suomela and Pekka Peltola, for instance, still wanted to maintain their commitment to absolute pacifism.¹³⁰³ Together, they tried to deflect the issue by declaring that accepting violence in one isolated case did not mean that it was accepted on principle.¹³⁰⁴ Peltola pointed out that moral objection to the War in Vietnam did not deny that violence was a *de facto* phenomenon of contemporary world. He also debunked claims that the Committee was too idealistic and had lost touch with the realities of third-world conditions, by claiming that they had never completely ruled out violence as a legitimate way to achieve peace – support for UN peacekeeping had always been an essential part of the Committee program, for example. Peltola also tried to deflect criticism by widening the Committee's definition of peace. "There are other values besides peace, chief among them human rights". He also wanted to qualify that absolute pacifists could in fact recognize acute conditions of the present day – it was not that they denied the existence of violence, rather the tendency of it becoming the new norm.¹³⁰⁵

Suomela too attempted a compromise; he acknowledged that the concept of violence was now being used in a much broader context than before, to include structural matters. In fact, he thought that the relativist pacifists did not pay enough attention to this structural violence.¹³⁰⁶ While Suomela admitted that support for UN peace keeping was in conflict with the overall principle of non-violence, he did not see any problem about supporting the social and political *goals* of third-world movements while remaining staunchly against violence: "it is clear that in the case of the Vietnam War, for example, we are on the side of the FNL against the US. Does this statement mean a renunciation of non-violence and pacifism? My answer is no!" According to Suomela, every pacifist had to become an anti-imperialist and focus on dismantling the global economic structures.¹³⁰⁷ By using the concept of imperialism, Suomela tried to bridge the gap between pacifism and radical third-world activism. However, the question of violence was such a pressing one that such a compromise proved mostly futile.

¹³⁰² Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki., 28.

¹³⁰³ *Ylioppilaslehti* 1/68, A.K., "Tällä viikolla/Pasifismi puntarissa", 4.

¹³⁰⁴ *Ylioppilaslehti* 13/67, M.H., "Aikakauslehdet", 8.

¹³⁰⁵ "On muitakin arvoja kuin rauha: ihmisoikeudet." *Ylioppilaslehti* 5/68, Antti Kuusi & Yrjö Larmola, "Rauha ei ole aina tavoiteltava arvo eikä väkivalta aina vältettävissä", 1, 9

¹³⁰⁶ *Ylioppilaslehti* 5/68, Antti Kuusi & Yrjö Larmola, "Rauha ei ole aina tavoiteltava arvo eikä väkivalta aina vältettävissä", 1, 9.

¹³⁰⁷ "on kuitenkin selvää, että esimerkiksi Vietnamin sodassa me olemme NFL:n puolella USA:ta vastaan. Merkitseekö tämä kannanotto väkivallattomuudesta ja pasifismista luopumisesta? Minun vastaukseni on: ei!" *Ylioppilaslehti* 7/68, Kalevi Suomela, "Myös pasifistin on nähtävä väkivallan ja väkivallan ero", 7.

Similar positions were expressed in other contexts too, as the new focus on third-world issues brought traditional pacifist definitions under renewed scrutiny. One of the most vocal defenders of pacifism in the Swedish New Left press was the Norwegian peace researcher, Johan Galtung (see 2.3), who was quick to defend the principle of non-violence: "I want to add that it is a prerequisite for peace research that the goals must be achieved with non-violent means." While Galtung's ideas had been radical during the early Sixties, he now seemed to be defending his research: "I believe our thinking and deeds are often dominated by false contradictions, and that more analysis and more research, driven both by compassion and intellect will produce views and societal formats that will help abolish conflicts and contradictions."¹³⁰⁸ Despite active participation in the debate by some leading absolute pacifists like Galtung, even those still committed to the absolute ideals of non-violence and disarmament acknowledged the legitimacy of the relativist challenge. Was it morally fair to leave all the dirty work for others?¹³⁰⁹ In the Finnish debate, Suomela and Peltola were certainly not alone, as others declared their support for the UN, non-violence, and democratic change;¹³¹⁰ but even discussions about the UN were fired up by the new focus on violence.¹³¹¹ The debate showed there were very real fears that relativising third-world events could lead to a new essentialist dogmatism.¹³¹² Some Finnish student activists clearly thought that overly emotional arguments might lead to some people feeling excluded, and these accusations of emotionalism¹³¹³ show how pacifism as a rational political strategy had gained some real support among them. Relativist pacifism thus needed to be subjected to the same rigorous demands of logical validation, since if efficiency was the only new standard against which all methods would be measured, then a war against the US would be the logical endpoint.¹³¹⁴ Some of the criticism was focused on the new style adapted by some radical pacifists: Che Guevara quotes were at odds with the focus on rationality, objective language, and non-violence.¹³¹⁵ Applying these concepts to contemporary society was also

¹³⁰⁸ "Självt vill jag dessutom tillfoga att det åligger fredsforskningen en förutsättning: målen skall uppnås med icke-vålds medel." "Jag tror vår tanke ofta långas av falska motsägelser och vår handling av falska motsättningar, och att mer analys, mer forskning, driven både av medkänsla och av intellekt kommer att frambringa synpunkter och samhällsformer som upphäver både motsägelser och motsättningar." Kommentar 3/68, Johan Galtung, "Freds forskning och revolution", 10-13.

¹³⁰⁹ Ylioppilaslehti 7/68, Seppo Väisänen, "Erään komitean viisivuotistaival", 6.

¹³¹⁰ Ylioppilaslehti 5/68, Antti Kuusi & Yrjö Larmola, "Rauha ei ole aina tavoiteltava arvo eikä väkivalta aina vältettävissä", 1, 9; JYL 8/68, Hannu Taipale/Sadankomitean vt. Pj., "Ei syytä huoleen", 2; JYL 8/68, Olavi Moilanen, "Politiikasta opiskelijoille", 6; TYL 4/68, Lasse J. Tuominen, "Minne joutuikaan?", 4.

¹³¹¹ Aviisi 23/67, Hilkka Eklund, "Rhodesiaa (leikisti) malliksi", 1.

¹³¹² OYL 4/68, PK, "Sisseistä puhutaan", 3.

¹³¹³ Ylioppilaslehti 6/68, Eero Taivalsaari, "Pasifismi vai kvasifismi Sadankomitea tienhaarassa", 15.

¹³¹⁴ Aviisi 16/68, Uolevi Arosalo, "Relatiivisille pasifisteille", 2.

¹³¹⁵ Ylioppilaslehti 26/67, Mikko Valtasaari, "Väkivallaton tekniikka kansainvälisissä konflikteissa", 4.

questionable, as violent political rhetoric could be seen to hark back to times when the political system did not have the proper democratic methods for applying political pressure. Much better would be to increase the remit of democracy, to the point where it might perhaps lead to the complete extinction of violence.¹³¹⁶

Finnish political history seemed to indicate that such an outcome might be possible. Indeed, the rise of a particular form of Nordic civil society after the bloody civil war of 1918 was still a popular narrative reinforcing notions of national exceptionalism. Some Finnish activists were concerned about the turn towards relative pacifism because it was an important part of defining who they were in a changing global situation of escalating wars, and foreign activism taking up increasingly more space in the radical press. The report in *Ylioppilaslehti* about a teach-in round table discussion organised by the Committee found it ironic how standpoints over violence seemed to have now become inverted: "the part of the public that previously was so busy objecting to peace activism now defends absolute pacifism, while Committee members speak vehemently in favour of understanding freedom fighters."¹³¹⁷ Others were less keen to follow the relativists though. "In the Third World", they argued, "non-violent methods could achieve at least as much as violence. Two, three, or maybe more Vietnams [referring to the famous Che quote] could be achieved through non-violent resistance methods."¹³¹⁸ This kind of discourse may have borrowed rhetorically from the expressions and concepts used by the relativists, but it still subscribed to the established ideals of absolute pacifism. It also shows how the initiative had shifted to the relativists, while the absolute pacifist notion that violence breeds more violence was even supported by the political right¹³¹⁹ – the same political right that had previously used national history as a reason for the just use of violence in self-defence.¹³²⁰

However, re-readings of Finnish political history did provide examples that underlined the role of contextual factors so crucial to relativist readings of pacifism. Oskari Tokoi – the leader of the Finnish Social Democrats during the Civil War of 1918 – was one such example. In highly allegorical terms, one student interpreted Tokoi as having been "forced" by the exceptionalism of "the times" to accept violence. The Civil War was a natural example of a zeitgeist which essentially explained how particular conditions could lead to violence. The

¹³¹⁶ JYL 27/67, Oiva Björkbacka, "„Eikä Marx", 2-3.

¹³¹⁷ "ennen niin penseästi rauhantyöhön suhtautunut osa yleisöä puolusti absoluuttista pasifismia ja kunnan sadankomitealaiset puhuivat puhumasta päästyään vapausotien ymmärtämyksen puolesta." *Ylioppilaslehti* 5/68, Antti Kuusi & Yrjö Larmola, "Rauha ei ole aina tavoiteltava arvo eikä väkivaltalta aina vältettävissä", 1, 9.

¹³¹⁸ "Kolmannessa maailmassa voidaan väkivallattomin menetelmin saavuttaa vähintään sama kuin väkivallallakin. Kaksi, kolme, monta Vietnamia voidaan varmasti luoda väkivallattoman vastarinnan menetelmin." *Ylioppilaslehti* 16/68, Olli J. Ojanen, "Valkoiset varpaat kastuvat", 8-9.

¹³¹⁹ *Ylioppilaslehti* 26/67, Antero Jyränki, "Väkivallan käytön organisointi yhteiskunnassa", 1, 12.

¹³²⁰ *Ylioppilaslehti* 5/68, PK, "Pasifistit ja solidaarit", 3; *Ylioppilaslehti* 20/68, PK, "Sosialistinen hegemonia", 3.

excesses of the Finnish Civil War were duly acknowledged, but because they were caused by historical conditions, there were many aspects that were beyond an individual's control and thus not their moral responsibility.¹³²¹ This was further emphasised by pointing out that since Tokoi was so obviously a "true" and "authentic" pacifist otherwise, his deeds should be evaluated relatively. "The personal crisis of Tokoi is still pertinent today, as pacifists find it difficult to take a stand on the question of what they would do if they were Vietnamese or Angolans. Would they preach pacifism, self-immolate themselves like Buddhist monks, or give their support to their armed brothers?"¹³²²

Indications of how the radical frame was polarising can be found in some of the criticism relative pacifists faced for not being leftwing enough. While few, these texts are still important as they show that even Finnish radical discourses featured some fringe groups that had access to radical publics. The Maoist, Jarmo Lavila, for instance, attacked Salo and Mikkola for their "idealist reformism" which, though perhaps radical for the Committee, was still dominated by moral arguments. For Lavila, war was a political problem dictated by universal, Marxist laws, and Committee discussions were textbook examples of the modern, fashionable socialism present in cultural circles. Lavila argued that examples of "true opposition" to imperialism could only be found in Swedish and West German FNL-groups.¹³²³ For others, the fact that the bourgeoisie were also interested in peace was proof enough that any kind of pacifism was not sufficiently radical.¹³²⁴ To make radical politics truly effective, a turn towards domestic enemies (that is capital and its guardians) was needed.¹³²⁵ Criticism was also directed at transnational idols of the Finnish anti-war movement, when Jeka-Pekka Roos accused anti-war activism of being too closely tied to the "middle-class" ideals and actions of the American anti-war movement,¹³²⁶ and a sign of naïve reformism: "Radical students in rich countries do not realise that they act on behalf of colonialism and the continued exploitation of developing countries when they support reformist student policies and remain positive about existing society. Such policies are not effective."¹³²⁷ While Marxist criticisms of elitist political positions were nothing new in the grand scheme of things, their appearance in the student and New Left press was something genuinely new and

¹³²¹ Aviisi 12/68, "Isänmaankavaltajat", 1.

¹³²² "Tokoin kriisillä on myös ajankohtaista sävyä: nykypäivienkin pasifistien on vaikea ottaa kantaa kysymykseen, mitä he tekisivät, jos olisivat vietnamilaisia tai "Linnunpelättimessä" kuvattuja angolalaisia. Saarnaisivatko he pasifismia, polttaisivatko itsensä soihtuina kuin buddhalaiset munkit vai antaisivatko tukensa aseellisille veljilleen?" Aviisi 12/68, Torsten Peltomo, "Oskari Tokoi - sotaan joutunut pasifisti", 1.

¹³²³ Aviisi 7/68, Jarmo Lavila, "Näkemiin, Salo & Mikkola", 1.

¹³²⁴ Aviisi 8/68, Pertti Joenniemi, "Pasifismi, oopiumia riistetyille?", 2.

¹³²⁵ Aviisi 17/68, Jarmo Lavila, "Ei sellaisia ole", 2.

¹³²⁶ Aikalainen 4/67, Pekka Roos, "SKDL-kapitalismin viimeinen puolustusasema?", 34-39.

¹³²⁷ "Rikkaiden maiden radikaalit ylioppilaat eivät tajua toimintansa kolonialismin ja jatkuvan kehitysmaiden riiston puolesta ollessaan suhteellisen yhteiskuntamyönteisen ja suhteellisen evolutionäärin ylioppilaspolitiikan kannalla. Sellainen politiikka ei vaikuta." OYL 24/68, PK, "Odotettavissa jäykistyvää", 3.

tied to the overall shift of the radical frame. Questions of power and the right to representation would become more important the more polarised that student and New Left groups became.

Principled debates on combining pacifism and anti-colonialism had always been important, but in the acute context of third-world movements they came to a head. Bit by bit, reports of these third-world movements began to feature in the Nordic radical left press and the concepts used pointed to their positive reception;¹³²⁸ concepts like “liberation movement”¹³²⁹ clearly imply approval of the struggle against an oppressive regime.¹³³⁰ Some writers also used concepts like “revolutionary movement”, but mainly in the sense of pointing to the fundamental change that these movements aspired to.¹³³¹ “National liberation” was an effective and highly legitimate frame for third-world freedom fighters, particularly in Latin America.¹³³² In the Nordic context this was also relevant, because it tied in with the idea that national sovereignty was a fundamental right belonging to small states and ethnic groups everywhere – including Finland,¹³³³ with its own recent history of independence, as the Jyväskylä Socialist Student Association (JASS) argued.¹³³⁴ The popular support of these movements – as representatives of the majority of “people” (*folket*) – was a central argument used to justify any revolutionary violence.¹³³⁵ “The last bastion of humanism today is revolutionary violence”¹³³⁶ argued Gösta Ågren in *Tidsignal*, as the vast majority of the population were left untouched by it. This essentially humanist premise was interestingly one of the core concepts of cultural radicalism. Indeed, some liberals acknowledged that drastic measures were first needed before old liberal values could then flourish again. “In many cases,” they noted, “violent revolution is necessary in order to achieve social and economic liberation.”¹³³⁷

Global economic inequality was the main cause for revolutionary demands. It could bring together many different national movements under one umbrella, and legitimised some of their more violent methods.¹³³⁸ Deprivation also had its effect on the temporal framing of activism; as imperialist structures caused

¹³²⁸ Sellström 1999; Peltola & Soiri 1999.

¹³²⁹ “Vapautusliike”, “Befrielseörelse”.

¹³³⁰ See, for example Ylioppilaslehti 1/68, A.K., “Tällä viikolla/Pasifismi puntarissa”, 4; Ylioppilaslehti 5/68, Antti Kuusi & Yrjö Larmola, “Rauha ei ole aina tavoiteltava arvo eikä väkivalta aina vältettävissä”, 1, 9; TYL 5/68, Timo Vuortama, “Eikö väkivaltaa”, 4; Aviisi 16/68, Uolevi Arosalo, “Relatiivisille pasifisteille”, 2; Aviisi 7/68, Aimo Komonen, “Väkivallan oikeutuksesta”, 2.

¹³³¹ JYL 3/68, “Kehitys yhteistyö politiikkaan”, 1.

¹³³² TiS 19/67, “Che Guevara: “Vår uppgit är att skapa två, tre, många Vietnam””; TiS 43/67, “Solidaritet med Vietnam”.

¹³³³ LiB D 3/69, Anres Küng, “Gerillan i Latinamerika”, 22-28.

¹³³⁴ JYL 8/68, JASS, “Dosentti Erkki Lehtiselle”, 2.

¹³³⁵ TiS 29/67, .Ts, “Två, tre, många Vietnam?”, 2.

¹³³⁶ “Humanismens sista bastion i dag är det revolutionära våldet. Därom enas allt fler.” TiS 51-52/67, Gösta Ågren, “Om taktiken i en mörk tid”, 14, 20.

¹³³⁷ “Detta gör i många fall den våldsamma revolutionen nödvändig för att uppnå social och ekonomisk frigörelse.” LiB D 1/68, “Liberalt stöd åt Latinamerikas revolution”, 17; see also LiB D 3/69, Anres Küng, “Gerillan i Latinamerika”, 22-28; Clarté 2/68, Gunnar Bylin, “SäPo – ett hot mot folkets säkerhet”, 43-46.

¹³³⁸ TYL 31/67, Tribunus, “Itsenäisyysmuistio”, 2.

constant deaths, there simply was no time for reformist approaches.¹³³⁹ While the framework of need was certainly a shared Nordic discourse, the factor that separated even the most radical Finnish pacifists from the mainstream of the Swedish New Left was the significance of imperialism as an analytical and theoretical concept. As Kim Salomon has demonstrated, imperialism was one of the central concepts of the Swedish FNL movement;¹³⁴⁰ but this was hardly the only case where such concepts were used. While concepts of imperialism and neocolonialism were certainly present in the Finnish radical press, they often simply referred to global economic structures rather than being a tool for determining whether a violent global revolution was required. Particularly scarce were links that connected global economic structures with the Finnish economy.¹³⁴¹ When they did occur, they were more of a moral or cultural metaphor than a direct reference to global economic analysis.¹³⁴² Some even used the concept to point to the control that industrialised Southern Finland wielded over the rest of the country.¹³⁴³ For the Swedish New Left, imperialism was the structure that legitimised violent resistance and revolution. "He who puts the violence of imperialists on the same moral plane as the violence of freedom movements," Jan Myrdal claimed, "is a servant of imperialism. [...] To condemn the violence of the freedom movements is to condemn the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to slavery."¹³⁴⁴ Countering imperialism with peaceful solutions was therefore just a case of petit-bourgeois idealism.¹³⁴⁵

Essentially, the framework of imperialism relied on many of the same factors that had been used in the relativisation of pacifism. Understanding the contextual differences in the third-world, and their effects on the politics of western activists was of paramount importance. Hunger, the power of the ruling classes, lack of democratic institutions, financial and armed support by the US for military juntas, poverty, and exponential population growth all explained why liberal, peaceful reforms would no longer work.¹³⁴⁶ As Göran Palm declared at a human rights seminar organised by the Finnish UN Association in Naantali, western economic activities were an example of "protein-imperialism", as they

¹³³⁹ OYL 19/68, Raimo Partanen, "Pari sanaa kylläisille naulapäille", 4.

¹³⁴⁰ Salomon 1996, 127-135.

¹³⁴¹ These are visible for the first time only during the heated debates of Fall of 1968, see Chapter 8.

¹³⁴² See, e.g. TYL 21/67, -EH, "DDRssä ollaan levottomia Maon takia", 3; Ajankohta 6/67, Kettil Bruun, "Huumausainevalvonta/Länsimaiden moraalista imperialismia", 12-13; Aviisi 21/68, Seppo Hursti, "Miehityksen opetukset", 4; Aviisi 29/68, Aimo Komonen, "Sata ja yksi imperialismia", 4.

¹³⁴³ OYL 17/68, Juha Mikkonen, "Pohjois-Suomi kansannousuun", 4-5; OYL 32-33/68, Juha Mikkonen, "Pohjois-Suomi vallankumoukseen", 2-3.

¹³⁴⁴ "Den som ställer imperialisternas våld och frihetsrörelsernas våld på samma plan och moraliska skäl fördömer dem lika han är imperialismens tjänare. --- Att fördöma frihetsrörelsernas våld är att döma Asiens, Afrikas och Latinamerikas folk till slaveri." Clarté 3/67, Jan Myrdal, "Fyra argument mot demonstrationer", 12-13.

¹³⁴⁵ TiS 12/68, Bengt Hurtig, "Allas vår vän, Gunnar Myrdal", 13.

¹³⁴⁶ Konkret 6/67, Sven O Andersson, "Gunnar Myrdal - är revolution ett fult ord för Dig?", 26-29, 39; TiS 19/67, "Stödt åt Latinamerika!"; TiS 51-52/67, Gösta Ågren, "Om taktiken i en mörk tid", 14, 20

deprived locals of much needed resources.¹³⁴⁷ The critical importance of land reform in third-world societies was one central factor that directed attention towards economics and structures of ownership.¹³⁴⁸ The pressing nature of these changes was brought home by the knowledge that, if left in the hands of reformists (e.g., the Swedish Social Democrats), the process would be relatively slow – only via technical advances or voluntary societal participation. An imperialist framework, however, would more “realistically” take into consideration the means available for achieving fundamental changes. “We must, in concrete terms, learn to see the armed social revolutions as something necessary – not just a necessary evil.”¹³⁴⁹ This meant accepting the idea of revolution where violence was not just necessary, but actually positive: “blood will be spilled. Both rich and poor will die. But the peaceful path would mean increased distress, hunger, sickness, childhood mortality, and misery.”¹³⁵⁰ Hans Magnus Enzensberg’s introduction to a book on the situation in Iran expressed similar sentiments – poverty maintained by violence could only be removed with revolutionary violence.¹³⁵¹ At times, violent revolution was presented rhetorically as something that was bound to happen. “Revolution”, to quote Robert Kennedy, “will come whether we want it or not”.¹³⁵² Framed this way, violent change was a contextual necessity, while moral condemnation of violence was indicative of an arrogant, liberal, western viewpoint.¹³⁵³

Many radicals hoped that the Third World could provide theoretical examples of how political consciousness could be raised in the general population.¹³⁵⁴ Theory acquired from the West German SDS, namely from books on third-world revolutions originally written by Peter Gäng, Reimut Reiche, and Jörgen Horleman, further emphasised the theoretical link between violent methods of anti-colonial revolution and local contextual factors. “With the situation as it stands”, the Germans noted, “third-world countries have no other option but to liberate themselves by means of a revolutionary people’s war.”¹³⁵⁵ In Finland, Pertti Hynynen, one of the New Left more actively interested in

¹³⁴⁷ Aviisi 29/68, Aimo Komonen, “Sata ja yksi imperialismia”, 4.

¹³⁴⁸ Konkret 6/67, Sven O Andersson, “Gunnar Myrdal – är revolution ett fullt ord för Dig?”, 26-29, 39; LiB D 1/68, David Wirmark, “Che Guevara och revolutionen”, 13-17; TiS 51-52/67, Gösta Agren, “Om taktiken i en mörk tid”, 14, 20.

¹³⁴⁹ “Vi måste, konkret uttryckt, lära oss att se de väpnade sociala revolutionerna som något nödvändigt – inte bara som något nödvändigt ont.” Konkret 6/67, Sven O Andersson, “Gunnar Myrdal – är revolution ett fullt ord för Dig?”, 26-29, 39.

¹³⁵⁰ “Blod flyter i en revolution. Båda rika och fattiga dör. Den fredliga vägen betyder ökad nöd, ökad hunger, sjukdom, barndödlighet, misär.” TiS 42/67, Sven Wernström, “Ernesto Che Guevara”, 11.

¹³⁵¹ The Swedish translation was based on the Norwegian version of Bahman Nirumand’s publication about the situation in Iran: TiS 1/68, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, “Våra vita händer”; Slobodian 2012, 106-110.

¹³⁵² “Det är en revolution, för att citera Robert Kennedy, “som kommer vare sig vi vill det eller inte.” TiS 19/67, “Stödt åt Latinamerika!”.

¹³⁵³ LiB D 3/69, Anres Küng, “Gerillan i Latinamerika”, 22-28.

¹³⁵⁴ Clarté 3/67, Bo Gustafsson, “Arbete och kapital”, 28-40.

¹³⁵⁵ “I den situation som den Tredje världens länder nu befinner sig i har de ingen annan möjlighet att befria sig än med hjälp av ett revolutionärt folkkrig.” Kommentar 6-7/68, Robert Jacobson, “Världsrevolution eller socialism i ett land”, 20-25.

transnational theory argued that third-world movements would take the lead in the global struggle against imperialism.¹³⁵⁶ Whether that leading role belonged to the Chinese or others was a bone of contention. In Sweden, the matter divided the New Left into different camps based on their theoretical viewpoint. This division would manifest itself most clearly in how they approached Latin American guerrilla movements. Because of their direct links to China, the activists of *Svenska Clartéförbundet* and its magazine *Clarté* were much more formal and dogmatic in their approach, and often directly supported every political decision of the Chinese Communist Party.¹³⁵⁷ A more contextual position in support of Latin American guerrilla movements centred around the less dogmatic weekly *Tidsignal*. The debate was about definitions of revisionism and the relationship between leftist traditions, taking into account historical examples and the significance of local contexts and national political differences. One of the more active debaters of the issue in *Tidsignal* was Gösta Ågren, a Swedish-speaking Finn who was doing his PhD at the University of Stockholm. This obvious chance for a transnational connection did not manifest itself in the Finnish New Left or student press though. His lack of enthusiasm for the Finnish New Left might have had something to do with the fact that Ågren had been close to the SKDL, and even worked for their Swedish-language paper, *Folktidningen Ny Tid*, before moving to Stockholm.¹³⁵⁸

The Third World was also important because actual revolutions had taken place there; Cuba was a natural example,¹³⁵⁹ as the revolution there could be legitimised as having already saved more lives than it had cost. "It should be a reminder for all well-meaning friends of the Third World who, for 'humanitarian' reasons, warn of the armed struggle. This silent and permanent violence costs more and is harder to bear than the war of liberation."¹³⁶⁰ The anti-imperialist umbrella organisation for all Latin American countries, the OLAS (*Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad*) was often referred to in these discussions, as it gave a broader perspective to the revolutionary movements in Latin America, and put the experienced Cubans in charge.¹³⁶¹

Individual political agency was an important part of third-world revolutionary theory. Jules Régis Debray, a French philosopher who had travelled to Bolivia to personally support the revolution there, was quoted a lot in the Swedish New Left press. His texts were acquired from several different

¹³⁵⁶ JYL 13/68, Pertti Hynynen, "Imperialismi - teoriansynty", 8, 13.

¹³⁵⁷ Johansson 2010.

¹³⁵⁸ Niemi, Juhani: Ågren, Gösta. The Finnish national biography. *Studia Biographica* 4. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997- (cited 4.3.2020).

¹³⁵⁹ Kommentar 6-7/68, Ragnar Ohlsson, "Det kristna evangeliet kan ge bidrag till en revolutionär process. Intervju med Gonzalo Castillo-Cárdenas", 16-18; TiS 2/68, Gösta Ågren, "Fraktionstänkande i världsmåttstock", 13-14.

¹³⁶⁰ "Det bör vara ett motto för alla välmenande vänner av den tredje världen som av 'humanitara' skäl varnar för den väpnade kampen. Det tysta och permanenta våldet kostar mer och är outhärdligare än befrielsekrieget." TiS 29/67, .Ts, "Två, tre, många Vietnam?", 2.

¹³⁶¹ TiS 29/67, .Ts, "Två, tre, många Vietnam?", 2.

sources; one article was translated from a Mexican magazine, *Politica*,¹³⁶² and some of Debray's books were also directly available. One of these, *Revolution in Revolution*, had whole chapters translated into Swedish from the Cuban edition of the book and reprinted by *Tidsignal*. Debray was an important and legitimate source because he gave a practical analysis of the revolutionary realities in Latin America.¹³⁶³ His accounts emphasised the uniqueness of the Latin American context, and described his own personal agency, sacrifices and experiences while there.¹³⁶⁴ He refused to rely on abstract canonical, dialectic readings of revolutionary theory, as Cuba provided Debray instead with a practical example that could be studied in detail.¹³⁶⁵ This was understandably inspiring, as it made it possible to define the 1960s as *the* period of revolution. But Debray also had an important role in the debate concerning the means of revolution. For him, the question of violence was a decisive political one – all other policies hinged on it. It also went hand in hand with (notably guerrilla) social movements as these were a necessary part of the revolution.¹³⁶⁶ For Debray, revolution determined politics, not parties or theoretical texts. A strong leader could kickstart a revolutionary moment into action, so bypassing all bureaucratic and theoretical obstacles.¹³⁶⁷ Ideology was meaningful only as a practical tool,¹³⁶⁸ and guerrillas were an autonomous unit that could not be led from the outside.¹³⁶⁹ For *Tidsignal*, which had always wanted to clarify and popularise New Left ideas and politics, this was just what they wanted to hear – action was finally being put before theorising.

Debray's role as the cornerstone of contemporary revolutionary thought was strengthened through transnational New Left networks: Perry Anderson of the English bi-monthly, *New Left Review*, travelled to Bolivia to meet with Debray, and *Tidsignal* published Anderson's travel account. Anderson was certainly well-qualified to comment on Debray, as he was not only the driving force behind the *Review*, but also as a personal acquaintance of Debray and well aware of the political situation in South America.¹³⁷⁰ Ralph Schoenman, secretary to Bertrand Russell and representative of the Russell Peace Foundation, was another transnational agent that directly linked the Swedish New Left to Debray. Schoenman, whose American passport was revoked by US officials after he visited North Vietnam in 1967 without official authorisation, ended up spending

¹³⁶² Zenit 5/67, "Samtal med Régis Debray", 39-41. Finnish New Left also used Mexican sources occasionally, see Ajankohta 6/67, Olavi Laine, "Ernesto ja Arturo – Latinalainen duetto", 8-9.

¹³⁶³ TiS 40/67, Gösta Ågren, "En revolution är inte dagspolitik", 11.

¹³⁶⁴ TiS 23/67, "Revolution i revolutionen?", 7.

¹³⁶⁵ Zenit 5/67, "Samtal med Régis Debray", 39-41.

¹³⁶⁶ Clarté 6/67, Hans Seyler, Hans Isaksson, Gunnar Moberg, "Revolution i Revolutionen? Régis Debray bok granskad", 28-43.

¹³⁶⁷ TiS 23/67, "Revolution i revolutionen?", 7.

¹³⁶⁸ TiS 2/68, Gösta Ågren, "Fraktionstänkande i världsmåttstock", 13-14.

¹³⁶⁹ TiS 23/67, "Revolution i revolutionen?", 7.

¹³⁷⁰ TiS 37/67, "Debrays verkliga uppdrag", 13-14; TiS 38/67, "Debrays verkliga uppdrag", 7.

some time in Sweden while attempting to deliver material for Debray's legal defence after his arrest in Bolivia, and *Tidsignal* were able to interview him.¹³⁷¹

While *Tidsignal* spent significant resources in acquiring material that dealt with both the ideas and exploits of Debray, other New Left journals were much more critical of him. *Clarté*, for instance, maintained that Debray was too dismissive of the role of intellectuals in spreading ideology, insisting that there needed to be optimally objective revolutionary conditions to ensure that political objectives did not become subordinate to practical military goals. Because Debray was focusing exclusively on guerrillas, he was clearly not a Marxist at all. His approach was not rigorously analytical enough and he had therefore understandably appealed to the "sleepwalkers" of the New Left.¹³⁷² In their defence, those criticised pointed to the destructively factional Maoism of *Clarté*. For them, the journal was a perfect example of the intellectual inefficiency and paralysis that Debray had so effectively pointed out. *Clarté's* opposition to Debray was not so much an argument, as an assortment of quotations from "patristic literature",¹³⁷³ showing how *Clarté* was full of "religious zealots".¹³⁷⁴ Critics of *Clarté* also pointed out how this "anti-revisionist" organisational focus was paralysing revolutionary aspirations among Europe's active leftists,¹³⁷⁵ but in third-world contexts, there was a real need to mobilise the masses quickly – US marines would shoot anyone against them, without first asking them first about their party membership.¹³⁷⁶

It is certainly interesting how the texts and travels of Debray attracted so much attention. The connection between him and the Swedish New Left at *Tidsignal* was clearly no accident. Despite his fanatical commitment to the cause of revolution, he was a European intellectual who could translate and explain foreign contexts to his western audiences. Not that the Nordic New Left relied solely on European intermediaries to connect with the Left in Latin America though; *Tidsignal* actually acquired an article written by none other than Che Guevara himself through the Latin American solidarity movement journal, *Tricontinental*. While being in contact with him was certainly empowering, Che had no advice on how to support the global revolution in the Nordic context.¹³⁷⁷ As in most of the world, Che Guevara only really became a significant revolutionary symbol in the Nordic countries after his death. The iconic Korda photograph was put on the cover of *Tidsignal*¹³⁷⁸ symbolising both all that was wrong with US interference and the desperate need for change. The graphic details of Che's death were essential part of the coverage:

¹³⁷¹ TiS 48/67, Bo Hammar, "För farlig för Sverige?", 3-4.

¹³⁷² *Clarté* 6/67, Hans Seyler, Hans Isaksson, Gunnar Moberg, "Revolution i Revolutionen? Regis Debrays bok granskad", 28-43.

¹³⁷³ TiS 2/68, Gösta Ågren, "Fraktionstänkande i världsmåttstock", 13-14.

¹³⁷⁴ TiS 14/66, Fritiof Haglund, "Fanatismerna i revolutionsländerna – och på hemmaplan".

¹³⁷⁵ TiS 24/67, "Ingen har monopol på revolutionen", 12.

¹³⁷⁶ TiS 40/67, Gösta Ågren, "En revolution är inte dagspolitik", 11.

¹³⁷⁷ TiS 19/67, "Che Guevara: "Vår uppgift är att skapa två, tre, många Vietnam"".

¹³⁷⁸ TiS 42/67, "Varje revolutionärs plikt är att göra revolution...", 1.

Next to his stretcher was a CIA agent. Behind the bullets in his body are North American weapons factories. Behind the fascist regime that now triumphs over his death stands North American imperialism. Everywhere the United States. Everywhere where crimes are committed in the world - USA!¹³⁷⁹

Later, Che grew to be one of the more frequently used symbolic images in the Nordic press, to the extent that its use no longer needed any specific justification.¹³⁸⁰ References to Debray's texts had emphasised the role of strong leadership in Latin American guerrilla warfare, and in this he had clearly been proved right, but after one of its most notable leaders had perished, revolution was redefined as an idea that was not dependent on individual leadership.¹³⁸¹ Swedish publishers attempted to capitalise on Che's fame, and two different versions of his diaries came available almost simultaneously.¹³⁸² While the Swedish New Left, and *Tidsignal* in particular, focused a lot of time and resources on Latin American revolutionary movements, this was also part of a domestic political dispute between different strands of the New Left. By focusing on the loose, independent Latin American guerrillas, *Tidsignal* and others were highlighting their anti-authoritarian and anti-dogmatic credentials.

Different political emphases required different sources of transnational inspiration. Kim Salomon has argued that the Swedish anti-Vietnam War movement was greatly affected by the fact that Swedish activists did not have any significant contact with the Vietnamese themselves. For this reason, Vietnam became a more of a political symbol than anything more politically concrete.¹³⁸³ Often this led to rather metaphorical descriptions of Vietnamese resistance in terms of vigorous, stoic peasants fighting against a technically superior enemy.¹³⁸⁴ On a more general level, Vietnam symbolised the globality of oppression and capitalist economic structures, as well as US imperialism.¹³⁸⁵ Some writers even went so far as to show how Nordic corporations were benefiting from the war.¹³⁸⁶ Pentti Saarikoski, the editor of *Aikalainen*, was one of the first to remind the readers of his paper that the war in Vietnam was economically beneficial for Finns as much as it was for anyone else in the west.¹³⁸⁷ In the Swedish radical press, the economic benefits of the war were discussed

¹³⁷⁹ "Bredvid hans bår stod en CIA-agent. Bakom kulorna i hans kropp ligger nord-amerikanska vapenfabriker. Bakom den fascistregim som nu triumferar över hans död står den nordamerikanska imperialismen. Överallt USA. Överallt där brott begås i världsförmat -USA!" *TiS* 42/67, Sven Wernström, "Ernesto Che Guevara", 11.

¹³⁸⁰ See, e.g. *JYL* 25/67, "che lives", 1; *JYL* 3/68, "¡hasta la victoria siempre! ¡patria o muerte! ¡venceremos!", 4-5.

¹³⁸¹ *TiS* 42/67, Sven Wernström, "Ernesto Che Guevara", 11.

¹³⁸² *TiS* 34/68, Gösta Ågren, "Varför lyckades inte Guevara?", 11.

¹³⁸³ Salomon 1996, 239-279.

¹³⁸⁴ *Clarté* 3/67, Gilbert Mury, "Varför jag blev kommunist - och varför jag lämnat partiet", 14-19; *TiS* 19/67, "Che Guevara: "Vår uppgift är att skapa två, tre, många Vietnam""; Salomon 1996, 280-293.

¹³⁸⁵ *TiS* 19/67, "Stödt åt Latinamerika!"

¹³⁸⁶ *TiS* 43/67, "Solidaritet med Vietnam!"; *TiS* 4/68, Jan Myrdal, "Anmärkningar om ett förhöringsprotokoll", 10-11, 14.

¹³⁸⁷ *Aikalainen* 3/66, Pentti Saarikoski, 2-5.

too, and this also had an effect on how traditional pacifist methods were portrayed. Peaceful methods were shown to be inefficient, and what had previously been praise for sending development aid at the beginning of the decade, was now seen as a negative example of naïve benevolence.¹³⁸⁸

Cuban revolutionary theory suggested that the people of Vietnam needed global support; Che Guevara had once remarked that the Vietnam solidarity movement reminded him of “gladiator fights”.¹³⁸⁹ But turning this passive solidarity into active resistance was much easier said than done. Some of the more radical Nordic agents, Jan Myrdal among them, were ready to declare that peace in Vietnam was only possible if the US suffered actual losses – be they diplomatic, economic or military.¹³⁹⁰ “A more constructive crime than arms smuggling for the peace movement”, thought Erkki Tuomioja, a Finnish activist affiliated to both student radicals and the New Left, “would be the detonation of a weapons factory in the United States”. Following established pacifist arguments, Tuomioja wanted the amount of weapons in use overall to decrease, but he remained ambiguous about the methods that should be used to achieve this.¹³⁹¹ For Tuomioja, anti-colonial violence was a western responsibility as it was maintained by economic structures that benefitted the west. Tuomioja denounced both guerrilla romanticism and development aid, as he saw both approaches being profoundly inspired by western motives.¹³⁹² While combining structural emphasis with an evaluation of the political position was a unique strand in the Finnish context, it was still a fluctuating idea, and not one completely set in stone. A few weeks later, as a part of an ideology forum held during the Jyväskylä Summer Festival, Tuomioja declared that even if absolute pacifists were offended, they should greet third-world freedom fighters with joy.¹³⁹³

The Vietnam war provided examples that did not need the analysis of global economic relations in an effort to show how western powers used violence to oppress third-world citizens. These examples of violence also relativised the concept of “peace”: the authoritarian Diem government was alleged to have killed more people during the peaceful fifties than was currently dying in the actual war.¹³⁹⁴ The impact of the Vietnam War as a case of controversy was aptly described by the way in which it was used as a rhetorical device, used to condemn many arguments not directly related to the war because the case clearly had mobilising emotional potential.¹³⁹⁵ The central role of the future Swedish PM,

¹³⁸⁸ Sellström 1999.

¹³⁸⁹ TiS 19/67, “Che Guevara: “Vår uppgit är att skapa två, tre, många Vietnam””.

¹³⁹⁰ Clarté 3/67, Jan Myrdal, “Fyra argument mot demonstrationer”, 12-13.

¹³⁹¹ “Konstruktiivisempi rikos rauhanliikkeen hyväksi kuin aseiden salakuljetus olisi asetetaan räjäyttämisen Yhdysvalloissa.” Ylioppilaslehti 5/68, Antti Kuusi & Yrjö Larmola, “Rauha ei ole aina tavoiteltava arvo eikä väkivalta aina vältettävissä”, 1, 9.

¹³⁹² JYL 13/68, Erkki Tuomioja, “Maailman turuilla”, 6-7, 14.

¹³⁹³ JYL 17/68, Erkki Tuomioja, “Kehitysavun illuusio”, 16.

¹³⁹⁴ Ylioppilaslehti 5/68, Antti Kuusi & Yrjö Larmola, “Rauha ei ole aina tavoiteltava arvo eikä väkivalta aina vältettävissä”, 1, 9.

¹³⁹⁵ See, e.g. Ylioppilaslehti 3/67, Isällisesti Pentti Linkola, “Vapaa sana/Johnnyn kansiteksti”, 10; OYL 33-34/65, Tullista tullut ja sinne menevä, “Oululaisen

Olof Palme (who famously participated in a peace march condemning US action in Vietnam¹³⁹⁶), proved to Finnish activists that a neutral country could also be proactive in advancing global peace, and it also showed how the particular demonstration Palme had participated in was at the same time linked to a domestic political debate.¹³⁹⁷

South Africa was another important context; the activities of the African National Congress (ANC) were represented as originally non-violent, but initially the organisation was *forced* to take up arms in effort to fulfil its objectives.¹³⁹⁸ The interpretation that the ANC had no real alternatives to violent measures was upheld by a visiting journalist Jack Halpern, who had specialised in South African race relations in his reporting. Halpern's pieces had been published in several papers familiar to Finnish student radicals, most notably the British *New Statesman* and Swedish *Dagens Nyheter*. He also served as the Secretary General of Amnesty International in the early 1960s.¹³⁹⁹ Halpern made a clear call for support: "the freedom movements sorely need the help of the Nordic countries, Finland and the UN now more than ever".¹⁴⁰⁰ His argument was skilfully tailored to the Finnish political context; by referring to both the freedom movements and the UN, he could appeal to both radical and more moderate Finnish audiences at the same time.

South Africa was also important because, unlike Vietnam, there were plenty of transnational contacts and mobility that provided legitimacy to the agency of ANC members. African activists were frequent visitors in the Nordic countries.¹⁴⁰¹ The ongoing exchange with South African liberation movements led to the founding of specific South African Committees that rallied support for the ANC and other African liberation movements. While there were differences in the Finnish and Swedish ways of organising, both national movements were focusing on spreading information about the precise local contexts where armed struggle was the only "real" option. South African movements framed their activism as pressure from ordinary citizens, and economic policies such as boycotts were framed as a useful means of influencing the South African

ylioppilaan passiivisuudesta", 6; TYL 5/68, Heikki Palmu, "Naissoturi - tasa-arvoisuuden vai järjettömyyden huippu", 2; TYL 7/68, Väinö Karvinen, "Puolesta ja vastaan, välistävetoja unohtamatta", 6; Ylioppilaslehti 22/68, Vasara, "Tampereen opetukset", 3.

¹³⁹⁶ Salomon 1996, 169; Scott 2009; Hellenes & Marklund 2018.

¹³⁹⁷ TYL 11/68, Pyry Lapintie, "Teksasilaisista diplomaattia", 2.

¹³⁹⁸ Aviisi 7/68, Aimo Komonen, "Väkivallan oikeutuksesta", 2; Ylioppilaslehti 7/68, Seppo Väisänen, "Erään komitean viisivuotistaival", 6; Ylioppilaslehti 11/68, Markku Lintonen, "Tällä viikolla/Nirri pois nekruilta", 4.

¹³⁹⁹ <http://icommlibrary.blogspot.com/2010/03/jack-halpern-papers-catalogue-available.html>; <http://archives.ucl.ac.uk/Details/archive/110020237>, cited 15.8.2018.

¹⁴⁰⁰ "vapausliikkeet tarvitsevat Pohjoismaiden, Suomen ja YK:n tukea kipeämmin kuin koskaan." Ylioppilaslehti 21/68, Raimo Lintonen, "Akkiä viime kesänä/Raportti eteläisestä afrikasta", 4-5

¹⁴⁰¹ Ylioppilaslehti 4/68, Raimo Lintonen, "Tällä viikolla/We shall overcome", 4; Sellström 1999, Soiri & Peltola 1999.

situation economically.¹⁴⁰² Swedish support for South African liberation movements did not waver even when the ANC moved to openly armed resistance. In fact, the Swedish state itself was ready to fund liberation movements that operated in direct partnership with armed guerrilla organisations.¹⁴⁰³ In Finland the state did not participate in bilateral support, so SMOs were left solely in charge of forming these connections. In 1968, one of the speakers at Jyväskylän Summer Festival was Emeka Eniogu, a Biafran student from Frankfurt. Mr. Eniogu questioned western passive resistance to the ongoing genocide in his country, but, in addition to asking for more active support, he also talked about how development aid funds were being put to good use.¹⁴⁰⁴ Not all visitors were ready to make direct appeals for political support; the established, conventional channels used to fund the development of third-world societies were still important, not least because they worked under the highly legitimate framework of the UN.

Because of the prominence of Swedish agents in Nordic third-world activism, Finnish radicals had to constantly borrow material and ideas from them. The Helsinki Student Union Third World Week, organised during the autumn of 1968 is a good example of this. Swedish activists and their expertise were clearly the main focus of the event¹⁴⁰⁵: among others, there was Christer Hogstedt, member of the *Unga filosofer* group; Björn Kumm, a journalist specialising in the Third World (and one of the few to have eye-witnessed Che Guevara's death); Gunnar Person, from the Sociology Institute in Lund, and Perry Anderson from the *New Left Review*. While the event also featured "representatives of freedom movements", these were left unnamed. Engaging directly with African activists happened too, even in Finland, where support for African movements was a fairly late development compared to Sweden. During the spring of 1968, a group of activists at Jyväskylän University tried to organise the annual congress for a refugee student organisation: the National Union of South West African Students (NUSWAS). They thought the event would be a chance for the larger student audience to get first-hand knowledge of apartheid,¹⁴⁰⁶ but unfortunately, the local student union refused to pay the expenses. Guttled by this decision, the group framed what had happened in imperialist terms, explaining the lack of funding as a measure designed to protect the economic interests of the US, Sweden, and West Germany.¹⁴⁰⁷

The practical challenge of becoming affiliated with third-world movements was widely discussed in different radical circles. For Christian pacifists, Latin American liberation theology proved to be a difficult issue because of its legitimate appeal to the core values of the Christian faith.¹⁴⁰⁸ Even when violent

¹⁴⁰² Ylioppilaslehti 5/68, "Etelä-Afrikka toimikunnan julkilausuma", 5.

¹⁴⁰³ Sellström 1999.

¹⁴⁰⁴ JYL 23-24/68, "Miksi kansa annetaan tappaa sukupuuttoon?", 4.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Ylioppilaslehti 30/68, "Kolmas maailma esillä", 1; Ylioppilaslehti 31/68, "Kolmannen maailman viikko jatkuu", 5.

¹⁴⁰⁶ JYL 1/68, M.P., "Pakolaisylioppilaiden konferenssi Jyväskylään", 1.

¹⁴⁰⁷ JYL 17/68, Mikko Pyhälä, "JYY:n edustajisto", 23-24.

¹⁴⁰⁸ For the wider discussion inside the catholic church, see Horn 2015.

resistance was accepted, it was only as a last resort, following provocation, proof of much suffering, and after legal measures had been exhausted. A writer summing up Christian academic discussions on violence in *Turun ylioppilaslehti* pointed out that the outcome was rather measured, as there was no glamorisation of violence, and the response was logical and coherent.¹⁴⁰⁹ Institutional definitions of the relationship between Christian pacifism and violence were influential because they forced opponents to react and define their role with regard to the past mistakes of the Christian community.¹⁴¹⁰ Archbishop Simojoki had been sympathetic to notions of a wide, personal revolution, and had even shown some sympathy for third-world freedom fighters. He even pointed to those cases where the oppressive nature of economic power certainly made it very hard not to react violently – specifically naming the US and Sweden (but not Finland) as responsible parties – but in line with church policy, Simojoki was, however, not ready to actually support violent uprisings or resistance.¹⁴¹¹

One strand of Christian activism took a different perspective. While the goal was still to minimise violence, preparing for the inevitable situation caused by contextual factors was essential. Christian ethics meant that a “violent revolution” could only ever be possible without anger, or bitterness, or personal feelings of vengeance.

revolution must not be identified with violence. In countries where ruling groups, often backed by foreign interests, suppress or are indifferent to the will of the people, where by means of violence they seek to prevent all changes - even 'law and order' can be a form of violence - revolutionary changes can take a violent form. Such changes are morally ambiguous.”¹⁴¹²

These sentiments were expressed by a Colombian priest and a representative of liberation theology. In the Latin American context, those in power left no other option but a violent uprising. Any other attitude betrayed a lack of solidarity: “Those who desire a peaceful revolution do not take into account our history and the decades-long attempts made to achieve peaceful change.”¹⁴¹³ In fact, Swedish liberal activists were even beginning to accept violence as a means for bringing about change, as long as violence was not being used as a general solution.¹⁴¹⁴ In many instances, the acceptance of violence was more a matter of style than

¹⁴⁰⁹ TYL 10/67, Jouko Martikainen, “Teologit vallankumoushankkeissa/Haaste Hannu Taanilalle”, 5

¹⁴¹⁰ JYL 27/67, Mauri Alasaari, “Ei me kristityt...”, 2.

¹⁴¹¹ TYL 26/68, “Arkkipiispa ja Antti Eskola eri mieltä tiedottamisesta”, 5.

¹⁴¹² “Men revolution får icke identifieras med våld. I länder där de härskande grupperna, ofta understödda av utländska intressen, undertrycker eller är likgiltiga för folkets vilja, där de med våldsmedel söker att förhindra alla förändringar – även 'lag och ordning' kan vara en form av våld – kan de revolutionära förändringarna få våldsamt utformning. Sådana förändringar är moraliskt tvetydiga.” Kommentar 6-7/68, Ragnar Ohlsson, “Mot en revolutionär teologi?”, 12-15.

¹⁴¹³ “De som önskar en fredlig revolution beaktar inte vår historia och de försök som gjorts under årtionde efter årtionde att genomföra fredliga förändringar.” *Kommentar* 6-7/68, Ragnar Ohlsson, “Det kristna evangeliet kan ge bidrag till en revolutionär process. Intervju med Gonzalo Castillo-Cárdenas”, 16-18.

¹⁴¹⁴ LiB D 1/68, David Wirmark, “Che Guevara och revolutionen”, 13-17.

content. Even Swedish liberal students were ready to support Latin American movements, but criticised the way in which this support was expressed by leftist groups. Again, it was the emotive provokations that faced the strongest objection: "It is wrong and inhumane to fall into a dogmatic revolutionary romance."¹⁴¹⁵ Fanatical dedication to violent revolution might have been understandable in Latin American contexts, but in Sweden it was simply grotesque.¹⁴¹⁶

6.2 Violence in the Western World

Third-world movements were some of the most hotly debated issues in the Nordic radical press. They not only raised the pertinent topics of global power and economic exploitation but also pushed the radical frame towards a more polarised position where the benefits of western models (market economy, parliamentary democracy, and welfare policies) were thrown into doubt. While these western processes could be framed globally by pointing to their instrumental role in the Cold War, de-colonisation, and the global economy, redefinition of the radical frame also relied on cases where there was violent opposition to western values at home. The US race riots during the "Summer of Love" in 1967 were in many ways a catalyst to much more urgent discussions of violence in the Nordic radical press. In some ways, the American context was culturally (if not necessarily geographically) 'closer to home' than Vietnam or Latin America, in other ways these discussions also indicate an Americanisation of the Nordic radical press. Oppressive social, political, racial, and economic structures were easy to see, as were the ill-effects of conservative and religious hegemonies; but there was also a more positive reading of America – one focusing on the radical agency of racialised minorities and anti-war protesters. These empowered perspectives contradict Thomas Ekman Jørgensen's claim that there was a principled anti-Americanism in the Swedish radical movement.¹⁴¹⁷ While 1968 brought similarly riotous events to Europe, the frame in the Nordic radical press emphasised different things; these reactions to the 1968 will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Swedish public debates on the US race riots of 1967 were greatly influenced by the writings of Gunnar Myrdal, whose publications, such as *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944) had been internationally influential. It was only natural, therefore, that a home-grown talent like Myrdal should feature in the New Left press, and *Konkret*, for example, dedicated a lot of space for him to express his opinions about the American situation. Myrdal maintained that a prolonged war in Vietnam could turn the US

¹⁴¹⁵ "Det är felaktigt och i grunden inhumant att förfalla till en dogmatisk revolutionsromantik." LiB D 1/68, "Liberal stöd åt Latinamerikas revolution", 17.

¹⁴¹⁶ TiS 14/66, Fritiof Haglund, "Fanatism i revolutionsländerna – och på hemmaplan".

¹⁴¹⁷ Jørgensen 2008, 244.

into a “thoroughly reactionary” police state. He was, however, an energetic supporter of peaceful civil rights activism and what he framed as the Swedish model of civil society: “America has never had the multitude of people’s movements that we have had in Sweden and which have been very important to the growth of our welfare society.”¹⁴¹⁸ The fact that the Swedish New Left were now more polarised is amply demonstrated by criticisms of Myrdal that described his reformism as being utterly compromised by, for instance, the research funding he had received from the Ford Foundation. He was also criticised for an overly academic style that showed a rather elitist perspective. “Yes, we all know how radically African Americans’ conditions were improved thanks to Myrdal’s dinosaur of a book – *An American Dilemma*”, noted Bengt Hurtig expressing his disillusion somewhat sarcastically in *Tidsignal*. “Certainly Myrdal’s work will have a seminal influence on the debate in academia and he will certainly become even more famous, so that he can continue sitting on the deaf giant’s back arguing away.”¹⁴¹⁹

Though the US was culturally closer to home, the analysis used similar concepts that were used to underlay the structures of oppression in third-world contexts. What was genuinely new was the way in which the relative familiarity of US politicians and popular culture made intertextual references and other more visible means of protest possible. President Johnson, for instance, was criticised for having created a “violent society” (visible in the race riots), where power was only being maintained with the help of the army.¹⁴²⁰ The problems in US politics were a fitting example of the defects of western democracies in general; the Vietnam War had shown that the peaceful rhetoric of the US government was just a show. By quoting radical agents like Stokely Carmichael, Finnish commentators could relativise the usefulness of non-violent protests but could also see how even peaceful demonstrations could end in violence when their goals were in conflict with US interests.¹⁴²¹ And yet the American SDS’s commitment to supporting international freedom movements was an encouraging example of what transnational activism could lead to.¹⁴²² While the race riots in the US made it easier to understand, a strong commitment to non-violent methods meant that violence was generally framed as being morally unacceptable,¹⁴²³ and yet Finnish commentators saw a general trend towards more radical revolutionary politics within the US Left, especially during the 1968

¹⁴¹⁸ “Amerika har alltså aldrig haft de samlade folkrörelser som vi haft i Sverige och som betytt så mycket hos oss för välfärdssamhällets framväxt.” Konkret 7-8/67, Nordal Åkerman, “Konkret-intervju”, 9-19.

¹⁴¹⁹ “Ja, vi vet ju hur radikalt afro-amerikanernas villkor förbättrats tack vare Myrdals mastodonverk, *An American Dilemma*. Säkert kommer Myrdals verk att få stor betydelse för debatten i den akademiska världen och säkert blir han ännu mer världsberömd, där han sitter på den döva jättens rygg och argumenterar.” *TiS* 12/68, Bengt Hurtig, “Allas vår vän, Gunnar Myrdal”, 13.

¹⁴²⁰ *Ylioppilaslehti* 19/67, Juha Kuusi, “Herra toimittaja”, 3.

¹⁴²¹ *TYL* 2/68, Heikki Palmu, “Musta valta on väkivaltaa”, 3.

¹⁴²² *Ylioppilaslehti* 12/68, Pertti Hynynen, “SDS – Amerikkalaisen ylioppilasradikalismien keskus”, 6, 16

¹⁴²³ *TYL Kesä/67*, Heikki Palmu, “Kuuma kesä”, 2.

presidential elections,¹⁴²⁴ which emphasised the social and political difference between Nordic and US contexts.

Discussions within the civil rights movement were an important feature of the debate, since they helped Finnish radicals understand the inner dynamics and tensions within black activism. Martin Luther King was an obvious moral authority on these issues. Dr. King's example pointed towards a need for greater awareness of the historicity of black experiences.¹⁴²⁵ At the same time, his murder triggered the possibility of more violent, extremist forces (even within black activism).¹⁴²⁶ The radicalisation of black activism was covered in some detail: there were reports, for instance that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) – set up to give younger blacks more of a voice in the civil rights movement – was now talking in terms of conducting its own guerrilla actions. This was interpreted by the Finnish radical press as a straightforward sign of radicalisation of the “negro movement”¹⁴²⁷ which, they argued, eventually led to the formation of the Black Power movement. Violence here was seen as the political means, however, not the political aim of black activism. The fact that blacks now wanted to arm themselves was only natural when the other side had been armed for so long.¹⁴²⁸

As usual, the most vivid and personal portrayals of black activism were provided through direct transnational contacts. In the Finnish radical scene, one particular activist was responsible for most of these contacts. Sherman Adams, a black activist and SNCC member was a frequent contributor in the Nordic radical press. Adams had come to Europe with the US military, deserted, and ended up in Sweden,¹⁴²⁹ so he was in a natural position to provide commentary, as he ended up spending several years in the Nordic countries before eventually returning to the States.¹⁴³⁰ Adams participated (along with some US journalists from the protest magazine, *Ramparts*) in a seminar on imperialism, that was organised in Helsinki by the Student UN Association and the Finnish Committee of 100 in the spring of 1968.¹⁴³¹ Adams role was to be *the* black American voice in the Nordic radical press for both the student movement and the Finnish and Swedish New Left.

The experiences of the US civil rights movement that Adams was able to relate gave Nordic activists some idea of the changes happening inside black activism, but to be understandable, they had to fit the Nordic political context. Adams was keen to explain the long historical trajectory of Afro-Americans, but he also stressed the point that blacks were “true Americans”. Adams also highlighted peculiar cultural traits commonly associated with the US, such as the

¹⁴²⁴ Ylioppilaslehti 29/68, Pekka Haapakoski, “Tällä viikolla/USAn vaalisirkus”, 4.

¹⁴²⁵ JYL 13/68, 1.

¹⁴²⁶ Aviisi 14/68, Matti Kupari, “Marssi on päättynyt”, 5.

¹⁴²⁷ Aviisi 17/67, Hannu T. Linnainmaa, “Vallankumouksen kaksi profiilia”, 3.

¹⁴²⁸ Ylioppilaslehti 22/68, Seppo Toiviainen, “Aikamme anarkisteja”, 6-7.

¹⁴²⁹ <https://www.gd.se/artikel/sherman-adams-in-memoriam> cited 6.11.2019.

¹⁴³⁰ Ajankohta 12/67, Sherman Adams, “mustan amerikkalaisen uusi orjuus”, 10-11; TiS 24/68, Sherman Adams, “Slaveriet är inte slut”.

¹⁴³¹ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, “Imperialismi-seminaari”, 1.

myth of black sexual superiority and traditions of white racism, especially among the Irish and Italian American working class.¹⁴³² Adams employed popular New Left concepts, interpreting violent events as signs of black isolation, but at the same time maintained that black resistance was neither inspired by theoretical texts, nor relied on planning and leadership. Emphasising the spontaneity of protesting was one way of showing how the protests were genuine expressions of popular discontent, not orchestrated by some Macchiavellian figure in the background. But the movement would get even stronger, he thought, once some theoretical structure was in place and well implemented.¹⁴³³ Showing a clear interest in third-world cooperation, Adams declared that learning resistance from the "African brothers"¹⁴³⁴ would make the ghetto revolution in the US just as legitimate as the freedom struggles discussed in the UN. This association of black activism with the concept of third-world freedom fighters was a clear attempt to legitimise violent actions.¹⁴³⁵ Adams not only described the situation of black activism, he also proposed some concrete remedies. Autonomy was the key; cities with a black majority would be taken over¹⁴³⁶ and living conditions for blacks would improve, since the white government, courts, and police were deeply implicated in the process of racial violence.¹⁴³⁷

Exposure to the arguments and narratives of black activism greatly shaped the way the Nordic radical press approached American politics and the future prospects of American society. For some, changes in American society demonstrated that political positions were by and large irrelevant, as the Democrats were implementing a distinctly Goldwaterian foreign policy. Expressions of American goodwill, like development aid, actually supported "monopoly capitalism",¹⁴³⁸ while at home the country had slipped into a system of "domestic imperialism"¹⁴³⁹ - where racist economic structures were supporting white businesses.¹⁴⁴⁰ Understanding the social, racial, and economic particularities of this was crucial to understanding the upswing of violence in American cities - not through general structures of poverty (in the Myrdalian sense) or particular racist agents like the KKK, but because of a specific structure of power that protected the interests of white people.¹⁴⁴¹ While Nordic agents attempted to fathom the extent of American racism and economic oppression,

¹⁴³² Aikalainen 6/65, Sherman Adams/ Antero Helasvuo, "Paljonko maksaa neekeri tänään?", 15-19.

¹⁴³³ Aikalainen 7-8/65, Sherman Adams (transl. Lasse Sammalisto), "Amerikan Vietkong: Vuoden 1965 Budapest", 6-13.

¹⁴³⁴ Aikalainen 7-8/65, Sherman Adams (transl. Lasse Sammalisto), "Amerikan Vietkong: Vuoden 1965 Budapest", 6-13.

¹⁴³⁵ Ajankohta 12/67, Sherman Adams, "mustan amerikkalaisen uusi orjuus", 10-11.

¹⁴³⁶ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, "Imperialismi-seminaari", 1.

¹⁴³⁷ Ajankohta 12/67, Sherman Adams, "mustan amerikkalaisen uusi orjuus", 10-11.

¹⁴³⁸ Aikalainen 6/65, Sherman Adams/ Antero Helasvuo, "Paljonko maksaa neekeri tänään?", 15-19.

¹⁴³⁹ Ajankohta 12/67, Sherman Adams, "mustan amerikkalaisen uusi orjuus", 10-11.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Aikalainen 7-8/65, Sherman Adams (transl. Lasse Sammalisto), "Amerikan Vietkong: Vuoden 1965 Budapest", 6-13.

¹⁴⁴¹ Ajankohta 12/67, Sherman Adams, "mustan amerikkalaisen uusi orjuus", 10-11.

black agents widened the set of parameters of social analysis and came up with their, own, often highly original explanations for the troubled position of the Afro-American community. Sherman Adams targeted the American religious context because he did not believe religious charities would bring about the necessary social change. Adams used highly figurative language to express that “a White Jesus” will always represent “the slave master” to the black community.¹⁴⁴² When framed this way, religion had become one of the mechanisms of oppression, not a means of legitimising calls for equality, as it had been for the civil rights movement and Martin Luther King.

Whereas Sherman Adams was the only real source and contact that the Finnish radical press had with the Black Power movement, the Swedish journals were able to once again capitalise on their extensive transnational networks. Consequently, the Swedish New Left featured a variety of articles based both on original US sources, as well as stories produced by their own reporters and eyewitness accounts. These structural factors had a profound impact on the way American racial and economic problems were discussed; often, they meant a more direct adaptation of these more radical, even extreme positions, and a direct acceptance of violence. American sources legitimised this violence by framing it as necessary self-defence that was forced on the blacks by economic structures.

“They are defying the police response of systematically arresting group members for no reason to prevent its operations. The arming of black activists is seen as a result of being totally powerless outsiders in a repressive society; and yet people don’t understand that those without influence see this as their only opportunity to be taken seriously.”¹⁴⁴³

Following the models that had been created to support the African freedom movements and the FNL in Vietnam, a Swedish SNCC was founded as a means of organising direct economic support from Sweden to black American activists.¹⁴⁴⁴

The race riots of 1967 were therefore framed as being a direct result of the social injustices, police brutality, and despotic measures that blacks had to face in the US, where they were socially and politically under-represented. The racial element featured heavily in the analysis of police violence, but other reasons cited were economic factors, social alienation and socio-psychological exploitation.¹⁴⁴⁵ In the context of the Vietnam War, some commentators wondered if a possible future “genocide” was in the making.¹⁴⁴⁶ These interpretations were also shared

¹⁴⁴² Aikalainen 6/65, Sherman Adams/ Antero Helasvuo, “Paljonko maksaa neekeri tänään?”, 15-19.

¹⁴⁴³ “Man har ignorerat polisens motdrag: systematiska och grundlösa arresteringar av gruppens egna medlemmar för att förhindra dess verksamhet. Man har inte velat se deras beväpning som en följd av de totalt maktlösa och utanförståendes reaktion mot ett repressivt samhälle; inte förstått att de inflyttelösa ser det som sin enda möjlighet att bli tagna på allvar.” Kommentar 5/68, G.H., “Våld i USA”, 1.

¹⁴⁴⁴ TiS 16/68, Åsa Larson & Peter Lewis, “Den svarta pantern”, 6-7.

¹⁴⁴⁵ TiS 16/68, Åsa Larson & Peter Lewis, “Den svarta pantern”, 6-7; TiS 24/68, Teddy Arnberg, “Självförvarets enhet”.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Orig. “folkmord”. Kommentar 9/68, Trygge Hedtjärn, “Rapport från Detroit”, 5-14; TiS 24/68, Teddy Arnberg, “Självförvarets enhet”.

by the leaders of Black Power; according to *Tidsignal*, the newly elected SNCC chairman, H Rap Brown, claimed the US was undergoing a racial war, and the Vietnam War was a part of this reality, both mentally and physically: “[i]f America chooses to play Nazis, black folks ain't going to play Jews”.¹⁴⁴⁷ Stokely Carmichael, the previous chairman of the SNCC also made a direct reference to the Holocaust in his interview with *Konkret*.¹⁴⁴⁸ Carmichael was a prominent source for Swedish radical papers wanting to know more about the Black Power movement, as he actually visited Sweden in the spring of 1968.¹⁴⁴⁹

Carmichael was an important figure at the intersection of anti-colonial and black activism; the speech he gave in Havana during the 1967 OLAS conference was reprinted by *Tidsignal*. The paper described how Carmichael had defined Black Power as a “nation” (*nationalitet*), to better align itself with national freedom movements in colonial contexts.¹⁴⁵⁰ This was in keeping with the political goals of Carmichael’s Cuban hosts, who emphasised the anti-imperial struggle over considerations of race.¹⁴⁵¹ In the Swedish context, this fitted in well with the anti-dogmatic New Left perspective of *Tidsignal*, as the paper had constantly emphasised national and anti-authoritarian tactics instead of more theoretical Chinese-style solutions that focused predominately on the global working class. Eyewitness reportage in the Swedish New Left press did recognize the Black Power goal of self-determination and autonomy, recognised racial tensions and motives of establishing an autonomous “black society”. Black Power was an essential tool for supporting increase in self-reliance and confidence and “cultural nationalism”.¹⁴⁵² One particular eyewitness-reporter admired the uncompromising stance and the revolutionary aspirations of Black Power, even if they could mean direct armed resistance: “political education and training in guerrilla methods should be given before genocide, civil war, or revolution takes place.”¹⁴⁵³ An interview with Bobby Seale, one of the founding members of the Black Panthers, accentuated the violent aspect of the struggle: “we must begin to unite around the rifle: to unite around the gun is to unite around the Black Panthers’ program.”¹⁴⁵⁴ Yet, while most radical press reports focused on the prospects of political violence, some Swedish reports also noted

¹⁴⁴⁷ “Men om amerika väljer att uppträda som nazister så kommer negrerna inte att uppträda som judar.” TiS 29/67, “Folkmord förbereds?”, 2.

¹⁴⁴⁸ *Konkret* (SWE) 6/68, Virgilio de Lemos & Pietro Pierini, översättning Marianne Eyre, “Den svarte mannen maktlös i världen”, 6-16.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Östberg 2002, 100.

¹⁴⁵⁰ TiS 41/67, “Vi måste använda vår färg some ett vapen för befrielsen!”, 12-13.

¹⁴⁵¹ Seidman 2012.

¹⁴⁵² TiS 16/68, Åsa larson & Peter Lewis, “Den svarta pantern”, 6-7; TiS 24/68, Teddy Arnberg, “Självförvarets enhet”.

¹⁴⁵³ “Man kunde också ge dem en politisk uppfostran och en utbildning i guerrillametoder inför folkmord, inbördeskrig eller revolution.” Kommentar 9_68, Trygge Hedtjärn, “Rapport från Detroit”, 5-14.

¹⁴⁵⁴ “vi måste börja enas runt geväret: att enas omkring vapnet ät att enas omkring Black Panther Partys program.” TiS 24/68, Teddy Arnberg, “Självförvarets enhet”.

how Panthers were participating in practical community programmes in an attempt to alleviate societal problems on a local level too.¹⁴⁵⁵

Sweden was in a unique position in the antiwar protests since between 1967 and 1973 it offered asylum to about 800 American GI deserters and draft evaders. This gave Sweden's foreign policy a certain international notoriety, though it was by no means a decision that officials took lightly, under pressure from both antiwar activists and the social democratic establishment, who were each exploiting the situation for their own domestic political goals. Most deserters came from the American bases in West Germany, but they were otherwise quite a racially and socioeconomically diverse group.¹⁴⁵⁶ The Swedish anti-war campaign saw the deserters as a concrete means to garner greater support for Vietnam and the Black Panthers.¹⁴⁵⁷ *Tidsignal*, for example, actively contacted GIs stationed in West Germany.¹⁴⁵⁸ With the guarantee of political asylum for the first arrivals,¹⁴⁵⁹ the American Deserter Committee was founded and its membership eventually grew to over 200 members. Some were hopeful that the Americans in their midst could directly lead an anti-war protest and make it more concrete, effective, and meaningful.¹⁴⁶⁰ For the Americans, Sweden was a destination that made political sense too; not only were they free of the draft, but social institutions were actively helping them too. "We American deserters are grateful to have been granted asylum", acknowledged one member of the deserters' committee, "and proud to be in a country where freedom is still a living opportunity".¹⁴⁶¹

Transnational examples thus helped activists see themselves and their actions as a part of a global movement of political dissidence. While this "radical imagination" as Quinn Slobodian has termed it,¹⁴⁶² helps us understand how local and global events were mixed together into a coherent radical frame, this global perspective was soon relativised. Not all Nordic activists saw the benefit of linking their domestic efforts with SMOs operating in other national contexts. Indeed, many saw that emulating the violence elsewhere would jeopardise their hard-earned legitimacy. The pluralist Finnish student movement were particularly wary – examples from their discourse show how solidly they adhered to a domestic policy of non-violence. It also shows that what was defined as politically acceptable in one country was principally a result of national definitions and models. In practice, discourses that saw violence as a purifying and radicalising force were rejected. "There is nothing admirable about being subjected to violence", noted Heikki Palmu, directly referring to the shooting of

¹⁴⁵⁵ TiS 16/68, Åsa Larson & Peter Lewis, "Den svarta pantern", 6-7; Mullen 2014, 249.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Scott 2001; Scott 2009; Scott 2015.

¹⁴⁵⁷ TiS 43/67, "Solidaritet med Vietnam!"; TiS 2/68, Ingemar Andersson o. Erik Eriksson, "Protest", 8-9

¹⁴⁵⁸ TiS 26/67, Lennart Ingberg, "Det är vi som måste riskera våra liv...".

¹⁴⁵⁹ TiS 29/67, Ingemar Andersson, "Jag deserterade istället för att slåss mot vita kommunistiska förtryckare i Vietnam...", 4-5.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Clarté 5-6/68, "Varför desertera?", 16-17.

¹⁴⁶¹ "Vi amerikanska desertörer är tacksamma för att vi fått asyl och stolta över att vara i ett land där frihet fortfarande är en levande möjlighet." TiS 13/68, "Förföljelser av desertörerna", 3-4

¹⁴⁶² Slobodian 2018, 74.

Benno Ohnesorg, “we do not need a student shot by the police at Runeberg’s statue or the market square in Turku.”¹⁴⁶³ Throwing eggs or occupying embassies would only give the opposition the fuel they needed to prove that radicals wanted to cause mayhem.¹⁴⁶⁴ Social movements should instead focus on why their actions could actually prevent violence and support democracy: “Organised mass actions, demonstrations, statements, and strikes are all realistic alternatives to violence, the seeds for which lie in when those means are banned”.¹⁴⁶⁵ Highlighting the significance of contextual differences was another, more conventional way of pointing out the different trajectories of domestic and foreign radical movements. While differentiating Nordic societies from third-world examples was often unnecessary, pointing to the specific differences of American culture was far more common, as it reinforced Nordic claims of national exceptionalism. In these comparisons, America was profoundly different because of its specific cultural mechanisms that produced violence. “The [American] people have been saturated with violent TV series”, noted one student from Tampere, “and now the whole country is becoming a garrison state. Instead of changing attitudes, American troops are ready at all times to fight violence with violence.”¹⁴⁶⁶ Because of the close associations between violence and US capitalism, such particularist approaches were tempting for those further to the left too. The domestic goal had now become one of overturning the commercialism of “Americanisation”, or “monopolisation”¹⁴⁶⁷ which only narrowed democratic freedoms and encouraged reactionary attitudes. In this argument, violent social turmoil was something foreign that needed to be stopped before it entered domestic politics. But unlike traditional suspicions of Soviet infiltration, this time it was coming from the west.

Theories of non-violent action, especially Ilkka Taipale’s, did include some remarks on the violence nevertheless inherent in non-violent protesting. As already discussed, Coser’s theories on the social function of violence were important here. In the context of particular vs. transnational activism, non-violence was thought to be more effective in more “organised” societies. Because Finland was an advanced democracy with a highly developed system of social advocacy groups, the need for violent protest was thus redundant. But even in this case, Coser maintained that the threat alone of violence could make protest actions more effective. It is unclear how far Taipale was ready to follow the

¹⁴⁶³ “Itse väkivallan kohteeksi joutumisessa ei ole mitään ihailtavaa: me emme tarvitse poliisin ampumaa ylioppilasta Runebergin patsaalle tai Turun torille.” TYL 10/68, PK, Heikki Palmu, “Yksi, kaksi, monta Berliiniä”, 2.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, Ilkka Taipale, “Puhe mellakoita pelkääville”, 9.

¹⁴⁶⁵ “Järjestäytynyt joukkotoiminta, mielenosoitukset, julkilausumat, lakot ovat väkivallan realistinen vaihtoehto, eivät sen siemen, joka on löydettävissä niiden keinojen kieltämisestä.” TYL 19/67, Keijo Perälä, “Miten suhtaudutaan puolueettomasti jenkkiin”, 4.

¹⁴⁶⁶ “Ihmiset on kyllästetty väkivallalla television sarjaohjelmissa, ja nyt koko maasta on tulossa varuskuntavaltio, jossa joukot ovat joka hetki valmiina torjumaan väkivaltaa väkivallalla sen sijaan, että muutettaisiin asenteita.” Aviisi 14/68, Matti Kupari, “Marssi on päättynyt”, 5.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Aikalainen 6/64, P.S., “Togliattin muistio”, 3-5.

example of these theoretical models. Some indication can be found in the way he openly denounced Berlin protests against the Shah of Iran as lacking “respect” for the opposing side. Breaking any laws would need to be a conscious choice and the consequences would have to be dealt with. Violence was out of the question if society was making it possible for protesters to effectively have their say anyway.¹⁴⁶⁸ But Taipale’s definitions still left plenty of room for interpretation. A mere re-evaluation of how functional Finnish society really was would be enough to throw the principle of non-violence into doubt. For Erkki Tuomioja, a similar ambiguity was also useful. When asked by the local student paper if he would understand protesters throwing Molotov cocktails on the streets of Oulu, Tuomioja replied that he might understand the goals, but because of his pacifism could not approve of the means being used to achieve them.¹⁴⁶⁹

¹⁴⁶⁸ Ylioppilaslehti 25/67, Ilkka Taipale, “Väkivallattomuuden tekniikka sisäpolitiikassa”, 5, 8.

¹⁴⁶⁹ OYL 31/68, J.L., “Uusi vasemmisto tekee kumouksen/Erkki Tuomioja etsii keinoja ja mahdollisuuksia”, 4.

7 POLICE, AUTHORITY, AND FASCISM

As discussed in the previous chapters, social movement activists may well have chosen to use concepts like revolution, protest, and violence; but when it came to applying them in particular local contexts, they quickly found themselves up against the forces of law and order. In the case of Finland and Sweden, there was another important catch: after the 1966 elections in Finland, both countries had social democratic governments that were principally supporting many of the issues that the radicals were concerned about, even though the radical frame was urging a more confrontational form of politics. This added another dimension to debates on social authority, which was in many ways unique to Nordic contexts. As public demonstrations, increased in frequency and the FNL movement, in particular, showed how even progressive Nordic societies seemed to be standing against the demands of demonstrating activists. While police control measures were comparatively less dramatic than in many other European countries, the reaction of authorities nevertheless revealed that there was a difference of opinion that was splitting society, and that Nordic societies and their leaders wanted to control, restrict, and limit protests. In these cases, discussed below, the relationship between the New Left and the social establishment is caught up with longer traditions of the Left. While the concrete relationship between demonstrating radicals and the police was often used to explain personal paths towards more radical politics, general discourses about power and authoritarian structures were more common in the Nordic radical press. In some cases, the endeavour to generalise as much as possible led to some arguments that sometimes closely resembled the way in which West German activists used Germany's Nazi past as a general symbol for all that was evil in their society.¹⁴⁷⁰

¹⁴⁷⁰ Jarausch 2006; Schmidtke 2006.

7.1 Police

Once mass demonstrations became typical of Nordic radical movements, the police became the face of the establishment. While Nordic liberal and cultural radicals had shared a strong faith in the fairness and impartiality of state officials and their ability to exercise their executive power for the greater good, some early debates did already question the impartiality of Nordic welfare state officials. Finnish cultural radicals, for instance, were particularly enraged by the censorship of novels by Agnar Mykle, Henry Miller, and the Bergman movie *The Virgin Spring*. The disproportionate censorship actions of officials – in particular the burning of the remaining copies of Mykle’s *The Song of the Red Ruby* in 1959 and the aforementioned Salama Affair in 1966 (see 5.1) – would eventually raise the question of Finland being “a police state”.¹⁴⁷¹

As we saw in Chapter 4, social care and its institutionalised forms put inmates in a legally precarious position which, it was argued, also threatened their constitutional rights.¹⁴⁷² While this line of argument was criticising one of the core principles of the Nordic welfare state – the impartiality of public officials and the courts – it remained fairly abstract and was not targeting individual officials. In this respect, the demand for the legal rights of institutional inmates to be respected was essentially reformist, aiming to help Nordic society better follow the core values it had originally claimed to hold. It was a demand for a more authentic welfarism and greater equality and democracy rather than changing tack altogether. The compelling role of legal rights was natural in the context of Finland’s political history; as an autonomous Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire in the 19th century, constitutional arguments had gained a legitimate position as they emphasised a certain distance from the Russian rulers and maintained local political traditions. In this respect, Finland was a “constitutional state”, with the implication being that “police state” meant the country had become the very opposite.¹⁴⁷³

The radicalisation process shifted the focus of radical discourses from individual rights to the group interests of particular minorities or particular focus groups. Even when control measures in themselves were quite innocent, attention was now focused on the principles behind these innocuous actions, because they might also serve as indications of bigger changes in society.¹⁴⁷⁴ For some, the fact that the actions of the police were being debated at all showed that trust in the police was wavering.¹⁴⁷⁵ The Finnish New Left press honed in on this

¹⁴⁷¹ JYL 1/65, PK “Vanhoja kysymyksiä”, 3; Ajankohta 1/67, Kari Lehtola, “Uusi poliisilaki ja yksilön oikeusturva”, 12.

¹⁴⁷² Ajankohta 1/67, PK, 3; Ajankohta 1/67, Kari Lehtola, “Uusi poliisilaki ja yksilön oikeusturva”, 12.

¹⁴⁷³ JYL 1/65, PK “Vanhoja kysymyksiä”, 3; Aviisi 17/67, Risto Pylkkänen, “Poliisi on POP”, 4.

¹⁴⁷⁴ OYL 15/68, R.P., “Iso Veli valvoo”, 3.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Ajankohta 1/67, Kari Lehtola, “Uusi poliisilaki ja yksilön oikeusturva”, 12.

by drawing attention to those who had experienced the darker and sometimes even violent methods of the Finnish police. Reporting these various assaults and random arrests showed the arbitrary nature of police brutality and for some the class-based logic that the police treated these victims as members of "lumpenproletariat".¹⁴⁷⁶ The fact that the general public still showed faith in such an institution was clear indication of the general conservative nature of Finnish society.¹⁴⁷⁷ Whereas *Aikalainen* trusted that an active left-wing cabinet would be able to change these old-fashioned methods,¹⁴⁷⁸ there were other radical activists who felt, especially after the demonstrations against the Vietnam War, that the police were the real face of power structures in Nordic societies. In Sweden, anti-war protests had been more numerous and appeared there earlier, in conjunction with some other unique scandals that seemed to question the forces of law and order.

The Swedish youth riots, started by the Mods ("*modsen*") already brought up the question of making arrests in public spaces. During the "Högtorg Riot" (*Högtorgskravallerna*) in 1965, 622 youngsters were arrested after the gathering in Högtorg, Stockholm turned into a riot.¹⁴⁷⁹ In the radical press, "disturbing the public peace" was seen as a far too fluid definition for a crime when used against these protesters.¹⁴⁸⁰ While the mod riots were explained in the mainstream press as being the product of youthful alienation and, in some cases, as a sign of the moral corruption of post-war youth, the radical press was not so keen to comment on the issue. Although the mainstream press was conservative, the unpolitical nature of these mod riots restricted their political usefulness.

Explicitly political demonstrations highlighted the tension between fundamental rights and internal security in a far more direct manner than these youth riots. The fact that the arbitrary decisions of an individual police officer could be responsible for defining the level of security in a demonstration was seen as particularly problematic by the Nordic radical press. During the early phase of the Swedish Vietnam movement, democracy-inclined arguments were prevalent – demonstrations were the very thing police officers were supposed to protect in the first place.¹⁴⁸¹ The early Vietnam movement portrayed public demonstrations as a means of spreading information, according to the principle of 'revolution through knowledge', and the highly public demonstration in Stockholm on 14 June 1965 was a perfect example. The protests ended up with Peter Matthis and Åsa Hallström being sentenced for a traffic violation and violently opposing the police. Matthis would become one of the more notorious

¹⁴⁷⁶ *Aikalainen* 7-8/66, "Poliisillako auttava käsi", 37-47; *Aviisi* 17/67, Risto Pylkkänen, "Poliisi on POP", 4; *Ylioppilaslehti* 22/68, Marjukka Saarikoski, "Tällä viikolla/suomalainen poliisi on aika mies", 4-5.

¹⁴⁷⁷ *Ajankohta* 8/67, "Ajankohtaista kotimaassa/Poliisin kuuma kesä", 2.

¹⁴⁷⁸ *Ajankohta* 12/67, PK, 3.

¹⁴⁷⁹ *Östberg* 2002, 87-89.

¹⁴⁸⁰ *TiS* 18/65, Lennart Ingberg, "En titt genom nyckelhålet/Sanct Michael orden", 3; *TiS* 29/65, James de Gaalitz, "Det kunde ha blivit världens störta räddningsaktion", 16-17.

¹⁴⁸¹ *Clarté* 3/66, Arvid Rudling, "Rätten till opinionsbildning", 13-14.

activists in the Swedish scene, to the extent that Thomas Etzemüller has even called him “the Rudi Dutschke of Sweden.”¹⁴⁸² In its reportage of the trial, *Clarté* was already hinting at parallels with German examples of police brutality, the main argument for the defence was based on universal rights such as freedom of speech. Public demonstrations were a “democratic tool” for those that did not own or have access to powerful public pressure channels such as newspapers. For *Clarté*, the history of Swedish labour unions showed that peaceful demonstrations were an integral part of Swedish democracy and upheld rather than threatened Swedish democratic ideals: “attacking a placard carrier does not protect law and order; it is an attempt to abolish law and order.”¹⁴⁸³

While Finnish anti-war demonstrations happened later and were less well-organised, there were still some occasions when the police’s reactions towards seemingly peaceful demonstrations were called into question. One particular instance, where the police allegedly pulled Ilkka Taipale’s beard led some to suspect that the true political nature of the Finnish police would be seen in how they dealt with political protests.¹⁴⁸⁴ Taipale himself was quick to point out that the police were one of the audiences for the protest movement, so police officers should be treated as individuals who were not yet aware of the severity of the situation in Vietnam.¹⁴⁸⁵ In practice, however, Taipale was quite vague about how to apply his theory of non-violence to a Finnish policeman in a demo. Some regulations were to be freely ignored – “there is no point for the police to evict you just on the pretext that sitting on the lawn is forbidden”¹⁴⁸⁶, while others merited vegetable-throwing at the police only if the authorities were really were “absurdly” overstepping the line of duty. Drawing the line between permissible and forbidden forms of civil disobedience was clearly a rather difficult task.

While Taipale was one of the most well-known figures to debate political protests in Finland, there were others who openly questioned (an otherwise rare occurrence) the legitimacy of police actions against demonstrators. One of the most damning of these criticisms came from Marjatta Kuparinen, a member of the small but vocal New Left group at Jyväskylä University. While angrier in tone, Kuparinen was demanding much the same thing as Taipale – constitutional rights for the demonstrators. As loudhailers and photographers were not allowed, she argued, so that there would be no evidence (if it occurred) of any police misconduct, it was easy for officials to frame street sit-ins as a public disturbance. Kuparinen saw that such conduct was not only restricting universal political rights, but also ensuring that if a peaceful demo was interfered with, that it turned into an open conflict:

¹⁴⁸² Etzemüller 2005, 120.

¹⁴⁸³ “Att angripa plakatbäraren är inte att skydda ordningen; det är att avskaffa ordningen.” *Clarté* 3/66, “Ur advokat Rudlings slutplädering”, 20-21.

¹⁴⁸⁴ *Ylioppilaslehti* 25/68, “Mielenosoitus ja mielenosoitus”, 1.

¹⁴⁸⁵ *JYL* 17/68, Ilkka Taipale, “Nuoriso riistetty luokka”, 15, 22, 24.

¹⁴⁸⁶ “Jos istutaan nurmikolla, ei poliisilla kyllä ole asiaa tulla katkaisemaan istumista sillä verukkeella että nurmikolla istuminen on kielletty.” *JYL* 17/68, Ilkka Taipale, “Nuoriso riistetty luokka”, 15, 22, 24

“Is there really a need for a truly open confrontation that endangers the safety of people before the legal rights of protesters are publicly taken into account? Hardly anyone wants riots if things can be discussed calmly [...]. The riots are born in a silent, distrusting, anti-reformist, and debate-rejecting atmosphere.”¹⁴⁸⁷

While the concept of “legal rights” was a clear indication of a firm trust in reforms, the argument simultaneously featured a open future that could follow the vicious examples set by foreign protests if reforms were not quickly implemented.

Since domestic examples of police brutality were nonetheless rare, the inherent violence of the system was shown in other ways. During the summer of 1967, for instance, the New Left press in Finland was particularly appalled by the case of a 15-year-old teenager who had died in custody.¹⁴⁸⁸ This would have been the perfect example of the state’s monopoly of violence resulting in it turning against one of its own, especially since the victim was a defenceless youngster who had fewer civil rights than an adult. But when the autopsy came back, the cause of death turned out to be inconclusive and the police officer suspected of assault committed suicide. The New Left papers were careful not to direct blame at individual rank-and-file police, especially as the case coincided with debates about new police legislation that was being discussed.¹⁴⁸⁹ These structural, general considerations about what the new policies might entail became the new topic of interest for the Finnish New Left press.

While the rhetoric surrounding individual cases could sometimes be truly excessive, there was still a large amount of trust in Nordic society, and moderate attitudes were clearly visible when looking at the police reforms proposed. One moderate demand, which was also a common argument in reformist Nordic debates, was to provide better training for those already in the police.¹⁴⁹⁰ Training could involve giving the police a better sociological understanding of the reasons behind youth movements, and it would lessen social and generational tensions. “We want the Swedish police to be thoroughly informed about the conflict in Vietnam”, reformists argued, “about its background and about the protesters’ demands”.¹⁴⁹¹ Those subjected to forceful methods were to understand that police were “men of the people”¹⁴⁹² and that individual public comments made

¹⁴⁸⁷ “Tarvitaanko todella avoin ja ihmisten turvallisuutta vaarantava yhteenotto, ennen kuin mieltään osoittavan oikeusturva otetaan puheeksi julkisesti. Tuskin kukaan haluaa mellakoita, jos asioista kerran voidaan rauhallisesti keskustella.”; “Mellakat syntyvät vaikenevassa, kyräilevässä, uudistuskielteisessä ja keskustelun hylkäävässä ilmapiirissä.” JYL 27/68, Marjatta Kuparinen, “Mieltään osoittavan oikeusturva”, 8.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Ajankohta 8/67, “Ajankohtaista kotimaassa/Poliisin kuuma kesä”, 2.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Ajankohta 1/67, PK, 3.

¹⁴⁹⁰ TiS 23/65, “Svensk sjukvård 1965. Men nu ska polisen få utbildning”, 7; Clarté 3/66, “Ur advokat Rudlings slutplädering”, 20-21; Ajankohta 8/67, “Ajankohtaista kotimaassa/Poliisin kuuma kesä”, 2

¹⁴⁹¹ “Vi önskar att svenska polisen förse med grundliga kunskaper om Vietnamkonflikten, om dess bakgrund, om demonstranternas krav.” TiS 28_66, Gunnar Thorell, “Stoppa polisens provokationer mot demonstranterna!”, 6-7, 10.

¹⁴⁹² Ylioppilaslehti 22/68, Marjukka Saarikoski, “Tällä viikolla/suomalainen poliisi on aika mies”, 4-5

by some high-ranking police officers were not necessarily representative of the Nordic police force as a whole.¹⁴⁹³ Changes to the recruiting processes¹⁴⁹⁴ were also suggested, in the hope that the changes would lessen conflicts in the ranks, and get rid of any police that were letting the side down.

As the reformist argument focused on improving the existing system, solving organisational problems and focusing on better leadership were brought forward as answers to many of the problems encountered. Such reforms would not only increase equality and fairness, they would also help improve the public's level of trust in the police.¹⁴⁹⁵ One of the biggest demands made was that the police leadership be changed,¹⁴⁹⁶ as their old-fashioned legal-based training was "out of date", and did not take into account the most recent findings in the social sciences.¹⁴⁹⁷ These radicals still saw the police as a defender of civil rights¹⁴⁹⁸ and as a necessary institution; but the police's wide mandate was only justifiable if police methods were better adjusted to fit the demands of contemporary society.¹⁴⁹⁹ "Purposefulness" was again a key concept,¹⁵⁰⁰ in line with the general logic of utilitarianism in social policy activism. One Finnish student activist even proposed higher salaries for the police and recruiting better educated personnel, as had apparently been done in Sweden to good effect.¹⁵⁰¹

One reformist trait among Nordic radicals was to suggest starting a dialogue with representatives of the police.¹⁵⁰² In these dialogues, the police were also keen to show moderation, and made assurances they were a modern force that would not be taking any "Prussian" measures.¹⁵⁰³ The police even used the Finnish Parliament as a forum for petitioning the public to not hold them morally responsible for the violence in foreign contexts. By doing this, high-ranking police officers were not only acknowledging their position of power in society, but also the significance of transnational examples as mediated through the media. Student circles that were not on the Left were highly sympathetic to demands that used parliament as the only arena for political conflict. The editor of *Ylioppilaslehti*, Yrjö Larmola, used his editorial power to remind his readers of the fact that parliament, not the street, was the right forum for politics and

¹⁴⁹³ Clarté 3/66, "Ur advokat Rudlings slutplädering", 20-21; Ajankohta 1/67, Kari Lehtola, "Uusi poliisilaki ja yksilön oikeusturva", 12.

¹⁴⁹⁴ TiS 28_66, Gunnar Thorell, "Stoppa polisens provokationer mot demonstranterna!", 6-7, 10.

¹⁴⁹⁵ LibD 1/66, Gran Bengtson, "Polis polis förtroendekris", 30-36; *Ylioppilaslehti* 22/68, Marjukka Saarikoski, "Tällä viikolla/suomalainen poliisi on aika mies", 4-5.

¹⁴⁹⁶ TiS 28_66, Gunnar Thorell, "Stoppa polisens provokationer mot demonstranterna!", 6-7, 10; Ajankohta 8/67, "Ajankohtaista kotimaassa/Poliisin kuuma kesä", 2.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Ajankohta 11/67, PK, 3.

¹⁴⁹⁸ JYL 17/68, Ilkka Taipale, "Nuoriso riistetty luokka", 15, 22, 24.

¹⁴⁹⁹ *Ylioppilaslehti* 22/68, Marjukka Saarikoski, "Tällä viikolla/suomalainen poliisi on aika mies", 4-5.

¹⁵⁰⁰ *Ylioppilaslehti* 15/68, A.K., "Tällä viikolla/Alaston asematunneli", 4.

¹⁵⁰¹ *Aviisi* 17/67, Risto Pylkkänen, "Poliisi on POP", 4.

¹⁵⁰² See, e.g. TiS 13/65, Sam Johanson, "Märklig tvekan av polisen i nazistaffären", 1; TiS 19/65, Lennart Ingberg, "Rikspolisstyrelsen: Vi kontrollerar -men hur vi gör det kan vi inte säga...".

¹⁵⁰³ TYL 31/67, Kari Lehtola, "Isänmaan asioita: Paha ei ole kenkään ihminen", 2.

discussing the role of the police.¹⁵⁰⁴ In this way, debates on parliamentarism were also tied to debates on the role of the police, with the implication that politics should be kept separate from other walks of life.

Reformist attitudes, however, became gradually challenged and compromised by the rise of structural explanations of social power as the radicalisation process picked up speed. Nascent New Left theories that focused on the psychological aspects and divisions in a class-based society seemed to prove how the police was naturally recruiting individuals with sadistic tendencies,¹⁵⁰⁵ and from conservative, "reactionary" backgrounds.¹⁵⁰⁶ This meant their suspicions of anti-war protesters¹⁵⁰⁷ were less an individual trait, and more a feature determined by social structures. The Swedish New Left therefore called for stricter background checks for police officers – their "social perspective" (*samhällssyn*) mattered a lot. This was a more political reading – there was need to intervene with the world view of some individual officers¹⁵⁰⁸ and to broaden the social background of those in authority – but it did not yet question the role of the police force as a whole. In this respect, the argument put forward can still be seen as an inclusive one, not one that explicitly sought to increase the polarisation between leftist groups and those in authority.

One of the more class-conscious strands of argumentation that became more important with the evolution of the radical frame was the issue of inequality in the courts. It covered not only individual cases of injustice by the courts, but also a more systematic analysis of the social factors influencing these decisions. The Nordic New Left sharpened its rhetoric, and the perspective changed from pro-democratic to a more stubborn analysis of power structures. This was clearly visible in the way the role of social authorities, such as the police and courts were discussed. This change happened quite swiftly, as demonstrated by rather rapid changes in approach even within the same journal.¹⁵⁰⁹ A less forgiving stance was now prominent in debates questioning the equality of the courts and its role in societal systems of power. According to the new, more partisan argument, the legal system was protecting officials even when they abused their powers.¹⁵¹⁰ Police officers did not testify against other members of the police.¹⁵¹¹ To make matters worse, the courts were beyond public criticism¹⁵¹²

¹⁵⁰⁴ Ylioppilaslehti 29/68, PK, "Poliisi symbolina", 3.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Aikalainen 7-8/66, "Poliisillako auttava käsi", 37-47; Ylioppilaslehti 25/68, "Mielenosoitus ja mielenosoitus", 1.

¹⁵⁰⁶ TiS 13/65, "Säkerhetspolisens pysslade med sitt hemliga kartotek över radikaler och pacifister i stället för att spränga nazistligan", 16-17.

¹⁵⁰⁷ TiS 28_66, Gunnar Thorell, "Stoppa polisens provokationer mot demonstranterna!", 6-7, 10.

¹⁵⁰⁸ TiS 19/65, Lennart Ingberg, "Rikspolisstyrelsen: Vi kontrollerar –men hur vi gör det kan vi inte säga...".

¹⁵⁰⁹ See., e.g. Clarté 3/66, Arvid Rudling, "Rätten till opinionsbildning", 13-14 vs. Clarté 4/67, "Vår politiska polis", 6-12.

¹⁵¹⁰ Aviisi 17/67, Risto Pylkkänen, "Poliisi on POP", 4.

¹⁵¹¹ Ylioppilaslehti 22/68, Marjukka Saarikoski, "Tällä viikolla/suomalainen poliisi on aika mies", 4-5.

¹⁵¹² Ajankohta 8/67, "Ajankohtaista kotimaassa/Poliisin kuuma kesä", 2.

and, by extension, the radical press. Limiting decision-making to these bureaucratic institutions meant that the closely-knit executive elites of society could continue trading favours with each other – the police had an influence on legislation and the elite were above certain laws.¹⁵¹³ The Swedish New Left emphatically criticised the police for being a direct political organ of Swedish society, suggesting that the “police also intervenes in political conflicts when the situation makes it possible.”¹⁵¹⁴ Even liberal activists began openly questioning the trustworthiness of the police in cases when it had the sole right to define what constituted a security threat.¹⁵¹⁵ Activists like Jan Myrdal were openly promoting the stance that all court decisions exemplified the class structures of Swedish society, and the political power wielded by the government to strengthen its position.¹⁵¹⁶ Opposition to pacifism and protests against the Vietnam War showed the reactionary and conservative attitudes of the Swedish police.¹⁵¹⁷ Particular attention was directed towards examples that demonstrated how radical leftists and pacifist groups were subjected to intense scrutiny, while cases like the “Carlberg Foundation” (*Carlbergska stiftelsen*)¹⁵¹⁸ showed that the extreme right were relatively free to operate as they wished.¹⁵¹⁹ These cases help explain the more radical tone of Swedish public debates; the New Left press was more eager to actively question the trustworthiness of the police and to openly press forward allegations even if they might not be 100 per cent legally coherent; *Tidsignal*, for instance, bluntly described the Carlberg Foundation as a “Nazi business” (*Nazistaffären*).¹⁵²⁰ The radicalisation process had turned attention away from legal rights towards the political dimensions of legal practices.

In Finland, the tone was less inflammatory, but not for any lack of historical parallels. The 1940s Weapons Cache Case – where arms were being stockpiled by high-ranking army officers to prepare for guerilla warfare with the USSR after WWII – could have been used to link contemporary officials to a tradition of arming private citizens by Finnish radicals. However, they decided to underline

¹⁵¹³ Clarté 3/66, “Ur advokat Rudlings slutplädering”, 20-21; Ajankohta 1/67, Kari Lehtola, “Uusi poliisilaki ja yksilön oikeusturva”, 12.

¹⁵¹⁴ “Vår polis griper också in i de politiska konflikterna när läget gör det möjligt och nödvändigt.” Clarté 4/67, “Vår politiska polis”, 6-12.

¹⁵¹⁵ LibD 1/66, Gran Bengtson, “Polis polis förtroendekris”, 30-36; Clarté 3/66, Arvid Rudling, “Rätten till opinionsbildning”, 13-14; Clarté 3/66, “Ur advokat Rudlings slutplädering”, 20-21.

¹⁵¹⁶ TiS 4/68, Jan Myrdal, “Anmärkningar om ett förhörprotokoll”, 10-11, 14. see also Clarté 4/67, “Vår politiska polis”, 6-12.

¹⁵¹⁷ TiS 13/65, “Säkerhetspolisen pysslade med sitt hemliga kartotek över radikaler och pacifister i stället för att spränga nazistligan”, 16-17; TiS 28/66, Gunnar Thorell, “Stoppa polisens provokationer mot demonstranterna!”, 6-7, 10; TiS 1/68, “Batonger kan inte krossa den växande vietnam-opinionen”, 3-4.

¹⁵¹⁸ TiS 19/65, Lennart Ingberg, “Rikspolisstyrelsen: Vi kontrollerar –men hur vi gör det kan vi inte säga...” Carl Ernfrid Carlberg had set up a series of business fronts for Nazi organisations since the 1920s. The Carlberg Foundation funded extreme right-wing groups after the war. In 1965 it was raided by police due to a tip-off that the groups using it had stashed weapons there.

¹⁵¹⁹ TiS 13/65, “Säkerhetspolisen pysslade med sitt hemliga kartotek över radikaler och pacifister i stället för att spränga nazistligan”, 16-17.

¹⁵²⁰ TiS 13/65, Sam Johanson, “Märklig tvekan av polisen i nazistaffären”, 1.

the conservatism of police in other, less extreme ways: the fact that the police, for instance, stood right next to the clergymen in public debates and panels showed how together they represented the reactionary forces in society.¹⁵²¹ Linking the police with religious authorities, and the latter with conservative politicians – or in more explicitly political terms with those who controlled the societal monopoly of violence – was not a uniquely radical trope, but it was used in different contexts throughout the post-war period.

While Swedish radicals pointed to the political role of the police, their Finnish counterparts made comparisons as with other topics. The behaviour of the local police was portrayed as being tougher than in other Nordic countries.¹⁵²² To some extent, these claims were vindicated with texts from abroad. Professor Walter Gellhorn's book about Nordic ombudsmen, for example, seemed to prove that the Finnish justice system had not protected individuals against the powers of the police.¹⁵²³ Intriguingly, not all radicals agreed with the argument – following a wave of emigration to Sweden, there was now a Finnish minority there and for some radicals, the mistreatment of the Finnish immigrants there indicated how Sweden was in fact becoming a “police state”.¹⁵²⁴ This analysis shows a more rhizomatic understanding of societal power, since the Finns in Sweden were not only excluded for being lower class but for their ethnicity and lack of fluency in Swedish.

The fact was that Swedish protesters had plenty of practical experience when it came to demonstrations and their consequences. For Jan Myrdal, his personal (and practical) experience clearly vindicated his theoretical perspective: “a baton in the head makes theoretical experience practical”, he reasoned.¹⁵²⁵ Kim Salomon has showed the Swedish anti-war movement was defined by a strong moral justification that legitimised civil disobedience and conflict with the authorities, and it was certainly the case that police reactions to demonstrations (whether strictly legal or not) were continuously framed in the radical press as an arbitrary use of power, provocation, and overreaction.¹⁵²⁶ Personal narratives of mounted police, police using batons and “sabres”, and police beatings, all gave a colourful, visual impression especially in the transnational context of protests:¹⁵²⁷ “Mounted police charging innocent protesters may soon cause the

¹⁵²¹ TYL6/68, Sampo Simonen, “Marraskuulaiset menettelytavat puntarissa”, 6; Aviisi 9/68, Vesa Suomalainen, “Poliisineuvos Vasa: Lisää raippoja”, 12.

¹⁵²² TYL 31/67, Hannu Tapani Klami, “Kritiikkiä maasta taivaaseen”, 5 (review of *Maammekirja* by Jörn Donner); Aviisi 2/68, Mauri Muttonen, “Ystävykset: Ruotsin poliisi ja suomalaiset”, 2.

¹⁵²³ Ajankohta 4/67, Lars D. Eriksson, “Tarvitsemmeko oikeuskansleria”, 12-13.

¹⁵²⁴ Aviisi 2/68, Mauri Muttonen, “Ystävykset: Ruotsin poliisi ja suomalaiset”, 2.

¹⁵²⁵ “batongen i huvudet gör dock denna teoretiska erfarenhet praktisk.” TiS_4/68, Jan Myrdal, “Anmärkningar om ett förhörsprotokoll”, 10-11, 14.

¹⁵²⁶ TiS 44/67, “Greklands Nationaldag”, 4; TiS 28/66, Gunnar Thorell, “Stoppa polisens provokationer mot demonstranterna!”, 6-7, 10; TiS 13/68, Lorenz Olsson, “Varifrån kommer brutaliteten?”; Salomon 1996, 202-203.

¹⁵²⁷ Clarté 1/68, “Vänstervriden vetenskap?”, 4-6; Konkret 4-5/68, Stig Jutterström, “Rätten att demonstrera -första maj och andra dagar”, 4-6; Clarté 1/68, “Vänstervriden vetenskap?”, 4-6; TiS 8/67, Ingemar Andersson, “Polisen allt

first casualty. The Berlin police's murder of student Benno Ohnesorg must not be repeated here at home."¹⁵²⁸ Descriptions of protesters wrestling with police, or getting pulled by the hair all made the brutality of the police something concrete and tangible and appear as if state institutions were supporting the political establishment.¹⁵²⁹ In this way, it was possible to see arrests as a form of bullying¹⁵³⁰ and not as a legal measure. This was only emphasised by the fact that none of this was covered by the mainstream press either.¹⁵³¹ Although Swedish conflicts were still relatively modest, if the escalation of violence continued, the situation could lead to "street warfare".¹⁵³² Not all were concerned about this process; Jan Myrdal was actually glad, maintaining that the brutality made the US influence and bourgeois bias of the Swedish police visible.¹⁵³³

The Swedish radical press also had an ongoing fascination with the Swedish Security Police, or SäPo (*Säkerhetspolisen*). To begin with, it was mostly about the historical cooperation that there had been between the SäPo and German Nazi organisations during the war.¹⁵³⁴ Reports from the ICPC (International Criminal Police Commission), the predecessor of INTERPOL, were particularly damning as they showed that Swedish SäPo officers were once hosted by one of the darkest figures in the Nazi regime, Reinhard Heydrich – Chief of the Reich Main Security Office, who had also chaired the Wannsee Conference in 1942 which formalised plans for the Final Solution.¹⁵³⁵ *Clarté* even claimed that this cooperation had led to the extradition of Swedish Jews and political refugees living in the country during the war.¹⁵³⁶ The history of SäPo had domestic political significance too; as the organisation was founded by soldiers, and mainly recruited from anticommunist circles.¹⁵³⁷ There were understandably concerns in the radical press that this background directly affected its operations, and some of the documents dug up by the radical press revealed that the Swedish government had indeed isolated antifascists by drawing up a register during WWII of

brutalare mot unga demonstranter", 3; TiS 1/68, "Batonger kan inte krossa den växande vietnam-opinionen", 3-4.

1528 "De ridande polisernas raider mot oskyldiga demonstranter kan snart skörda det första dödsoffret. Berlinpolisens mord på studenten Benno Ohnesorg får inte upprepas här hemma." TiS 44/67, "Greklands Nationaldag", 4.

1529 TiS 43/67, Allan Gardner, "Demonstrant bet polis", 13; TiS 1/68, Marcel Cohen, "En erfarenhet och ett problem", 5; TiS 1/68, "Batonger kan inte krossa den växande vietnam-opinionen", 3-4

1530 *Clarté* 4/67, "Vår politiska polis", 6-12.

1531 TiS 43/67, Allan Gardner, "Demonstrant bet polis", 13.

1532 Konkret 4-5/68, Stig Jutterström, "Rätten att demonstrera -första maj och andra dagar", 4-6.

1533 TiS 4/68, Jan Myrdal, "Anmärkningar om ett förhörsprotokoll", 10-11, 14; Konkret 4-5/68, Stig Jutterström, "Rätten att demonstrera -första maj och andra dagar", 4-6.

1534 *Clarté* 1/64, John Takman, "Hur säker är säkerhetspolisen", 23-25; *Clarté* 2/67, Svenska *Clarté*förbundet, "Säkerhetspolis - för vems säkerhet?", 4; *Clarté* 2/68, Gunnar Bylin, "SäPo - ett hot mot folkets säkerhet", 43-46; TiS 3/68, Bo Hammar, "SäPo är en fara för hela vänstern", 6.

1535 *Clarté* 1/64, John Takman, "Hur säker är säkerhetspolisen", 23-25; TiS 26/66, Georg Branting, "om säkerhetstjänsten", 12-13, 10.

1536 *Clarté* 2/67, Svenska *Clarté*förbundet, "Säkerhetspolis - för vems säkerhet?", 4.

1537 *Clarté* 1/64, John Takman, "Hur säker är säkerhetspolisen", 23-25.

individuals that might be a potential threat because of their communist sympathies.¹⁵³⁸ However, the most frequent historical argument used to legitimise opposition to the SäPo was its links with Nazi Germany.¹⁵³⁹

While historical evidence did put some pressure on SäPo, there was still a belief that Parliament would resolve the issue, at least in the early phase of the debate.¹⁵⁴⁰ Despite its history, the SäPo was not a direct threat to security, even if it was an embarrassment for the Social Democrats, since many of them had been listed on the register of potential threats when they were members of Social Democrat youth organisations.¹⁵⁴¹ In these reformist debates, the main problem was that SäPo was free to independently decide which political movements it considered to be a threat to national security.¹⁵⁴²

Radicals also argued that there was mainstream press bias against the Left; so to remedy the situation, the register of potential threats should include those from the right too, e.g., fascist activists and NATO supporters.¹⁵⁴³ Bit by bit, the extent of SäPo's register became clear to the New Left press, also the extent of SäPo's surveillance clearly showed that it was not under parliamentary control and actually posed a threat to civil liberties.¹⁵⁴⁴ SäPo was therefore deemed undemocratic as it threatened the legal security of all Swedes.¹⁵⁴⁵ The Social Democrat government was clearly implicated in this, and the New Left demanded the resignation of the Minister of Justice, and *Konkret* requested in its editorial that the PM intervened to stop the register.¹⁵⁴⁶ Against this past of having collaborated with the Nazis, New Left papers also suspected that the information collected by SäPo would end up in the hands of NATO via the government officials of the NATO-aligned countries of Norway or Denmark,¹⁵⁴⁷ or through direct SäPo collaboration with the FBI.¹⁵⁴⁸ This tied in well with the aims of the pro-Vietnamese FNL movement, who were also demanding that Sweden loosen economic, political, and military ties with the US.¹⁵⁴⁹

The method of photographing demonstrators and activists during their daily routines by SäPo was a common topic for exposés in the radical press.¹⁵⁵⁰

¹⁵³⁸ LibD 5/66, Sven Rydenfeldt, "Facit av Säpo-debatten", 43-47; Hilson 2008, 120-122.

¹⁵³⁹ TiS 25/66, Ts., "Vitbok om SäPo!", 11.

¹⁵⁴⁰ LibD 5/66, Sven Rydenfeldt, "Facit av Säpo-debatten", 43-47.

¹⁵⁴¹ TiS 22/66, Bo Hammar, "Säkerhetspolisen begär hjälp av prästerna!", 3.

¹⁵⁴² LibD 2/68, Janerik Larsson, "är åsiktsregistret nödvändigt?", 21-24.

¹⁵⁴³ TiS 30/66, Christer Högstedt, "Öppet brev till säkerhetschef Vinge", 14; TiS 4/68, "En stat regeras inte med hjälp av militär utan med hjälp av hemliga kartotek...", 4-5.

¹⁵⁴⁴ TiS 2/67, dr Gormaner, "Varför blev det inte revolution 1966?", 15; LibD 5/66, Sven Rydenfeldt, "Facit av Säpo-debatten", 43-47.

¹⁵⁴⁵ TiS 25/66, Ts., "Vitbok om SäPo!", 11; TiS 3/68, VPK Storstockholm representantskapet, "Avskaffa åsiktsregistren!", 7.

¹⁵⁴⁶ TiS 29/66, .Ts, "Avgå, herr polisminister!"; LibD 2/68, Janerik Larsson, "är åsiktsregistret nödvändigt?", 21-24; *Konkret* 2/67, Nordal Åkerman, "SäPo-frågan måste lösas!", 7- 8.

¹⁵⁴⁷ TiS 25/66, "Medan säkerhetspolisens metoder", 12; TiS 3/68, Bo Hammar, "SäPo är en fara för hela vänstern", 6.

¹⁵⁴⁸ TiS 25/66, Ts., "Vitbok om SäPo!", 11.

¹⁵⁴⁹ TiS 43/67, "Solidaritet med Vietnam!"; Salomon 1996, 95.

¹⁵⁵⁰ TiS 25/66, "Medan säkerhetspolisens metoder", 12; TiS 22/66, Bo Hammar, "Säkerhetspolisen begär hjälp av prästerna!", 3.

The purpose of these articles was to reveal the arbitrary basis of surveillance, as practically anyone could be counted as suspicious by them.¹⁵⁵¹ *Clarté* members were registered en route to China,¹⁵⁵² and the New Left press underlined how the register included those who merely travelled to Socialist countries or subscribed to certain magazines.¹⁵⁵³ The register had become like Orwell's "thought police" (*åsiktspolisen*)¹⁵⁵⁴, listing all those who had opposed it publicly.¹⁵⁵⁵ These "McCarthyist" methods were clearly a threat not only to individual activists but to the whole future of the Left in Sweden.¹⁵⁵⁶

A proper scandal finally broke out in early 1966 after the scale of surveillance was revealed: according to information made public by the social democratic daily newspaper, *Arbetet*, there were 361,000 Swedish citizens on the SäPo register.¹⁵⁵⁷ Göran Therborn, a key figure of the Swedish New Left at the time, called it the "largest non-organised group of citizens in existence".¹⁵⁵⁸ The revelation made it clear that the record was much bigger than just a register of anti-war activists.¹⁵⁵⁹ Following this, and in line with the times, a paperback of the SäPo register (*Säkerhetspolisens hemliga register*)¹⁵⁶⁰ was quickly brought out so that the extent of this police-state behaviour could be made plain for all to see. According to *Tidsignal*, the CIA and SäPo attempted to block its publication.¹⁵⁶¹

By the summer of 1966,¹⁵⁶² as the scandal continued, *Tidsignal* quickly organised its own campaign to encourage its readership to register known SäPo agents using exactly the same methods used by the security police – photographing them in public places and collecting tips from members of the public as to their whereabouts.¹⁵⁶³ Photos of SäPo leaders were in particularly high demand, since those were not available through conventional press channels.¹⁵⁶⁴ The campaign went as far as getting information on the individual cars and agents seen photographing anti-war demonstrations.¹⁵⁶⁵ The "security

¹⁵⁵¹ TiS 42/66, G. Casanero, "Pottsamlaren...", 10.

¹⁵⁵² TiS 31/66, "SäPo vinkar av Clarté", 4.

¹⁵⁵³ TiS 22/66, Nils Hammarström, "En subversive betraktelse", 11; TiS 34/66, "Dåligt med tid för u-länder om Ulla L. ska lyssna på SäPo", 13; LibD 2/68, Janerik Larsson, "är åsiktsregistret nödvändigt?", 21-24; TiS 4/68, "En stat regeras inte med hjälp av militär utan med hjälp av hemliga kartotek...", 4-5.

¹⁵⁵⁴ LibD 2/68, Janerik Larsson, "är åsiktsregistret nödvändigt?", 21-24; Clarté 2/68, "Hermansson om SäPo", 4.

¹⁵⁵⁵ TiS 4/68, "En stat regeras inte med hjälp av militär utan med hjälp av hemliga kartotek...", 4-5.

¹⁵⁵⁶ TiS 3/68, Bo Hammar, "SäPo är en fara för hela vänstern", 6; TiS 3/68, Ts, "Säpo-provokationen", 2.

¹⁵⁵⁷ TiS 35/66, "Regeringen lämnade ut 361 000 svenskars namn till säkerhetspolisens hemliga register!!!".

¹⁵⁵⁸ TiS 1/67, Göran Therborn, "Säkerhetsrisker, förenen eder", 14.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Clarté 2/67, Svenska Clartéförbundet, "Säkerhetspolis – för vems säkerhet?", 4.

¹⁵⁶⁰ *Säkerhetspolisens hemliga register : om åsiktsfrihet och åsiktsföljelse / eds. Sven Rydenfelt, Janerik Larsson. Göteborg : Zinderman ; 1966.*

¹⁵⁶¹ TiS 46/66, "Försöker SäPo hindra den fria debatten?", 3; LibD 2/68, Janerik Larsson, "är åsiktsregistret nödvändigt?", 21-24.

¹⁵⁶² TiS 3/68, Bo Hammar, "SäPo är en fara för hela vänstern", 6.

¹⁵⁶³ TiS 25/66, "Medan säkerhetspolisens metoder", 12.

¹⁵⁶⁴ TiS 27/66, "Efterlyses: Foton av säkerhetspoliser".

¹⁵⁶⁵ TiS 28/66, "Vem kan tipsa oss om SäPo-agen X i bil AB10056?", 6.

police of the week” became a recurring feature with photos and personal information about individual agents.¹⁵⁶⁶ *Tidsignals* efforts were duly noted abroad, and after a bit of an altercation, the conservative British paper, the *Sunday Telegraph* interviewed the editor to ask what it was that *Tidsignals* thought it was doing with its “counter-intelligence campaign”¹⁵⁶⁷ – it had also started a petition against the register, signed by Joachim Israel among others.¹⁵⁶⁸ Once the campaign of registering SäPo detectives had begun, *Tidsignal* used its resources to prove that CIA was indeed involved in the scandal. Not only were the Swedish security services clearly aiding US imperialism,¹⁵⁶⁹ it had been verified that American diplomats and trade representatives in Finland were cover-ups used by the intelligence agencies.¹⁵⁷⁰ In one article, journalists of *Tidsignal* even claimed to have had lunch with known CIA operatives, revealing names, addresses, and phone numbers of suspected agents.¹⁵⁷¹

By the beginning of 1967, less than a year after the scandal had originally broke, *Tidsignal* had lost all the reformist ideas it had previously held: parliamentary control of the SäPo was clearly unrealistic, the SäPo leadership were not to be trusted, and the main focus was now on simply destroying the whole register,¹⁵⁷² for fear that the information in it would be leaked to foreign security services.¹⁵⁷³ The radicalisation of *Tidsignal's* editorial was enthusiastically received by other New Left papers who also stressed the need for greater political resistance. The SäPo had revealed the bourgeois power structures that really controlled society by showing how the real political power was held by security officials.¹⁵⁷⁴ This inspired direct comparisons to the West German emergency laws; both of these reduced democracy while claiming to secure it from external threats.¹⁵⁷⁵ Crucially, the SäPo lacked the popular legitimacy that was becoming ever more important for the New Left. “We, Anti-fascists, Socialists, and Communists”, declared *Clarté* rather arrogantly, “have one thing that makes us invincible. We stand on the people’s side. The future belongs to the people.”¹⁵⁷⁶

While Vietnam and the rise of third-world activism are often cited as an explanation for the way Nordic radical movements became more politicised and anti-US, domestic conflicts with the police and the SäPo were certainly also

¹⁵⁶⁶ TiS 29/66, .Ts, “Avgå, herr polisminister!”.

¹⁵⁶⁷ TiS 30/66, Christer Högstedt, “Öppet brev till säkerhetschef Vinge”, 14.

¹⁵⁶⁸ TiS 4/67, “Stoppa SäPo!”, 6.

¹⁵⁶⁹ TiS 3/68, .Ts, “Säpo-provokationen”, 2.

¹⁵⁷⁰ TiS 45/67, James de Gaalitz, “Tidsignal avslöjar amerikanska CIA-spioner!”, 3; TiS 45/67, “Regeringen och agenterna”, 4..

¹⁵⁷¹ TiS 46/67, Vi åt fläskpannkaka med CIA på Grand...”, 8-9.

¹⁵⁷² TiS 1/67, Göran Therborn, “Säkerhetsrisker, förenen eder”, 14; TiS 3/68, VPK Storstockholm representantskapet, “Avskaffa åsiktsregistren!”, 7.

¹⁵⁷³ TiS 1/67, .Ts, “När säkerhetspolisen förra gången skulle förstöra sina register lurades riksdagen”, 3.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Zenit 1/67, “Brösttoner i SäPo-demokratien”, 84-85; *Clarté* 2/67, Svenska Clartéförbundet, “Säkerhetspolis – för vems säkerhet?”, 4.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Konkret 2/67, Nordal Åkerman, “SäPo-frågan måste lösas!”, 7- 8.

¹⁵⁷⁶ “Vi, antifascister, socialister, kommunister, har en sak som gör att vi är oövervinnliga. Vi står på folkets sida. Framtiden tillhör folket.” *Clarté* 2/68, Gunnar Bylin, “SäPo – ett hot mot folkets säkerhet”, 43-46.

important. Comparisons between Sweden and Finland reveal how differently sixties radicals would position themselves in relation to social authorities even in political cultures that were historically quite similar to each other; what is also notable is the way in which contemporary transnational comparisons were reversed in these debates. While Sweden was often the progressive yardstick for Finnish radicals, Finland was also an example for Swedish activists – at least when it came to the more serious subject of Cold War surveillance and espionage.

7.2 From Historical to Global to Local Fascism

Domestic examples of police violence and malpractice, while practical, were not the only examples of authoritarian tendencies available to Nordic radicals. The emerging focus on social power structures and hegemonies, one of the main features of the radicalisation process, meant that examples from any western society could be used to validate local political trends. Spatial distance and cultural and political differences became less significant, as they still indicated the general direction in store for the west and therefore Nordic societies. They were all directly linked to same general structures of authoritarianism, conservative hegemony, and ever-diminishing democracy that were now a feature of all advanced capitalist societies. Transnational examples could be used to provide further political justification for theoretical explanations of the power structures present in all these societies, while simultaneously moving discussions about authoritarianism on from the details of concrete examples to the transnational imagination.¹⁵⁷⁷

Distance also brought out one of the changes that was instrumental in the wider radicalisation of Nordic radical publics. With the focus on theoretical generalisations, commentary on foreign national and political contexts became notably more emotional in tone. It relied less on statistical and empirical analysis, and more on individual experiences and generalisations that could be supported by these experiences. These cases were some of the first that applied terms such as fascism and Nazism to the core of reactionary politics as they saw it. This emotive style was, however, far from the more detached, theoretical explanations of modern fascism as formulated principally by the Frankfurt School. Political traditions and contexts also markedly influenced the usability of fascist-related terminology: for the Swedish anti-war movement and especially its Maoist wing working inside *Clartéförbundet*, it was a natural part of the imperialist frame.¹⁵⁷⁸ Meanwhile, in Finland – even with a prominent background in the field of arts and humanities – Finnish New Left activists were far more ready to use fascism-related concepts when compared to their student counterparts; political traditions legitimised certain concepts that in more general discourses were rather controversial.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Jørgensen 2011, 53.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Salomon 1996, 127-135.

As with the radicalisation process in general, understanding temporal dynamics is important for analysing the uses of fascism-related terms. In early Nordic radical debates, historical examples of Nazism centred around the Eichmann trial in 1961. A major public event for its time, the trial has been interpreted as an important event in the German media and for processing the Nazi past.¹⁵⁷⁹ The event was reported in the Nordic radical press, but the perspective was mainly on the legal and structural aspects of Nazism. For the Finnish New Left press, the Eichmann trial was first and foremost a legal matter, and an example of the reprehensible nature of capital punishment in particular.¹⁵⁸⁰ A liberal focus on individual rights dominated even when grave examples of Nazi war crimes were discussed. Swedish New Left papers drew attention to the continuities of Nazi tendencies in German culture, intellectual history, and state bureaucracy, rather than demonising Eichmann himself.¹⁵⁸¹ While the Nordic Radical press did tackle some aspects of the personal suffering of victims (for instance, encouraging personal connections to holocaust survivors), most holocaust histories were generalised and focused on explaining instances of fascism as mainly a German phenomenon.¹⁵⁸²

Outside socialist class-rhetoric, the topic of decolonisation offered the first cases where fascism could be applied to the present day. Portugal, with its dictatorship and the war it was waging to try and hold on to its colonies, was an easy target for Swedish New Left papers.¹⁵⁸³ The political importance of Portugal was stressed because the Swedish government, via the EFTA, was economically helping Salazar's regime in spite of its colonial ambitions.¹⁵⁸⁴ Franco's Spain also fitted the bill well, harking back to Swedish anti-fascist actions in the Spanish Civil War;¹⁵⁸⁵ while Algeria¹⁵⁸⁶ and South Africa¹⁵⁸⁷ provided examples of authoritarianism in times of decolonisation and racial discrimination. The Greek military junta was another contemporary example of a rightist coup that was often referred to, even in the Finnish radical papers that were usually less international in their focus. Not only was the Greek coup convenient because of

¹⁵⁷⁹ Mausbach 2006, 183.

¹⁵⁸⁰ *Tilanne* 1/60, I.R., "Tähystimessä Genocidium", 39-41; *tilanne* 5-6/62, Peritus, "Kesä ja kuolema/Tuomio Israelissa", 226-228.

¹⁵⁸¹ *Clarté* 3/62, John Takman, "Öppen fråga efter Eichmanprocessen: Vem är ambassör Karl Werkmeister?", 10-13.

¹⁵⁸² *YL* 2/60, Erkki Reenpää: "vielä judenfrage" 11; *YL* 3/60, A. H. "muutama vaatimaton sana" 10; *YL* 6/60, hm, "'vörpu' sano ruottalaane", 14; *YL* 5/60, Hannu Valkama, "Jugedfrage" 13; *TiS* 14/65, Sven O. Bergkvist, "Ett fullsatt stadion"; *TiS* 32/66, Sune Lantz, "Blodsvägen/Här mördades över 1000 slavarbetare"; *TiS* 30-31/67, Sune Lantz, "Lidice", 4; *TiS* 2/67, Sten Sjöberg, "Martin Bormann – ett levande lik", 5.

¹⁵⁸³ *Clarté* 2/57, Kingsley Martin, "Fascism i Jesu namn", 9-10; *Clarté* 4/61, Kjell E. Johansson, "Den farliga fascismen", 26-27; *Clarté* 3/64, "Revolution eller statskupp?", 8-10, 24; *Clarté* 5-6/66, Hans Isaksson, "Socialism eller fascism?", 10-14.

¹⁵⁸⁴ *TiS* 8-9/65, William Henning, "Sveriges Efta-bröder", 6; *TiS* 26/66, "Svenska företags stöds åt fascismen", 15, 10 Sellström 1999.

¹⁵⁸⁵ *TiS* 5/65, "Fascismen kan inte hålla sig kvar länge till", 10; *Konkret* 6/67, Sven O Andersson, "Kan en fascist se ut hur som helst?", 38-39; Scott 2009b.

¹⁵⁸⁶ *Clarté* 1/60, Sivar Arnér, "Antisemitismen", 3-4.

¹⁵⁸⁷ *Clarté* 4/60, Gunnar Inghe, "Vem var Auschwitz-kommandanten?", 3-5.

its timing in 1967 at the peak of the Nordic radicalisation, but it was an example of a military and authoritarian coup on European soil, and in a country aligned with NATO. It ticked all the boxes for the fascist frame that the New Left press wanted to warn its readership about. Even otherwise relatively moderate *Tidsignal* did not hide its anger: "it is fascism and nothing else. And fascism is contempt for human kind. He who can find excuses for such contempt is himself a fascist."¹⁵⁸⁸ Focus on the Greek case was not only familiar and easy to identify with as a small state, it also demonstrated what could happen if political rights were removed, foreign monopolies were allowed to interfere, and the CIA was funding in the background.¹⁵⁸⁹ Just recently, West German agents had been caught tailing Greek guest workers, which gave the Swedish New Left press yet another reason to suspect the SÄPo of doing the same in Sweden.¹⁵⁹⁰

Opposition to the Greek junta helped reinforce domestic political goals of, for example, opposing domestic rearmament demands, or proving that conservatives in Finland were "monarchists" or otherwise antidemocratic.¹⁵⁹¹ The symbolic position of Greece as the cradle of western democracy was particularly useful, as it threw the atrocities of the junta into stark juxtaposition, highlighting it as a more general threat to *European* freedom and justice. Indeed, here was an eloquent example of authoritarian, nay "fascist" traditions being re-established in Europe.¹⁵⁹² Reportage from local Greek activists vindicated these claims of fascism and showed, not only how local dissidents and Communists were being oppressed, but also how the status of legal institutions were in serious danger.¹⁵⁹³ The Greeks were in clear need of practical support: "[t]he Greeks hope, therefore, that the Swedes show solidarity towards the Greek workers here".¹⁵⁹⁴ In Finland, extra-parliamentary pressure, that had been noted appreciatively by the Greeks, was personified in the tough, unyielding figure of Niilo Wälläri, boss of the Finnish Shipping Union. Wälläri had knowingly organised a political strike which stopped Finnish sailors working for Greek shipping companies.¹⁵⁹⁵ Grass-roots support for the Greek people was even organised at the University of Oulu, an otherwise new and peripheral part of the Finnish student scene.¹⁵⁹⁶

¹⁵⁸⁸ "det är fascism och ingenting annat. Och fascism är förakt för människan. Och den som kan hitta ursäker för sådant förakt är själv en fascist." TiS 18/67, "Fascismen på marsch i Grekland", 11

¹⁵⁸⁹ TiS 33/67, "Fascistregimen i Grekland möts av kvävande isolering", 7; TiS 19/68, "Stöder FFI fascismen i Grekland", 12.

¹⁵⁹⁰ TiS 38/66, CH. Kotsinas, "Spionage mot grekerna i Sverige", 6.

¹⁵⁹¹ JYL 15/67, PK, " "Jos jotakin sattuisi" ", 3; OYL 17/67, Tarmo Koskinen, "Hyökkäys on paras puolustus", 4.

¹⁵⁹² OYL 15/68, J.L., "Ylioppilaiden mellakat", 3.

¹⁵⁹³ YL 19/67, "The glory that was Greece", 4; OYL 32/67, "Vankilasaaren esittely", 4.

¹⁵⁹⁴ "Därför är det också grekernas förhoppning att svenskarna solidariserar sig med de grekiska arbetarna här." TiS 38/66, CH. Kotsinas, "Spionage mot grekerna i Sverige", 6.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Ylioppilaslehti 19/67, "The glory that was Greece", 4.

¹⁵⁹⁶ OYL 8/68, J.L., "Kreikassa ei saa tietää", 6.

Transnational examples provided a more abstract frame for conceptualising fascism that could then also be used when more specific German questions were debated. Throughout the Sixties, Nazi references had been a common feature of the New Left's take on German domestic politics, and they were quick to frame notable German politicians like Chancellor Adenauer as Nazi sympathisers, and to keep their audiences relatively well-informed about controversies like the Spiegel affair.¹⁵⁹⁷ The Swedish New Left press also followed accusations made by the West German New Left claiming that that the whole country was run by "former SS generals"¹⁵⁹⁸ and that the courts, police, and diplomatic corps were also dominated by ex-Nazis.¹⁵⁹⁹ These accusations were recycled in allegations made against Kiesinger and his Cabinet.¹⁶⁰⁰ "The strong influence Nazi officials, agents and warmongers have on West German foreign policy and the intelligence service indicates continuity at work", argued *Tidsignal*.¹⁶⁰¹ The message was that Germany was still a fertile ground for Nazism.¹⁶⁰²

The Finnish New Left press was more moderate in its analysis, but still considered the FRG to be a particularly blatant example of the rightist turn in European social democracy and dogmatic anticommunism.¹⁶⁰³ It was therefore easy for them to agree with Karl Jaspers, who saw the FRG as a restoration of "the old Germany".¹⁶⁰⁴ While highly critical, these remarks were again not based on any particular structural analysis of the characteristics of the western democracy in general or in the West German context in particular; rather, they followed reasonably common arguments of national characteristics based on cultural and historical narratives that veered towards national, at times even ethnic stereotypes. Crucially, they lacked explicit analysis of significant psychological and economic structures that produced and reproduced conservative attitudes in contemporary contexts. Instead, historical continuities were emphasized.¹⁶⁰⁵ The radical understanding of Finnish political culture during the 1930s was a bona fide example of German influence that could

¹⁵⁹⁷ Tilanne 2/60, Peritus, "Joulun tullen Saksan uhka", 49-50; Clarté 1/60, 2-3; Clarté 1/60, Sivar Arnér, "Antisemitismen", 3-4; Tilanne 2/60, Teuvo Olli, "Franz-Josef Strauss vai Renate Riemeck?", 62-64; Tilanne 9/62, "Vuosina 1956-57", 375-380; Tilanne 2/63, Raimo Malm, "Saksan kysymyksestä", 83-85; TiS 31/65, James de Gaalitz, "Vilka dömer i Västtyskland!", 16.

¹⁵⁹⁸ TiS 15/65, "Detta gjorde nazisterna", 18.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Clarté 3/62, John Takman, "Öppen fråga efter Eichmanprocessen: Vem är ambassör Karl Werkmeister?", 10-13; Clarté 4/61, Kjell E. Johansson, "Den farliga fascismen", 26-27; TiS 32/66, Sune Lantz, "Blodsvägen/Här mördades över 1000 slavarbetare".

¹⁶⁰⁰ TiS 7/68, James de Gaalitz, "Nu: Västtysklands förbundskansler/Då: Nazistisk propagandachef", 6-7; TiS 23/68, James de Gaalitz, "NPD:s rika gynnare", 14.

¹⁶⁰¹ "Det starka inflytande som nazistiska tjänstemän, agenter och kirgsförbryrare har på den västtyska utrikespolitiken och underrättelsetjänsten tyder på kontinuitet i arbet." TiS 17/68, "Vad blev det av Hitlers spioner i Sverige?"

¹⁶⁰² TiS 28/66, James de Gaalitz, "Under Adolf II:s ledning marscherar nazisterna upp igen", 15, 10

¹⁶⁰³ Tilanne 2/60, Teuvo Olli, "Franz-Josef Strauss vai Renate Riemeck?", 62-64; Aikalainen 7-8/65, Pertti Lindfors, "Stalinistisista piirteistä DDR:ssä", 36-44.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Tilanne 2/63, Raimo Malm, "Saksan kysymyksestä", 83-85.

¹⁶⁰⁵ JYL 23/67, "Saksan kysymyksestä", 3.

recur.¹⁶⁰⁶ Similar characteristics were also present in contemporary political culture. Paavo Lipponen, one of the young social democratic hopefuls, argued that “civil servants and the Finnish intelligentsia still maintain a predominantly German-style apolitical stance [...]. This German-style stance is, at its core, anti-democratic and cannot stop the rise of Hitlers”¹⁶⁰⁷. According to this framing, the fact that the Germans had already lured Finland into a war once meant they might do it again, so Finnish radicals should be vigilant about neo-Nazism in West Germany.¹⁶⁰⁸

An article written by Helke Sander points to how sensitive the Finnish radical press was to events in West Germany, before the country itself became one of the leading examples of European radicalism. Sander, nowadays perhaps best known as one of the leaders of German second-wave feminist movement and as a respected movie director, was married to the radical author and translator Markku Lahtela and lived in Finland until 1965. Her description of living among the Finnish New Left as a woman from West Germany gives a glimpse of how the German case was treated by the Finns; it was based more on national stereotype than any structural or political analysis. In her article, published in *Tilanne* in 1964, Sander strongly defended her compatriots against the overly simplified clichés of Germans being susceptible to militarism and Nazism that seemed to dominate the Finnish Left. “Not every German who considers her country beautiful is a Nazi, and not everyone who dislikes everything in Germany is a good person.”¹⁶⁰⁹ Sander also gave a vivid depiction of the feelings of guilt that seemed to cross generational divides: “I feel every day how the evil deeds of fathers are avenged on the children up until the third and fourth generation”.¹⁶¹⁰ Even after she returned to the FRG, Sander would feature in the Finnish radical press as an expert of German politics.¹⁶¹¹

7.3 Domestic Fascists

The Globalisation of the radical press and the more abstract use of the term ‘fascism’ greatly affected the way contemporary Nordic society was approached in the radical press; earlier discourses that had focused on the peculiarities of

¹⁶⁰⁶ *Tilanne* 4-5/65, Erkki Vala, “Sananvapauden rajoittamismenettelyt”, 323-326.

¹⁶⁰⁷ “suomalaisen sivistyneistön keskuudessa elää kuitenkin vielä voimakkaana saksalaistyyppinen epäpoliittinen virkamiesasenne [...]. Saksalaistyyppinen asenne on pohjimmiltaan demokratian vastainen, se ei voi estää hitlereiden nousua.” TYL 5/67, Paavo Lipponen, “Puoluetukihillittömyys”, 4

¹⁶⁰⁸ OYL 10/68, R.P., “Mitä uutta uusnatsismista?”, 4-5.

¹⁶⁰⁹ “Ei jokainen saksalainen, joka pitää maataan kauniina, ole natsi, eikä jokainen, joka kaikkea Saksassa paheksuu, ole hyvä ihminen.” *Tilanne* 8/64, Helke Sander, “Saksalainen ihmisenä ihmisten joukossa”, 290-293.

¹⁶¹⁰ “Koen omassa itsessäni joka päivä, että isien pahat teot kostetaan lapsille kolmanteen ja neljanteen polveen.” *Tilanne* 8/64, Helke Sander, “Saksalainen ihmisenä ihmisten joukossa”, 290-293.

¹⁶¹¹ JYL 17/68, Helke Sander, “Miksi Dutschke”, 11. For further analysis on her role, see Chapter 8.

Nordic democracy were now challenged by viewpoints that saw signs of global continuities and even hidden influences and influencers. The process of historical appropriation was a complex one, depending on the context, but was characterised by bold moral divisions and bias. In many ways, it was reminiscent of the shift from concrete to abstract that had also occurred in the use of violent third-world examples.

Finland's own political history made the matter of defining past fascism more pressing than perhaps elsewhere in the Nordic countries. Besides being allied with the Germans during WWII, there was also the stigma of a home-grown radical agrarian nationalist and anti-communist movement in the 1930s known as the Lapua Movement, which so aptly demonstrated national and conservative traditions in Finnish society. The matter was significant too in that it united the New Left and cultural radicals in shared opposition. Many contemporaries, for instance described the première of a musical based on those historical events (*Lapualaisooppera*), in March 1966, as a pivotal moment legitimising a turn towards greater political activism.¹⁶¹² It also coincided with the electoral win of leftist parties that led to the play's author, Arvo Salo (former editor of *Ylioppilaslehti*), becoming an MP for the Social Democrats.

For the Finnish radical press, historical examples of right-wing activism offered a double opportunity: historical burdens from the 1930s could be used to explain the continuities of Finnish political culture, but it could also be contrasted with the values of present-day society to show that conservative resistance to the radical agenda was hopelessly old-fashioned. A belief in social progress ensured that such archaic attitudes would soon be a thing of the past. Because of the important role of the "Academic Karelia Society" (AKS)¹⁶¹³ in the aggressive nationalism of the 1930s, the student movement in particular had to redefine itself vis-à-vis the political activism of their forebears. Primarily, fascism could be used as a straightforward derogatory concept, as Finnish fascism was already a historical fact.¹⁶¹⁴ The jingoism exemplified by the politics of the 1930s was interpreted as a sure indication of war to come, a rather teleological and anachronistic reading of historical events but one that fitted well into the principled pacifism so important in the early phases of Finnish radicalism. Many also believed that AKS-type sentiments were still quite prevalent among Finns in the Sixties - world views only changed slowly, and radical right-wing activism should therefore not be dismissed.¹⁶¹⁵ National romanticism, demands for a politically unified and harmonious nation, law and order, and militarism were all traditions that the radicals saw as preserving 1930s values, and the fact that there had been popular support for Finnish fascism showed how violent,

¹⁶¹² Tuominen 1991, 181; Hyvärinen 1994, 59.

¹⁶¹³ The AKS were a radical ethnonationalist student organisation who were deeply anti-socialist. Aikalainen 2/64, kilpi, "Missä ovat heimoveljet?", 6-8; Aviisi 15/68, PK, "Epädemokraattinen urheilumme", 3.

¹⁶¹⁴ Aikalainen 5/65, 1; JYL 16/66, Fokus, "Nat(s)ionalismi", 3.

¹⁶¹⁵ JYL 17/61, Raimo Arponen, "Kansallisuusaate puntarissa II Väärillä raiteilla (JATKOA)", 2.

reactionary attitudes had been the norm before the war.¹⁶¹⁶ Readers were reminded, however, that the Finnish people had risen “from the semi-fascist darkness of the 1930s into a democratic way of thinking.”¹⁶¹⁷ This concept of “semi-fascism”¹⁶¹⁸ was a useful term for criticising the past without dissolving the foundations of a narrative that also wanted to stress the progress of democracy. It was this idea of progress which portrayed the nationalism of the 1930s as a historically reprehensible period that could now be left behind.¹⁶¹⁹

Intriguingly, the alliance between Finland and Germany during WWII was not baggage of the past that could be used in the same way. In 1965, the British historian, Anthony Upton, had published a seminal work about Finnish wartime foreign policy, but his argument that Finland had taken an active role in seeking an alliance with Germany was not readily accepted by all Finnish historians.¹⁶²⁰ While the issue did feature in the student press from time to time, it stayed within the sphere of academic history writing. An isolated discourse around Austrian Jews deported from Finland during the war was the only notable exception, but even this direct connection between Finland and the Holocaust did not stir up any real controversy.¹⁶²¹ The Finnish student press focused on the role of individuals such as Rolf Nevanlinna and Arvi Poijärvi who had been members of the Committee that handled Finnish volunteers for the SS. Some academics were also criticised for their support of IKL, the Finnish Fascist Party founded on the ruins of the Lapua movement.¹⁶²² Yet, these were isolated examples and the role of the Finland's cooperation with the Nazis at the state-level would only feature in public debates after the collapse of the USSR in the 1990s.

Sweden had been neutral during WWII, and the deeds of human rights heroes like Raoul Wallenberg further distanced the nation from the atrocities of Nazi Germany.¹⁶²³ However, this did not stop Jan Myrdal from pointing out that the lack of rights to freely assemble in Sweden harked back to its traditional relationship with Germany; he also argued that there had been political cooperation between Sweden and Nazi Germany.¹⁶²⁴ Even before its turn

¹⁶¹⁶ Tilanne 3/65, Jarno Pennanen, “SKP:n johtama rauhanliike Svinhufvudista Svinhufvudiin”, 220-229; Ylioppilaslehti 30/67, Jukka Kemppinen, “Isänmaalliset laulut ja marssit”, 10; Aviisi 30/68, Hannu Vesa, “Amerikkalaisen fasismin aika”, 3; Ylioppilaslehti 22/67, Heikki Palmu, “Isänmaan historiaa”, 10; Tilanne 3/65, K. Nickul, “Rauhanliikkeestä Suomessa maailmansotien välillä”, 217-220; Clarté 5-6/66, Jörn Svensson, “Socialfascismen”, 4-9.

¹⁶¹⁷ “1930-luvun puolifasistisesta pimeydestä on kasvettu demokraattiseen ajattelutapaan.” YyKoo 5/61, Mauri Sirniö, “Vihaisten varjot”, 5, 8.

¹⁶¹⁸ See also Tilanne 4-5/65, Erkki Vala, “Sananvapauden rajoittamismenetelmät”, 323-326.

¹⁶¹⁹ Tilanne 3/65, Jarno Pennanen, “SKP:n johtama rauhanliike Svinhufvudista Svinhufvudiin”, 220-229; Ylioppilaslehti 30/67, Jukka Kemppinen, “Isänmaalliset laulut ja marssit”, 10; Ajankohta 5/67, Bo Ahlfors & Pentti Holappa, “Poliittinen radikalismi”, 7.

¹⁶²⁰ Ylioppilaslehti 34/65, “Valinta oli väärä - koska tulos oli huono”.

¹⁶²¹ Ylioppilaslehti 7/68, Edwin Kaapeli, “Tällä viikolla/Natsienko rikoskumppaneita”, 4.

¹⁶²² TYL 7/65, “Pyhät arvot ja rienaajat”, 4.

¹⁶²³ Matz 2012.

¹⁶²⁴ TiS 4/68, Jan Myrdal, “Anmärkningar om ett förhörprotokoll”, 10-11, 14.

towards Maoism, *Clarté* was also highly critical of the official narrative of Swedish wartime neutrality. The paper noted the 1939 refugee situation in particular; Jewish refugees escaping persecution in Germany had not been allowed to enter the country, and the Swedish state had also closely cooperated with the “fascist police” in Finland at the time. The point was made by publishing personal narratives of suffering victims.¹⁶²⁵ For *Clarté*, this showed that Sweden had directly contributed to the Holocaust. The matter was sensitive not just because there was clear evidence of foreign meddling, but because it showed how some wartime Swedish politicians had wanted to collaborate like Quisling had in Norway. Deportations of Danish and Norwegian Jews and members of the resistance movement also pointed to this, and even the student organisations themselves were not without blame either. “Both Lund and Uppsala Student Unions”, *Konkret* declared, “were clearly Nazi in their arguments”. The paper reinforced this claim by providing lists of individuals it saw as Nazi collaborators, including members of German associations, some of whom were notable professors. *Konkret*'s verdict was that these cases confirmed a clear pro-German tendency in Sweden in both scientific and cultural spheres.¹⁶²⁶ After its turn to Maoism, *Clarté* went even further to claim that a fascist coup had been planned in Sweden during the height of German power in 1940 and 1941.¹⁶²⁷

For the Finnish New Left, the 1930s was not just marked by authoritarianism; it also offered salutary warnings about the inner feuds and naïve attitudes shown by the Left towards totalitarianism at that time.¹⁶²⁸ In fact, some of the more prominent members of the Sixties New Left – Jarno Pennanen (the editor of *Tilanne*), and frequent contributors Raoul Palmgren, and Arvo Turtiainen – had all been active members of the leftist intellectual opposition in the 1930s (albeit in different groups). Yet, criticising the legacies of 1930s also served as a political argument for not making the same mistakes as the Communist had done by rigidly associating itself with the USSR. At the same time, *Tilanne* felt obliged to defend its editor Jarno Pennanen against Soviet accusations in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* of having close relations with the US, by pointing to his antifascist credentials.¹⁶²⁹ Pennanen, along with other historically prominent cultural figures of the Finnish Left, had been a member of *Kiila*, a progressive left-wing cultural organisation founded in the 1930s.¹⁶³⁰

A similar form of historical validation was being used within the Swedish New Left too. While the hidden fascism of Swedish society was occasionally used to highlight the existence of an antifascist counter-current, better examples could

¹⁶²⁵ *Clarté* 4/64, John Takman, “De som mördade Hjelmen”, 11, 20-23.

¹⁶²⁶ “Både Lunds och Uppsala studentkår var klart nazistisk i sin argumentation.” *Konkret* 6/67, Per Engdahl & Sven O Andersson, “Fascismen”, 31-34.

¹⁶²⁷ *Clarté* 4/67, “Vår politiska polis”, 6-12.

¹⁶²⁸ *Tilanne* 5/64, V. Hirvi, “30-60”, 115-117; *Tilanne* 3/65, Jarno Pennanen, “SKP:n johtama rauhanliike Svinhufvudista Svinhufvudiin”, 220-229.

¹⁶²⁹ *Tilanne* 7/64, *Kiila* r.y., “Avoim kirje Literaturnaja Gazetalle”, 252-254.

¹⁶³⁰ *Aikalainen* 1/64, “Edistyksellisiä kulttuurijärjestöjä”, 56; *Tilanne* 3/65, Jarno Pennanen, “SKP:n johtama rauhanliike Svinhufvudista Svinhufvudiin”, 220-229; *Aikalainen* 1/67, “Aatteenne perkeleeksi lihassa ja veressä”, 50-54.

be found in how Swedes had flocked to the antifascist cause in the Spanish Civil War.¹⁶³¹ These differences aptly demonstrate differences between the social and political backgrounds of the Finnish and Swedish New Left: while Finns focused on the intelligentsia and forgotten heroes of working-class culture and literature, the members of *Clartéförbundet* in Sweden, for instance, preferred to dwell on their international antifascist heroism.¹⁶³² This led to the conclusion that antifascism should be one of the defining factors of Socialism; *Tidsignal* certainly subscribed to this idea when they made their register of known Swedish fascists (see 7.1).¹⁶³³

The 1930s revealed the vulnerability of constitutional rights, and how they could disappear at any moment if not actively defended.¹⁶³⁴ In this argument, fascism could serve as a concept that united all conservative and authoritarian conceptions of art and culture, as in the 1930s there were clear cultural hierarchies used to morally condemn certain kinds of art.¹⁶³⁵ Often, fascism was a useful political concept simply because it could still shock readers. As one contemporary sarcastically observed (writing under a pseudonym for *Ylioppilaslehti*), “[o]ne of the most popular topics of pub conversations among young intellectuals today is fascism”¹⁶³⁶. Indeed, Goebbels references were not unheard of, and cases of blatant lies in the mainstream media were described as “propaganda”.¹⁶³⁷ A systematic understanding of social contexts such as the free press was crucial here – as it could either strengthen or undermine democracy. Arguments that combined emotional and historical layers took the historical alliance of Finnish conservatives with the Nazis and connected them to the lack of free speech and social restrictions that were in place in Finnish society, especially during the 1930s and 1940s.¹⁶³⁸ The history of fascism also served as a reminder to why defeating alienation was of social importance.¹⁶³⁹ Without a meaningful and active professional, social, and cultural life, citizens were more

¹⁶³¹ See, e.g. *Clarté* 3/63, a special issue on the Spanish Civil War; Scott 2009b.

¹⁶³² *Clarté* 4/61, “Vad rött du tänkt”, 10-13.

¹⁶³³ *TiS* 30/66, Christer Högstedt, “Öppet brev till säkerhetschef Vinge”, 14; *Clarté* 4/67, “Vår politiska polis”, 6-12.

¹⁶³⁴ *JYL* 15/67, “Forum 67”, 4-5.

¹⁶³⁵ *JYL* 29/63, -TP, “penttisaarikoskimatina (sic)” 4-5; Aikalainen 1/65, Markku Lahtela, “Johdatus hermostumiseen”, 35-40; *Yykoo* kesänumero/65, Torsten Peltomo, “Rauhan ja sodan sankarit”, 6; *Aviisi*, 12/68, Jarmo Lavila, “Vielä kerran”, 4; *Tilanne* 3/63, Kalle, “Varma arpa”, 158-159; *Aviisi*, 24/67, Pertti Hemánus, “Kiistan opetukset”, 4; *TYL* 7/65, “Pyhät arvot ja rienaajat”, 4; *TYL* Juhani Siltala, “Pitkluodon reaktiot”, 6:4/65; *Nya Argus* 9-10/65, Klaus W. Karlsson, “Hyckleri och realism i sexualdebatten”, 124-127; *TYL* 15/66, Max Rand, “Herra Toimittaja”, 3; *Aviisi*, 10/67, J.R., “Puhetta kansalle”, 5.

¹⁶³⁶ “Eräs suositummista kaljakeskustelun aiheista nuoren älymystön keskuudessa nykyään on fascismi.” *Ylioppilaslehti* 3/67, Tumppi, “Vapaa sana / Fascismin olemus”, 10.

¹⁶³⁷ *OYL* 10/64, “Sana on rajoitettu”, 1; *JYL* 11/67, Matti Sihto & Hannu Taipale, “Tabu a la Kebu”, 3; Aikalainen 3/66, Kauko Heikurainen (keskustapuoluelainen), “Maaliskuun vaalit”, 9-11; *Ylioppilaslehti* 6/68, AK, “Tällä viikolla/Uusi Suomi on roikale”, 4.

¹⁶³⁸ *Tilanne* 4-5/65, Erkki Vala, “Sananvapauden rajoittamismenetelmät”, 323-326.

¹⁶³⁹ *JYL* 7/68, Kalevi Kivistö, “Vieroitettut vieraantuneet”, 3, 5.

likely to become supporters of authoritarian policies. The moral use of fascism-related concepts, in their broadest sense, came to mean all authoritarian attitudes – in the USSR¹⁶⁴⁰ as much as in the FRG. In this sense, “fascism” was being used to tar other leftist positions, both Social Democrats and hard-line Communists.¹⁶⁴¹ Reformism, “quasi-radical” attitudes, anti-socialist political goals, petit-bourgeois attitudes were all lumped together. As *Clarté* said of the long-time chair of the Finnish Social Democrats: “Väinö Tanner is a prime example of social fascism in the labour movement.”¹⁶⁴²

Use of fascism-related concepts separate from historical examples was a relatively late occurrence in the polarisation of the radical frame in the Nordic context. While transnational events and processes were perhaps easier to interpret through the concept, it also appeared in particular domestic Nordic debates. In these debates, a mere search for emotional examples of authoritarianism was not enough, and pinpointing clear adversaries who represented authoritarian features in the field of domestic politics became more and more common. In the Swedish New Left press, this hunt for individuals who could personally be held responsible was particularly pronounced in, for example, the campaign directed against individual SÄPo officers. In Finland, the integration of socialists and social democrats into the government after 1966 elections meant that even radical leftists were in a position where they were prepared to highlight their cooperative attitudes. Interestingly, the Finnish right were also moderating their position, to accept long-standing principled issues like an increase in welfare policies, income subsidies, and a more Soviet-friendly foreign policy.¹⁶⁴³ Some student radicals who had decided to stay outside party politics began to think that establishing a real fascist party might “clarify” the Finnish political situation.¹⁶⁴⁴

For the Swedish New Left, police opposition, as discussed in Chapter 7.1 was an important catalyst that encouraged a closer inspection of oppressive social institutions. Pragmatic experiences of clashing with the Swedish police from demonstrations showed how both they and conservative counter-demonstrators had clearly authoritarian and indeed fascist traits.¹⁶⁴⁵ These events had lessened trust towards the police, and showed how the anti-war movement was being targeted while existing Swedish fascist organisations were

¹⁶⁴⁰ Ylioppilaslehti 3/67, Tumpppi, “Vapaa sana / Fascismin olemus”, 10; OYL 27/68, Juha Mikkonen, “Tulkoon vallankumous”, 4.

¹⁶⁴¹ Tilanne 1/60, R.P. “Kohti presidentinvaalia I: Snellmanilaiset ja kvanténilaiset”, 11-13; Tilanne 2-3/62, J.P., “Eettinen valinta”, 154-157; Tilanne 5-6/62, P. Erkki, “Keskustelua/Padat ja kattilat...”, 271-272; JYL 7/67, Hannu Taipale, “Kommunismi: uhka stalinismilleko?”, 9; JYL 8/68, Rape, “Maosta ja muista kiinalaisista RiLe:lle ja muille ylioppilaille”, 6; OYL 27/68, Juha Mikkonen, “Tulkoon vallankumous”, 4.

¹⁶⁴² “Väinö Tanner är f.ö. ett ypperligt typexempel på socialfascism inom arbetarrörelsen.” *Clarté* 5-6/66, Jörn Svensson, “Socialfascismen”, 4-9.

¹⁶⁴³ Smolander 2000.

¹⁶⁴⁴ TYL 28/67, *Tribunus*, “Sinimustia näköaloja”, 4; Ylioppilaslehti 20/68, Antti Kuusi, “Fasistinen hegemonia tosin kommunistinen”, 5-7.

¹⁶⁴⁵ TiS 1/68, “Batonger kan inte krossa den växande vietnam-opinionen”, 3-4; TiS_4/68, Jan Myrdal, “Anmärkningar om ett förhörprotokoll”, 10-11, 14.

comparatively left in peace.¹⁶⁴⁶ This led the New Left press to conclude that powerful Nazi cells were working inside the Stockholm police.¹⁶⁴⁷ The level of organisation inside these *gatulagskämpar*¹⁶⁴⁸ and other fascist or Neo-Nazi organisations¹⁶⁴⁹ demonstrated how they had become established social actors. *Tidsignal* estimated that the membership of Swedish “Nazi organisations” stood at roughly 70,000 people, leading the paper to conclude that at least one per cent of the population were open supporters of the far right. While this number was more a political symbol than any sort of statistically relevant result to begin with, *Tidsignal* claimed that the threat posed by Swedish Nazis was actually more significant than the number indicated. The organisations were financially well-backed, and their members fanatical.¹⁶⁵⁰ Symbolic depictions were useful, but they could be made more concrete through scandalous exposés. *Tidsignal* managed to reveal links to a particular military self-defence organisation, the FBU (*Svenska Försvarsutbildningsförbundet*), as one example of fascist infiltration; and the fact that the Swedish monarch was the official patron of the organisation made it an even more delightful topic for a scandal.¹⁶⁵¹ *Tidsignal* got its hands on all the juicy details it could to highlight corruption in the FBU – for instance, the bulletin which featured swastikas as a part of its graphic design.¹⁶⁵² Other “crypto-Nazi” organisations were also revealed and described in detail in the radical press; personal information such as telephone numbers, addresses, and even a network analysis on connections to other organisations were published in an attempt to smear political opponents.¹⁶⁵³

With the rising status of the Finnish Rural Party or SMP (*Suomen Maaseudun Puolue*) the matter became a decidedly party-political dispute. SMP, which had been founded in 1959 as a conservative protest against the Centrist Agrarian party, became one of the protest channels against the increasing power of President Kekkonen, but also against more general social trends such as urbanisation.¹⁶⁵⁴ This general conservatism made it possible for the radical press to associate the SMP with the European far right in West Germany and Greece

¹⁶⁴⁶ TiS 13/65, “Säkerhetspolisen pysslade med sitt hemliga kartotek över radikaler och pacifister i stället för att spränga nazistligan”, 16-17; TiS 19/65, Lennart Ingberg, “Rikspolisstyrelsen: Vi kontrollerar -men hur vi gör det kan vi inte säga...”.

¹⁶⁴⁷ TiS 19/65, Lennart Ingberg, “Rikspolisstyrelsen: Vi kontrollerar -men hur vi gör det kan vi inte säga...”.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Clarté 4/67, “Vår politiska polis”, 6-12.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Clarté 4/63, Kjell E. Johansson, “Antifascistisk opinion”, 22-23.

¹⁶⁵⁰ TiS 15/65, “Detta gjorde nazisterna”, 18.

¹⁶⁵¹ TiS 15/65, “Vet han vem han beskyddar”, 1; TiS 15/65, Lennart Ingberg, “Massor av ökända nazister innästlande i Stockholms frivilliga befälsutbildning”, 29; TiS 16/65, “Jodå, nazist-Oredsson är FBU:are!”, 12; TiS 18/65, Lennart Ingberg, “Nazist-Oredsson avstängd från FBU/Men vad händer med alla dom ”stora pojarna”?”, 12; TiS 33/65, Lennart Stockevik, “Namnen har förekommit i så oerhört många sammanhang tidigare...”, 3.

¹⁶⁵² TiS 16/65, “Det bubblar/Veckans skrivna brev”, 2.

¹⁶⁵³ TiS 18/65, Lennart Ingberg, “En titt genom nyckelhålet/Sanct Michael orden”, 3; Clarté 1/63, Benne Lantz, “Heil på Gotland”, 26; Clarté 4/63, Kjell E. Johansson, “Antifascistisk opinion”, 22-23

¹⁶⁵⁴ Meinander 2019, 54-74.

and the state institutions in Spain.¹⁶⁵⁵ Indeed, it was possible to see the SMP in the same political category as the French Poujadists, Dutch agrarian rightists, and go so far as to argue that the SMP was directly in contact with its transnational counterparts.¹⁶⁵⁶ Gösta Ågren used this way to frame the situation when attempting to explain SMP's popularity to the readers of *Tidsignal* in Sweden.¹⁶⁵⁷ In these comparisons, authoritarian methods of using "propaganda" or "primitive demagoguery"¹⁶⁵⁸ were far more important signifiers of fascism-related politics than any intellectual, ideological or historical similarities. As one pundit put it: "[i]n the SMP's actions you can even detect some features of neo-fascism".¹⁶⁵⁹ Interestingly, the SMP's founder and chairman, Veikko Vennamo, considered the opposition of the student press to be worth responding to, assuring the readers of *Ylioppilaslehti* that as a student of Helsinki University in the 1930s, he had turned down invitations to join the AKS – which to his mind proved he was not a fascist.¹⁶⁶⁰ Vennamo clearly understood fascism as a historical concept, and not in the same umbrella-concept terms as the radical student press.

Even after the SMP got roughly 10 per cent of the national vote in the 1968 presidential elections and 7.25 per cent in local elections the same year, the accusations of being a far right party did not dent its popularity.¹⁶⁶¹ Radicals insisted that the reason for the SMP's rise was because the electorate felt alienated.¹⁶⁶² Yet there were also comments that suggested Vennamo and his fiery rhetoric were a necessary boost for political discussion.¹⁶⁶³ In Sweden, Ågren saw the egalitarian tendencies of Vennamo's rhetoric as an inherently good thing – as long as the anger towards established parties and bureaucracy could be channelled as a support for leftist policies as well.¹⁶⁶⁴ Hence, even unpopular politicians could serve a function if they encouraged open political communication, debate, and confrontation. Antti Eskola also provided some intriguing analysis in his *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*, when he proposed that a Soviet-friendly foreign policy was actually a sign of strong domestic democratic

¹⁶⁵⁵ TYL 7/68, Timo Vuortama, "Äärioikeisto", 4; TYL 8/68, Lasse J. Tuominen, "Äärioikeisto", 4.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Aviisi 24/68, Hannu Vesa, "Parlamentarismin kodittomat", 3; *Ylioppilaslehti* 29/67, Toinen, "Vakava vitsi", 4.

¹⁶⁵⁷ TiS 42/68, Gösta Ågren, "Finland: Pojadisternas val".

¹⁶⁵⁸ *Ylioppilaslehti* 29/67, Toinen, "Vakava vitsi", 4; TiS 42/68, Gösta Ågren, "Finland: Pojadisternas val".

¹⁶⁵⁹ "Maaseudun puolueen toiminnassa on jopa havaittavissa selviä uusfascismin piirteitä." *Ylioppilaslehti* 29/67, Toinen, "Vakava vitsi", 4.

¹⁶⁶⁰ *Ylioppilaslehti* 30/67, Veikko Vennamo, kansanedustaja, "Herra toimittaja", 3-4.

¹⁶⁶¹ OYL 25/68, Juhana Lepoluoto, "Korpikommunismista vennamolaisuuteen", 2; *Ylioppilaslehti* 24/68, Maunu Harmo, "Tällä viikolla/Lonkalta kevyesti", 4; *Ylioppilaslehti* 6/68, Toinen, "Oikeistolainen nousu", 5; Meinander 2019, 318.

¹⁶⁶² *Ylioppilaslehti* 26/68, Vasara, "Meni miten meni", 3; JYL 7/68, Kalevi Kivistö, "Vieroitettut vieraantuneet", 3, 5; Ajankohta 8/67, Lars Dufholm, "Ruotsalainen äärioikeisto", 16-17; TYL 13/68, Kari Lehtola, "Isänmaan asioita/Hei ronskisti ranttaliks vaan", 2.

¹⁶⁶³ TYL 10/68, Asko Jantunen, "Hašisnuoriso ja sosiaalisuus", 3.

¹⁶⁶⁴ TiS 42/68, Gösta Ågren, "Finland: Pojadisternas val".

institutions. "If Finland was located further west, Vennamo, Ehrnrooth¹⁶⁶⁵, the MRA, the Finnish Home Radio and Television Association, and other fascist-related movements might be a serious threat to our democracy, but Soviet neighbourliness guarantees that they cannot go too far."¹⁶⁶⁶ Gösta Ågren echoed similar claims in his articles for *Tidsignal*.¹⁶⁶⁷ These takes are highly intriguing because of the relative rarity of foreign-policy legitimisation used in the radical press. Only after the establishment of the dogmatic Leninist organisation of students and cultural intelligentsia in 1969-70 did the USSR become a major theme of discussion and source of support for radical politics in the Finnish context.

7.4 Fascism Within the Structures of Culture and Capitalism

These non-historical representations of fascism are a good indication that the radical frame was shifting towards new forms of political communication. At the same time as there was a turn towards more visual, emotional conceptualisations, similar generalisations started to appear in more formal and theoretical texts. Indeed, crossovers between New Left theory and counter-cultural forms of protest are prevalent in studies of the Sixties, doubtlessly because that was one of the defining features of the decade. While the extension of this debate is questionable in the wider European context, it was undoubtedly a feature in some West German, French, and Italian cases, and in the conservative press that opposed radical politics.¹⁶⁶⁸ Assuming a similar phenomenon in the Nordic context would be anachronistic, too general of an approach: instead, one needs to empirically prove that New Left philosophers often mentioned as inspiration for Sixties movements really were part of the debate, and that they were actively mixed with forms of countercultural protest. This subchapter will deal with these theoretical influences, and their adaptation. There are important instances where the theories of the Frankfurt School were used in an active, sometimes even in a rather symbolic way. Thus, merely inspecting whether names like Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm or others were present is not enough; a transnational study of political history must indicate how they were adapted and used in different national and local contexts.¹⁶⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶⁵ Georg C. Ehrnrooth, member of the Swedish peoples party of Finland, was one of the most vocal MPs in opposition to Soviet-aligned foreign policy.

¹⁶⁶⁶ "Jos Suomi sijaittisi lännempänä, vennamolaisuus, ehrnroothilaisuus, MRA, Suomen kotien radio- ja televisioliitto sekä muut fasismin sukuiset liikkeet voisivat kukaties pahastikin uhata demokratiaamme. Nyt Neuvostoliiton naapuruus takaa, että ne eivät voi päästä liian pitkälle." Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki., 13.

¹⁶⁶⁷ *TiS* 42/68, Gösta Ågren, "Finland: Pojadisternas val".

¹⁶⁶⁸ Judt 2005, 407; Mausbach 2006; Siegfried 2010.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse were some of the leading voices of the Frankfurt school of critical theory, often predominatly associated with the expansion of

Existing literature on the New Left has mostly focused on the seminal role of Marcuse as the *de facto* ideological leader of the New Left. In the Nordic context, particularly in the Finnish radical press, theory focused on democracy and culture, and perhaps explains why Fromm was a useful source.¹⁶⁷⁰ When it came to polarising concepts like fascism, Fromm's theories were used to explain how Nazism was not a national peculiarity and how the mechanisms of alienation worked in a range of contemporaneous conservative movements, like the MRA.¹⁶⁷¹ The Moral Rearmament movement, as we saw in 5.1, was a transatlantic religious organisation that emphasised spiritual anticommunism and personal resistance. Nordic radicals in both Finland and Sweden focused on MRA because its presence brought hidden fascism 'out of the woodwork', no doubt because the organisation was both unequivocal in its agenda and visible in the press and its public figures (e.g., Margit Borg-Sundman in Finland).¹⁶⁷²

Key mediators were instrumental in familiarising wider audiences with complex theoretical texts, some of which might not have been translated into Finnish. Antti Eskola, for example, focused on Fromm's theories, especially on the western tendency of submission, alienation and timidity, all strengthened by processes of individuality. Eskola saw that all of these features were parts in a process, which can eventually lead to fascist authoritarianism.¹⁶⁷³ Moreover, these features were shared traits in western democratic societies. Fromm's theories led Eskola to conclude that "Nazi Germany was no exception, it was a culmination."¹⁶⁷⁴ Eskola's use of Fromm to explain widespread fascist structures was a rather typical example of the processes of interpretation. It also demonstrates how idealism was still an important aspect of the New Left; even after the polarising influence of concepts like revolution, a focus on ideas and cultural factors was still largely intact and could therefore challenge the materialist focus of the Old Left. Ideas were important because traditions were resilient and seemed able to remain even when material contexts changed.¹⁶⁷⁵ The rapid increase in living standards during the post-war period was important proof of this: even after a substantial increase in salaries of the working class, conservative hegemonies were still present.

marxist theories with a more psychological analysis of capitalism and its structures. See Abromeit 2010; Jamison & Eyerman 1994, 54-110.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Tilanne 1/63, Eric Fromm, "Voiko ihminen säilyä...", 17; Tilanne 1/63, Erich Fromm, "Jos elämä menettää tarkoituksensa...", 27; Tilanne 6/65, Jyrki Juurmaa, "Identiteettiongelma ja vieraantuminen", 452-463; TYL 10/68, Asko Jantunen, "Hašisnuoriso ja sosiaalisuus", 3.

¹⁶⁷¹ Tilanne 6/65, Jyrki Juurmaa, "Identiteettiongelma ja vieraantuminen", 452-463.

¹⁶⁷² Tilanne 12/62, Arvo Salo, "Kolmannen maailmansodan rauhanehdot", 453-456, 493; TiS 13/65, "Säkerhetspolisens pysslade med sitt hemliga kartotek över radikaler och pacifister i stället för att spränga nazistligan", 16-17; TiS 3/68, Lorenz Olsson, "Mörkmannen tränger in i skolorna..." Vesikansa 2004; Ekstrand 1993.

¹⁶⁷³ Eskola, Antti (1968), Suomi Sulo Pohjola. Kirjayhtymä, Hki, 39-42.

¹⁶⁷⁴ "Natsisaksa ei ollut poikkeus, vaan huipennus" Tilanne 1/65, Pekka Westerinen, "Demokratiasta toiminnassa", 75-78.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Tilanne 2/65, "Uusnatsit ja ruotsalaiset", 158-161.

The Swedish New Left had a more pronounced tendency to explain fascism within the structures of capitalism. *Clarté*, as a traditional socialist and antifascist forum, was at the centre of these discussions, explaining fascist authoritarianism as a natural outcome of capitalism.¹⁶⁷⁶ "Fascism's most important aspect, however, is its interconnectedness with the capitalist social system",¹⁶⁷⁷ the paper argued. "Nazism and fascism are not the result of the evil of some politicians. Nazism and fascism are a result of the capitalists wanting to get an even tighter grasp on society and its development."¹⁶⁷⁸ Historical analysis could reveal the "true nature" of fascism and so support the structuralist analysis.¹⁶⁷⁹ "Hitler's Germany is an example of big capital, which threw away the mask of bourgeois democracy."¹⁶⁸⁰ While not directly referring to authors of the Frankfurt School, psychological features were sometimes seen as a factor that encouraged this tendency.¹⁶⁸¹ In the context of colonial violence and imperialism, western culture in general could be defined in terms of concepts like racism and neo-fascism.¹⁶⁸² In fact, these broad, ambiguous conceptualisations could cover almost anything conservative. "The religious elements of *Sanct Michaelsorden* [a Catholic organisation]", pointed out one article in *Tidsignal*, "like many similar cases, go hand in hand with political right-wing extremism and are not far from Neo-Nazism."¹⁶⁸³ In other words, anything that had an anticommunist trait could be defined as fascism.¹⁶⁸⁴

In an effort to make these general claims of fascism within capitalism better fit the Nordic context, the perceived qualities of the Swedish state and society were included in them. In traditional New Left style, this meant focusing on bureaucracy to explain the fascist characteristics of the state apparatus,¹⁶⁸⁵ i.e., Social Democracy in Sweden's case. The "Saltsjöbaden Agreement" (a labour market treaty dating back to 1938) and the Swedish corporatism it embodied were clear reference points that legitimised the use of fascism-related concepts in

¹⁶⁷⁶ *Clarté* 4/61, Kjell E. Johansson, "Den farliga fascismen", 26-27; *Clarté* 1/64, John Takman, "Hur säker är säkerhetspolisen", 23-25; *TiS* 13/65, "Säkerhetspolisen pysslade med sitt hemliga kartotek över radikaler och pacifister i stället för att spränga nazistligan", 16-17.

¹⁶⁷⁷ "Fascismens viktigaste aspekt är emellertid dess samröre med det kapitalistiska samhällssystemet." *Clarté* 4/58, Finn Hagberg, "Fascismens kännetecken", 18-19.

¹⁶⁷⁸ "Nazism och fascism är inte resultatet av vissa politikernas ondska. Nazism och fascism är ett resultat av att kapitalisterna vill ha ett ännu hårdare grepp om samhället och dess utveckling." *Clarté* 4_61; *Clarté* 3/66, Peter Weiss, "Fascism", 7.

¹⁶⁷⁹ *Clarté* 4/60, Gunnar Inghe, "Vem var Auschwitz-kommandanten?", 3-5.

¹⁶⁸⁰ "Hitlers Tyskland är ett exempel på storfinans, som kastat den borgerliga demokratins mask." *Clarté* 4/61, Kjell E. Johansson, "Den farliga fascismen", 26-27.

¹⁶⁸¹ *Clarté* 4/58, Finn Hagberg, "Fascismens kännetecken", 18-19.

¹⁶⁸² *Clarté* 3/67, Jan Myrdal, "Fyra argument mot demonstrationer", 12-13.

¹⁶⁸³ "De religiösa inslagen i rörelsen går som iså många liknade fall hand i hand med den politiska högerextremismen och sedan är inte steget långt till nynazismen." *TiS* 18/65, Lennart Ingberg, "En titt genom nyckelhålet/Sanct Michael orden", 3.

¹⁶⁸⁴ *TiS* 3/68, Lorenz Olsson, "Mörkmannen tränger in i skolorna...".

¹⁶⁸⁵ *Clarté* 3/62, John Takman, "Öppen fråga efter Eichmanprocessen: Vem är ambassör Karl Werkmeister?", 10-13; *TiS* 3/68, VPK Storstockholm representantskapet, "Avskaffa åsiktsregistren!", 7.

the New Left Press.¹⁶⁸⁶ The most important thing was that fascism was social and political, not an issue of personal psychology. In fact, Jan Myrdal felt that focusing on personal and psychological factors was downright dangerous.¹⁶⁸⁷ In this more polarised context, a historical analysis of fascism was a clear sign of bourgeois attitudes.¹⁶⁸⁸

The rhizomatic nature of fascist concepts is evident when we look how local and global examples intertwined. Here, two aspects of transnational activism were connected: global economic structures, and the framework of local conflicts in different third-world and western contexts could both prove the existence of authoritarianism. These two perspectives were combined through examples of western countries and companies spreading different versions of the Vietnam War to other Asian and African areas via the mechanisms of neocolonialism. According to the neo-colonial argument, racial wars and support for fascist governments were instrumental features of the of the US-led, capitalist world economy.¹⁶⁸⁹ Increasingly, there were reports which verified that Swedish companies were participating in the exploitation of third-world countries.¹⁶⁹⁰ Mechanisms of consumerism were supporting violent regimes not only in Portugal, Rhodesia, and Greece, but also in the US and in West Germany. Meanwhile, Franco was only in power because of support from the US.¹⁶⁹¹ Neocolonialism could thus be seen as just another facet of "neo-fascism", which was provoking genocides that were primarily economically motivated.¹⁶⁹² Global political power structures meant that seemingly apolitical protests (e.g., in the field of sports) were acceptable for "Finns and Nazis" but not for black people.¹⁶⁹³ When resisting anti-war protests, the Swedish police was protecting the interests of not only the Swedish state but those of the US too.¹⁶⁹⁴ And yet, focusing on the historical meaningfulness of fascism had merely directed liberal western thought into thinking that fascism could only follow from an outright revolution or coup.¹⁶⁹⁵

One of the ways of explaining the social and political continuity of authoritarianism was to look at family and upbringing. For the Swedish New Left interested in structures of capitalism, this was mainly an attempt to explain

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- ¹⁶⁸⁶ Clarté 5-6/66, Jörn Svensson, "Socialfascismen", 4-9; Clarté 5-6/66, Hans Isaksson, "Socialism eller fascism?", 10-14; Konkret 7/68, "Högerreaktionen", 27.
- ¹⁶⁸⁷ TiS 17/65, "Nazister - finns dom?", 15; Konkret 7/68, "Jan Myrdal/Om fascismen", 30-36.
- ¹⁶⁸⁸ Clarté 5-6/66, Hans Isaksson, "Socialism eller fascism?", 10-14.
- ¹⁶⁸⁹ OYL 4/68, J. L., "Sytytyslankojen luettelo", 6-7; TiS 17/65, "Nazister - finns dom?", 15; TiS 19/68, "Stöder FFI fascismen i Grekland", 12.
- ¹⁶⁹⁰ Clarté 3/66, Peter Weiss, "Fascism", 7; Sellström 1999.
- ¹⁶⁹¹ Tilanne 6/64, Rolf Ekman, "Merkkillinen merkkipäivä", 174-176; Clarté 4/67, "Vår politiska polis", 6-12; JYL 17/68, "Jyväskylän Opiskelijain YK-yhdistyksen julkilausumat", 5.
- ¹⁶⁹² Aviisi 30/68, Batman, "Treblinkasta Vietnamiin", 3.
- ¹⁶⁹³ TYL 27/68, Olli Järvikoski, "Brundagemainen urheiluideologia - wallacemaista rotupolitiikkaa", 4-5.
- ¹⁶⁹⁴ Clarté 1/68, "Skapa opinion för demonstrationsrätt", 2-3.
- ¹⁶⁹⁵ JYL 15/68, Risto Leppänen, "Demokratia ja aurinko II", 10.

the continuities of attitudes that supported consumption.¹⁶⁹⁶ For the Finnish New Left, it was how the family and upbringing could transfer conservative attitudes. The Finnish translation of *Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing* (originally written by AS Neill and published in 1960), was particularly instrumental in bringing up the subject – the translation was published just when the fascism rhetoric was taking off. Markku Lahtela, the translator of *Summerhill*, was a crucial agent in bringing this about. He was clearly inspired by the book, spreading its key concepts in articles even before he had finished the translation.¹⁶⁹⁷ As Laura Kolbe has pointed out, *Summerhill* was probably more important than Marcuse or other Frankfurt School texts for Finnish radicals.¹⁶⁹⁸ *Summerhill* drew particular attention to fascist practices and their continuing importance in upbringing and education. Concepts like “education fascism” (*kasvatusfascismi*)¹⁶⁹⁹ and “study fascism” (*opintofascismi*)¹⁷⁰⁰ were instrumental in this, as was the accusation that current educational institutions and practices were raising young people to become the “imperialists” and “fascists”¹⁷⁰¹ of the future. This manifested itself in the way that students were forced to become “technically minded, narrow specialists”¹⁷⁰² – a clear echo of previous discussions that reflected badly on the passive majority of students. “It is pointless for parents, teachers, priests, and patriots”, declared Antti Eskola, “to be shocked by the actions of Adolf Eichmann, who destroyed millions of Jews by following orders: after all, they themselves aspire to raise every child to be a potential Eichmann.”¹⁷⁰³ Authoritarian tendencies were also present in texts, Eskola argued, which argued that Eichmann was not normal. “The model for the normal man is Eichmann, who does not feel guilt since he has ‘only followed orders’.”¹⁷⁰⁴ Eskola’s quotation marks at the end clearly demonstrate what the radical attitude to ‘normal’ was. Blindly following orders and the desperate need to be normal had in fact been what caused fascism to catch on. The focus on upbringing also demonstrated how even radical and polarised opinions among

¹⁶⁹⁶ Kommentar 6-7/68, Robert Jacobson, “Världsrevolution eller socialism i ett land”, 20-25, review of two German New Left volumes: *Modelle der kolonialen Revolution* by Peter Gäng and Reimut Reiche; and *Modelle der kolonialen Konterrevolution* by Jörgen Horleman.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Neill, A. S., *Summerhill*, Kasvatuksen uusi suunta, transl. Markku Lahtela, Weilin & Göös, 1968.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Kolbe 1996a, 340.

¹⁶⁹⁹ OYL 22/68, Juha Mikkonen, “Yhä pahemmaksi tulee”, 7.

¹⁷⁰⁰ OYL 29/68, Juha Mikkonen, “Kohti opintoanarkiaa”, 5.

¹⁷⁰¹ OYL 19/68, Raimo Partanen, “Pari sanaa kylläisille naulapäille”, 4.

¹⁷⁰² “tekniisiä ja humanistisia fakki-idiootteja” OYL 29/68, Juha Mikkonen, “Kohti opintoanarkiaa”, 5.

¹⁷⁰³ “Vanhempien, opettajien, pappien ja maanpuolustajien on turha kauhistella miljoonia juutalaisia käskystä tuhonneen Adolf Eichmannin tekoja: itsehan he asettavat yhdeksi arvokkaimmaksi tavoitteekseen jokaisen lapsen kasvattamisen potentiaaliseksi Eichmanniksi.” Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki., 129; see also TYL 31/68, Matti Vimpari, “Eskolan huulet altavastaajien suissa”, 5.

¹⁷⁰⁴ “Normaalin ihmisen perikuva on Eichmann, joka ei tunne syyllisyyttä joukkomurhasta, koska hän on ”ainoastaan noudattanut käskyjä.” Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki, 28.

Finnish radicals were still culturally oriented. These psychological features could also replace capitalist structures as the feature which explained the global nature of authoritarianism. "Fascism is constantly living and breathing all over the world", claimed one Finnish New Leftist: "it marches in SS memorial parades in Germany, segregates blacks in the US and South Africa, and lurks in the fears and taboos of the average human mind".¹⁷⁰⁵

But not every radical activist was happy with fascism being used as such a catch-all term. Antti Eskola, who had been active as a promoter of Fromm in Finland, was criticised for his particular emphasis on hegemonic analysis; his focus on hegemonies did count in the fact that fascism is a phenomenon of the middle classes, manifesting itself in the new situation where patriotic values and bourgeois habits were under threat.¹⁷⁰⁶ The peculiar Finnish Maoist movement recognised, even mocked Eskola's emotional use of fascism as a political concept: they saw it as a sign of reformism and revisionism of Marxist thought.¹⁷⁰⁷ In a similar fashion, some Swedish New Left commentators were rather irritated by undefined and vague uses of fascism as a political concept – old positivist ideals of clarity and logic were still important in some radical circles.¹⁷⁰⁸ These criticisms are, in a way, a sign of the fact that contemporaries were not totally committed to the idea of far-reaching, symbolic uses of fascist-related concepts. While Maoists were totally committed to their class-determined understanding of the concept, their criticism was that purely symbolic uses of fascism-related concepts provoked opposition from both sides of the radical sphere.

The common ground between the wider and more particular readings of fascism could still be found. The success of the NPD (*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*), in West Germany – an extreme nationalist party founded in 1964 – was the most obvious example of this. The party and its political rise could be explained by both historical and structuralist definitions of fascism. In the Finnish student press, the NPD was represented as a threat to parliamentary democracy, which made it easy to draw historic parallels with the Weimar Republic.¹⁷⁰⁹ While Rene Nyberg, who covered the case in detail, maintained his faith in the strength the FRG's democratic institutions, he did point out that support for the party was still regrettably based on the "real" opinions of a proportion of the German people.¹⁷¹⁰ Prohibiting the party would thus not be a

¹⁷⁰⁵ "Fascismi elää ja hengittää jatkuvasti kaikkialla maailmassa: se marssii SS-muistoparaateissa Saksassa, karsinoi neekereitä USA:ssa ja Etelä-Afrikassa, vaaniskelee keskitason ihmisen mielen pelkojen ja tabujen pohjalla." *Tilanne* 5/64, V. Hirvi, "30-60", 115-117.

¹⁷⁰⁶ *Ylioppilaslehti* 28/68, Ilkka Sumu, "Hyvinvointiyhteiskunnan maksakirroosi?", 6; *Aikalainen* 2/66, Hannu Taanila, "Turvallisuus ja radikalismi", 25-28.

¹⁷⁰⁷ *Aviisi* 7/68, Jarmo Lavila, "Näkemiin, Salo & Mikkola", 1.

¹⁷⁰⁸ *Konkret* 6/67, Per Engdahl, "Vad är Fascism?", 35-37; *Konkret* 6/67, Sven O Andersson, "Kan en fascist se ut hur som helst?", 38-39.

¹⁷⁰⁹ *Ylioppilaslehti* 16/68, Rene Nyberg, "Tällä viikolla/Saksan vaalilainuudistuksen kohtalo", 4; *Aviisi* 17/68, Risto Arkimies, "Koetinkivi", 3.

¹⁷¹⁰ *Ylioppilaslehti* 20/68, Rene Nyberg, "Ensi kesänä/Parlamentarismi ja NPD", 4.

useful strategy, the wider social structures it represented would still remain.¹⁷¹¹ Clearly the democratic education of the German people was not yet complete, and bureaucracy had made it possible for Nazis to gain a foothold in West German society.¹⁷¹² The Swedish New Left papers were more straightforward in their analysis – the NPD were either the project of “old Nazis” (supported by NATO and West German big business),¹⁷¹³ or a grass-roots movement that represented a wider cross-section of religious and conservative attitudes (and ex-Nazis).¹⁷¹⁴ This ‘either-or’ is telling of the wider disagreement that existed within the Swedish New Left, but both factions agreed that the NPD would grow in popularity – it also had a student wing, which meant it had future potential.¹⁷¹⁵ In some more far-fetched analyses, the success of the party was a clear sign that West Germany was already a full-blown police state.¹⁷¹⁶ This was, as we shall see however, a legitimate interpretation in the context of the turmoils of 1967 and 1968, which will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

7.5 The US and Countercultural Antifascism

The rise of authoritarian right-wing groups was not just seen to be happening in West Germany. While the tradition of Nazism explained why all eyes were on German events and movements, the rise of Neo-Nazi movements was also framed by Nordic radicals as a transnational, even global phenomenon. In these discussions a new, more emotional use of fascism as a political concept coincided with American influences and even pop culture references. Again, the Swedish New Left concentrated on the role of capitalism as the deeper structure; national movements were of secondary importance.¹⁷¹⁷ Yet the discussion was part of a more general political debate: Even President Kekkonen had publicly expressed his concern about the rise of fascism in the world.¹⁷¹⁸ Empirical proof of the extent of fascism could be provided with the help of Swedish experts Armas

¹⁷¹¹ TYL 16/68, Tapani Lepola, “Askel äärioikealle”, 4; Ylioppilaslehti 20/68, Rene Nyberg, “Ensi kesänä/Parlamentarismi ja NPD”, 4; Aviisi 14/68, Pertti Hemanus & Pertti Toukoma, “Hitlerin seuraajat”, 1-2.

¹⁷¹² Aviisi 17/68, Risto Arkimies, “Koetinkivi”, 3.

¹⁷¹³ TiS 28/66, James de Gaalitz, “Under Adolf II:s ledning marscherar nazisterna upp igen”, 15, 10; TiS 32/66, James de Gaalitz, “Natos höstmanöver ger västtyskarna nödparlament”, 15; TiS 5/67, James de Gaalitz, “Sensationella avhopp/Knda västtyska politiker blir nynazister”, 4; TiS 23/68, James de Gaalitz, “NPD:s rika gynnare”, 14.

¹⁷¹⁴ Kommentar 1/68, Robert Jacobson, “Vem väljer NPD?”, 16-17.

¹⁷¹⁵ TiS 6/67, James de Gaalitz, “Nynazistisk offensiv vid västtyska universiteten”, 7.

¹⁷¹⁶ TiS 25/67, James de Gaalitz, “Asyl i Sverige – blott för fascister!”, 6.

¹⁷¹⁷ Clarté 6/67, Holger Heide, “Korporativismen i Västtyskland – det “formerade” samhället”, 45-49.

¹⁷¹⁸ OYL 10/68, R.P., “Mitä uutta uusnatsismista?”, 4-5; Ylioppilaslehti 30/67, Olli J. Ojanen, “Rauhantyön uusi ennätys”, 14.

Saastamoinen, Jörn Svensson and Herbert Tingsten¹⁷¹⁹, all significant New Left or cultural radicalism activists. Both groups agreed on the importance of social attitudes, and when searching for the roots of fascism it meant being prepared that similar movements might pop up at home or in the neighbouring country. Authoritarian attitudes certainly already existed in both countries,¹⁷²⁰ but whereas the Swedish New Left believed it lay within the state and its economic structures, Finnish student papers saw it as a more independent phenomenon.

What is also important to be aware of here is that this specifically Nordic phenomenon was analysed via documents found in the US – a clear sign of the Americanisation of protest culture. A similar level of Americanisation was also present in the analysis: instead of mentioning the NPD or other German movements as a key to unfolding the international authoritarianism, Georg Lincoln Rockwell was presented as the *de facto* leader of international Neo-Nazi movement. Even more intriguing was the way these factions were rumoured to also have a presence in Finland.¹⁷²¹ Of course, no concrete proof of these contacts could be provided. Yet, even the accusation is a clear indicator of the way historical contents of fascism had made way for more abstract ones. *Clarté* presented a sample from the *USA Kill!* –magazine as an example of American neo-fascism; with its aggressive foreign policy statements, racism, and support for Goldwater, the magazine certainly made its point.¹⁷²² Another attempt to systematically analyse Nordic fascism was carried out by Pertti Hemanus and Pertti Toukoma; they attempted a more media-oriented take on these groups by going through several journals of different far right organizations. While the analysis in many ways drew attention to the political goals and ideologies of different national fringe movements and the press they received, Hemanus and Toukoma did not give any structural or international explanations for the existence of these movements.¹⁷²³ While this was partly because of the more research-oriented approach of Pertti Hemanus who had defended his PhD in Communication Studies a couple of years earlier and was thus more attached to the academic sphere, Hemanus was also one of the more notable cultural radicalist writers; his approach towards Nordic fascism was thus a combination of his academic and political views. This approach contrasted with Arvo Salo's who, while originally part of the same cultural radicalist group as Hemanus, had turned away from strict antimilitarism partly because he saw a need to recognise the hidden structures of fascism. Thus, Salo adopted a more extreme position, even arguing that unilateral disarmament was not a realistic goal, as the army should be there to defend against domestic fascists.¹⁷²⁴

1719 Aviisi 14/68, Pertti Hemanus & Pertti Toukoma, "Hitlerin seuraajat", 1-2; see also *Clarté* 4/61, Kjell E. Johansson, "Den farliga fascismen", 26-27.

1720 Aviisi 16/68, Batman, "Demokratia vai epädemokratia", 3.

1721 *Ylioppilaslehti* 28/67, Tapio Sjöblom, "Purkattua pikaneekeriä", 6.

1722 *Clarté* 2/66, 30.

1723 Aviisi 14/68, Pertti Hemanus & Pertti Toukoma, "Hitlerin seuraajat", 1-2.

1724 *TYL* 12/65, Arvo Salo, "Henki ja maa", 5; *Ylioppilaslehti* 15/66, "Lakattaisiinko tekemästä miehiä?", 10.

For Swedish anti-war activism in particular, combining fascism with US policies became a common rhetorical trope.¹⁷²⁵ Thus, any opposition to anti-war activities whether domestically or in general, meant direct support for the Vietnam War and the policies of the US and its far right coalition.¹⁷²⁶ Fascist methods stepped in when peaceful means could not stop protests against the US presence in Vietnam.¹⁷²⁷ Radical attention was drawn to the US not only because of the violent riots and protest movements discussed earlier, but because it was seen by some as the paramount representative of western values. With the civil rights movement, Black Power, and other activist groups resisting the US state apparatus, plus its global significance in terms of cultural and military power, the US provided the perfect example of a country where right-wing authoritarian attitudes held sway. Because of this, the US was being discussed very early on even in otherwise moderate Finnish New Left discussions. The Nordic New Left paid particular attention to specific political groups to find signs of authoritarian methods. Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater resembled "Hitler"¹⁷²⁸ and was thus branded "a fascist";¹⁷²⁹ and both Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard Nixon were branded fascists too, as this style of personal and emotional accusation caught on among increasingly radicalised activists.¹⁷³⁰ Southern segregationist and Governor of Alabama, George Wallace was a particularly obvious target for such accusations.¹⁷³¹ Experiences from public demos added to this. One of the early demonstrations against the War in Vietnam in Sweden saw the arrival of counter-demonstrators, who, according to the report published in *Tidsignal*, played a pop-song praising US special forces and distributed "NO TO VIET CONG" badges - both of which were described as "fascist trademarks".¹⁷³² Events like this, the article argued, pointed to how the Swedish state had become thoroughly caught up with the interests of the US.

Finnish radical discussions also discussed the US in general "fascist" terms, although they were relatively rare and focused on particular topics, like the racial violence and "concentration camps"¹⁷³³ of black urban neighbourhoods. Movies like *Green Berets* also served as evidence of the fundamental structures of

¹⁷²⁵ TiS 17/65, "Nazister - finns dom?", 15; Clarté 3/67, Gilbert Mury, "Varför jag blev kommunist - och varför jag lämnat partiet", 14-19; Clarté 4/67, "Vår politiska polis", 6-12; TiS 44/67, "Greklands Nationaldag", 4; TiS_4/68, Jan Myrdal, "Anmärkningar om ett förhörsprotokoll", 10-11, 14.

¹⁷²⁶ TiS 1/68, "Batonger kan inte krossa den växande vietnam-opinionen", 3-4.

¹⁷²⁷ Clarté 4/67, "Vår politiska polis", 6-12.

¹⁷²⁸ Tilanne 11/64, Peritus, "Sieniä leudossa säässä/Fascismi sienen juurella", 456-457.

¹⁷²⁹ Aikalainen 6/64, P.S., "Togliattin muistio", 3-5; Tilanne 9/64, V. Hirvi, "Fascismin todellisuus", 316-319; Clarté 2/66, 30.

¹⁷³⁰ Clarté 5-6/66, Hans Isaksson, "Socialism eller fascism?", 10-14; Konkret 6/67, Sven O Andersson, "Kan en fascist se ut hur som helst?", 38-39; Aviisi 30/68, Hannu Vesa, "Amerikkalaisen fasismin aika", 3.

¹⁷³¹ Ylioppilaslehti 29/68, Pekka Haapakoski, "Tällä viikolla/USAn vaalisirkus", 4.

¹⁷³² TiS 28/66, Gunnar Thorell, "Stoppa polisens provokationer mot demonstranterna!", 6-7, 10.

¹⁷³³ JYL 17/68, "Jyväskylän Opiskelijain YK-yhdistyksen julkilausumat", 5; Tilanne 9/64, V. Hirvi, "Fascismin todellisuus", 316-319.

authoritarianism present in the US.¹⁷³⁴ Transnational contacts brought many of these arguments to the Nordic radical press: SNCC activist Sherman Adams had stated already in 1965 that California was the home of US neo-fascism.¹⁷³⁵ While these were not personal accusations of “fascist” addressed at individual figures, they still lacked any considerable analysis of how authoritarian structures influenced US politics. With time, Sherman Adams adjusted his explanations of US domestic far right movements so that they fitted the general frame of fascism much better by, for example, appropriating holocaust imagery. “All ghettos are the same. It's like the same master builder trained in Auschwitz had designed them all according to the same drawings. [...] Only the measures taken by the Nazis against the Jews compare to the atrocities committed by the whites to the blacks in the Deep South.”¹⁷³⁶ Adams also argued that the US federal government supported fascists like Wallace by giving them autonomous power over important political matters.¹⁷³⁷ While it is hard to prove that it was Adams himself who made these opinions widespread in the student press, there was a definite increase in the amount of Finnish articles on racism during his period in the radical public eye. One of the most striking of these expressed strong support for the Black Power salute given at the 1968 Mexico Olympics by two Afro-American athletes for their Gold and Bronze medals: “Smith and Carlos ran for the black race and it was a crime. Why should US blacks not be racists [...] when the society as a whole is racist? Why do whites demand that blacks they have oppressed for 450 years should be [morally] better than themselves?”¹⁷³⁸ Swedish papers got their information more directly from Swedish correspondents on site, or actual Black Power leaders, whose stories circulated widely in the Swedish radical press.¹⁷³⁹ As one correspondent wrote from Detroit, “[w]ithout working hard to create political awareness and organise themselves, the blacks will be slaughtered like the Jews in Hitler's Europe.”¹⁷⁴⁰

Associating the US with fascism clearly emotionalised the concept and opened up new forms of protest. Cultural forms of radical politics became more and more significant when using fascism and related concepts, free of the

¹⁷³⁴ JYL 28/68, “filmi”, 6.

¹⁷³⁵ Aikalainen 7-8/65, Sherman Adams (transl. Lasse Sammalisto), “Amerikan Vietkong: Vuoden 1965 Budapest”, 6-13.

¹⁷³⁶ “Kaikki ghettot ovat samanlaisia. Aivan kuin yksi ja sama Auschwitzissä koulutettu rakennusmestari olisi suunnitellut ne kaikki samojen piirustusten mukaan.” --
- “Ainoastaan natsien juutalasiin kohdistamat toimenpiteet vetävät vertoja raakuuksille joita valkoiset suorittavat neekereille syvällä etelässä.” Ajankohta 12/67, Sherman Adams, “mustan amerikkalaisen uusi orjuus”, 10-11.

¹⁷³⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁷³⁸ “Smith ja Carlos juoksivat mustan rodun puolesta ja se oli rikos. Miksi USAn mustat eivät saisi olla rasisteja, kun USAn valkoiset ovat rasisteja, kun koko yhteiskunta on rasistinen? Miksi valkoiset vaativat, että mustat joita he ovat itse sortaneet 450 vuotta olisivat parempia kuin he itse?” Aviisi 26/68, Batman, “Mustat nyrkit”, 3. see also TiS 43/68, Bo Hammar, “Black Powers Olympiad”, 4-5.

¹⁷³⁹ See, e.g. TiS 23/67, “Revolution i revolutionen?”, 7-9 and Chapter 6.2.

¹⁷⁴⁰ “Utan hårt arbete för att skapa medvetenhet och organisation kommer de svarta att låta sig slaktas som judarna i Hitlers Europa.” *Kommentar 9_68*, Trygge Hedtjärn, “Rapport från Detroit”, 5-14.

references to social sciences so characteristic of early Nordic radicalism. Fascism-related conceptualisations were precisely used to stir up emotional reactions, to startle audiences, and to provoke new political perspectives. Countercultural, symbolic approaches could empower grass-roots activists and engage them in radical politics, reveal the absurdity of established social practices, and spread transnational images, symbols, and even concepts. Essentially, they brought a new form of politics to the radical sphere. This way, they reframed many of the key issues that had been on the radical agenda since the pacifist activism of the early Sixties. Nevertheless, the tradition of more exacting and rational arguments did not die overnight, in fact they continued to challenge these new emerging ways of doing politics.

Some of cultural protests were directly borrowed from transnational contexts. "Viet Rock", a musical about the Vietnam War was originally performed in the Yale School of Drama and then brought to Europe via the Stockholm City Theatre.¹⁷⁴¹ The piece spread to the national Swedish-language theatre in Finland and then on to local municipal theatres throughout the country.¹⁷⁴² Although it was a novelty in Finland and the topic was youth culture, critics complained that the production was rather dull, as the Finnish versions lacked the youthful swing and intimacy of the Swedish production and focused more on producing facts than an emotionally identifiable message.¹⁷⁴³ Simply put, the Finnish attempts to bring Vietnam protests to the established cultural institutions lacked emotional punch. "The performance is reminiscent of a university research project", one review noted, "there are facts, the sources are mentioned carefully, but one's own opinion is difficult to discern or completely absent. There is either an over-reliance on the effectiveness of the case itself or an overestimation of viewers ability to pick up the message, or the neutral tone is simply due to timidity."¹⁷⁴⁴ While the producers of this particular production defended their play by arguing that the lack of punch was first and foremost the result of a passive audience,¹⁷⁴⁵ the comment can also be read as one example of the way in which the radical frame shifted on the level of topics covered while simultaneously still being tied to the old forms of political argumentation. The explanations of the political message of Viet-rock aptly demonstrate how the play was not approached as a general political piece, and its rather controversial topic was used to highlight principles that were more in touch with liberal cultural

¹⁷⁴¹ Ylioppilaslehti 29/67, Maisa Majapuro, "Viet Rock (rolls on)", 6-7.

¹⁷⁴² Ylioppilaslehti 7/68, Tuula Hellstedt, "Humaani Viet rock", 14; TYL 4/68, Kari Jalonen, "Helmikuun teatteria/Kaupunginteatteri", 8; Ylioppilaslehti 29/67, Maisa Majapuro, "Viet Rock (rolls on)", 6-7.

¹⁷⁴³ Ylioppilaslehti 7/68, Tuula Hellstedt, "Humaani Viet rock", 14; TYL 6/68, Heikki Viironen, "Turkulainen Viet Rock - toteava ja puolueeton", 8.

¹⁷⁴⁴ "Esitys muistuttaa yliopistollista tutkimusharjoittelamaa: faktoja on, lähteet mainitaan huolellisesti, mutta oma mielipide on vaikeasti havaittavissa ellei peräti kokonaan puutu. On joko luotettu liiaksi itse asian vaikuttavuuteen tai yliarvioitu katsojien tiedot ja vastaanottoherkkyys tai puolueeton toteavuus johtuu yksinkertaisesti arkuudesta." TYL 6/68, Heikki Viironen, "Turkulainen Viet Rock - toteava ja puolueeton", 8.

¹⁷⁴⁵ TYL 8/68, "Turun Kaupunginteatterissakin tapahtuu - VIET ROCK", 8.

radicalism and the absolute pacifism of the Committee of 100 than with leftist radicalism.

The producers and actors, however, maintained that the piece focused on individuals and the effects of war on their lives. Even if the war was seen in fairly concrete terms,¹⁷⁴⁶ the play, they argued, was an abstract one that dealt with universal topics, so it should not be seen as directly anti-American. *Viet-Rock* seems to illustrate quite well, therefore, that Finnish debates on countercultural protest culture were still in their infancy – political theatre as an empowering form of media was not yet widespread, and many cultural agents were still focusing on high morals or on highbrow debates about political poetry¹⁷⁴⁷ and other forms more typical for the traditional, if not elitist cultural sphere.

Other transnational examples were more controversial. Peter Weiss and his Auschwitz-play *Die Ermittlung* were reported on in both Nordic countries; it inspired analysis not only of the West German political situation but also of the deeper structures of fascism. *Tidsignal's* contribution to the wider Swedish press debate regarding the play was to emphasise that fascism was deeply embedded into western, Christian culture and Weiss' play was therefore more than just a history lesson: "Nazism still exists as strong as ever. It poisons our lives and our senses, it represses, tramples and kills those faithful to their ways".¹⁷⁴⁸ The play was actually put on in *Dramatern*, the Swedish National Theatre – illustrating how state-led cultural institutions could also contribute to the radical debate. Finnish reports of it, however, could only be based on secondhand reports.¹⁷⁴⁹ Domestic productions could sometimes also compete by capitalising on the radical potential of transnational subjects. Pi Lind's play on the Greek junta, for instance, was praised by *Tidsignal* precisely because it focused on real events, showed the possibilities of openly political theatre, and was thus a step beyond what Weiss had done.¹⁷⁵⁰ When state institutions were not available, radicals could use their own channels for importing countercultural works. Student cultural forums were an important venue for bringing international culture to Finnish audiences. The Third Cultural Forum in Jyväskylä, for example, featured Kevin Brownlow's *It Happened Here* – a dystopian movie showing the subconscious process of Nazism taking over self-indulgent westerners.¹⁷⁵¹ Fictional literature was another countercultural channel: Otto Basil's dystopian novels were also referred to in the Nordic press, mainly because their futuristic predictions seemed to capture what many radicals saw as the true mentality of

¹⁷⁴⁶ TYL 8/68, Riitta Pohjola, "Viet Rockin sanottava: sodat ratkaistava ennen sotia", 8; TYL 8/68, "Turun Kaupunginteatterissakin tapahtuu – VIET ROCK", 8.

¹⁷⁴⁷ JYL 24/67, Marjatta Kuparinen, "Ryhmä 67 – vaimea happening", 4.

¹⁷⁴⁸ "Men nazismen existerar fortfarande lika stark som någonsin. Den förgiftar våra liv och våra sinnen, den förtycker, förtrampar och dödar sin vana trogen." TiS 14/66, Fritiof Haglund, "Fanatismen i revolutionsländerna – och på hemmaplan".

¹⁷⁴⁹ Tilanne 2/66, Leena Braun, "Peter Weissin mielipiteistä", 182-184; TiS 14/66, Fritiof Haglund, "Fanatismen i revolutionsländerna – och på hemmaplan"; Clarté 5-6/66, Hans Isaksson, "Socialism eller fascism?", 10-14.

¹⁷⁵⁰ TiS 21/67, "Medan Sverige sov", 14.

¹⁷⁵¹ JYL 13/68, "Jyväskylän Ylioppilasforum III", 2.

Nazism. Dystopian works were also handy because their speculative qualities opened up new perspectives to alternative futures, and thus freed fascism from its historical focus.¹⁷⁵²

While individual countercultural plays and movies certainly played their part among radical publics, resistant conservative viewpoints vis-à-vis the radical agenda were arguably even more important. The campaign against showing the film *Africa Addio*, a sensationalist documentary feature depicting the Zanzibar Revolution, involving quite a lot of violence, and directed by the Italian, Gualtiero Jacopetti, was perhaps the most famous example of intersections between cultural production, distribution, radical political views, and representations of third-world contexts. As Quinn Slobodian has brilliantly demonstrated, opposition to the distribution of the film was one of the key issues for the third-world activism in the West German context.¹⁷⁵³ While far less systematic, these characteristics were also present in the Nordic sphere. Jacopetti actually visited Sweden on a tour promoting his movie. While no commercial interest had yet been shown, the Swedish New Left press was worried that its international success might lure in a Swedish distributor. This was alarming principally because of the bias inherent in the film: “*Africa Addio* is a violent, racist attack on the new Africa”.¹⁷⁵⁴ In the Finnish radical press, the movie and its distribution was harshly criticised by Joseph Owindi, a sociology student from Kenya who was the first foreigner to participate in MA studies at the University of Tampere. The way Owindi used emotional categories of racism and fascism to oppose the availability of the film, which was widely distributed in Finland, might partly reflect on how isolated Owindi may well have felt.¹⁷⁵⁵ Debates surrounding *Afrika Addio* also demonstrate how the radical frame had shifted away from unequivocal support of freedom of speech to attempts to restrict the availability of what were seen as politically incorrect public representations. The debate is also significant because through Owindi’s participation, we get a rare glimpse into the experiences of an African student in 1960s Finland.

Owindi’s argued that showing the film in Finland meant Finnish broadcasters, movie theatres and audiences not only tolerated but openly supported the racist and fascist message of the film and its South African financiers. Owindi made explicit transnational comparisons by pointing out that the political activity of Swedish and West German students had led to the movie’s screening being cancelled. Sweden was again the model to follow: “thanks to the activity of Swedish students and their foresight in international affairs. We’re not talking about doing things, we’re acting, said one Swedish student. Apparently he can afford to say so because Swedish activity exceeds that of other Nordic students.” Owindi put the lack of student solidarity in Finland down to it being an overtly academic culture, but also deeper, psychological

¹⁷⁵² Aikalainen 7-8/66, Raimo Asplund, “Jos Hitler olisi voittanut sodan”, 71-74.

¹⁷⁵³ Slobodian 2012, 137-146.

¹⁷⁵⁴ ““Africa addio” är et våldsamt racistiskt angrepp på det nya Afrika.” Konkret 3-4/67, Joel Ohlsson, “Der Ewige Neger”, 79-80.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Aviisi 28/68, Joseph Owindi, “Mitä suomalaiset voivat tehdä?”, 8.

factors like “latent emotions” and other national characteristics: “As you know, Finns are cold and tough in many ways.” These factors led Owindi to conclude that while publicly racist policies were doomed in principle, in practice Finns were nevertheless participating.¹⁷⁵⁶

The reply to Owindi’s argument, written by Aino Strömmer, a rank and file member of the student union, is revealing. Although I do not have further details of Strömmer’s political position, as she was otherwise not an active commentator on other radical issues, the themes of national exceptionalism she presented to relativize Owindi’s accusations were present in many debates as the *de facto* line of the moderate majority of students. By acknowledging Owindi’s position as a representative of “modern Africa”, Strömmer in many ways sympathised with Owindi. But she still maintained that the essential question was to allow freedom of speech: “spreading information” was more important than banning movies. Strömmer also took up the issue of transnational comparisons and emotional rhetoric:

“Naturally, it is difficult to admit that one’s own people might be less developed than those in another nation. Similarly, it is difficult for us Finns to admit that we are not as advanced as the Swedes, for example. An emotional attitude obscures our mind in these matters. The fact is that whites are at the forefront of development and blacks are bridging the gap by catching up lightning speed because it is easier to embrace the results achieved than to go first into the unknown.”¹⁷⁵⁷

Afrika Addio demonstrates how changes in the radical frame also shifted the way politics was approached. For example, political language went from being very exact to a much more nebulous but more powerfully symbolic portrayal of global injustices. Associating fascism with sex and violence, for instance, in either a western or colonial context, was new, shocking, and creative in a way that went directly against previous radical traditions of political communication. Most of these uses were coined by well-known radical celebrities. In the context of sexual behaviour, controversial Swedish journalist and sexual rights activist Henning Pallesen borrowed his rhetoric from Kinsey’s studies. The SS and Hitler Youth were examples, he argued, that show us how heightened masculinity will produce homosexuality. Pallesen then went on to portray Nordic gays as

¹⁷⁵⁶ “kiitos tästä Ruotsin ylioppilaiden aktiivisuudelle ja heidän kaukonäköisyydelleen kansainvälisissä asioissa. Me emme puhu asioiden tekemisestä, me toimimme, sanoi eräs ruotsalainen ylioppilas. Nähtävästi hänelle on varaa sanoa niin koska ruotsalainen aktiivisuus ylittää muiden pohjoismaiden ylioppilaiden aktiivisuuden.”; “Ja tähän tiedätte: Suomalaiset ovat kylmiä ja kovia monin tavoin.” *Aviisi* 28/68, Joseph Owindi, “Mitä suomalaiset voivat tehdä?”, 8.

¹⁷⁵⁷ “Luonnollisesti on vaikea tunnustaa itselleen oman kansan kehittymättömyys verrattuna johonkin toiseen kansaan. Samoin meidän suomalaisten on vaikea myöntää, ettemme ole edistyksessä yhtä pitkällä kuin esimerkiksi ruotsalaiset. Tunteenomainen suhtautuminen sumentaa aivomme näissä asioissa. Tosiasia on että valkoiset ovat edelläkävijöitä kehityksessä ja mustat kurovat eroa kiinni salamavauhtia, koska on helpompi omaksua saavutettuja tuloksia kuin kulkea ensimmäisenä tuntemattomaan.” *Aviisi* 29/68, Aino Strömmer, “Suomalaiset voivat katsoa filmin”, 2

modern-day Jews.¹⁷⁵⁸ Countercultural protests, however, were not universally accepted even within the radical sphere. After its Maoist turn, *Clarté* was openly hostile towards countercultural and 'artsy' forms of politics. The paper openly scorned Godard's *La Chinoise*, for instance:

"To the bourgeoisie he is a 'great artist', but to us he is nothing more than a new variant of fascism: the intellectual fascist for the intellectuals. There are those too. They are characterised by trying to protect themselves behind the eternal values of art."¹⁷⁵⁹

French New Wave cinema was simply not proletarian enough for Swedish Maoists.

Using fascism-concepts in an emotional way was less controversial when applied to political issues. Apartheid and the War in Vietnam were two which featured in the Nordic radical press, and which also coincided with the heightened global consciousness that was part of the radicalisation process. Fascist-related rhetoric in these cases was caught up with the way the issues were approached both in the countercultural sphere and the wider media. Countercultural concepts of fascism emphasised the visual, graphic, traumatic, and barbarous dimensions of fascism, and dwelt less on political, ideological, or historical nuances; while intertextual elements and a more visual use of concepts and print media emphasised the rhizomatic and fluctuating nature of the communication strategies that radical movements used.

South Africa and the anti-apartheid struggle were an interesting intersection of different, rhizomatic features in the fascism debate for radicals. The parallels with the white South African government and German Nazis were actually pretty apparent for Sixties' radicals, as the British imperial domination over the area emphasized the prevalence of racism. The appearance of gas chambers in South Africa was just a matter of time, Markku Lahtela argued (again, colonial information was acquired from Swedish sources).¹⁷⁶⁰ The 'Bantustans' - a term used by the apartheid supporters to describe separate homelands for blacks - were just a form of Nazi resettlement policy¹⁷⁶¹ or concentration camp.¹⁷⁶² The South African PM, Verwoerd, was a "Führer"¹⁷⁶³, and even the Biafra genocide in West Africa, which evoked Nazi policies, was linked to the South African government.¹⁷⁶⁴ The concept of genocide made Nazi comparisons relatively easy,¹⁷⁶⁵ and when all of this was tied in with the

¹⁷⁵⁸ Nya Argus 14/64, Christer Kihlman, "De avvikade", 209-213.

¹⁷⁵⁹ "För borgarna är han en "stor konstnär", men för oss är han inget annat än en ny variant av fascismen: den intellektuella fascisterna för de intellektuella. Sådana finns också. De utmärks av att de försöker skydda sig bakom konstens eviga värden." *TiS* 21/67, "Medan Sverige sov", 14.

¹⁷⁶⁰ *Tilanne* 5-6/62, Markku Lahtela, "Afrikkalaisia", 258-262.

¹⁷⁶¹ *Tilanne* 5/64, Matthew Verghese, "Bantustanien tragedia", 120-122.

¹⁷⁶² *Aikalainen* 3/64, Matthew Verghese, "Etelä-Afrikan ongelma", 56-59; *Clarté* 3/66, Peter Weiss, "Fascism", 7.

¹⁷⁶³ *Medisiinari* 3/66, Matthew Verghese, "Seksi lannistaa apartheidin", 36-38.

¹⁷⁶⁴ *Ylioppilaslehti* 19/68, Ville Komsa, "Tällä viikolla/Entä sitten...", 5.

¹⁷⁶⁵ *OYL* 21/68, PK, "Kansanmurha", 3.

neocolonialist framework of economic oppression, fascism seemed quite a natural frame of reference.¹⁷⁶⁶

Discourses on the Vietnam War featured the frame even more. Tor Sellström has argued that, whereas Nordic activists had made contact with South African movements and activists, they did not establish any such contact with Vietnamese agents.¹⁷⁶⁷ Lack of any real personal contacts had an effect on the way Vietnam was portrayed in the media, via secondhand sources. Secondly, the involvement of the better-armed US led to widespread criticism of the use of modern technology for developing more effective ways of killing both Viet Cong and innocent civilians. For many radicals, as the Spanish Civil War was often seen as the prelude to WWII, so Vietnam could well be the prelude to World War III, or as one student put it in *Ylioppilaslehti*: "Hanoi and Haiphong are the Guernica of the 1960s."¹⁷⁶⁸ Allegedly, the US was testing new weapons in Vietnam just like the Nazis had done in Spain.¹⁷⁶⁹ Other comparisons relied on even more emotive imagery – that the people of Vietnam were probably being made into soap.¹⁷⁷⁰ This was a reference to the controversial claim that the Nazis had been doing this, according to a French holocaust documentary *Nuit et brouillard* (directed by Alain Resnais), that conveniently had its Finnish TV premier in July 1967. As the key initiator of change in the radical frame, the Vietnam War explicitly connected historical with contemporary fascism of the Sixties. "The genocides perpetrated by neo-fascists and their minions are facts", wrote one regular columnist in the Tampere student paper *Aviisi*. "There is no time to look back at Treblinka, Buchenwald, Pelsen. We must act now."¹⁷⁷¹ The alleged development of chemical weapons by US corporations also reinforced the genocide framing,¹⁷⁷² and as *Tidsignal* argued, the fact that Bayer AG was responsible for the gas weapons used in Vietnam not only brought direct responsibilities to the German company. It also meant that German universities were implicit in aiding genocide in Vietnam.¹⁷⁷³ This argument echoed the military-industrial complex theory that was also popular among radicals in the US and West Germany at the time.¹⁷⁷⁴

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Nordic radical press never reached the same levels of visualisation as West German magazines like *Konkret*. Not only did the Nordic New Left still trust in the overall power of texts more, but emotional, popular images were problematic, as some thought that they disguised the

¹⁷⁶⁶ Clarté 5-6/66, Jörn Svensson, "Socialfascismen", 4-9.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Sellström 1999, 232-254.

¹⁷⁶⁸ *Ylioppilaslehti* 13/67, Antero Tuominen, "Vielä Vietnamista", 4 (review of Halme & Valtasaari, *Vietnamin palavat tuulet*, 1967).

¹⁷⁶⁹ *TiS* 21/65, Lennar Ingberg, "Operation nya mordvapen", 14; *Konkret* 6/67, Per Engdahl & Sven O Andersson, "Fascismen", 31-34.

¹⁷⁷⁰ *Ylioppilaslehti* 16/68, Heikki Palmu, "Ei väkivaltaa vaan kansanvaltaa", 6, 13

¹⁷⁷¹ "Uusfasistien ja heidän käskyläistensä suorittamat kansanmurhat ovat tosiasioita. Ei ole aikaa muistella Treblinkaa, Buchenwaldia, Pelseniä. On toimittava." *Aviisi* 30/68, Batman, "Treblinkasta Vietnamiin", 3.

¹⁷⁷² *TiS* 21/65, Lennar Ingberg, "Operation nya mordvapen", 14.

¹⁷⁷³ *TiS* 33/68, James de Gaalitz, "Västtysk nervgas över Vietnam", 7.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Etzemüller 2005, 82.

ideological features of “true” fascism.¹⁷⁷⁵ Despite reservations towards emotional concepts during the early Sixties, attitudes towards concrete imagery in the press were also fluctuating according to political shifts happening in the radical frame. The Swedish New Left press offers some glimpses of the Swedish Vietnam movement though. *Tidsignal*, in particular, is a convenient source for this type of analysis, since as a weekly, it meant that the paper had more reports from actual protests than the monthlies.



Tidsignal, 6/67, “Den nya flaggan”, 5 (photo taken by the author)

The picture above is one striking example of how the Swedish Vietnam movement used not only fascist-related concepts, but also images in its political actions. While the combination of the Swastika and the American flag is striking and controversial in itself, there is another symbolic layer to consider here. As we know from scholarship on Black Power and the Black Panthers’ symbols and activism, associations that connected the US to the Nazis were not uncommon in the radicalised American protest movement of the late 1960s. Despite the obvious historical shortcuts taken, the imagery of swastikas or Germanic tropes like “*Amerika*” were powerful ways to point towards the presumed deep fascist tendencies of western societies. As discussed in 6.2 above, the Swedish radical press closely followed radical activism and events in the US, and there was even a presence of American deserters in Sweden who strengthened these transatlantic connections. Hence, one can assume even without explicit proof of the origin of symbols like the one above, that the Swedish radical movement was aware of these connotations and might have taken direct inspiration from them. Whether directly inspired by American examples or independently created in Sweden, the above image nevertheless demonstrates the rhizomatic nature of the

¹⁷⁷⁵ Tilanne 9/64, V. Hirvi, “Fascismin todellisuus”, 316-319.

political symbols used by social movements of the 1960s – they featured aspects from a geographical and temporal range of cultural and political meanings.

While the Finnish radical press did not feature quite the same level of visual reporting as *Tidsignal*, mostly due to the difference in publication schedules, but also the available journalistic resources, more emotionally appealing protest forms did start to appear. A report, published in *Ylioppilaslehti*, from an anti-war protest in Porvoo described some of the posters used by protesters, apparently featuring swastikas and pictures of Lyndon B. Johnson.¹⁷⁷⁶ Another example, this time from the Jyväskylä student paper, shows the transnational transmittance of another symbol – a raised fist.



Jyväskylän Ylioppilaslehti 19-20/68, Zenit 2/68, Kustaa H.J. Vilkuna: *Kapina Kampuksella*, 2013 (cover design by Sami Saresma)

As we can see from the series of images above, this was a recurring symbol, and one that could cross linguistic boundaries and be used in new contexts much more easily than any complicated theoretical text. On the cover of *Zenit*, a Swedish New Left Weekly that aspired to bring together the debates of the Nordic New Left in one paper, the fist symbol encourages readers to participate in the struggle against capitalism; on the cover of Jyväskylä University student paper, it champions the act of protest, but within the framework of encouraging students to vote for the socialist student group in forthcoming student elections. While the usage here is much more cautious than in *Zenit* (with its more confrontational red cover), it was still enough to cause quite a fuss. The origin of the design is unclear; it is certainly possible that even if it was an original design by someone for *Zenit*, that the idea, if not the image itself, came from yet another source. Indeed, the same image quite rightly ended up on the cover of *Kapina*

¹⁷⁷⁶ Ylioppilaslehti 19/67, Jussi Taskinen, "Suomalainen mielenosoitus -67", 10.

Kampuksella, a 2013 book by Professor Kustaa H.J. Vilkuna describing the radicalisation process of Jyväskylä university student politics during the 1960s and 1970s.

8 THE TRANSNATIONAL MOMENT OF 1968?

When talking about the 1960s from the perspective of civil disobedience and social movements, the year 1968 is an inescapable part of the narrative. Whether seen as the turning point where positive social activism flipped over into grim violence, or where dogmatic party politics took over and brought with it the inevitable conservative backlash; much of the way we see the Sixties and its extraordinariness has to do with the framing, or “the window” of 1968. So far, this thesis has evaded this particular elephant in the room. Many of the debates discussed in previous chapters do of course extend to the year 1968, but whether they were part of the *phenomenon* of 1968 is another question altogether. Again, as in many other cases already described in this thesis, 1968 is not simply the phenomenon that we have created through scholarship or reminiscing; the events we now associate with it were also an integral part of what contemporaries experienced there and then, a key to understanding many of the issues debated in public forums and in the press, and thus an integral part of the argument of this thesis. One’s perspective of 1968 is, of course, greatly affected by which contemporary agents have been selected to be the focus of study. The balance between students, New Left intellectuals, labour unions and independent social movements varied greatly in different national contexts. To better make sense of this rhizomatic group of actors and their transnational connections, I have tried to pinpoint, for the purposes of empirical historical research, the key events, and how they were interpreted, circulated, and used politically; so this chapter will deal with those issues in the Nordic context. Which events were important in the contemporary context? How did transnational entanglements and connections shape these perspectives? And how were these international key events appropriated, used, and adapted to the Nordic radical frame? Were there perspectives that combined domestic and international events into a coherent radical activism? These questions will be answered below.

8.1 Travels & Transfers

While this thesis has dealt with the transnational aspect of 1960s social movement activism, so far it has been a rather limited perspective, mostly focusing on textual transfers in the radical press, quotations and references to transnationally transmitted texts, and only a few key moments of actual physical mobility. The phenomenon of 1968, at least when broadly defined as such (i.e., not strictly as a chronological year), caused a stir of activity which changed this – particularly in the otherwise peripheral Finnish radical scene, but also in the Nordic sphere in general. Although we cannot know the many varied motives involved, what we do know is that there seems to have been a marked increase in wanting to organise visits and invite internationally well-known radicals from other inspiring social movements. Of course, close cultural and political ties, not to mention geographical proximity, made some visits easier than others, as did existing institutional frames, which radical (and especially student) activists were now keen to use. Another reason might have been that some student and New Left leaders were suddenly international celebrities in 1968, or at least they featured in the mainstream media, and this surely made them more tempting subjects for the radical press too. One cannot but notice that often contemporaries were merely name-dropping the various visiting foreign activists, without explicitly reflecting on their experiences; nevertheless, the increase in transnational contacts is one of the key things that caused shifts in the radical frame: not only did the visits encourage comparisons between domestic and foreign political contexts, they also made transnational political activism a far more concrete and tangible thing. However, simplifying the experiences of contemporary agents would be detrimental. Indeed, transnational comparisons are not necessarily a factor for increasing cooperation; in fact contrasting different political traditions with each other can often lead to an increased emphasis on the domestic context, as this chapter will demonstrate.

Since the Finnish radical scene was less networked than its Swedish counterpart,¹⁷⁷⁷ there was more need (and perhaps time) to set up a programme for inviting foreign activists. At the same time, as the radical frame was becoming polarised, several blueprints came to light for increasing these physical encounters. One of the plans discussed was to cooperate with a Norwegian student association (*Det Norske Studenttersamfund*) to get celebrities like Stokely Carmichael (see 6.2), Basil Davidson (a British left-wing historian of Africa), and David Horowitz (at the time a leading light of the American new Left) to appear in a Finnish panel discussion along with some local Nordic celebrities like Jan Myrdal and Olof Lagercranz, the editor of one of the prominent Swedish daily newspapers, *Dagens Nyheter*.¹⁷⁷⁸ While this plan did not come to fruition (though Carmichael, as we know, did eventually visit Sweden), the SMO *Tricont* was

¹⁷⁷⁷ Compare e.g. Sellström 1999 with Soiri & Peltola 1999 and one begins to see the difference in scale.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Ylioppilaslehti 2/67, Kimmo Kevätsalo, "Kulttuurin kevät HYYssä", 6.

more successful when it got notable Swedish activists like Christer Hogstedt, Björn Kumm, and Gunnar Person, Perry Anderson from the New Left Review in the US, the Belgian radical economist, Ernst Mandel, and other “representatives of freedom movements” to come to the Helsinki Student Union’s Third World Week (see 6.1).¹⁷⁷⁹ It is rather telling that while the western activists were named, the association whose sole purpose was to support third-world activism, did not name any of its guests who actually came from the Third World.

Another highlight of Finland’s 1968, was a visit from Berlin by the students of the FU, or “Free University” (*Freue Universität*) came to do a tour in March. Martin Gatzka and Wolfgang Wagner, both members of the SDS, might not have been the most prolific activists on the West German student scene, yet they had a connection with Finnish students. As well as presenting a movie in Helsinki about the protests of 1967 in Berlin¹⁷⁸⁰, they visited the universities of Jyväskylä,¹⁷⁸¹ Tampere,¹⁷⁸² and Turku¹⁷⁸³. They focused mainly on the campaign against the Springer press, matters of the FU Student Council, and the murder of Benno Ohnesorg. The interview of Gatzka and Wagner in *Turun Ylioppilaslehti* also covered matters like reactionary attitudes in the FRG, the alternatives to established university education, and bureaucracy in the GDR.¹⁷⁸⁴ One cannot help noticing that, as well as taking the time to visit these other universities in Finland, most of the issues Gatzka and Wagner talked about were student-focused. Either this was their natural focus, or it was because of the context of Finnish radicalism – with its strong student unions and councils.

A comparable Swedish example aptly demonstrates how different the situation was, and highlights how important local conditions were even during transnational events. During his visit to Uppsala, Lund, and Stockholm in the spring of 1968, Rudi Dutschke openly encouraged Swedish students to follow the revolutionary example that had been set in Berlin. His speech in Uppsala certainly covered student politics, but it also dealt with profound social structures that supported fascism and capitalism and the war in Vietnam. By linking together all these matters, Dutschke showed how Swedish students could use their university as a springboard towards more conscious political action. This would help create a new revolutionary subjectivity and remove alienation.¹⁷⁸⁵ Dutschke’s outright refusal of reforms and support for a comprehensive (but rather abstract) revolutionary politics that aimed to create a completely new social structure was actually in tune with the ideas already circulating in the Swedish New Left press, but, his call for students to be the

¹⁷⁷⁹ Ylioppilaslehti 30/68, “Kolmas maailma esillä”, 1; Ylioppilaslehti 31/68, “Kolmannen maailman viikko jatkuu”, 5.

¹⁷⁸⁰ TYL 10/68, PK, Heikki Palmu, “Yksi, kaksi, monta Berliiniä”, 2.

¹⁷⁸¹ JYL 7/68, “Syndikalismi”, 6.

¹⁷⁸² Aviisi 11/68, “Springer kiihottaa”, 4-5.

¹⁷⁸³ TYL 13/68, “Saksalainen kk-opettaja kieltäytyy keskustelemasta”, 1.

¹⁷⁸⁴ TYL 13/68, “Saksalainen kk-opettaja kieltäytyy keskustelemasta”, 1.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Kommentar 4/68, Övers. och redigering Irina Schaub, Andreas Murray och Karin Ewert, “Studenterna och revolutionen/Anförande i Uppsala den 7 mars 1968”, 3-9.

spearhead of revolution was something novel.¹⁷⁸⁶ The speeches Dutschke gave during this tour of Sweden were certainly influential, as they were repeatedly quoted in the Swedish radical press.¹⁷⁸⁷

Dutschke also featured prominently in the Finnish understanding of West German activism. While he was a familiar media character, often cited when addressing the whole complex situation surrounding West German dissident ideas, there are also some intriguing hints in the late Sixties Finnish student press that more direct contact was made. When planning the 1968 'Ideology Forum', the radicals of Jyväskylä University Student Union maintained that outside opinions were needed, as national radical debaters were simply "not progressive enough".¹⁷⁸⁸ Apparently through contacts made during Dutschke's visit to Uppsala, someone from Jyväskylä had managed to meet him, and thus the preliminary programme proudly claimed that Dutschke was going to be one of the speakers. Intriguingly, it was framed so that his academic merits came before his more radical credentials: Dutschke was presented as "a soon-to-graduate Doctor of Sociology and an ideologist of student radicalism".¹⁷⁸⁹ Dutschke never did actually come to speak in Jyväskylä, as getting shot in the head made all such practical plans impossible. Although he survived the murder attempt, whether Dutschke would have made the trip even if he had been fit to do so is debatable. There are reports that he had planned a trip to Cuba that would have occurred at the same time as he was due to come to Jyväskylä.¹⁷⁹⁰ One can only wonder which journey he would have preferred in the end. Ultimately, however, the organisers in Jyväskylä got a replacement; at first it was declared that Walter Weller from the FU would take his place,¹⁷⁹¹ but in the end it was Helke Sander who came, as she was already well-known in Finnish radical circles, having lived in the country for several years earlier in the decade. Although Dutschke never came, Göran Therborn, "a leading New Left theoretician" from Sweden¹⁷⁹² and domestic celebrities like Ilkka Taipale and Erkki Tuomioja¹⁷⁹³ did make it to the Forum.

Intriguingly, the national student paper, *Ylioppilaslehti*, commented on the missed transnational opportunity of hosting Dutschke in glowing anti-authoritarian terms: "Finns did not hear Dutschke present his invigorating ideas about university, but it's easy to guess. The university is a watchdog of light, and must build up the barricades that will demarcate stiff attitudes."¹⁷⁹⁴ This example

¹⁷⁸⁶ TiS 11/68, James de Gaalitz, "Statens fiende nr 1", 3.

¹⁷⁸⁷ See, e.g. Konkret 6/68, Joachim Israel, "En förändrad roll för den högre undervisningen", 20-34.

¹⁷⁸⁸ JYL 17/68, "Aikamme ylioppilaspoliitikkoja/ismo yrjänä porna", 17.

¹⁷⁸⁹ "melkein väitellyt sosiologian tohtori ja opiskelijaradikalismien ideologi." JYL 12/68, Ismo Porna, "Ideologia forum", 7.

¹⁷⁹⁰ JYL 13/68, "Laukauksia Berliinissä", 4.

¹⁷⁹¹ JYL 13/68, "Forumien ohjelma", 3.

¹⁷⁹² JYL 13/68, "Jyväskylän Ylioppilasforum III", 2.

¹⁷⁹³ JYL 12/68, Ismo Porna, "Ideologia forum", 7.

¹⁷⁹⁴ "Suomalaisilta jäi kuulematta Dutschken esitys uudistuvasta yliopistoideologiasta, mutta sen sisältö on helppo arvata. Yliopisto on valon vahti, sillä on velvollisuus rakentaa barrikadit kivettyneitä käsityksiä vastaan." *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/68, Vasara, "Ristiinaulitut", 3.

powerfully demonstrates how anti-authoritarian action was still mainly seen as a student matter in Finland. As with Gatzka and Wagner, because of the Finnish tradition of having formidable student unions, Finnish students adopted similar viewpoints to organisations like the SDS. While there were indeed SDS-affiliated groups that participated in the FU student council and made this interpretation possible, the heart of SDS activity had actually shifted elsewhere after the Ohnesorg murder. Characters like Dutschke and groups like *Subversive aktion* had shown a new form of politics to the German students, and with the establishment of the FNL Vietnam movement and the APO as a joint organisation of students, peace movement activists, and labour union members, student union politics was hardly the main focus of SDS any more.

Although she did not have quite the same international status as Rudi Dutschke, the commentary from Helke Sander during the student forum she spoke at in 1968 provides a window into the relationship between Finnish and Central European radical movements. First of all, Sander was an active member of the SDS, and so she had a central position from which to observe the differences between the two. Secondly, she already had a lot of experience from the Finnish context, and had published some articles in the Finnish New Left press while living in the country.¹⁷⁹⁵ According to the report in the Finnish student press, Sander stood out not only because of her experience; her unique perspective was also a matter of political style, as she was portrayed as “the most idealist among the guests in Jyväskylä”. Her presentation mentioned aspirations of forming a new society with its own educational institutions and kindergartens, with particular attention to the emerging women’s emancipation movement that was forming within the West German student movement.¹⁷⁹⁶ Sander also let her Finnish audiences know about how spontaneous and unstructured the West German SDS really was. While these were highly original perspectives to debates that were only slowly emerging inside the German student movement, the local student paper was nevertheless more interested in Dutschke and his role in the general West German student movement. Sander also spoke about anti-authoritarian science as a tool of class struggle and portrayed APO as a result of “scientific analysis”.¹⁷⁹⁷ Similarly, she presented the SDS as an organ not only against big capital, but also for judging “irrational” factors. She maintained a firm trust in science as the primary tool for directing social change.¹⁷⁹⁸ These might well have been Sander’s own genuine ideas; in any case, they also fitted well with the positivistic tradition so strong in Finnish student radicalism. Her speech was

¹⁷⁹⁵ Tilanne 5-6/62, Helke Sander “Keskustelua/Onko avioliitto elänyt yli aikansa?”, 267-270; Tilanne 8/64, Helke Sander, “Saksalainen ihmisenä ihmisten joukossa”, 290-293.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Ylioppilaslehti 16/68, R-L.S., “Tällä viikolla/Jyväskylän ideologia-forumin”, 4; JYL 17/68, Helke Sander, “Miksi Dutschke”, 11.

¹⁷⁹⁷ JYL 17/68, Helke Sander, “Miksi Dutschke”, 11.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Ylioppilaslehti 16/68, R-L.S., “Tällä viikolla/Jyväskylän ideologia-forumin”, 4.

relatively well received: "Helke Sander was a very sympathetic and honest idealist, hopeful for a bright future".¹⁷⁹⁹

While there was definitely more physical mobility in 1968, new texts were also an important way to get information. The Swedish commentary on *Kursbuch*, one of the most important publications of the West German extra-parliamentary opposition, is notable here.¹⁸⁰⁰ The fact that some of the reporting on *Kursbuch* was acquired from Swedish correspondents residing in West Germany emphasised how physical mobility and textual transfers were often related. *Kursbuch* was an attractive publication for the Swedish activists mainly because of its global take on phenomena such as Tschombe's Congo and the Shah of Iran. But transnational correspondence could also mention other West German publications that covered specifically German questions of interest to the Nordic New Left, like the re-emergence of the German right-wing and particularities of the German media.¹⁸⁰¹ Robert Jacobson was one active Swedish correspondent in the German radical scene who focused mainly on the student movement and APO,¹⁸⁰² while Claesgöran Löfgren actually found himself in the protests on Kurfürstendamm in West Berlin. His personal experience of the German protests demonstrated how anything might happen in German society;¹⁸⁰³ thus, personal experiences helped vindicate political convictions that events in Germany were a real threat to democracy and peaceful societal development.

8.2 Interpretations of 'Global 1968'

Interpreting the significance of foreign events was considerable easier than organising actual meetings with foreign activists. While its hard to accurately measure how much international protesting did actually feature in mainstream media,¹⁸⁰⁴ its safe to say that some information about them must have been available. Indeed, many of the debates covered in this chapter were based first and foremost on secondhand sources – mainly press reports of foreign protests. While literature and memoirs often emphasise the profound role of television as the channel that spread images of radical '68 to wider audiences, in the Nordic radical press TV was of secondary importance. Those who analysed international events often had to rely on either domestic or sometimes foreign newspapers for

¹⁷⁹⁹ "Helke Sander oli erittäin sympaattinen ja rehellinen idealisti, jolla on tulevaisuutta, toivottavasti valoisaa." JYL 17/68, "Aikamme ylioppilaspoliitikkoja/ismo yrjänä porna", 17.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Kommentar 6-7/68, Heinz Leyman, "Kursbuch på ny kurs", 50-51.

¹⁸⁰¹ Kommentar 2/68, Robert Jacobson, "Västtyskland/Den utomparlamentariska oppositionen", 14-19.

¹⁸⁰² Kommentar 3/68, Robert Jacobson, "Yttre och inre nödlägen – några västtyska komplikationer", 14-18; Kommentar 9/68, Robert Jacobson, "Undantagslagarna", 17-20.

¹⁸⁰³ TiS 17/68, Claesgöran Löfgren, "Påskan i Västberlin", 7.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Werenskjöld 2011; studies on the matter are just as hard to conduct in Finland, where most of TV programming has not survived long enough to be archived.

reports, and these usually came with a strong bias for one side or the other. Understanding this complex process of media mediation is crucial for understanding the wider social and political context in which these events were debated. I am not so interested in whether or not domestic agents got an accurate image (whatever that even means); rather in analysing textual transfers to show how various structures of knowledge production affected debates on transnational issues, and how these were adapted to domestic discussions.

One argument that gained intensity during the turmoils of '68 was associating the events with a youth uprising. As Holly Scott has demonstrated, the youth frame was first and foremost a political argument, used both by the radicals themselves but also by their opponents and the media.¹⁸⁰⁵ In the Nordic radical press, these arguments were widespread, though their extent did fluctuate somewhat. Thanks to the youth frame, the whole global scene could be portrayed as parts of the same phenomenon,¹⁸⁰⁶ and youthfulness seemed to provide the natural embodiment of the future – whatever that held. As Antti Eskola argued, the “youth sees a glimpse of the world as it could be.”¹⁸⁰⁷ Wider participation of young people could also, some radicals hoped, lead to the death of bureaucracy.¹⁸⁰⁸ The youth frame could also be limited to students, if desired, since they were often right in the limelight when international protests were being reported. As Gerd-Rainer Horn has argued, the student focus was the main recognisable feature of the northern European and American protest movements;¹⁸⁰⁹ indeed, in the Nordic press, it ended up becoming one of the key explanatory narratives that framed students as indicators of the zeitgeist, because they were the key intellectuals of their time¹⁸¹⁰ – working in the field of ideas in a relatively free position¹⁸¹¹ and therefore representing “true democracy”.¹⁸¹² In the Swedish radical scene, the youth frame could also provide liberal agents with an explanation that challenged more socialist class explanations for the turbulent events of 1968. “The gap between the generations is growing”, stated one report, “and it is no exaggeration that the elderly have betrayed the youth.”¹⁸¹³

Those seeking for a more theoretical explanation for the global upheaval relied on renowned public intellectuals. References to Herbert Marcuse begin to appear in the Finnish student press in 1968.¹⁸¹⁴ Marcusian theories put students

¹⁸⁰⁵ Scott 2016. For similar generational arguments in the Finnish context, see Saksholm 2015.

¹⁸⁰⁶ Aviisi 19/68, Ossi Järnefelt, “Rakentavia ehdotuksia: Yhteiskuntaa muuttamaan”, 3.

¹⁸⁰⁷ “Nuoriso näkee välähdyksen maailmasta sellaisena kuin se voisi olla.” Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki., 137.

¹⁸⁰⁸ TYL 20/68, Kari Lehtola, “Isänmaan asioita/asioita ja asenteita”, 2.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Horn 2007.

¹⁸¹⁰ OYL 15/68, J.L., “Ylioppilaiden mellakat”, 3; Aviisi 14/68, Seppo Toiviainen, “Alas lyökää koko vanha maailma”, 3.

¹⁸¹¹ Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki., 136.

¹⁸¹² Aviisi 23/68, Markku Koskela, “Taustaa: Länsi-Berliinin ylioppilasmellakat”, 6-7.

¹⁸¹³ “Klyftan mellan generationerna växer och der är ingen överdrift att säga, att de äldre har svikit ungdomen.” LibD 3-4/68, Vivica Ganten, “studentprotest- ohelig allians och presskoncentration”, 32-

¹⁸¹⁴ OYL 18/68, J.L., “Ylioppilaan yhteydet”, 2.

in the political vanguard and strengthened the political association between students, both as a generational unit and as political intelligentsia. "Student Left" was another concept used to describe European events,¹⁸¹⁵ and one that seemed to somehow acknowledge the differences between student and New Left groups while simultaneously combining them into one coherent movement. For the Swedish radical press, Marcuse was first and foremost a political philosopher, demonstrating new forms of revolutionary theory.¹⁸¹⁶ Yet, even the liberal Swedish press took note of his theories, emphasising their significance as a way to understand political action in general. "According to Marcuse", reports in *Liberal Debatt* explained, "emotions are a rational dimension in politics."¹⁸¹⁷ Whether relying on such theoretical ponderings or focusing on their youthfulness alone, framing transnational student movements as a unified front was convenient and seemed natural; because of their similar goals and concrete transnational links, students were the agents either crossing borders themselves, or actively sympathising with faraway agents.¹⁸¹⁸ They could therefore be interpreted as indicating a more general swing to the left in western society as a whole.¹⁸¹⁹ This general leftist turn would also explain particular events, like the demonstrations against the Congolese leader Moïse Tshombe in Berlin.¹⁸²⁰ While it's rather understandable, these reports missed all references to individual agency, and were even probably unaware of the participation of Congolese exchange students in these protests.

When it comes to the actual protests, 1968 is more a symbolic point of reference for the what happened, than to the actual chronological year. The Berlin protests against the Shah of Iran (on 2 June 1967) is a poignant example of this – it has led many German history scholars to argue that, for the Germans, "1968" actually started in 1967. Whether there is any need for such deviations from historical chronology is a matter that will probably be always open to debate, but in any case, the protests against the Shah clearly left an impression on the Nordic radical press. Their violent nature, and the dramatic imagery they produced were the main reason for these reactions, especially since the Shah and his family were international celebrities constantly in the tabloid news. The protests also a got wide range of media coverage, including TV.¹⁸²¹ As usual, the transnational significance of the events themselves in Iran and the role played by both students and police in Iran were chiefly ignored in the Nordic radical press – the protest

¹⁸¹⁵ Ylioppilaslehti 12/68, Ulf Sundqvist, "Mellakoita, mistä syystä?", 6, 11.

¹⁸¹⁶ Zenit 3/68, Erik Furumark, "Marcuse och revolutionen", 77-78.

¹⁸¹⁷ "Enligt Marcuse utgör emotioner en rationell dimension inom politiken." LibD 1/69, Magnus Lagerkvist, "Protest – ockupation – revolt", 29-34. see also LiB D 3/69, Bo Winander, "Reflektioner kring Marcuse", 41-42.

¹⁸¹⁸ OYL 30/68, "Väkivallatonta vaikutusta?", 5; Ylioppilaslehti 19/67, Hannu Vesa, "Berliinin punaiset ylioppilaat", 7..

¹⁸¹⁹ TYL 14/68, Timo Vuortama, "Hyvinvointi-ideologia natisee", 2.

¹⁸²⁰ Ylioppilaslehti 19/67, Hannu Vesa, "Berliinin punaiset ylioppilaat", 7; Slobodian 2012, 61-72.

¹⁸²¹ JYL 8/68, "Kiroton hyvä sirkus", 6-7.

was discussed, first and foremost, as a German matter.¹⁸²² Nevertheless, there were some reports about Bahman Nirumand's book *Iran, The New Imperialism in Action* (1967), which indicated that the book had inspired many to take a more critical look at the political situation in Iran.¹⁸²³ Some reports did notice the transnational dimension of the protests in Berlin, but they usually stopped at describing the reactionary role of the Iranian police, not its active role as a political force. Furthermore, these reports came mainly through translated German texts.¹⁸²⁴ The murder of Benno Ohnesorg, a student participating in the protests against the Shah, was one event that surely strengthened the domestic framing of the protest in Germany. It served not only as a signpost of radicalisation and politicisation, but also as a symbol of the turn inside the German protest movement towards bigger societal issues.¹⁸²⁵ The fact that Ohnesorg was shot by a German police officer also allowed for fascist analogies to be made more easily.

Although the Swedish New Left press was rapidly moving towards a more partisan political position, some of its papers still relied on a pretty conventional radical framing when covering the Berlin events of 1967: concepts such as freedom and democracy legitimised the protests as an action against bureaucracy and the authoritarian structures of the state. Reports also emphasised the freedom of speech bravely upheld by protesters in the face of the propaganda that the tabloid *Bild-Zeitung* (and more importantly its publisher, Springer) were telling the public. Springer's papers were believed to be perfecting techniques of brainwashing, and comparisons were made to the Nazis,¹⁸²⁶ which in turn led to a heightened interest in Axel Springer as a personality. Springer was also a more general trope, and one of the keys to understanding West German society, not only as a publisher, but also as one of the leading figures of German conservatism.¹⁸²⁷ This all happened in the context of the Emergency Acts (*Notstandsgesetze*) that the Social Democrat-led coalition government tried to bring in effect during the spring of 1968. Opposition to them unified a broad front of SMOs and labour unions.¹⁸²⁸ In early reports, the Swedish radical press maintained that these acts were a threat to democracy, the most direct manifestation of which was the government's monopolisation of the West

¹⁸²² See, e.g. TiS 23/67, .Ts, "Skotten i Berlin", 2; TiS 25/67, Jürgen Horlemann, "Västtysklands studenter i Kamp för demokratin", 11; LibD 3-4/68, Vivica Ganten, "studentprotest- ohelig allians och presskoncentration", 32-.

¹⁸²³ Ajankohta 7/67, Josef Braun, "Kohuttu kirja", 9.

¹⁸²⁴ Ajankohta 7/67, Josef Braun, "šaahi Berliinissä", 7-8; Clarté 2/68, Meino Büning, Övers. Göran Rosenberg och Gunilla Wettersjö, "Studentrörelsen i Väst-Berlin", 16-23.

¹⁸²⁵ Ylioppilaslehti 32/67, Josef Braun, "Rudi Dutschke von Berlin", 7; Aviisi 27/67, Vesa Mäkinen, "Syndikalistien syynäilyä", 4-5.

¹⁸²⁶ TiS 23/67, .Ts, "Skotten i Berlin", 2; TiS 25/67, Jürgen Horlemann, "Västtysklands studenter i Kamp för demokratin", 11; Kommentar 2/68, Robert Jacobson, "Västtyskland/Den utomparlamentariska oppositionen", 14-19.

¹⁸²⁷ TiS 17/68, James de Gaalitz, "Caesars ruttna imperium", 6-7.

¹⁸²⁸ Thomas 2003, 87-91.

German press.¹⁸²⁹ Not only did the Acts seem to directly contradict the professed commitment of the Social Democrats to established societal norms, but after the murder of Ohnesorg, it was feared that martial law might become the new normal.¹⁸³⁰ Swedish radical papers seemed to recognise that a domestic theme like the Emergency Acts could really help bring together a range of different ideological and political movements in a united front of opposition.¹⁸³¹ Perhaps for this reason, most of the reporting relied on gloomy forecasts of ever-increasing authoritarianism and the possible re-emergence of fascism.

Because of the understandably pronounced role of student matters in Finnish student papers, German events were mainly interpreted from a university perspective. The *Freie Universität* in Berlin was approached mainly because of its “progressive” model of governance, exceptional freedoms, and influential political science programme.¹⁸³² The FU was used as a comparison to show that other West German universities did not have the same level of democracy between students and professors.¹⁸³³ The university perspective also emphasised the significance of student union politics: aspirations for “university democracy” and “socially active student politics” were concepts that best summed this up.¹⁸³⁴ A similar analysis of FU was also present in the Swedish New Left press; because of its exceptional history, FU was a natural haven for models of direct democracy and a good example of a long-running process of politicisation.¹⁸³⁵

Of course, in spite of its Baltic proximity, Germany was not the only event of 1968 that featured in the Nordic radical press. The demonstrations of *Mai 68* in France became a quintessential part of the political folklore that defined the whole 1968 phenomenon – as much to its contemporaries in Nordic countries as it later would to the rest of the world. While we know in retrospect how deeply entangled student and labour union demands were in May '68,¹⁸³⁶ contemporary Nordic students saw it as a mainly student event. Protesting against university conditions naturally framed students as the main agents, and a focus on university actions and themes made it the sphere for both regressive and radical

¹⁸²⁹ TiS 32/65, James de Gaalitz, “Pressens frihet i Västtyskland finns den?”.

¹⁸³⁰ TiS 37/66, Gunnar Olofsson, “Om den västtyska vänstern”, 13-14; TiS 29/67, “Därför mördades Benno”.

¹⁸³¹ LibD 3-4/68, Vivica Ganten, “studentprotest- ohelig allians och presskoncentration”, 32-.

¹⁸³² Ajankohta 7/67, Josef Braun, “šaahi Berliinissä”, 7-8; Ylioppilaslehti 11/68, Antti Kuusi, “Miksei ylioppilas mellakoisi?”, 6, 16; JYL 13/68, PK, “Protestin oikeutus”, 3, Ylioppilaslehti 16/68, Heikki Palmu, “Ei väkivaltaa vaan kansanvaltaa”, 6, 13.

¹⁸³³ Aviisi 23/68, Markku Koskela, “Taustaa: Länsi-Berliinin ylioppilasmellakat”, 6-7.

¹⁸³⁴ Aviisi 20/67, Hannu Vesa, “Benno Ohnesorgin murha/Saksalainen ylioppilasvallankumous”, 10.

¹⁸³⁵ TiS 25/67, Jürgen Horlemann, “Västtysklands studenter i Kamp för demokratin”, 11; Clarté 2/68, Meino Büning, Övers. Göran Rosenberg och Gunilla Wettersjö, “Studentrörelsen i Väst-Berlin”, 16-23; Kommentar 2/68, Robert Jacobson, “Västtyskland/Den utomparlamentariska oppositionen”, 14-19.

¹⁸³⁶ Horn 2007, 100.

politics.¹⁸³⁷ The focus on education also made it possible to combine several issues – like special needs education,¹⁸³⁸ the welfare state, and the broader education system¹⁸³⁹ – under the same banner. University provided a model that functioned much like society, they argued, only on a smaller scale. The French example also symbolised authoritarian government by the ruling classes.¹⁸⁴⁰ A wider framework of broad social analysis provided legitimisation, and showed that sympathising with European student movements was not an emotional reaction¹⁸⁴¹ but something more systematic. For the New Left, particularly in Sweden, the labour union focus of French protests was even more important; May '68 could set an example for a united front of students and workers.¹⁸⁴² This framing would become a crucial domestic goal only shortly after the French protests hit the papers.

The student upheavals of 1968 certainly made universities the main sphere for protest.¹⁸⁴³ Higher education, it was argued, could act as a model and testing ground for future models of society – as long as it was carried out well. “In terms of organisation”, claimed one Tampere student when talking about the student movement to form a new critical and independent university system in West Germany, “a critical university is the opposite to an authoritarian university and society. It is a democratic system.”¹⁸⁴⁴ The democratic aspect of this ‘Critical University’ movement (*Kritische universität*) made it possible to frame transnational student radicalism as a profoundly communicative practice not simply restricted to analysing social power.¹⁸⁴⁵ A new, more self-critical institution, it was reasoned, could set in motion some radical reforms to university democracy that would sweep away the inbred, narrow focus of isolated specialists in existing universities.¹⁸⁴⁶ It could also support more leftist readings too, even ones that challenged the neutrality of mainstream science. From this perspective, a Critical University could help overcome the gaps between socialist theory and practice. In the German scene, *Kritische universität* marked the change from individualism towards a more collective politics within

1837 TYL kesä/68, Tapani Lepola, “Ranska ratkaisun edessä”, 5; Ylioppilaslehti 11/68, Antti Kuusi, “Miksei ylioppilas mellakoisi?”, 6, 16; Ylioppilaslehti 14/68, Vasara, “Ristiinaulitut”, 3; JYL 13/68, PK, “Protestin oikeutus”, 3.

1838 TYL 28/68, Maj Palmberg, “Vad fan händer”, 5.

1839 JYL 17/68, Reijo Wilenius, “Ideologia ja politiikka”, 8-9; TYL kesä/68, Kaarina Lehtonen, “Mistä setä tietää miltä tädistä tuntuu”, 6-7.

1840 Aviisi 19/68, Ossi Järnefelt, “Rakentavia ehdotuksia: Yhteiskuntaa muuttamaan”, 3.

1841 JYL 13/68, PK, “Protestin oikeutus”, 3.

1842 See, e.g. Clarté 4/68, Caroline Huldt & Kerstin Schuldheis, “Frankrike maj-juni 1968”, 14; Clarté 4/68, Lena och Claus Brunderius, “Majrevolutionen i Frankrike, anteckningar och reflexioner”, 17-19.

1843 JYL 19-20/68, Jorma Veijola, “Kansainvälinen ylioppilaspolitiikka”, 15; JYL 17/68, Helke Sander, “Miksi Dutschke”, 11; TYL 13/68, “Saksalainen kk-opettaja kieltäytyy keskustelemasta”, 1; Aviisi 11/68, “Pamppu contra ylioppilaat”, 4; TYL 19/68, Kaarina Lehtonen, “Tilanne ylioppilaiden kristillisessä liikkeessä”, 8.

1844 “Organisaatioltaan kriittinen yliopisto on autoritäärisen yliopiston ja autoritäärisen yhteiskunnan vastajärjestelmä. Se on demokraattinen järjestelmä.” Aviisi 23/68, Markku Koskela, “Taustaa: Länsi-Berliinin ylioppilasmellakat”, 6-7.

1845 Aviisi 27/67, Vesa Mäkinen, “Syndikalistien syynäilyä”, 4-5.

1846 Konkret 6/68, Joachim Israel, “En förändrad roll för den högre undervisningen”, 20-34.

the student movement.¹⁸⁴⁷ Thus, it was instrumental in raising political consciousness. An alternative university, it was argued, could provide scientific analysis of contemporary events, and a basis for reforming the labour movement.¹⁸⁴⁸ Interest in foreign examples even led to plans for founding Critical Universities in the Nordic context.¹⁸⁴⁹ And there was a very concrete reason for this: *Mai 68* actually coincided with the proposal of university reforms in both Finland and Sweden. Although most of these debates focused more on the finer details of university government and student representation,¹⁸⁵⁰ they still helped keep the topic on the radical agenda. Another knock-on effect of 1968 was that the overall membership numbers of left-wing student organisations grew.¹⁸⁵¹

Beyond the radical student activism of 1968, there are also traces of a broader, more inclusive understanding of goals of European radicalism. Themes covered in the media certainly encouraged these broad definitions;¹⁸⁵² yet, there were also some original thinkers like Juha Mikkonen, a student from Oulu University, who understood that revolution, as defined by Dutschke, could not take place within a student union.¹⁸⁵³ This highlights another key issue, only touched on briefly earlier (see Debray in 6.1): there was a pronounced focus on ideological content being associated with a movement's leader. This meant that terms like "Dutshckeites"¹⁸⁵⁴, or "Rudism"¹⁸⁵⁵ prevailed, as did petitions explaining that Dutschke's personal charisma was enough.¹⁸⁵⁶ *Tidsignal* even put Dutschke on the cover of one of its issues with the headline: "Will he start a revolution in Western Europe?"¹⁸⁵⁷ Such personifications were a natural occurrence that came up also in domestic contexts. Only very rarely were they seen as a problem. For example, the West German SDS was described as a "Chinese" organisation¹⁸⁵⁸, and *Kommune 1* as "a harem"¹⁸⁵⁹ in Finnish student papers - both typical expressions used by the mainstream and conservative German press.¹⁸⁶⁰ The personification of transnational radical politics ramped up a level when there were assassination attempts on Rudi Dutschke and Martin Luther King in the very same week in 1968. Although King died whilst Dutschke

1847 Clarté 2/68, Meino Büning, Övers. Göran Rosenberg och Gunilla Wettersjö, "Studentrörelsen i Väst-Berlin", 16-23.

1848 Konkret 6/68, Översättning och bearbetning: Gun Ekroth, Gunilla & Bernd Mehlich, "Berlinstudenternas kritiska universitet", 34-38.

1849 Ylioppilaslehti 24/68, R-L. S., "Kulttuurikeskus kriittinen korkeakoulu", 7; TiS 20/68, Björn Häggqvist, "Antiuniversitet!"

1850 Ylioppilaslehti 27/68, Markku Tyynilä, "Uudistuksia - ja heti", 6.

1851 Joseffson 1996, 13-14, 108, 121-122; Kolbe 1996, 243-245, 314.

1852 Ylioppilaslehti 17/68, *Enfant terrible*, 4.

1853 OYL 17/68, Juha Mikkonen, "Pohjois-Suomi kansannousuun", 4-5.

1854 TYL 15/68, Kari Lehtola, "Isänmaan asioita/Springeriana", 2; Ylioppilaslehti 17/68, *Enfant terrible*, 4; TYL 18/68, Kimmo Pulkkinen, "IX Maailman nuorison ja ylioppilaiden festivaali Sofiassa 28.7. - 6.8.1968", 4-5.

1855 Ylioppilaslehti 17/68, *Enfant terrible*, 4.

1856 Ylioppilaslehti 30/67, Markku Tyynilä, "Tasavallan ylioppilas", 6.

1857 TiS 11/68, "Gör han revolution i Västeuropa?", 1.

1858 Aviisi 20/67, Hannu Vesa, "Benno Ohnesorgin murha/Saksalainen ylioppilasvallankumous", 10.

1859 Ylioppilaslehti 32/67, Josef Braun, "Rudi Dutschke von Berlin", 7.

1860 von Hodenberg 2006.

survived, it seemed to form a particular “bond of faith” and causality between these two leaders despite the very different local contexts.¹⁸⁶¹ In its reports of the events, *Ylioppilaslehti* used highly emotional language which provocatively compared them to Jesus – all three had shared a brave dedication to their cause.¹⁸⁶² This religious comparison may have had something to do with the article being published in the Easter holidays. “King and Dutschke do not really fit in our time”, another account declared. “Their thinking is so far ahead of our time”.¹⁸⁶³ Interestingly, the reporting was in the past tense in the Finnish press, indicating that they thought Dutschke had also died.¹⁸⁶⁴ Even with advances in global media communications, it seemed that not all information was readily available after all.

What these events did demonstrate in a rather emphatic way for radicals, was how the mainstream press focused on exoticising the issue, not on the political programmes that these individuals put forward.¹⁸⁶⁵ Criticism of these press reports (both home and abroad) were shown in demonstrations of solidarity for Dutschke, organised in Helsinki. While the event did not meet with universal praise in the student press, those that were positive, praised the spontaneity of the protest, while the more negative interpreted the protest as a failed attempt at political appropriation of the Springer issue.¹⁸⁶⁶ In *Ylioppilaslehti*, for instance, liberal and centrist student politicians claimed that “[i]dentifying the situation in West Germany with the one in Finland showed not only childish attitudes but also ignorance of the actual conditions in West Germany – the subject they were supposed to be protesting about”.¹⁸⁶⁷ Clearly not everyone was happy with the way transnational radical phenomena appeared in Nordic contexts.

¹⁸⁶¹ *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/68, “King, Dutschke”, 1; TYL 14/68, Tapani Lepola, “Sairas maailma”, 2; LibD 3-4/68, Vivica Ganten, “studentprotest- ohelig allians och presskoncentration”, 32-; TiS 17/68, Claesgöran Löfgren, “Påskén i Västberlin”, 7.

¹⁸⁶² *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/68, Vasara, “Ristiinaulitut”, 3.

¹⁸⁶³ “King ja Dutschke eivät oikein sopineet tai sovi aikaamme. Heidän ajattelunsa kulkee niin paljon edellä aikaansa.” *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/68, Vasara, “Ristiinaulitut”, 3.

¹⁸⁶⁴ *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/68, “King, Dutschke”, 1; OYL 14/68, J.L., “Rudi Dutschke jäi henkiin”, 2.

¹⁸⁶⁵ JYL 13/68, PK, “Protestin oikeutus”, 3.

¹⁸⁶⁶ 19/68, Pellervo Raitio, “Vapaa sana/Dutschke-mielenosoituksesta”, 10; *Ylioppilaslehti* 17/68, *Enfant terrible*, 4.

¹⁸⁶⁷ “Länsi-Saksan tilanteen samaistaminen Suomeen osoitti kuitenkin paitsi lapsellisuutta myös tietämättömyyttä Länsi-Saksan olosuhteista: siis juuri siitä aiheesta, josta mieltä piti osoittaa.” *Ylioppilaslehti* 17/68, Akateeminen liberaaliyhdistys, Helsingin opiskelevat keskustanuoret, “Mielenosoitus”, 12.

“Are Different Methods Suitable for Different Areas, Different People?”¹⁸⁶⁸ Contemporary Comparisons and Adaptations

Events like the protests against the Shah, May '68, the assassination of Martin Luther King, and the attempt on Dutschke's life were compared to domestic political contexts. This is actually a customary way in which political comparisons are shaped – they depend on the availability of international media material. But contemporaries were also clearly aware of their interconnectedness with the global scene – these connections enabled transfer, adaptation, and adoption. This was evident in commentary that emphasised the global student protests as proof that there would be future unrest in Finland too.¹⁸⁶⁹ Why students were protesting everywhere else except Finland was indeed one of the central questions that puzzled local writers.¹⁸⁷⁰ The logical conclusion was that Finns were the only students happy with the current situation,¹⁸⁷¹ and since there was no one else interested in discussing European events, only activists who had gathered enough information about them could incite protests.¹⁸⁷² This argument explicitly left international matters to those who had the 'expertise' to deal with them,¹⁸⁷³ thus following a rather common narrative that saw political leadership as being simply a matter of competence.

In addition to zeitgeist-like assumptions that European events would automatically repeat themselves in the local context, comparisons between radical activist scenes in different contexts were common and offer a good glimpse of the way Nordic radical writers positioned themselves in the transnational context of 1968. From a certain perspective, Nordics could indeed compare themselves to other Europeans – they too felt disempowered¹⁸⁷⁴ and disaffected with society. “Surprisingly” one writer argued, “the sources of dissatisfaction in both France and Finland are similar in many respects”.¹⁸⁷⁵ But there were just as many who pointed out the differences in political and social conditions, culture, and material factors. Associating Finland with the Nordic context first, and the European only second was one way to prioritise these political associations. According to this frame, European events could not be directly compared to the Finnish context; if any such comparisons were to be

¹⁸⁶⁸ “Mutta sopivatko eri menetelmät eri alueille, eri ihmisille?” OYL 30/68, “Väkivallatonta vaikutusta?”, 5.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Ylioppilaslehti 11/68, Antti Kuusi, “Miksei ylioppilas mellakoisi?”, 6, 16.

¹⁸⁷⁰ TYL 13/68, Kari Lehtola, “Isänmaan asioita/Hei ronskisti ranttaliks vaan”, 2; Aviisi 23/68, Liisa Manninen, “Taistelu ei ole vielä edes alkanut”, 7.

¹⁸⁷¹ Aviisi 11/68, “Pamppu contra ylioppilaat”, 4.

¹⁸⁷² TYL 18/68, Kimmo Pulkkinen, “IX Maailman nuorison ja ylioppilaiden festivaali Sofiassa 28.7. – 6.8.1968”, 4-5.

¹⁸⁷³ Ylioppilaslehti 23/68, Markku Tyynilä, “Valtiovalta, korkeakoulut, ylioppilaat...”, 5.

¹⁸⁷⁴ JYL 32-33/68, PK, “Radikaali opiskelijaliike”, 3; OYL 28/68, PK, “Opintodemokratia ja demokratia”, 3.

¹⁸⁷⁵ “Hämmästyttävää kyllä, tyytymättömyyden lähteet ovat monilta osin samankaltaiset, niin Ranskassa kuin Suomessakin.” TYL kesä/68, Kaarina Lehtonen, “Mistä setä tietää miltä tädistä tuntuu”, 6-7.

made, one must first wait for comparable Nordic cases to appear;¹⁸⁷⁶ only when similar societies were experiencing these phenomena, could comparisons ensue. Here, a particular trait of Nordic societies could actually mean that comparable conditions would never be met; as the Nordic welfare state seemed successful in lessening social tension,¹⁸⁷⁷ it was also possible that conflicts would never reach the levels experienced in continental Europe. West Germany was a central comparison point here; for contemporaries, it was geographically and culturally the closest example of the 1968 phenomenon.¹⁸⁷⁸ These examples show a particular tendency to portray the Nordic welfare state as a shining example of modernism, and more progressive than the polarised situation which faced their counterparts in Central Europe with their ruling catholic conservative leaders. While less frequent, Nordic comparisons were also made in the Swedish radical press, but usually as a negative example. As Björn Häggqvist explained in *Tidsignal*, Sweden, Norway, and Finland were a Nordic backwater, and the lack of protest movements in each country was a direct result of long cultural traditions of protestant obedience.¹⁸⁷⁹

Some of these national characteristics were directly linked to the conditions of students. One writer argued that the Finnish system of university democracy and student representation was actually more advanced than the one in West Germany. Basing his argumentation on personal experiences of meeting university staff in both countries, he went on to claim that national history explained these differences.¹⁸⁸⁰ Others followed similar arguments, either portraying the West German universities as class-ridden,¹⁸⁸¹ or “medieval”, as Helke Sander had described German university structures when she visited Jyväskylä. Sander maintained that decisions regarding university governance in West Germany were mostly done in secrecy.¹⁸⁸² Arguments about significant national differences did not always point to specific local contexts, but the point was always to highlight how functional Nordic societies were when compared to those in Central Europe.¹⁸⁸³

A rather simplistic logic of national characteristics were also present in texts that compared conditions outside the university. Contrasting Springer with ‘freedom of speech’ in the Finnish context, for example, was quite common¹⁸⁸⁴

¹⁸⁷⁶ Ylioppilaslehti 12/68, Ulf Sundqvist, “Mellakoita, mistä syystä?”, 6, 11; TYL 18/68, PK, “Miten vältämme ylioppilasmellakat?”, 3.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Ylioppilaslehti 12/68, Ulf Sundqvist, “Mellakoita, mistä syystä?”, 6, 11.

¹⁸⁷⁸ OYL 14/68, J.L., “Rudi Dutschke jäi henkiin”, 2.

¹⁸⁷⁹ TiS 20/68, Björn Häggqvist, “Antiuniversitet!”.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Ylioppilaslehti 15/68, Seppo Heikki Salonen, “Kuusi ja Palmu päin mäntyä”, 6.

¹⁸⁸¹ TYL 16/68, “TISW ja teemat: eurooppalaisista intellektuelleista kehitysmaiden ongelmiin”, 1.

¹⁸⁸² JYL 17/68, Helke Sander, “Miksi Dutschke”, 11.

¹⁸⁸³ TYL kesä/68, Kaarina Lehtonen, “Mistä setä tietää miltä tädistä tuntuu”, 6-7;

Ylioppilaslehti 20/68, PK, “Apinat”, 3; TYL 18/68, PK, “Miten vältämme ylioppilasmellakat?”, 3; TYL 13/68, Kari Lehtola, “Isänmaan asioita/Hei ronskisti rantaliks vaan”, 2; Ylioppilaslehti 27/68, Riitta Pirinen, “Ranskan pieni suuri yliopistoreformi”, 6; TYL 10/68, Markku Hyyppä, “Kaaos Italian yliopistoissa”, 4-5.

¹⁸⁸⁴ OYL 15/68, J.L., “Ylioppilaiden mellakat”, 3; OYL 14/68, J.L., “Rudi Dutschke jäi henkiin”, 2; Aviisi 11/68, “Pamppu contra ylioppilaat”, 4; Aviisi 14/68, Tapio

even if it had now turned one of the main points of early Sixties cultural radicals into a matter of national pride.¹⁸⁸⁵ The violent nature of West German society could be explained by its authoritarian characteristics and disrespect for freedom of speech.¹⁸⁸⁶ However, there were other interpretations in the debate, pointing towards other voices and publics in West Germany: progressive magazines such as *Der Spiegel*, and critical authors that were not part of the radical student movement as such all demonstrated how there was still quite a lot of diversity in the West German media.¹⁸⁸⁷ Clearly these interpretations depended on what sources were to hand. Debating the freedom of press in West Germany also highlighted changes in the domestic political context. Shifts in the radical frame brought a more critical perspective of mainstream media that was now seen principally as a bourgeois political tool, rather than as a forum for raising political consciousness. These perspectives were inspired by foreign examples but quickly adapted to the domestic setting: according to one student radical, *Helsingin Sanomat* was certainly a tool but ultimately not going to restrict the freedom of speech in Finland, while the national broadcaster, YLE was state-owned so refreshingly free from needing to make a profit.¹⁸⁸⁸ Student papers as an independent form of media with a radical tradition were thus the key, and again they were a matter of national (and Nordic) exceptionality and pride. "Hardly anywhere outside Scandinavia", ran the claim, "are student publications as knowledgeable, professionally edited, and conscious of their own nature and role as specialty magazines as the ones published in Finland."¹⁸⁸⁹

Political structures, different traditions of university governance or tooting one's own horn about the quality of student papers were not always good enough reasons for explaining the range of phenomena in 1968. Heikki Palmu, for instance, was certain there was something more. "The reason why students from the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Poland, and Spain are 'rioting' and Finns are not", he said, "is not just because of the political circumstances or because Finnish students already have the rights that others are now demonstrating about elsewhere."¹⁸⁹⁰ Palmu, among other radicals, also dismissed organisational differences in university government as an explanation

Varis, "Ylioppilasmellakat ja vastamellakat", 3; Aviisi 23/68, Markku Koskela, "Taustaa: Länsi-Berliinin ylioppilasmellakat", 6-7.

1885 JYL 13/68, Timo Kuparinen, Erkki Lönnström, "Axel Springer - sanan voimalla", 5.

1886 OYL 27/67, PK, "Kruunattu ruoska", 3; Aviisi 14/68, "Älkäämme suosiko Springeriä", 3.

1887 OYL 16/68, RP., "Aikakauslehtiä", 16; JYL 13/68, Timo Kuparinen, Erkki Lönnström, "Axel Springer - sanan voimalla", 5; Ajankohta 10/67, Leena Braun, "ajankohtaista maailmalta/Inhottavaa!", 7.

1888 TYL 15/68, Kari Lehtola, "Isänmaan asioita/Springeriana", 2.

1889 "Tuskin missään Skandinavian ulkopuolella ilmestyy niin linjatietoisia, ammattitaitoisesti toimitettuja ja erikoislehden luonteensa tuntevia opiskelijajulkaisuja kuin Suomessa." TYL 18/68, PK, "Miten vältämme ylioppilasmellakat?", 3.

1890 "Syy siihen, että Saksan liittotasavallan, Italian, Puolan ja Espanjan ylioppilaat "mellakoivat" ja suomalaiset eivät mellakoi ei ole vain poliittisissa oloissa tai siinä että suomalaiset olisivat saaneet kaikki muualla nyt vaaditut oikeudet ilman mielenosoituksia." TYL 10/68, PK, Heikki Palmu, "Yksi, kaksi, monta Berliiniä", 2.

for these differences.¹⁸⁹¹ Instead, the answer, he believed lay in psychological and structural explanations: the political landscape lacked comparable reactionary attitudes,¹⁸⁹² he argued; Finns had a different mindset.¹⁸⁹³ At times, such comparative interpretations fell back on rather simplified national stereotypes: “the Italians love dramatic events and gestures” claimed one such argument.¹⁸⁹⁴ Another equally simplistic reason given for national differences was the “level of ideologisation” in each country.¹⁸⁹⁵ Again, structural and psychological differences could be seen through the national success narrative. “In Finland, the structures in need of reform may not be as rigid as they are in the likes of West Germany or the United States”, claimed one student from Jyväskylä.¹⁸⁹⁶ According to this rather flattering narrative, the situation in Finland had stayed peaceful simply because it was more democratically progressive; lawful methods prevailed, and there were no strikes or violent protests.¹⁸⁹⁷ Finland was actually on the front lines of student democracy because the lack of resources had meant that the national, “democratic spirit” had prevailed.¹⁸⁹⁸ Finland could perhaps even serve as an example for others, as long as the disaffection of young people could be directed into constructive things.¹⁸⁹⁹ Even when it was acknowledged that demonstrations had made a positive difference – as in Italy for example – it was only to have reached a level of democracy and participation already achieved in Finland.¹⁹⁰⁰ International protests were therefore seen as a way of moving domestic reforms forward without the need for any actual domestic protests.¹⁹⁰¹

For some radicals, Finnish students were doing everything against the “spirit” of the age though: they had a “rigid mindset”,¹⁹⁰² and they were defined through their passivity, good behaviour, staying quiet, and overall “niceness”.¹⁹⁰³ Jorma Veijola from Jyväskylä argued that “student union members are consumerists, intimidated by authoritarian schools, inactive, and avoid individual thinking – in other words they have adopted the Finnish way of life.”¹⁹⁰⁴ From a radical anti-authoritarian perspective, even politically active

1891 TYL 10/68, PK, Heikki Palmu, “Yksi, kaksi, monta Berliiniä”, 2.

1892 Ylioppilaslehti 24/68, PK, “Indoktrinointia”, 3.

1893 Ylioppilaslehti 20/68, Vasara, “Kuuma kesä”, 3.

1894 TYL 10/68, Markku Hyypä, “Kaaos Italian yliopistoissa”, 4-5.

1895 TYL kesä/68, Kaarina Lehtonen, “Mistä setä tietää miltä tädistä tuntuu”, 6-7.

1896 “Suomessa eivät uudistusta kaipaavat rakenteen ehkä ole niin jäykkiä kuin jossakin Saksassa tai Yhdysvalloissa.” JYL 17/68, Reijo Wilenius, “Ideologia ja politiikka”, 8-9.

1897 Ylioppilaslehti 2/68, Kari Lehtola, “Ideologian inventaario 31.12.1967”, 8.

1898 Ylioppilaslehti 20/68, Vasara, “Kuuma kesä”, 3.

1899 TYL 13/68, Kari Lehtola, “Isänmaan asioita/Hei ronskisti ranttaliks vaan”, 2; OYL 17/68, Juha Mikkonen, “Pohjois-Suomi kansannousuun”, 4-5.

1900 Ylioppilaslehti 23/68, Markku Tyynilä, “Valtiovalta, korkeakoulut, ylioppilaat...”, 5

1901 TYL 18/68, PK, “Miten vältämme ylioppilasmellakat?”, 3; OYL 28/68, PK, “Opintodemokratia ja demokratia”, 3.

1902 TYL 18/68, PK, “Miten vältämme ylioppilasmellakat?”, 3.

1903 Ylioppilaslehti 30/67, Markku Tyynilä, “Tasavallan ylioppilas”, 6.

1904 “jäsenet ovat autoritääristen oppikoulujen hiljaisiksi pelästyttämiä, epäaktiiveja, omaa ajattelua karttavia ja siksi suomalaisen elämänmuodon omaksuneita kulutusihmisiä.” JYL 19-20/68, Jorma Veijola, “Kansainvälinen ylioppilaspolitiikka”, 15.

Finnish students were compromised because of their close ties to political parties.¹⁹⁰⁵ The literate traditions of cultural radicalism and the student press were also torn to pieces with some heavy sarcasm: "Could it be happening that rights are finally being demanded by other means than just declarations and opinion pieces? In Rome and Berlin this is already the case."¹⁹⁰⁶ The political exceptionality was not only a student matter: while Finland, it was claimed, had six centrist parties, France had none.¹⁹⁰⁷ Others saw a difference in structures of organisation, since student politics were not intellectually challenging enough,¹⁹⁰⁸ or were not doing enough to raise the level of political consciousness.¹⁹⁰⁹ Transnational connections could also highlight national differences; advice received from SDS members at FU accentuated the range of political action one could take, but also underlined the need for these methods to really fit into each particular context – Finns should clearly focus on raising consciousness before worrying about taking practical political action. A good relationship to those in power was, from the German perspective, a definitive plus, even when the analysis of social power structures was only at a rudimentary stage.¹⁹¹⁰ While some Finnish radical activists did aspire to join a global protest movement,¹⁹¹¹ not everyone was convinced that the conditions were favourable for one. Heikki Palmu, for instance, criticised Finnish students for lacking an international perspective¹⁹¹² – in his eyes they were only beginning to grasp the extent of the truly transnational and global aspects of the protests that came to define 1968.

Appropriation and Political Usages of 1968

In contrast to the rather cautious way Finnish students positioned themselves in the international scene, Swedish radicals emphasised the interconnected nature of foreign protest events. This feature was already present in the dealings of the German press situation and the shooting of Benno Ohnesorg; they were not only important as German events but also because they demonstrated wider developments in all western democracies.¹⁹¹³ As a consequence, examples of German activism could show how student revolution could work in tandem with third-world movements and their political goals: both struggled against ruling

¹⁹⁰⁵ Ylioppilaslehti 11/68, Antti Kuusi, "Miksei ylioppilas mellakoisi?", 6, 16.

¹⁹⁰⁶ "Käykö vähitellen niin, että oikeuksia uskalletaan vaatia muutenkin kuin julkilausumilla ja lähetettyjen osastoissa? Roomassa ja Berliinissä ainakin." TYL 9/68, Timo Vuortama, "Oikeuksien suhteellisuudesta", 4.

¹⁹⁰⁷ Ylioppilaslehti 19/68, *Enfant terrible*, 12.

¹⁹⁰⁸ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, Hannu Vesa, "Selvää dogmatismia", 11.

¹⁹⁰⁹ "Berliiniläinen ylioppilaspolitiikka mielenosoituksineen lähtee täysin erilaisista perusteista. Se on rationaalista ja sen tavoitteet ovat konkreettisia." TYL 18/68, Alpo Juntunen, "Mielenosoitusten mielekkyydestä", 3.

¹⁹¹⁰ TYL 13/68, "Saksalainen kk-opettaja kieltäytyy keskustelemasta", 1.

¹⁹¹¹ OYL 30/68, "Väkivallatonta vaikutusta?", 5; TYL 10/68, Markku Hyyppä, "Kaaos Italian yliopistoissa", 4-5.

¹⁹¹² TYL 10/68, PK, Heikki Palmu, "Yksi, kaksi, monta Berliiniä", 2.

¹⁹¹³ TiS 32/65, James de Gaalitz, "Pressens frihet i Västtyskland finns den?"; TiS 29/67, "Därför mördades Benno".

classes hanging on to outdated privileges. West German activism could not only prove the interconnectedness of global activism, it also hinted at a distinct political conclusion – namely that a horizontal organisation was the only viable and truly democratic way forward. In the hierarchical models used in conventional political organisations, members lacked an adequate political consciousness.¹⁹¹⁴ This was a somewhat novel idea in the Swedish scene where anti-authoritarian politics had until then meant mostly resisting existing authorities such as the police. The debate as to whether the future of radical activism lay in new, more open forms of political action or in tight, hierarchical organisations became more and more pressing as experiences of global and local 1968 mixed together.

The tendency to learn from, or use foreign examples to legitimise ones own's actions, were taken to their logical endpoint in the Maoist *Clarté*. The paper used everything it could to support the argument for a global rebellion against capitalism of the US and the bureaucracy of the soviets. *Clarté's* reporting systematically appropriated events from different contexts to fit its own political agenda; racial violence in the US, the War in Vietnam, May '68, and the persecution of Mexican students all served what were still essentially domestic political goals.¹⁹¹⁵ As Kim Salomon has shown in his study of the Swedish FNL movement, this was a general tendency in Swedish Vietnam activism;¹⁹¹⁶ but it was also present when other national events of 1968 were discussed. Through its Chinese sources, *Clarté* effectively put all global events into the same basket: the protests in West Germany, Britain, the US, Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Spain, Turkey, South Africa, Japan, the Congo, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, and Uruguay were all examples of anticapitalist, antifascist action in the Maoist sense.¹⁹¹⁷ *Clarté* and the Swedish FNL are, however, extreme examples of Swedish Sixties activism. Their direct connections to the Chinese state provided not only political material but also direct funding – but this was hardly the norm for the Swedish New Left. *Kommentar*, for example, was much more respectful of local contexts, and often declined to make any clear-cut comparisons or analogies between domestic and foreign political conditions.¹⁹¹⁸ Its publishing strategy was hence much closer to the established radical idea of inspiring political action through spreading information and respecting the individual's role in increasing their own political consciousness.

The Finnish student movement was still searching for factors that could explain, let alone result in international cooperation and political action. Commentary that unified pretty different national protests into one joint movement certainly existed. Jeja-Pekka Roos, for example, saw a common front in Swedish, German, Italian, Finnish and even Czech protests, portraying them

¹⁹¹⁴ *Kommentar* 6-7/68, Heinz Leyman, "Kursbuch på ny kurs", 50-51.

¹⁹¹⁵ *Clarté* 5-6/68, Lena Brunderius, "Detta är bara en början – kampen fortsätter", 44-47.

¹⁹¹⁶ Salomon 1996; Johansson 2010.

¹⁹¹⁷ *Clarté* 4/68, "Det revolutionära uppsvinget i världen – kalendarium", 43-47.

¹⁹¹⁸ See, e.g. *Kommentar* 10-11/68, Peter Torbjörsson, "Mexico i November 1968", 3-11.

all as parts of the same movement.¹⁹¹⁹ Johan von Bonsdorff – one of the more prolific *Tricont* activists – followed similar lines. For him, French, German, Swedish, Danish, American, and even Japanese protests were linked because they opposed the same restrictive rules of the system¹⁹²⁰ and this formed a front that went against the power structures of ‘western’ (or at least ‘advanced capitalist’) welfare states.¹⁹²¹ While problems maybe not have been exactly alike, they still shared similar traits that the global media brought together onto the same forum.¹⁹²² A similarity of structures was important to support these connecting narratives, and *Mai '68* had shown in France that the resulting changes could be rapid. In Jyväskylä, one admirer of the French protests was convinced that “almost an entire generation experienced what bourgeois democracy is like when the surface is scratched a little. Political awareness rose dramatically, as did standards.”¹⁹²³ The principle of available political information was once again central to the argument. While *Ylioppilaslehti* had for a long time been the *de facto* forum for radical counter-publics, some now saw the need to challenge it with an alternative, more radical, more independent student paper that would have more information about radical protests elsewhere in the world and so keep global protests in the public eye.¹⁹²⁴

One of the more powerful ways of unifying protests happening in different contexts was to show that they shared a joint political ideology. The outright politicisation of the radical frame was apparent here; associations with leftist parties and traditions was not shunned, it was rather encouraged. This was the case in the Finnish student sphere, but also in Swedish Liberal journals like *Liberal Debatt* that had adopted a much more leftist stance during the latter part of the Sixties, despite its official attachment to the liberal *Folkpartiet*. Despite a more bipartisan stance, traditional concepts of democracy were still important here. Hannu Vesa, a student leftist from Tampere, declared that “Finnish left-wing students have traditionally promoted the same great values for which Berkeley and Berlin are on strike, in Rome, Paris and London, and for which the Czechoslovak working class, together with the intelligentsia, want to implement in a broad democratisation programme.”¹⁹²⁵ Part of the argument was a nascent attempt to see labour organisations and students as part of the same front. This shift was a combined result of ideological changes inside the party organisations

¹⁹¹⁹ Ylioppilaslehti 13/68, J.P. Roos, “Joukkoliikehdintää”, 11.

¹⁹²⁰ JYL 19-20/68, suomentanut Ritva Siikala, “Toinen rintama”, 16.

¹⁹²¹ Eskola, Antti (1968), Suomi Sulo Pohjola. Kirjayhtymä, Hki, 131.

¹⁹²² Aviisi 19/68, Ossi Järnefelt, “Rakentavia ehdotuksia: Yhteiskuntaa muuttamaan”, 3; OYL 30/68, “Väkivallatonta vaikutusta?”, 5.

¹⁹²³ “Melkein kokonainen sukupolvi koki, minkälaista on porvarillinen demokratia, kun pintaa hieman raapaistaan. Poliittinen tietoisuus nousi huimaavasti, samoin vaatimustaso.” JYL 19-20/68, Liisa Manninen, “Toukokuun vallankumous”, 7-9.

¹⁹²⁴ TYL, 21/68, “Helsingin ylioppilasteatterin journalistinen vastaisu”, 1.

¹⁹²⁵ “Suomen vasemmistoylioppilaat ajavat perinteellisesti niitä samoja suuria arvoja, joiden puolesta Berkeleyssä ja Berliinissä lakkoillaan, Roomassa, Pariisissa ja Lontoossa mellakoidaan ja joiden puolustamiseksi Tšhekkoslovakian työväenluokka yhdessä sivistyneistön kanssa haluavat toteuttaa laajan demokratisoimishjelman.” Aviisi 11/68, Hannu Vesa, “Suursuomesta syndikalismiin”, 5.

of the Left, but also a realisation of the interconnectedness between material factors and knowledge production inside the student sphere.¹⁹²⁶ The question of how such cooperation would be enforced was still an open question, emphasised by the struggles of the transnational protest movement.¹⁹²⁷ May '68 offered a poignant example of how defining socialism through autonomy and decentralisation was indeed the antithesis of current society¹⁹²⁸ but seemed to slip further out of your grasp the more you tried to hold on to that definition. Attaching revolutionary rhetoric to the French case was particularly tempting because of the French Revolution of 1789. Both the Finnish radical press, and the West German protest movement used 1789 as a point of reference to form a historical continuity of radical politics and to position themselves as natural successors on the same continuum.¹⁹²⁹

A different definition of political also began to emerge in Finland. Transnational examples certainly helped here, as they gave concrete examples of the political impact of media and popular culture. One of the more curious examples of such transnational influence was featured in *Aviisi*, Tampere's student paper. While access to Swedish and German radical papers was certainly restricted in the Finnish scene, there are instances where those were still a part of the debate. The *New Left Review* was also a pretty well known publication by the end of the Sixties, even though its rather theoretical focus excluded it from becoming a more widespread source of information.¹⁹³⁰ As mentioned at the start of this chapter, Perry Anderson from the *Review* had even visited Finland as a part of a panel discussion on third-world issues. In the context of this transnational network of publications, it is rather unusual that a copy of *Black Dwarf*, a British radical paper, ended up in the hands of Tapio Varis in Tampere. Britain was certainly not a prime example of radical action during 1968, and *Black Dwarf* is rarely even mentioned when radical publications of the period are studied.¹⁹³¹ Yet Varis saw the paper not only as a revolutionary publication, but as one that was openly political. In this way, the paper could serve as an example for emerging political awareness in Finland too. "People say that Black Dwarf is political", Varis wrote. "Most of the TV shows and movies we see, the newspapers, books and magazines we read are very political."¹⁹³²

While examples like *Black Dwarf* are intriguing, they represent only a small part of the wider debate. Radical writers themselves openly admitted that a central problem for their activism was the lack of domestic New Left analysis.

¹⁹²⁶ See, e.g. OYL 17/68, J.L., "Yhteistyötä", 3.

¹⁹²⁷ Liisa Manninen, *Aviisi* 23/68, "Taistelu ei ole vielä edes alkanut", 7.

¹⁹²⁸ *Ylioppilaslehti* 23/68, Riitta Pirinen, "Toukokuun vallankumous ei ole ohi", 6.

¹⁹²⁹ *Aviisi* 18/68, Matti Kupari, "Suuruuden harha", 3; Vinen 2018, 34.

¹⁹³⁰ Ajankohta 12/67, Pertti Hynynen, "Maolaisuus ja Castrolaisuus länsimaissa", 9; YL 32/68, Vasara, "Satavuotias", 3; JYL 5/67, JASS, "Kravattisosialisteja ja salonkikommunisteja", 2, 5; von Bonsdorff 1986, 158.

¹⁹³¹ Bruendel 2014 is a notable exception.

¹⁹³² "The Black Dwarf on poliittinen, sanovat ihmiset. - Useimmat näkemistämme televisio-ohjelmista ja elokuvista, lukemistamme sanomalehdistä, kirjoista ja aikakauslehdistä, ovat hyvin poliittisia." *Aviisi* 21/68, Tapio Varis, "Lehti kuin vallankumous", 8.

Although inspiration certainly came from British, Swedish, West German, and French New Left literature, applying these influences was hard in a domestic political context.¹⁹³³ Some parts of the radical movement did want to take a more aggressive stance in spreading texts, however. JOS, a socialist student group in Jyväskylä, directly assimilated ideas from Dutschke, the German SDS, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, and May '68, to adopt a clear New Left rhetoric.¹⁹³⁴ This clearly had some influence in Jyväskylä, as the local student paper also started emphasising proletarian traditions like labour songs on May day, while simultaneously comparing the celebrations to the events of Berlin.¹⁹³⁵

Anarchism and Syndicalism

Concepts of Syndicalism and Anarchism offer another angle to the reception and adaptation of 1968 in our Nordic contexts. While these strands of radical thought were historically rather rare (particularly in Finland) they still offered a tradition of uncompromised political action to which some Nordic radicals attached themselves. They had certainly appeared in radical circles before 1968: particularly in contexts like legal relativism and in civil disobedience against repressive legislation like apartheid.¹⁹³⁶ This was clearly a reaction against the Finnish national tradition of legal obedience and legalist political rhetoric. In many ways, this was an alternative, more partisan definition of civil disobedience. The Swedish journal *Zenit* had also subscribed to a syndicalist position before reinventing itself as a forum for intra-nordic New Left debate.¹⁹³⁷ In the context of global 1968, a more general usage of these concepts emerged. Here, one can also clearly see how concrete events of 1968 and its protests and extra-parliamentary actions affected the use of political language in the Nordic radical press.

Some usages of anarchism-related concepts were rather original, even distant from the traditional connotations of leftist anarchism and syndicalist action. For the young social democrat Erkki Tuomioja, the concept of anarchy was part of a utopia; anarchism was the political philosophy attached to it that summed up ideas of freedom, social justice, and "flower-power thought". But as a movement that rejects all involuntary, coercive forms of hierarchy, anarchism was equally used by Tuomioja to argue against economic growth, technical innovations, and societal planning.¹⁹³⁸ Clearly, anarchism was not only a concept that crystallised traditions of absolute freedom, it was also a way of criticising past traditions of liberal radicalism. In later articles, Tuomioja declared that his fascination in "anarcho-syndicalism" was because it was a form of strike activism that could help students gain more power. But there was a catch; as a pacifist,

¹⁹³³ Aviisi 23/68, Liisa Manninen, "Taistelu ei ole vielä edes alkanut", 7.

¹⁹³⁴ JYL 18/68, "JOS", 7.

¹⁹³⁵ JYL 14/68, "Proletaarivappu", 2.

¹⁹³⁶ Tilanne 10/64, Esa Adrian, "Suomalainen pasifisti", 429-432.

¹⁹³⁷ Ekelund 2014, 203.

¹⁹³⁸ TYL 29/67, Timo K. Saarniemi, "Huonomainen mutta aikaansaapa radikalismi", 1.

Tuomioja was not ready to commit to violent measures against the system.¹⁹³⁹ In this respect, Tuomioja's commitment to anarchism was essentially a radical form of anti-authoritarianism that emerged in a context where traditional liberal ideas of Finnish cultural radicalism had become too closely connected with despised western values.

Another highly original take on anarchism was provided by Antti Eskola. Despite his role as a professor of social psychology, and therefore representative of the social and academic elite, Eskola still remained in fundamental opposition to everything that could be associated with traditions of social power or hierarchies. In an effort to find a fitting conceptualisation that could describe this position, Eskola defined himself as an "anarchist" because he was not succumbing to the temptations and power provided by bourgeois society.¹⁹⁴⁰ It seems that the double role of an anarchist professor did not raise that many objections among radical students. In any case, Eskola supported an anarchist reading of 1968: "Following the events in France, you could see that there were also significant differences in the perceptions of democracy among the Communists and, on the other hand, the disciples of Marcuse, for example. Alongside the red flag of the Communists flew the black flag of the anarchists, and the concept of anarchy or "Marxist anarchism" is perhaps best suited to describe the alternative that students had to offer for communist ideas."¹⁹⁴¹ Anarchism was thus a solution to the problem of hierarchies present in traditional communist parties, an effort to maintain old principles of anti-authoritarianism even in a new political situation. For Eskola, anarchism was fundamentally an ideology that focused on strong dedication and an unyielding political stance. "The students, anarchists, Maoists and other idealists are the worst", Eskola claimed, "because they cannot be purchased."¹⁹⁴² Forceful devotion to his cause was definitely one of the reasons why Eskola was held up as an example of how domestic critical theory should be written. "Some time after the publication of *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*", ran one account in the National Journal of Sociology, "I saw a picture of Eskola drawn on a blackboard at the University of Helsinki, surrounded by the text: 'Eskola is the great red sun of Finland'."¹⁹⁴³ Describing Eskola as a 'great red sun' was very likely a reference to

¹⁹³⁹ OYL 31/68, J.L., "Uusi vasemmisto tekee kumouksen/Erkki Tuomioja etsii keinoja ja mahdollisuuksia", 4.

¹⁹⁴⁰ Ylioppilaslehti 20/68, Antti Kuusi, "Fasistinen hegemonia tosin kommunistinen", 5-7; OYL 27/68, Juha Mikkonen, "Tulkoon vallankumous", 4.

¹⁹⁴¹ "Ranskan tapahtumia seuratessa saattoi kuitenkin havaita, että kommunistien ja toisaalta esimerkiksi Marcusen opetuslapsien käsityksissä demokratiasta oli myös olennaisia eroja. Kommunistien punaisen lipun rinnalla liehui anarkistien musta lippu, ja anarkian tai "marxilaisen anarkismin" käsite ehkä parhaiten soveltuikin kuvaamaan sitä vaihtoehtoa, joka ylioppilailla oli tarjottavana kommunistien ideoille." Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki., 135

¹⁹⁴² "Pahimpia ovat ylioppilaat, anarkistit, maolaiset ja muut idealistit, koska he eivät ole ostettavissa." Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki., 139.

¹⁹⁴³ "Joitakin aikoja "Suomi sulo Pohjolan" ilmestymisen jälkeen näin Helsingin yliopiston eräälle taululle piirretyn Eskolan kuvan, jota ympäröi teksti: "Eskola on Suomen suuri punainen aurinko". Sosiologia 4/68, Osmo Koskelainen, "Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Ja tie se on tuskien", 176-177.

Chairman Mao and the song “The East is Red” – the *de facto* national anthem of the Peoples Republic of China during the Cultural Revolution. While it was certainly a playful comparison, it still demonstrates the central role of Eskola as a radical thinker and the way some radical agents were creatively adopting and using symbols from different political contexts.

On a more theoretical level, the key to anarchism was not only in the critique of old radical traditions; nor was it only a way of highlighting the role of particular radical role models. As a radical political method, anarchism was essentially a way of making the invisible visible. “Anarchy is needed above all in the context of our skilfully organised modern society”, Eskola argued. “Norms have been hidden so that they do not appear until someone violates them. That is why norms must continuously be broken.”¹⁹⁴⁴ Anarchism was therefore a tool for revealing social and cultural hegemonies, such as the “bourgeois-Christian”.¹⁹⁴⁵ Blind obedience was to be replaced with new, openly political action and criticism in action, not only in speech. “I don’t know if we need more Vietnams”, Eskola wrote in reference to the famous Che quote, “but at least we need more disobedience, more anarchists who disregard the unfair rules set by those in power.”¹⁹⁴⁶ Again, a link to the hegemony theory supported by Eskola and other radical theorists is made clear. One can certainly see how the theorisation of societal hegemonies led to the need to work out how to overturn them. And since the new, more polarised and aggressive radical argumentation did not share the positivist trust in language that had defined earlier liberal traditions of cultural and student radicalism, more direct forms of political action were to be found. Some contemporaries indeed saw that a domestic tradition of anarchism was already forming.¹⁹⁴⁷ Through its emphasis on direct action and participation, anarchism could serve as a possible solution to the problem of alienation.¹⁹⁴⁸ Joachim Israel also subscribed to this definition of anarchism as an anti-bureaucratic, anti-authoritarian, even anti-technological stance. Israel defended anti-authoritarian principles against Maoist and other dogmatic leftists by maintaining that radical activism must be directed both against capitalism *and* bureaucracy, and that the goal was to achieve “active democracy” instead of any sort of rigid organisational structure.¹⁹⁴⁹ Israel’s definitions of anarchism were markedly shaped by the political context of polarization and leftist fragmentation that started to have an effect during 1968.

¹⁹⁴⁴ “Tässä taitavasti järjestetyssä nyky-yhteiskunnassa tarvitaan ennen muuta anarkiaa. Normit on osattu piilottaa niin, etteivät ne näy ennen kuin joku rikkoo niitä. Siksi normeja on koko ajan rikottava.” Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki., 124.

¹⁹⁴⁵ *Ylioppilaslehti* 23/68, Malkias Yö, “Mikäs on tervettä anarkismia?”, 8.

¹⁹⁴⁶ “En tiedä, tarvitsemmeko lisää vietnameja, mutta ainakin me tarvitsemme lisää tottelemattomuutta, lisää vallassaolijoiden epäoikeudenmukaisista pelisäännöistä piittaamattomia anarkisteja.” Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola*. Kirjayhtymä, Hki., 131; also cited in TYL 31/68, Matti Vimpari, “Eskolan huulet altavastaaajien suissa”, 5.

¹⁹⁴⁷ *Ylioppilaslehti* 23/68, Malkias Yö, “Mikäs on tervettä anarkismia?”, 8.

¹⁹⁴⁸ *Ylioppilaslehti* 24/68, R-L. S., “Kulttuurikeskus kriittinen korkeakoulu”, 7.

¹⁹⁴⁹ *Konkret* 6/68, Joachim Israel, “En förändrad roll för den högre undervisningen”, 20–34.

Anarchism was a rhizomatic and a controversial concept in its contemporary context and the way Eskola used it highlights this. He not only defined his own position through it; he also associated anarchism with people like Tuure Junnila, a conservative MP, and Osmo Tiililä, a controversial professor of dogmatic theology. Eskola defended this rather surprising association by maintaining it was wholly justified; both men were against societal hegemony and their critical remarks, as conservative as they might have been, were revealing the “silent agreements” of Finnish society. Intriguingly, Junnila and Tiililä were interviewed and asked how they felt about this framing; naturally, both disagreed strongly with the label.¹⁹⁵⁰ But Eskola did not stop here; in his mind, Tolstoy and Jesus¹⁹⁵¹ were likewise excellent examples of anarchists, for all the same reasons. These definitions are revealing because they show how Eskola wanted people to see that his definition of anarchism was beyond the Left-Right political continuum. This shows the principled yet provocative nature of Eskola as a public intellectual, but it also shows how he used his critical thinking to look at all possible sides of the debate; Associating Jesus, Junnila and himself in the same concept that had its roots in nineteenth-century radical leftist thought was indeed provocative even within the radical sphere. Furthermore, Eskola’s definitions were still firmly inside the accustomed democracy framework.¹⁹⁵² Eskola was open about these inner contradictions of his anarchist position, as they were still tied to the sociological theory of relaxing social conflicts through social agreements.¹⁹⁵³

Syndicalism as a concept was more tied to the global events of 1968. Finnish student papers in particular had a pretty peculiar way of framing European student movements as syndicalist, especially in cases where the political student movement was not institutionalised like it was in Finland, with its student unions, councils, and elections.¹⁹⁵⁴ The guests from the German SDS, described in the previous chapter, were described as syndicalists, and this frame was applied to the general European level.¹⁹⁵⁵ Indeed, the whole FU student union was at times described as syndicalist¹⁹⁵⁶, while in other definitions “french-latin anarcho-syndicalism” was seen as the way to combat the obvious German influences in Finnish academic culture, thus indicating that syndicalism represented essentially non-German form of political action.¹⁹⁵⁷ Whether they

¹⁹⁵⁰ TYL 31/68, Matti Vimpari, “Eskolan huulet altavastaajien suissa”, 5; Eskola, Antti (1968), Suomi Sulo Pohjola. Kirjayhtymä, Hki., 125.

¹⁹⁵¹ Eskola, Antti (1968), Suomi Sulo Pohjola. Kirjayhtymä, Hki.,125.

¹⁹⁵² Ylioppilaslehti 28/68, Ilkka Sumu, “Hyvinvointiyhteiskunnan maksakirroosi?”, 6; OYL 29/68, Juha Mikkonen, “Kohti opintoanarkiaa”, 5.

¹⁹⁵³ Sosiologia 4/68, Osmo Koskelainen, “Esittelyjä ja erittelyjä/Ja tie se on tuskien”, 176-177.

¹⁹⁵⁴ Ylioppilaslehti 28/67, Alec Aalto, “Syndikalistinen ylioppilasliike”, 7; TYL 13/68, Kari Lehtola, “Isänmaan asioita/Hei ronskisti rantaliiks vaan”, 2; JYL 19-20/68, Jorma Veijola, “Kansainvälinen ylioppilaspolitiikka”, 15.

¹⁹⁵⁵ JYL 7/68, “Syndikalismi”, 6; Aviisi 20/67, Hannu Vesa, “Benno Ohnesorgin murha/Saksalainen ylioppilasvallankumous”, 10.

¹⁹⁵⁶ Ylioppilaslehti 28/67, Alec Aalto, “Syndikalistinen ylioppilasliike”, 7.

¹⁹⁵⁷ Aviisi 14/68, Seppo Toiviainen, “Alas lyökää koko vanha maailma”, 3.

were German or French in origin, part of the charm of syndicalism and anarchism seems to have been the freshness of these concepts.¹⁹⁵⁸ In France, the concept had also incorporated ideas of decentralisation, university autonomy, and democracy into one neat package. As concepts that described action against the centralisation of power and the bureaucracy of “the establishment”¹⁹⁵⁹, anarchism and syndicalism could be commensurable with democracy. One student from Turku emphasised how the anarchist option was a serious antithesis to the current system, a power that can bring democracy back on its feet.”¹⁹⁶⁰ Direct action could thus be framed as anarchism in practice – of challenging the meaningfulness of compulsory student union membership fees, or resisting reactionary attitudes inside them, rather than planning an outright political revolution. A common framing also made it possible to organise youthful, anti-authoritarian radicalism on an international level.¹⁹⁶¹ The co-existence of these definitions clearly demonstrates that traditional definitions were being challenged and consensus on the new definitions had not yet been reached. Despite the occasional confusion in the true source or definition of European student syndicalism, referring to these events was an attempt to spread labour union traditions to the universities and student unions by maintaining that white-collar jobs were equivalent to blue collar jobs.¹⁹⁶² As syndicalist thought and action turned students from oppressors into “an interest group”, it joined together a front of “progressive forces” to promote the much-needed societal challenge.¹⁹⁶³ Again, the transnational setting offered arguments for differing interpretations; for some the oppositional movements in France and West Germany showed how to form a united opposition;¹⁹⁶⁴ for others, they revealed a lack of real contact.¹⁹⁶⁵ What they had certainly achieved, however, was to combine old-fashioned students-based activism and new, radical forms of participation; when student action for better university conditions was framed as an integral part of labour union activism, it looked less like an egocentric demand for benefits and more like part of a wider social protest.

The open nature of anarchism is also demonstrated in conceptualisations that sought to add new definitions to the concept itself. These combinations, like “neo-anarchism”, went directly against derogatory uses associated with

¹⁹⁵⁸ Aviisi 27/67, Vesa Mäkinen, “Syndikalistien syynäilyä”, 4-5.

¹⁹⁵⁹ Ylioppilaslehti 28/68, Matti Wuori, “Establishment”, 4-5.

¹⁹⁶⁰ ”Anarkistinen vaihtoehto on vakavasti otettava antiteesi, jonka voimasta demokratia voi uudestaan päästä jaloilleen.” TYL 31/68, Johannes Lehtonen, ”Anarkistin inhimillinen vaihtoehto”, 5.

¹⁹⁶¹ OYL 27/68, Juha Mikkonen, ”Tulkoon vallankumous”, 4; Ylioppilaslehti 28/68, Matti Wuori, ”Establishment”, 4-5; Ylioppilaslehti 28/67, Alec Aalto, ”Syndikalistinen ylioppilasliike”, 7; JYL 19-20/68, Jorma Veijola, ”Kansainvälinen ylioppilaspolitiikka”, 15; Aviisi 14/68, Seppo Toiviainen, ”Alas lyökää koko vanha maailma”, 3.

¹⁹⁶² JYL 19-20/68, Jorma Veijola, ”Kansainvälinen ylioppilaspolitiikka”, 15.

¹⁹⁶³ Aviisi 11/68, Hannu Vesa, ”Suursuomesta syndikalismiin”, 5; Ylioppilaslehti 28/67, Alec Aalto, ”Syndikalistinen ylioppilasliike”, 7.

¹⁹⁶⁴ OYL 28/68, PK, ”Opintodemokratia ja demokratia”, 3.

¹⁹⁶⁵ OYL 18/68, J.L., ”Ylioppilaan yhteydet”, 2’.

violence, unrest, and even terrorism and defined it as a coherent social philosophy.¹⁹⁶⁶ Defined in this way, anarchism could be interpreted not as a decisive break in the radical frame, rather as a new label for the same anti-authoritarian tradition that had defined radical public deliberations for most of the decade. Yet, without concrete political goals, anarchism was at risk of turning into meaningless exhibitionism. Antiauthoritarianism also meant relativism in methods, so in the Finnish context anarchist violence was out of the question.¹⁹⁶⁷ These redefinitions of anarchism represented it as a tradition with a real political heritage, not as “blatant hooliganism”.¹⁹⁶⁸ Curiously, some definitions emphasised the democratic aspect of anarchism, and saw demands for student representation in university governance as a “highly typical” goal for syndicalist policies.¹⁹⁶⁹ Antti Eskola followed similar definitions when he described utterances that associated anarchism with violence and terror as “misinterpretations”. Instead, anarchism was defined by constant realisation of the power structures present in society and its norms.¹⁹⁷⁰

Combining European protests and domestic traditions of anti-authoritarianism into concepts like “neo-anarchism” opened new ways of seeing parallels between domestic and transnational protests. For some contemporaries, anarchism could then be described as a key concept that summed up the whole '68 student movement.¹⁹⁷¹ Even Maoist traits and direct action were all part of the same phenomena, showing how creative some activists in the Sixties really were in redefining political traditions to fit their own. The West German demonstrations against the Iranian Shah, for example, could be framed as an event that demonstrated the anarchists' ability to organise. Others stressed how anarchism was a form of fundamental honesty, since it encouraged deep consideration of personal morals over blindly following publicly accepted values. Anarchism was therefore a method, not the end goal of radical activism, and as such, it contained a paradox. Fundamentally, it was a form of activism that went against irrational social features, so at its core it was a form of rational politics.¹⁹⁷² Asceticism and collective action emphasised rationality, so as a political programme, anarchism differed from the counter-cultural underground, and flower power.¹⁹⁷³ It was to be serious, considered, and conscious of its own political methods.

With broad and inclusive definitions of the concept came a real danger of saturating it to the point that its concrete meaning was lost. If anarchism could

¹⁹⁶⁶ Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola. Kirjayhtymä, Hki.*, 135; *Ylioppilaslehti* 22/68, Seppo Toiviainen, “Aikamme anarkisteja”, 6-7; *Aviisi* 14/68, Seppo Toiviainen, “Alas lyökää koko vanha maailma”, 3.

¹⁹⁶⁷ *Aviisi* 14/68, Seppo Toiviainen, “Alas lyökää koko vanha maailma”, 3.

¹⁹⁶⁸ *Ylioppilaslehti* 22/68, Seppo Toiviainen, “Aikamme anarkisteja”, 6-7.

¹⁹⁶⁹ *Aviisi* 20/67, Hannu Vesa, “Benno Ohnesorgin murha/Saksalainen ylioppilasvallankumous”, 10; *Aviisi* 14/68, Seppo Toiviainen, “Alas lyökää koko vanha maailma”, 3.

¹⁹⁷⁰ Eskola, Antti (1968), *Suomi Sulo Pohjola. Kirjayhtymä, Hki.*, 135-136.

¹⁹⁷¹ *Aviisi* 14/68, Seppo Toiviainen, “Alas lyökää koko vanha maailma”, 3.

¹⁹⁷² *Ylioppilaslehti* 22/68, Seppo Toiviainen, “Aikamme anarkisteja”, 6-7.

¹⁹⁷³ *Aviisi* 14/68, Seppo Toiviainen, “Alas lyökää koko vanha maailma”, 3.

mean anything, like a general “return to humanism”¹⁹⁷⁴, did it actually contain any particular political message? The WSCF (World Student Christian Federation) conference, held in Turku in 1968, offers a typical example of this: one reporter claimed that among the crowd of Christian students from all over the world, “international anarchism raised its head.”¹⁹⁷⁵ The saturated definition of anarchism could also mean the inclusion of a set of theoretical voices underneath one political umbrella: not only the SDS but also Che Guevara, Régis Debray, Black Power, the student New Left in general, Marcuse, and Andre Gortz were all representatives of the anarchist tradition.¹⁹⁷⁶ There was even one reply to this article which demanded that Mao should also be included, because his theories also went against political and social stagnation.¹⁹⁷⁷ If anarchism could be anything that included decentralism and opposition to established organisations, then it was possibly too wide – even the Finnish Agrarian Party could feasibly be included in the international student movement, since it too opposed the centrification of power.¹⁹⁷⁸ No wonder Hannu Vesa was already predicting in 1967 that the unstructured organisation of syndicalist and anarchist students would eventually lead to political dispersion that would stop their growth.¹⁹⁷⁹

8.3 Domestic Affairs, the Proletarian Front, and the downfall of Prague Spring

After the beginning of mass protests resisting the War in Vietnam, Nordic activists were getting familiar with new type of political action. The anti-war movement had already relied on transnational solidarity between different national protests, and the global nature of 1968 made this more acute. The role of the student movement also directed these new protests towards explicitly domestic issues. The 1968 May Day student protest in Jyväskylä was one the first Nordic protests of this kind. As Richard Vinen acutely observed, the May Day demonstration happened before any French protests of significant scale.¹⁹⁸⁰ It also predates both the Swedish protest against the 1968 Davis Cup Tennis Match against Rhodesia (*Båstadskravallerna*¹⁹⁸¹), and the occupation of the Stockholm student union building (*Kårhusockupationen*). Press reports of the event emphasised the spontaneity of direct action and the impressive scale of

¹⁹⁷⁴ Ylioppilaslehti 23/68, Malkias Yö, “Mikäs on tervettä anarkismia?”, 8.

¹⁹⁷⁵ TYL 19/68, Kaarina Lehtonen, “Tilanne ylioppilaiden kristillisessä liikkeessä”, 8.

¹⁹⁷⁶ Aviisi 14/68, Seppo Toiviainen, “Alas lyökää koko vanha maailma”, 3.

¹⁹⁷⁷ Ylioppilaslehti 23/68, Malkias Yö, “Mikäs on tervettä anarkismia?”, 8.

¹⁹⁷⁸ JYL 17/68, Risto Volanen, “Keskustaismi”, 12-14.

¹⁹⁷⁹ Aviisi 27/67, Vesa Mäkinen, “Syndikalistien syynäilyä”, 4-5.

¹⁹⁸⁰ Vinen 2018; Vilkuna 2013, 93-98.

¹⁹⁸¹ Josefsson 1996, 104.

participation.¹⁹⁸² From a more theoretical perspective, the events in Jyväskylä could demonstrate how strategies suggested by Taipale were being carried out: only concrete goals would make student actions meaningful by provoking conflict with surrounding conservative society. Old liberal demands for abstract goals like more democracy were now meaningless, because verifying the effect of such demands was impossible. But even when the rhetoric of direct action was dominating the student press, the radical politics involved remained fairly moderate – even extra-parliamentary methods needed to be democratically coordinated and directed.¹⁹⁸³ Student caps were burned during the demonstration, and the action was described as symbolising the undemocratic nature of the educational system and class society.¹⁹⁸⁴ The local student paper, with the help of the radical group responsible for editing the paper, saw the value of this symbolic action and even listed those students who had been courageous enough to burn their caps. A car was also burned during the demonstration, but this vehicle had actually been bought in advance by the student activists with a permit from the fire department to burn it – somewhat questioning the spontaneity of the action. The public reason given for destroying the car was that it represented a threat to humans.¹⁹⁸⁵

The Jyväskylä protest meant that from now on domestic protests would be on the agenda of the Finnish radical press, and that students would be the group that would initiate and implement those protests. In hindsight, this was not surprising; as most of the Finnish New Left groups were more focused on cultural matters and literary debates, and their political firepower had lessened considerably since the last New Left paper *Ajankohta* had ceased to exist at the start of 1968. If anything, what remained of the New Left had gradually been subsumed into the student movement, as new student activists and certain well-known liberal radicals adopted a more openly leftist stance. In addition to these structural shifts in political organisation, the radical frame moved towards a more concrete understanding of political action. This also influenced the long-standing goal of increasing democracy inside universities – direct action was needed, mere student hearings would no longer suffice.¹⁹⁸⁶ Likewise, the Swedish New Left had formerly been rather suspicious of students, because of their traditionally apolitical position and student-only focus, which betrayed a particular “group egoism”.¹⁹⁸⁷ But this changed when the “Assembly of the Left” (*Samling Vänster*) was formed – a broad coalition of leftist student organisations founded in 1966 at Stockholm University – uniting different groups on the left fringe of established social democracy and setting an example for the Left as a

1982 JYL 15/68, 1; JYL 16/68, M.P., “Ylioppilaskunnan vappu”, 2; JYL 15/68, PK, “Vappu` suoran toiminnan juhla”, 3; JYL 16/68, M.P., “Ylioppilaskunnan vappu”, 2.

1983 JYL 15/68, Raimo Mäkinen, “Mihin ja miten”, 3.

1984 JYL 15/68, PK, “Vappu` suoran toiminnan juhla”, 3.

1985 JYL 16/68, M.P., “Ylioppilaskunnan vappu”, 2.

1986 Ylioppilaslehti 16/68, Heikki Palmu, “Ei väkivaltaa vaan kansanvaltaa”, 6, 13.

1987 Konkret 7/68, Lars Ahlbom, Annika Dyberg och Lars Forssberg, “Samtal med den okände studenten”, 50-54; TiS 45/67, Lorenz Olsson, “Politisera studentkåren!”, 6; Clarté 4/68, Göran Eriksson & Gunilla Wettersjö, “Om Kårhusockupationen”, 37-41.

whole.¹⁹⁸⁸ Now, in the transnational moment of 1968, the leftist turn of anti-war actions was having political repercussions on the domestic front.¹⁹⁸⁹ *Samling Vänster*, for example, was clearly influenced by the extra-parliamentary opposition, APO (*Außerparlamentarische Opposition*) in West Germany.¹⁹⁹⁰ New Left cooperation was also encouraged by what was seen as a leftist turn in student debates and actions.¹⁹⁹¹ Students themselves saw this to be a result of the FNL movement that had raised the level of political consciousness and helped reveal the “western indoctrination” inside Swedish universities.¹⁹⁹²

In this context, the occupation of the Stockholm student union building on 25 May was not a particularly surprising event. While the event was closely tied to student opposition to a Swedish university reform policy (known as UKAS), it also had wider political effects that will be looked at here.¹⁹⁹³ From the radical perspective, the fact that students had taken action into their own hands was a promising sign, marking a new addition to the “vocabulary of the Swedish Left.”¹⁹⁹⁴ The concept of “rebellion” (*uppror*) was used, for instance, on banners during the occupation, and this caused some controversy as it evoked Maoist ideas. Some participants tried to elude these connotations, redefining rebellion as something more general and abstract and not as an outright coup.¹⁹⁹⁵ Even for liberal activists, the occupation showed that radical measures could be more effective than reformist politics, and many of the interpretations emphasised the spontaneity of this anti-bureaucratic mass action.¹⁹⁹⁶ “Occupation” was perhaps an unfortunate label for an event that had actually cherished continuous debate;¹⁹⁹⁷ this was emphasised by the fact that the young star of the SAP, Minister of Education Olof Palme had participated in discussions with the occupiers of the student union building. In some ways therefore, the occupation was part of the democratic process that would help reform the overly bureaucratic and undemocratic university.¹⁹⁹⁸ This communicational framing, however, was under threat from the way it was being represented in the mainstream bourgeois media as “violent”, “depressing”, and “vulgar”, and

1988 TiS 45/67, Lorenz Olsson, “Politisera studentkåren!”, 6; TiS 22/68, Bo Hammar, “Studentkåreerna radikaliseras”, 10; Josefsson 1996; 95.

1989 TiS 22/68, Bo Hammar, “Studentkåreerna radikaliseras”, 10.

1990 TiS 50/67, James de Gaalitz, “Den nya vänstern i Västtyskland”, 10; TiS 8/68, Ingemar Andersson, “Västtysk vänsterdebatt: Har farfars folkrörelser spelat ut sin roll?”, 6.

1991 Konkret 7/68, Lars Ahlbom, Annika Dyberg och Lars Forssberg, “Samtal med den okände studenten”, 50-54; TiS 20/68, Björn Häggqvist, “Antiuniversitet!”.

1992 TiS 22/68, Lorenz Olsson, “Revoltet mot de konservativa lögnerna”, 5; Josefsson 1996, 99-103.

1993 Josefsson 1996, 132-141.

1994 Zenit 4/68, Eva Adolfsson & Bernt Kennerström, “Angående en ockupation”, 38-40.

1995 TiS 25/68, Lars-Erik Backman, “Studenternas missnöje”, 10.

1996 LibD 1/69, Magnus Lagerkvist, “Protest - ockupation - revolt”, 29-34; Zenit 4/68, Eva Adolfsson & Bernt Kennerström, “Angående en ockupation”, 38-40; Clarté 4/68, “Manifest den 27 maj 1968”, 36; Clarté 6/68 (the whole issue).

1997 TiS 23/68, Christer Hogstedt, “Maratonmötet i Kårhuset”, 13.

1998 TiS 25/68, Lars-Erik Backman, “Studenternas missnöje”, 10; Josefsson 1996, 139-141.

nothing more than a “hate campaign”.¹⁹⁹⁹ This led one participant to contend that the situation was actually worse than in West Germany: “Springer is not even needed to rectify the press storm in Sweden. Otherwise, comparisons with West Berlin are relevant” they argued. “We need to expand our organisation, form our own press agencies and information sources before we can ignore the bourgeois media.”²⁰⁰⁰

Transnational comparisons were of course a natural part of analysing events.²⁰⁰¹ *Liberall debatt* emphasised how the occupation was clearly inspired by European events,²⁰⁰² and zeitgeist arguments were once more part of the picture – *Clarté* emphasised how “*kårhusockupationen* is a sign that the revolutionary wave has reached Sweden.”²⁰⁰³ The teleological nature of zeitgeist also meant that the occupation would be just the beginning of an intense Swedish protest movement.²⁰⁰⁴ But not all students were ready to accept direct parallels; “you can say that the basic reasoning is the same”, explained one such student to *Tidsignal*, “but our opposition is not simply a reflection of student revolts in other countries”.²⁰⁰⁵ This reaction was partly because the mainstream press had described the occupation as a bland imitation of May ’68.²⁰⁰⁶ Instead of linking the occupation with the transnational student movement, most New Left papers saw it instead as an opportunity for another kind of political alliance. *Zenit* described students as the revolutionary vanguard, pointing out that the occupation was not just a student matter at all. “Future protests against an authoritarian UKAS must become protests against authoritarian Sweden.”²⁰⁰⁷ Practical experiences were useful, but needed to be harnessed as an incentive to create organisational and political self-discipline.²⁰⁰⁸ In this sense, *kårhusockupation* had lacked planning and organisation.²⁰⁰⁹

1999 Zenit 4/68, Eva Adolfsson & Bernt Kennerström, “Angående en ockupation”, 38-40; Clarté 4/68, Marita Wikander & Göran Eriksson, “Opportunisterna och en massrörelse”, 41-42; Clarté 5-6/68, Ledare, “Till kamp mot monopolkapitalet!”, 2-3; LibD 1/69, Magnus Lagerkvist, “Protest – ockupation – revolt”, 29-34; TiS 22/68, .Ts, “Studentrevolten”, 2.

2000 “Det behövdes ingen Springer i för att likrikta presstormen i Sverige. I övrigt är jämförelserna med Väst-Berlin relevanta.[...] Vi måste bygga ut vår organisation, våra egna pressorgan och informationsverksamheten innan vi slutar ta hänsyn till borgerliga massmedia.” TiS 23/68, Christer Hogstedt, “Maratonmötet i Kårhuset”, 13.

2001 Zenit 4/68, Eva Adolfsson & Bernt Kennerström, “Angående en ockupation”, 38-40.

2002 LibD 1/69, Magnus Lagerkvist, “Protest – ockupation – revolt”, 29-34.

2003 Clarté 4/68, Göran Eriksson & Gunilla Wettersjö, “Om Kårhusockupationen”, 37-41.

2004 LibD 1/69, Magnus Lagerkvist, “Protest – ockupation – revolt”, 29-34.

2005 “Ja, man kan säga att orsakerna i grunden är desamma, men vår opposition är inte några vågor från andra länders studentuppror.” TiS 22/68, Lorenz Olsson, “Revoltet mot de konservativa lögnerna”, 5.

2006 TiS 23/68, Christer Hogstedt, “Maratonmötet i Kårhuset”, 13.

2007 “Konsekventa protester mot ett auktoritärt UKAS måste bli protester mot ett auktoritärt Sverige.” Zenit 4/68, Eva Adolfsson & Bernt Kennerström, “Angående en ockupation”, 38-40.

2008 Zenit 4/68, Eva Adolfsson & Bernt Kennerström, “Angående en ockupation”, 38-40; Clarté 4/68, Marita Wikander & Göran Eriksson, “Opportunisterna och en massrörelse”, 41-42.

2009 Clarté 4/68, Göran Eriksson & Gunilla Wettersjö, “Om Kårhusockupationen”, 37-41.

Taken to its logical extreme, the leftist redefinition of the student revolt meant that a unified proletarian front would result. "Workers and students – let us unite in the common fight against oppression and bureaucracy", *Clarté* ardently declared.²⁰¹⁰ This would be a completely new step for the Swedish revolutionary movement,²⁰¹¹ but it was not an exclusively New Left goal; student movement activists were also stressing how the goals of their movement should become much more general: "This means that the student movement must be seen directly from the perspective of the Socialist revolution and part of the people's struggle for liberation."²⁰¹² While the occupation had begun as a student matter, the process had put the student movement into contact with other issues they were then encouraged to learn about.²⁰¹³ It redefined radicalism in the student sphere as a politically conscious group that, in some ways, now had the characteristics of the labour union.²⁰¹⁴ The increasing number of students, and the anticipated proletarianisation of an academically educated workforce were now significant contextual factors; and, whereas there had been many New Left theories concerning foreign student upheavals, there were very few in the domestic context. One liberal activist, otherwise sympathetic of protesting students, did note that Marcusean theories proved that any hope of forming a unified front of students and workers was futile. As Marcuse had famously argued, western labour had lost its revolutionary potential.²⁰¹⁵ *Tidsignal* tried to contradict such claims by maintaining that the workers' reactions to student uprisings were generally positive, even if they were initially suspicious of the theoretical approach of leftist students.²⁰¹⁶ Joachim Israel argued that the more politically conscious students in the movement saw how university matters were linked to the general sociopolitical context. The way that resources were used in universities, he thought, illustrated how the welfare-state ideal of planned economic development had failed. This put him on a direct path towards Marxism. "The students' antagonism towards a consumerist society is based on the irrational use of resources, which is a consequence of the fact that the society does not have sufficient means to plan and coordinate the use of its resources". Despite this, Israel was still firmly in the anti-authoritarian camp that defined socialism in opposition to capitalism *and* bureaucracy.²⁰¹⁷

²⁰¹⁰ "Arbetare och studerande – låt oss förena oss i den gemensamma kampen mot förtryck och byråkrati." *Clarté* 4/68, "Manifest den 27 maj 1968", 36. see also e.g. *TiS* 22/68, Lorenz Olsson, "Revoltet mot de konservativa lögnerna", 5; *TiS* 20/68, Björn Häggqvist, "Antiuniversitet!".

²⁰¹¹ *Clarté* 4/68, Göran Eriksson & Gunilla Wettersjö, "Om Kårhusockupationen", 37-41; *Clarté* 5-6/68, Ledare, "Till kamp mot monopolkapitalet!", 2-3; *Clarté* 5-6/68, Observatör, "Rapport från "kravallernas Lund" ", 56.

²⁰¹² "Detta gör att studentrörelsen direkt måste ses i den socialistiska revolutionens perspektiv och måste ses som en del av folkets befrielsekamp." *Clarté* 5-6/68, Tyr Heyman, studentaktivist, "Studentrörelsens karaktär och målsättning", 55.

²⁰¹³ *TiS* 23/68, Christer Hogstedt, "Maratonmötet i Kårhuset", 13.

²⁰¹⁴ *TiS* 51-52/68, Jan Persson, "-Vi vill inte utbildas till slavrdivare...", 3-4.

²⁰¹⁵ *LibD* 1/69, Magnus Lagerkvist, "Protest – ockupation – revolt", 29-34.

²⁰¹⁶ *TiS* 51-52/68, Jan Persson, "-Vi vill inte utbildas till slavrdivare...", 3-4.

²⁰¹⁷ "Studenternas motsånd mot överflödssamhället bottnar antagligen mot den irrationella användningen av resursena, vilket i sin tur beror på att samhället ej

Surprisingly it was *Clarté*, perhaps the most proletarian of the Swedish radical papers, which emphasised the 'youth' factor in its arguments – legitimised by references to past historical revolutions. "During the great revolutions in Russia and China, it was precisely the youth who started the struggle, and this applies equally to implementing revolution in Sweden".²⁰¹⁸ *Clarté* was unapologetic in its demands that Maoism be taught and that a truly Leninist revolutionary party be formed.²⁰¹⁹ "It is true that the classics of Marxism are the guidelines needed to form a Communist party in Sweden."²⁰²⁰ While *Clarté* was in many ways a fringe paper at this point, even liberals had to agree that the occupation was a reasonable form of political action:

"Many can agree with the Left and its criticism of society. If you peel off the Marxist coat, the substance of that criticism is something that most radicals can stand behind. Furthermore, within the Left there is a very significant debate on how to shape the future society, and how to bring about that change in the shortest possible time."²⁰²¹

Tidsignal was Swedish radical paper least positive about *kårhusoccupation*: instead of celebrating the event as a spontaneous mass protest, it described the sit-in as having a violent, undemocratic, and anarchist core. Its disorganised nature had demonstrated a clear lack of planning, and any future actions needed proper scrutiny first.²⁰²² A complete lack of leadership and political goals was at its most dangerous when there was also a provocation of violence. Whereas in the debate on third-world activism, *Tidsignal* had supported independent guerrilla groups and strongly rejected theoretically inclined activism, it was now urging discipline and the development of a distinctive methodology in the domestic context.²⁰²³ Despite its anti-authoritarian roots, *Tidsignal* did not see the spontaneous nature of the *kårhusoccupation* emphasised by other radical papers.²⁰²⁴ The editorial triggered strong counterarguments and accusations of bourgeois attitudes; for

förfogar över tillräkliga medel att planera och samordna användningen av sina resurser." Konkret 6/68, Joachim Israel, "En förändrad roll för den högre undervisningen", 20-34.

²⁰¹⁸ "I de stora revolutionerna i Ryssland och Kina var det just ungdomen som inledde kampen, det är också en väg som gäller för genomförandet av revolutionen i Sverige." *Clarté* 4/68, Göran Eriksson & Gunilla Wettersjö, "Om Kårhusockupationen", 37-41.

²⁰¹⁹ *Clarté* 4/68, Göran Eriksson & Gunilla Wettersjö, "Om Kårhusockupationen", 37-41; *Clarté* 5-6/68, Ledare, "Till kamp mot monopolkapitalet!", 2-3; *Clarté* 6/68, "Studera för att göra revolution", 8; *Clarté* 3/69, "Studentrörelsen och den nuvarande politiska situationen", 18-22.

²⁰²⁰ "Nu är det ju så att i marxismens klassiker finns de vägledningarna som behövs för bildandet av ett kommunistiskt parti i Sverige." *Clarté* 4/68, Lennart Johannesson, "Bre till redaktionen", 58-59.

²⁰²¹ "Många kan hålla med vänstern i dess kritik av samhället. Om man skalar bort den marxistiska granityren, är kritikens substans något som de flesta radikaler kan sluta upp omkring. Vidare förs inom vänstern en mycket väsentlig debatt om hur man i framtiden ska söka forma samhället och hur man ska på kortast möjliga tid få till stånd en förändring." *LibD* 1/69, Magnus Lagerkvist, "Protest – ockupation – revolt", 29-34.

²⁰²² *TiS* 22/68, .Ts, "Studentrevolten", 2.

²⁰²³ *TiS* 23/68, Christer Hogstedt, "Maratonmötet i Kårhuset", 13.

²⁰²⁴ *TiS* 25/68, Lars-Erik Backman, "Studenternas missnöje", 10.

many activists, the curt dismissal of direct action at home was particularly disappointing for a paper that had previously championed the independent, extra-parliamentary left. Some critics concluded that *Tidsignal* had succumbed to national particularism. The paper defended its cynical assessments of the occupation by voicing concern that it would alienate any possible allies on the labour union side.²⁰²⁵

The transnational ramifications of the *kårhusoccupation* had not escaped the attentions of the Finnish student press either.

“In the recent Swedish brawl, everything was borrowed: an attempt was made to capture a theatre like in Paris, and to argue in front of a newspaper house like in Berlin. What was the meaning of this monkeying around? A picture of a trouble-free Sweden was created, of a trouble-free life, a trouble-free worldview.”²⁰²⁶

Editorials in Finnish student papers were in fact openly mocking the authenticity of the sit-in: “in the last days of last May, Stockholm saw riots akin to those in France [...] the summer fever had come to where it was least expected: to the prosperous folk of the North, the fairytale land of high standards of living and well-being.”²⁰²⁷ But some in the Finnish student press also voiced their opposition to the reactionary reports of the sit-in in the Swedish press.²⁰²⁸

After the turbulent spring of 1968 there were more international protests, but the scene had changed. In West Germany, for example, the Emergency Acts were passed, Dutschke was shot, and protests became more violent in rhetoric and methods used – denying them wider appeal among the Left.²⁰²⁹ Amidst all this, came the invasion of Czechoslovakia to crush the “Prague Spring”, which sent shockwaves north, as the new economic reforms and increased freedom of speech in Czechoslovakia had received a lot of positive positive attention in the Nordic radical press. Some were even hoping that Czechoslovakia could become the new model for combining democracy and a socialist economy so dear to the New Left.²⁰³⁰ The invasion, however, put an end to hopes of any such convergence.²⁰³¹

Despite the increasing polarisation of radical groups, all were now united in their outrage at the crushing of the Prague Spring. Even the Swedish FNL and

²⁰²⁵ TiS 24/68, “Kårhusaktionen och vänster”, 10.

²⁰²⁶ “Ruotsin äskettäisessä kahakassa kaikki oli lainatavaraa: yritettiin kaapata teatteri Pariisin malliin, lausuttiin kuorossa lehtitalon edessä kuten Berliinissä. Mikä oli tämän apinoinnin mieli? Luotiin kuva ongelmattomasta Ruotsista, ongelmattomasta elämästä, ongelmattomasta maailmankatsomuksesta.” *Ylioppilaslehti* 20/68, PK, “Apinat”, 3.

²⁰²⁷ “Tukholmassa mellakoitiin Ranskan malliin kuluneen toukokuun loppupäivinä.”; “Kuumien kesän uumoiltiin jo tulleen sinnekin minne sitä viimeksi odotettiin: Pohjolan vauraaseen kansankotiin, elintason ja hyvinvoinnin satumaahan.” *Aviisi* 18/68, “Muuan mietintö ja sen seuraukset”, 1, 4-5.

²⁰²⁸ *Aviisi* 18/68, “Muuan mietintö ja sen seuraukset”, 1, 4-5.

²⁰²⁹ *Brown* 2013, 243, 348-351.

²⁰³⁰ *Konkret* 4-5/68, Bengt Lindroth & Göran Skånsberg, “Den tjeckoslovakiska lösningen”, 24-27; *LibD* 3-4/68, Olof Kleberg, “Det unika experimentet/socialism och frihet i Tjeckoslovakien”, 28-31; *TiS* 17/68, .Ts, “Revolution som fortsätter”, 2.

²⁰³¹ Koikkalainen 2010; Requate 2009, 196.

the Communists denounced the occupation as a breach of national sovereignty. Although the decision was not unanimous, it still showed how sovereignty and national independence could, sometimes at least, take precedence over ideological alliances in the Cold War.²⁰³² The Maoists in *Clarté* interpreted this as yet another example of Soviet imperialism and bourgeois revisionism.²⁰³³ The nascent Finnish Vietnam Movement, however, was split on how to react due to inner conflicts.²⁰³⁴ In a way, this unanimity reflected reactions in the general public too; even the otherwise cautious Finnish media took an openly critical stance towards the invasion,²⁰³⁵ as did Eurocommunist parties.²⁰³⁶

The fact that the Czechoslovakian invasion happened on the other side of the Iron Curtain did not stop it from becoming a major nexus for transnational exchange. As recent scholarship has demonstrated, plenty of western activists traveled to Prague in an effort to help.²⁰³⁷ This interconnectedness was also reflected in the Nordic radical press, which also had its own network of correspondents and transnational sources.²⁰³⁸ While these uncovered many aspects of the events taking place, the political analysis of their significance depended on the political context back home, and so they provide a good illustration of how views diverged within the Nordic New Left after the climactic spring of '68. While this organisational disintegration was only beginning to emerge, the principled political differences were already in place. One of the most intriguing aspects was the way in which the concept of bureaucracy was used to support completely opposing arguments. For *Clarté*, it was an anti-soviet concept, showing the underlying capitalism of Soviet communism; while for the anti-authoritarians in *Tidsignal*, democratic socialism was in fact the only cure for the problems of bureaucracy. This focus put much more effort into defining traditional radical tropes like human and legal rights, while *Clarté's* definition emphasised economic structures over any other explanation.²⁰³⁹ Similar conflicts were emerging inside the Finnish student left too.

²⁰³² Clarté 4/68, Kommunistiska förbundet, marxist-leninisterna, Stockholms-avdelingen/Clarté, Stockholms-sektionen, Styrelsen, "Varför ockuperades Tjeckoslovakien?", 63; Salomon 1996, 133-143.

²⁰³³ Clarté 5-6/68, Bo Gustafsson, "Sovjetrevisionismen och ockupationen av Tjeckoslovakien", 20-29.

²⁰³⁴ Meinander 2019, 154.

²⁰³⁵ Salokangas 2015, 75.

²⁰³⁶ Konkret 8-9/68, Victor Vinde, "Klyftan inom kommunismen", 16-17; TiS 46/68, "För och emot en fransk väg till socialism", 12; TiS 35/68, Ingemar Andersson & Bo Hammar, "Ofullbordade revolutionen", 3-5; Horn 2007, 165.

²⁰³⁷ Davis 2008, 373.

²⁰³⁸ TiS 41/68, Michael Bosquet, "Internationalismens villkor", 11; Konkret 8-9/68, Stig Carlson, "Dokument från Prag", 73-74; TiS 36/68, Robin Blackburn, "Vakna Lenin, Brezjnev har blivit tokig!", 3-4; TiS 36/68, Gilles Martinet, "Den sociala konflikten", 5.

²⁰³⁹ TiS 35/68, .Ts, "Tjeckoslovakien", 2; TiS 35/68, Ingemar Andersson & Bo Hammar, "Ofullbordade revolutionen", 3-5; TiS 37/68, Gösta Ågren, "Jan Myrdals världskarta", 11; Kommentar 8/68, Jan Andward & Jan Otto Anderson, "Tjeckoslovakien/vägen till demokratisk socialism", 8-13; Clarté 5-6/68, Rolf Svensson, "De ekonomiska reformerna i Tjeckoslovakien", 34-40

One of the issues that would explain the transnational importance of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, was Fidel Castro's public support for the USSR's actions. This particularly compromised those activists who had emphasised the importance of anti-authoritarian, anti-theoretical action against overly dogmatic readings of Marxist theory; suddenly, their ideological inspiration – Fidel Castro – was now supporting that very dogmatism they so despised.²⁰⁴⁰ The lack of clear explanation for Castro's change in direction demonstrated that the theoretical debates so dear to the New Left were subordinate to the political alliances of the Cold War. In a way, the Swedish Maoists were now a trailblazer for the kind of political organisation that would hopefully spread after the anti-authoritarian politics of 1968 turned out to be unfeasible. By displacing open debate with unquestioned discipline, loyalty to the Chinese People's Republic, and its theoretical orthodoxy, the Maoists represented much needed political unity and strength.

Amidst all these transnational events, Finnish student activists had their own moment in the spotlight. The occupation of the old student union building in Helsinki in November 1968 resembled the *kårhusockupationen* in many ways – it had its roots in the university reform movement, but quickly turned into a place for more general political debate. It has similarly been given a somewhat mythical status by those activists who reminisce about being there.²⁰⁴¹ For contemporaries, however, the importance of the sit-in was less clear. Activists in Jyväskylä, for example, did not pay much attention to it, as their focus was on organising activism more locally. From the perspective of the radical press, the most important consequence of the sit-in was surely the alternative edition of *Ylioppilaslehti*, edited by those who had carried out the action. Not only did this alternative version show how radical students had lost their trust in the neutrality of the student paper's editor, it also featured new forms of protest, such as countercultural satirical poems, images from pop culture, summaries of transnational New Left theories, and references to the way in which Finnish companies were taking part in oppressing the Third World.²⁰⁴² The alternative student paper also had some interesting ideas for domestic politics: the formation of a proletarian front of students and workers was now an explicit goal. This objective would end up directing student radicals towards a wholly new political landscape, and it solidified the political divisions that had been incubating inside radical circles for a long time.

²⁰⁴⁰ TiS 41/68, Marcel Cohen, "Castro och Tjeckoslovakien", 12; TiS 44/68, Bertil Duner, "Varför stödde Castro Sovjet?", 14; TiS 47/68, Marcel Cohen, "Castro-Tjeckoslovakien: tolkningsalternativ", 14.

²⁰⁴¹ Miettunen 2019.

²⁰⁴² This one-time only issue of *Ylioppilaslehti* was published inbetween official issues 32 and 33; it had its own editorial staff, featuring many of the veterans of radical activism and radical press, amongst them Markku Lahtela, Antti Kuusi, Marja-Leena Mikkola, Pentti Saarikoski, Ilkka Taipale, and Ritva Turunen.

9 CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to study how Finnish and Swedish radical agents of the 1960s saw their role in the interconnected scheme of transnational and national politics. In an effort to achieve this, several methodological considerations were taken into account. On the one hand, this work has been an exploration into the practice of transnational history using a concrete case study, in which national contexts are not atomised into self-evident units of comparison, but dealt with in a more linear fashion. It has also been an attempt to supplement the methods of conceptual history with perspectives that jointly analyse textual transfers and physical mobility. By inspecting a wide set of radical authors and their political language, this study has widened the perspective of traditional political and intellectual history to include less well-known agents that were still nevertheless important in their local contexts – both as original political thinkers and as importers and translators of transnational texts, ideas, and influences. Moreover, by focusing on the northern “peripheries” of Sixties activism, this study has widened our understanding of the diversity of political activism within the umbrella-concept of the ‘global Sixties’ and the social movements associated with it. While global history is an increasingly important sphere of study that challenges many of the Eurocentric narratives that have often defined history as a discipline, this study shows that there are also areas even within Europe that have been overlooked when transnational histories of the post-war world were written.

The context of transnational social movement studies is not the only one relevant here. This study is also a window onto Nordic societies of the post-war era, during which many of the elements we now take for granted as defining a particular Nordicness were still in flux. Studying radical movements tells us more than simply what their political ambitions were; by criticising Nordic society as a whole, they also reveal what may otherwise have remained unquestioned and unchallenged in that society. The comparisons that contemporaries made, and their reactions to how their views and actions were received, tell us something inherent about the political cultures of these nation states during a period of profound societal change. The particular Nordicness of Finland and Sweden made these countries not only natural points of comparison

because of their political and cultural connections, but also ones of contrast, in terms of their nationally defined movements – demonstrating how a country's international position is often an inherently domestic question. To put it bluntly, Finnish radicals saw their native country and its political institutions as not Nordic enough, while for Swedish radicals, the Nordic sphere itself was not enough. The Swedes sought a more global perspective, and this was reflected in the various transnational political influences discussed in this study.

Another characteristic that defined the Nordic sphere for Sixties activists was that issues like sexual morals, grass-roots democracy, Nordic civil society, and the welfare state were common topics that Finns would ordinarily associate with a particular “Swedishness” and indeed Nordicness to which many of them aspired. Other topics, like revolutionary theory, authoritarianism, and the proletariat of workers and students combined were not associated with Sweden, even though these were in fact an important feature in Swedish radical debate. A similar shift in focus was also present when it comes to the role of West Germany as the de facto cultural model for the Nordic countries. Although this connection has deep historical roots, the importance of Germanic culture and politics during the Sixties – at least among radical activists – had already waned significantly. While still important in the European scheme of things, many of the discussions covered in this study point instead to a new source of cultural (and counter-cultural) authority – the US. The duality of attitudes towards the evils of mainstream America on the one hand, and the “people’s America” resisting consumerism on the other, challenges previous interpretations of there having been a simple anti-Americanism within Nordic social movements. More research is certainly needed, and again the processes of adaptation, imitation, and transference must be taken into account when the role of America as a cultural and counter-cultural nexus is analysed more fully in the future.

Yet another topic covered here that could apply more widely to social movement studies in general, is the process of radicalisation and political polarisation experienced by Nordic social movements of the 1960s. Many of the changes were not unique to the particular contexts of the Sixties: social movements everywhere need to define their relationship to the rules of the existing society around them, and whether they aspire to radically resign from those rules. Whether to support reforms, revolutions, or riots, is a key question that will in many ways define a movement. At the same time, these concepts are anything but clearly defined, and as this thesis amply shows, activists constantly tried to legitimise their actions by defining key political concepts in a novel way. This way, even seemingly concrete concepts such as violence could be redefined in a radically new way.

The question of agency among Sixties activists is also called into question when radicalism is approached from the viewpoint of public discourse rather than via social movements or university disputes. In the Nordic context, the significant role of sociologists and other social scientists is notable. While these professions are traditionally seen to provide the expert social engineers who were in many ways responsible for the creation of the Nordic welfare state, this thesis

shows that they were also responsible for much of the criticism of the very same system. This is important, not simply because it diversifies our understanding of the political commitments of social scientists; but also because these older academics challenge the compelling narrative of Sixties movements as having been profoundly youthful phenomena. The intersections between youth, political radicalism and new forms of popular culture are often repeated in popular imagery, but as this thesis demonstrates, such overlaps were actually at that time relatively rare. Even for Nordic activists who actually were young, appealing to reason with rational, legitimate arguments was often far more important than abstract and playful forms of protest. That is not to say that political symbolism was absent from the transnational Nordic Sixties; the overall increase in emotional, figurative, and even moral forms of protest during the latter part of the decade is certainly notable, but one must recognise that these new forms of protest clustered mainly around the questions of the Third World. Thus, it was a matter of physical (and political) distance, rather than popular culture, that enticed Nordic activists towards more symbolic and abstract forms of protest.

The Sixties social movements were in many ways a passing phenomenon. Yet, their legacy has lasted to this day, and the debate on both their “true nature” and ensuing social impact is far from over. In the Nordic contexts in particular, the role of these dissident movements has been a challenge to the ‘success narrative’ of Nordic welfare societies: how could young, bright students and established intellectuals go against the very system that provided them with unparalleled opportunities, wealth, and social status? Like many historical dilemmas, this one is also rather anachronistic and depends on being able to look back at the legacy of the Sixties. For contemporary agents, the future was open and in many ways more of a threat than an opportunity. At the same time, the “miracle years” of the post-war economic boom had left its impact on contemporary culture, and thus it was possible, even natural for Sixties activists to assume that social changes are always quick and once set in motion, would move forward at an ever accelerating pace. The disappointment that followed from the realisation among Nordic radicals that it was in fact not so easy to change national traditions, culture, and institutions overnight is one of the key experiences of the era that one must grasp if we are to truly understand the global turmoils of 1968 and its local reverberations. Once again, perceptions of time and the changes in how historical agents understood its dynamics and effects on their own agency are key.

When these methodological and contextual spheres are combined, several important lessons can be learned from this study. Firstly, both social movement studies and intellectual historians should be more sensitive to the way contemporaries in these movements used language to further their political goals and ideas. How they saw their own political activism in relation to the state, to other activist groups, and to other countries is not just providing ideological context to movement studies – these are all essential elements in analysing the political position, perspective, and thus choices of such movements. Secondly, a

meaningful study of transnational transfers needs a solid set of primary sources that will cover a range of national and institutional contexts. As this thesis has hopefully demonstrated, assumptions about certain links might be thrown into doubt once subjected to the critical scrutiny of empirical history writing. Moreover, a robust understanding of the inner dynamics of each national case is essential before any comparisons can be attempted. As a consequence, focusing too narrowly on the organisational framework is detrimental to the study of political discourses. The focus should rather be on finding fruitful discourses in the first place, instead of just comparing discourses from similar organisational settings. Thirdly, public discourses do matter: instead of approaching them as so much 'decoration' of what the movements stood for, this study has shown that they were a key part of debating, questioning, and challenging the policies, methods, and approaches of Sixties social movements. They are also a vital source for analysing transnational transfers, since public debates were often the prime arena where processes of adaptation, inclusion, and exclusion were debated. Fourthly, through maintaining an empirical perspective on contemporary discourses and concepts, the inherent internationalism of Sixties social movements becomes relativised. When the role of international events, texts, and public intellectuals are empirically inspected, the central role of unquestioned transfer via TV and other mass media needs to be reevaluated. The highbrow debates of the Frankfurt School, for example, are contextualised, and the influences of radical celebrities like Che Guevara and Frantz Fanon need to be reassessed. Instead of focusing on the central role of intellectual texts and debates, an empirical take on the importance of these matters, in many cases, highlights the rather reactive nature of Sixties movements. In other words, social and political theories seem to have become crucial more as a form of post-rationalisation of these protests after the event rather than as their catalyst.

By using the analytical concept of 'radicalisation process', I have shown how different debates were shaped by particular transnational and local influences. Generalising a grand theory or text that would adequately cover all these different strands of radical activism would surely be a misleadingly simple explanation. What emerges instead, is a complex, fluctuating, and rhizomatic network of radical concepts, discourses, intertextual references, political symbols, transnational travels, and texts. The changes in the various rhizomatic nodes of this "radical frame", as I have called the above, show how radicalism did not simply move towards the political left; rather, it reflected fundamental changes in societal attitudes, political perspectives, and even individual experiences. Politics, then, is clearly not just a game of power or status; instead, it can also inspire a profound process of participation and empowerment, and greatly contribute to our individual experiences of how we can act in our society and make a profound change. While the Sixties movements did not necessarily achieve many of their ultimate goals, they greatly affected our understanding of what politics can actually be. Few oppositional movements would even dream of such a weighty achievement.

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Name of the Paper	Volumes	Nationality and association
<i>Tilanne</i>	1961-1966	Finnish New Left
<i>Aikalainen</i>	1964-1967	Finnish New Left (not directly affiliated with parties although funded by <i>Kulttuurityö</i> , cultural organization closely associated with SKDL)
<i>Ajankohta</i>	1967	Finnish New Left
<i>Ylioppilaslehti (YL)</i>	1956-1968	Finnish student movement/Cultural radicalism (published by independent student union)
<i>Turun ylioppilaslehti (TYL)</i>	1956-1968	Finnish student movement/Cultural radicalism (published by independent student union)
<i>Jyväskylän ylioppilaslehti (JYL)</i>	1960-1968	Finnish student movement/Cultural radicalism (published by independent student union)
<i>Yykoo/Aviisi (The student paper of Tampere School of social sciences)</i>	1960-1968	Finnish student movement/Cultural radicalism (published by independent student union)
<i>Oulun ylioppilaslehti (OYL)</i>	1961-1968	Finnish student movement/Cultural radicalism (published by independent student union)
<i>Zenit</i>	1957-1970	Swedish New Left, background in syndicalist groups
<i>Liberal Debatt (LibD)</i>	1956-1970	Swedish cultural radicalism (published by Liberal but extraparliamentary student organization)
<i>Tidsignal (TiS)</i>	1956-1970	Swedish New Left/oppositional social democrats
<i>Clarté</i>	1956-1970	Svenska Clartéförbundet
<i>Kommentar</i>	1968-1970	Unga Filosofer, a leftist student group
<i>Konkret (SWE)</i>	1967-1969	Socialist student group in Lund (paper established by former editor of the student paper)
<i>Konkret: die Monatszeitschrift für Politik und Kultur</i>	1957-1968	West German New Left (association unofficial)

Associated journals, such as *Nya Argus* (Finnish swedish-language cultural journal), *Sociologia* (national journal of sociology), and *Medisiinari* (medical student's journal in Helsinki), as well as paperbacks used occasionally to widen the discussions found on other journals.

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