
What were the effects of Finlandisation on Finnish comprehensive school history textbooks in the 1970s?

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ABSTRACT

This work considers Finnish comprehensive school history textbooks from the 70s to see whether the effect of the phenomenon of Finlandisation could be seen in them. Finlandisation arose from the policy choice of Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, which emphasized the maintenance of good relations with the Soviet Union and came to affect domestic policy and led to self-censorship within media and culture. There is little research in the way these changes showed in history textbooks during the period despite the undeniable importance of history textbooks in forming a historical and national identity.

In my research I considered four textbook series widely used in Finnish comprehensive schools through established methods of textbook content analysis. To determine the level of finlandised content I examined the depiction of Russia and Soviet Union during the 1917 Revolutions and in the years that followed. I also studied the extent that the textbooks followed the contemporary official line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in history interpretation. Comparisons were made both with the depiction of the USA, and with modern Finnish history textbooks.

Textbooks examined are concerned with the creation of a national identity but also justifying the foreign policies. It was found that the content of textbooks was extremely uncritical of Soviet Union and the CPSU and any criticism was extremely carefully worded and mainly followed criticism in official Soviet publications. An example of this was Stalin's cult of personality criticized by Khrushchev. The narrative on some events such as the October revolution was in line with Soviet historiography, but some events that were of greater patriotic importance to Finland were treated differently, most notably the Winter War. Importantly, although the books introduced concepts central to Marxism-Leninism they did not in any way follow Marx's ideas on history such as materialistic determinism.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Työni tutkii suomettumisen vaikutuksia 70-luvun suomalaisen peruskoulun historian oppikirjoihin. Suomettuminen, jonka pohjana oli hyviä Neuvostoliiton-suhteita korostanut Paasikivi-Kekkosen linja, alkoi vaikuttaa myös kotimaan politiikkaan ja johti itsesensuuriin median ja kulttuurin aloilla. Tutkimusta näiden muutoksien näkyvyydestä oppikirjoissa on vähän vaikka varsinkin historian oppikirjojen vaikutus historiallisen ja kansallisen identiteetin muodostumisessa on valtava.

Tutkin neljää peruskouluissa käytettyä oppikirjasarjaa sisällönanalyysin keinoin. Määritelläkseni suomettuneen materiaalin määrän tutkin Venäjän ja Neuvostoliiton kuvausta vuoden 1917 vallankumouksessa ja sitä seuraavina vuosina. Tutkin myös kuinka oppikirjat seurasivat Neuvostoliiton Kommunistisen Puolueen kirjoittamisajan historiantulkintaa. Vertauksia tehtiin USA:n kuvaukseen sekä moderneihin suomalaisiin historianoppikirjoihin.

Tutkimieni oppikirjojen tavoitteena vaikuttaa olevan sekä kansallisen identiteetin luominen että ulkopoliittisen linjan oikeuttaminen. Oppikirjojen sisältö on hyvin epäkriittinen NKP:sta sekä Neuvostoliitosta. Näkyvä kritiikki seuraa usein virallista NKP:n linjaa ja on hyvin varovaisesti esitettyä. Esimerkkinä toimii Hruštšovin kritisoima Stalinin persoonallisuuskultti. Joidenkin tapahtumien, kuten Lokakuun vallankumouksen, kuvaus on neuvostoliittolaisen historianankirjoituksen mukaista, mutta joitakin tapahtumia joilla on suurta patrioottista merkitystä Suomelle kohdellaan toisin, huomattavimpana näistä Talvisota. Tärkeää on että vaikka oppikirjat esittelivät materialistisen determinismin tapaisia marxismi-leninismille keskeisiä käsitteitä marxilaista historiankäsitystä ei muuten seurattu.

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INTRODUCTION

Finnish history has been greatly affected by the country's proximity to a culturally alien superpower, Russia. Finland declared independence in 1917 after a hundred years under Imperial Russian rule. Still, especially after the Second World War Russia had a notable influence on Finnish politics. The country retained its independence, democracy and free market economy – unlike Soviet satellites in the Eastern Bloc¹ – but adapted foreign policy decisions into either direct or anticipated demands of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

This work aims to research the extent to which the content of Finnish school history textbooks was influenced by the country's foreign policy during the years in which Finlandisation was arguably at its strongest, the 1970s². This was also a period of gradual transition into a new comprehensive school system in Finland³. Comprehensive school books are studied due to their widespread use in a developed country such as Finland. This will be done in terms of content analysis by, for example examining the picture of the Soviet Union as well as the degree to which depiction of events complies with official Soviet party line on history⁴. The content analysis was conducted for four history textbook series from the 1970s published in Finland by different publishers and approved by a state authority⁵. Comparisons were made with a 2009 Finnish history book, Aikalainen⁶. Four

¹ Which, like Finland, were geographically close to the USSR. This was important due to the traditional Soviet/Russian foreign policy of considering security to be largely a result of space.

² The 1970s were a time of political turmoil both worldwide and in Finland; for example the Prague Spring of 1968 and the Vietnam War 1955-75 which caused huge opposition globally. Finlandisation as a term is fairly controversial, with a notable emotional connotation, as it was of German origin and perceived as criticism which did not take into account that for a small state Finlandisation was necessary for survival. This emotional connotation is less familiar to my generation; I use the term more neutrally to describe Finnish foreign policy towards USSR and vice versa.

³ Due to this a large amount of new textbooks were written in the period. To narrow the sample size only these entirely new comprehensive school textbooks will be examined during the essay instead of textbooks written earlier for the old system. In addition, the comprehensive school textbooks follow the entirely new 1974 curriculum, making comparisons easier. Unfortunately this means that some of the material used in Finnish schools in the 70s will not be researched. It has to be noted that textbooks used outside of comprehensive schools were from the 60s; thus in establishing the effect of Finlandisation - and the intellectual and academic climate of the 70s – comprehensive textbooks appeared to be the best choice for this research.

⁴ This quantitative analysis will be supported by a qualitative dimension: an analysis on the amount of pages allocated to the topics.

⁵ These four textbooks include all textbooks approved for use in comprehensive schools by the Finnish National Board of Education as outlined in *Hyväksytyt oppikirjat ja muut opetuksessa käytetyt kirjat. Perusluettelo 1975*. (Kouluhallitus, Oppimateriaalitoimisto, 1975). p. 15-18. The source, published by the FNBE, outlines the textbooks approved for use in Finnish schools for the academic year in question. The same document for years 1973-80 was used to cross-check the history textbooks used in the period: the 1975 edition includes all four.

periods in modern Russian history will be considered in detail due to their extensive textbook coverage:

1. 1917 Revolutions
2. USSR under Stalin
3. The Second World War
4. USSR after the Second World War

The importance of school textbooks as a pedagogical tool is well known. Textbooks not only transmit knowledge but also anchor socio-political norms of the society. History textbooks, in particular, have a large role in creating ones self-image, as well historical consciousness⁷ and a national identity. It is in a way surprising that very little detailed research has been made on this aspect of a significant period of Finnish history⁸. Finlandisation has for a long time been a sensitive, even traumatic subject in Finnish public life and academia, and related widespread research on the topic has only started recently.

⁶ The series examined were Peruskoulun historia, Historian perustiedot, Historia ja me and Historian maailma. For the purposes of the essay the following abbreviations will be used for the series: HMA for Historian maailma, HME for Historia ja me, and PH for Peruskoulun historia, HPER for Historian perustiedot. The abbreviation will be followed by the grade for which the book is targeted at. The UNESCO guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision by Falk Pingel was used for refining the research methodology used.

⁷ Falk Pingel. *The UNESCO guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2010),
URL: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001171/117188e.pdf> (Accessed August 21, 2010). p. 7-9

⁸ Only one work – a Swedish doctoral thesis *Den politiska läroboken* by Janne Holmen – considers the effect of foreign policy on textbooks in three Scandinavian states including Finland. The thesis is used as a source within this essay. It has to be noted that the discussion of this phenomenon goes back to 1981, when an American educationist George Shaw noted that textbooks were ‘finlandised’, facing criticism from Finnish textbook authors.

FINNISH-SOVIET RELATIONS AFTER WORLD WAR TWO

Having gained independence from Russia in December 1917 Finland became a presidential republic⁹. The relationship between Finland and the newly established USSR remained tense throughout the interwar years, and in World War II Finland fought two unsuccessful wars with USSR. The Finno-Soviet armistice of September 1944, as well as the Peace Treaty in 1947, left Finland with reparation payments and territorial losses. The political institutions, however, remained intact: unlike in the Eastern Bloc countries Communists did not rise into power. Finnish political leaders were left reconsidering the nation's security policy in the recently polarised world of international politics as it became clear that despite their wartime alliance the United States and USSR were heading towards the Cold War.

Urho Kekkonen, then Minister of Justice, argued that Finnish independence could be guaranteed by 'winning Soviet confidence and creation of good-neighbourliness'¹⁰. Similar *realpolitik*¹¹ views laid the foundation for the 1948 Finnish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance which was to determine the course of Finnish foreign relations for the next decades. Within the treaty Finland agreed to defend its territory in case of attack to Finland or Soviet Union through Finland with Soviet assistance, as well as to not conclude an alliance directed against the other party¹². The treaty was the cornerstone of the foreign policies of both President Paasikivi (1946-56) and President Kekkonen (1956-1981)¹³. Paasikivi outlines this *Paasikivi-Kekkonen line* in his diary,

⁹ This was after an attempted coup by the Social Democratic Party followed by a bitter civil war which the Reds lost. The conflict, fought in early 1918, included political terror and atrocities by both the Soviet-supported Reds and the German-supported Whites. Partly due to this it caused a deeper political divide into left and right in Finnish society, and the Soviet support to the Reds worsened the relations. Finland was, and is, a representative democracy with a President responsible for foreign policy as the head of state, elected by direct vote. The legislative authority is exercised by the unicameral Parliament of Finland.

¹⁰ Roy Allison. *Finland's Relations with the Soviet Union, 1944-84* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1985), p. 12-19. Dr. Roy Allison, a Reader in International Relations at London School of Economics, is an expert in foreign policies of Russia, among other states. This book, originally a work of political science, is a well-documented, fairly objective account of the period, researched from both Finnish and Russian sources. On the other hand, it is likely that Allison's ability to comprehend Finnish non-translated Finnish sources was limited.

¹¹ Defined as politics based primarily on practical considerations, rather than ideology or moralistic premises. This essay does not aim to examine the exact motives for the adoption of the foreign policy line in question but rather notes that small state security concerns, in addition to several other factors, played a major role.

¹² In effect this meant, for example, that Finland could not follow the path of Norway and Denmark and join the USA-led North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). "Asetus Suomen ja Sosialististen Neuvostotasavaltain Liiton välillä ystävydestä, yhteistoiminnasta ja keskinäisestä avunannosta Moskovassa, 6. päivänä huhtikuuta 1948 allekirjoitetun sopimuksen voimaansaattamisesta." June 4th, 1948.

<http://www.finlex.fi/fi/sopimukset/sopsteksti/1948/19480017>. Accessed 27th of July, 2010. The text of the YCMA treaty published in an official State database holding legislative information, including state treaties. The treaty outlines the obligations of each party (USSR and Finland).

¹³ According to the Finnish constitution the President had full control over foreign policy.

mentioning that friendly relations and the avoidance of conflicts with Soviet Union must be the foreign policy's main goal despite future and prior setbacks.¹⁴

Under President Kekkonen from 1956 onwards domestic policy and the media were also increasingly affected¹⁵. The basis for Soviet influence on Finnish domestic policy was not appointing politicians who were considered anti-Soviet regardless of voting results which led to pro-Soviet domestic policy choices even by right-wing politicians¹⁶. During the 1970s textbook authors were under severe left-wing pressure to adapt their writing to foreign policy requirements¹⁷. Textbooks were under state control through an approbation process by a state authority, the Finnish National Board of Education (FNBE). Experts from the Soviet Union were sometimes used; for example, the Peruskoulun historia series was partly examined by a member of the Soviet science academy¹⁸. There was a certain degree of political correctness required by textbook authors. "It could not be imagined – that FNBE approved material would have views against the official policy of the country", writes Erkki Aho, then head of FNBE¹⁹.

¹⁴ Entry on the 2nd of August, 1944, translated by the author of this essay. Juho Kusti Paasikivi. *Paasikiven päiväkirjat, 1944-1956 I* (Juva: Weilin+Göös, 1985), p. 23. Juho Kusti Paasikivi was the President of Finland from 1946 to 1956. The source is his private diary and the entry is fairly early on, before even the FCMA treaty was signed. The source gives valuable information of the personal thoughts of an influential figure in Finnish politics from 1920s onwards. It shows that Finnish politicians were from right after the war aware of the future security political challenges. It is, however, possible that Paasikivi was aware that his diary was likely to be publicized in the future.

¹⁵ Jorma Kallenautio. *Suomi kylmän rauhan maailmassa*. (Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 2006) p. 315. From 1950s onwards media was increasingly uncritical of the Soviet Union until the 1970s. Some works. This was due to several reasons; Kekkonen rebuked the media in his speeches and sent critical letters to newspaper editors and others with influence in the media. In addition Soviet diplomats and the Soviet Union influenced the media; the Finnish foreign minister recorded 30 cases in 1968-81 where the Soviet Union sent ministry level notes concerning writings in the Finnish media. A recent book by a Finnish author examines Finnish political history from 1955 to 1995. This provides a valuable context for Finlandisation; in addition to Finnish-Soviet relations Kallenautio considers Finland's relations with Scandinavia, USA and the Western countries as a whole.

¹⁶ Allison, p. 134-140. The appointment of politicians considered anti-Soviet led to Soviet leaders exerting pressure on Finland by, for example, diplomatic and economic sanctions. For example in the 1961 Note Crisis a diplomatic note by the Soviet Union was sent to Finland; the exact motives are unknown but it is commonly thought that this was to ensure Kekkonen's re-election instead of Olavi Honka who was supported by a group of members of the Finnish Social Democratic party as well as the right-wing National Coalition party. Within the Finnish parliament right-wing parties were constantly in the opposition until 1987. The attribute "foreign politically unreliable" was a common feature of the political rhetoric.

¹⁷ By late 1970s, however, textbook authors faced right-wing criticism for what was seen as excessively pro-Soviet textbooks. It has thus to be noted that the criticism went both ways.

¹⁸ Janne Holmen, "Den Politiska Läroboken. Bilden av USA och Sovjetunionen i norska, svenska och finska läroboken under Kalla Kriget". (PhD dissertation., Uppsala Universitet). p. 76. This expert was A. T. Kinkulkin.

¹⁹ Taneli Heikka. "Kusetajien sukupolvi" *Satakunnan kansa*. 16th of April 2009. This article from a Finnish newspaper is concerned with the topic of this essay: Finlandisation of textbooks. Ahonen, Sirkka. "Schoolbooks as public history." in *The Cold War and the Politics of History*, ed. Juhana Aunesluoma and Pauli Kettunen. (Helsinki: Edita Publishing Ltd / University of Helsinki, Department of Social Science History, 2008) p. 250 The influential, government-supported Finnish-Soviet Society also sought to influence the content of textbooks

It is not self-evident that such adaptation would occur in a democratic country with long traditions of freedom of speech and press, and several influential parts of the Finnish society were against it. This is illustrated by a history hand-out created as a result of the left-wing pressure by the FNBE and Tampere University's Faculty of Psychology. It explained history from prehistory to modern times through Marxist view on history; social class and material conditions were emphasised²⁰. It caused massive debate in both the media and the Finnish parliament.

into a more pro-Soviet direction, organising textbook seminars among other things. In addition, student organisations of the time were often fairly left-wing.

²⁰ Antti Penttilä. Historia : 5. luokka : ihmiskunnan kehityksen yleispiirteet vanhimmista ajoista nykypäiviin saakka, (Tampere: Tampereen yliopiston psykologian laitos, 1974)

TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS

History textbooks are part of the public history culture. As mentioned, textbooks tell pupils the commonly accepted representation of history. Several factors affect the work of textbook authors, who, of course, also have some freedom in choosing what facts they include and how they are presented in their work. These include current historiography and knowledge about history and international and societal factors²¹ as well as the official school curriculum. This outlines the aims for the grade in question, as well as what is to be taught and how it is to be assessed, reflecting societal and ideological aims.²² Indeed the attempt to reach societal ends through school curricula and texts dates back to the French revolution²³.

The goal of Soviet historiography and history teaching was creating a new *homo sovieticus*, the Soviet human. History teaching was to emphasise the country's achievements and revolutionary ideology.²⁴ After the university reforms under both Stalin and Lenin in 1921-1934 research was mainly done by organisations such as the Communist Academy and Institute of Red Professors²⁵. Historians had to treat party line and reality as one and the same. Marx's views on history were, naturally, of great importance, as well as laws of historical development. With the inevitability of a law of nature mankind's progress goes from nomadic and hunting society through ancient, feudal and bourgeois societies until finally the Communist society is formed, although Leninism stressed the centrality of the party²⁶. After Stalin's death in 1953 issues such as his cult of personality could be criticised slightly, but this reform did not reach issues such as Lenin, single-party rule and collectivization²⁷.

²¹ The former includes the country's international position, relations with foreign countries, cooperation concerning textbooks and cultural influence.. The latter includes the system of government and economy, national history, and religion.

²² Anja Lehikoinen. *Oppikirjojen synty-ympäristö selityksineen. Historian oppikirjojen synty ja tausta*, (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1981) p. 5-6

²³ Eugene L. Asher. "Nationality and History Education: The Social uses of History in the School Curriculum" in *The History Teacher* 12. (November 1978), p. 58

²⁴ Eliisa Vähä. "Patrioottien tuotantoa: Sankarit ja antisankarit neuvostoliittolaisen ja venäläisen identiteetin rakentajina historian oppikirjoissa 1951-1995." (Licentiate work, Tampere yliopisto 2006) p. 20-21

²⁵ Osmo Jussila. "Historiankirjoitus Neuvostoliitossa." In *Historiankirjoituksen historia*, ed. Päivi Setälä, Pekka Suvanto and Matti Viikari. (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 1983), p.217

²⁶ Georg G. Iggers. *Historiography in the Twentieth century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*. (Hannover: Wesleyan University Press, 1997), p. 79-81

²⁷ Catherine Merridale. "Redesigning History in Contemporary Russia." *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, (January, 2003), p. 15

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS 1917

The events of February and October 1917 are one of the most widely researched topics in Soviet historiography. They are seen as historically necessary and inevitable and iconized²⁸. There is very much content on the 1917 revolutions in all textbooks, at least twice as much as in the 2009 Aikalainen in all cases²⁹. All textbooks examined view both revolutions as justified due to the “rotten” autocracy³⁰. According to the principle of Leninism the role of Bolsheviks is emphasised in Soviet historiography on both February and October revolutions in, for example, the loss of soldier support³¹, and no other political parties are mentioned in the series. The view on the inevitable character of the revolution is only apparent in *Peruskoulun historia 3*. According to the book, by 1905, it had become “clear” that the tsarist government did not want to improve the living standards of the people. The language used in most books is considerably emotional although *Historian Perustieto 7* retains a fairly objective tone³².

The October revolution and the following reforms are treated very extensively in the books³³, and its fairly peaceful nature is emphasised. Overall the changes following the October revolution, as well as the events of the revolution itself, are described in more detail and also appear much more significant than the February revolution. *Historia ja me* cites a Soviet historian: “The Great Socialist October Revolution --- stopped societal and national repression ---”³⁴. According to the series the living standards of the people grew, as did Soviet support despite the Civil War³⁵. The book also mentions that in USSR everyone has “the right to work, rest [--], press, and assembly”³⁶. V. I. Lenin is the prominent figure in both revolutions. He is described as gifted and all three books feature his biography of at least a page with details on his life as a revolutionary. FNBE’s guide to teachers also mentions that Lenin must be noted as a central figure and his actions must be seen in the context to

²⁸ P. V. Volobuev. “Perestroika and the October Revolution in Soviet Historiography” *The Russian Review*, 51, (October 1992) p. 566-576. Written by a Soviet author straight after the collapse of the Soviet Union it examines the need to reconsider the nation’s history.

²⁹ See Appendix 1 for the entire table. *Peruskoulun historia* series has almost thrice as much content (7.4% relative to total number of pages) as *Aikalainen* (2.5% relative to the total number of pages).

³⁰ Matti Castren and Reino Riikonen. *Historia ja me 7*. *Historian oppikirja peruskoulun 7. Luokalle* (Helsinki: Weilin+Göös, 1977)

³¹ Kai Lehtonen & Veikko Huttunen. *Peruskoulun historia 3*. (Porvoo: WSOY, 1975), p. 53. Interpretations differ on the matter but include, for example, war weariness, persistent shortages and casualties as well as Nicholas II’s fateful decision to take the position of Commander-in-Chief in August 1915.

³² Oksanen Antti-Jukka, Pohjala Heikki & Viennos Tuure. *Historian perustiedot 7*. (Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä, 1974)

³³ Bushnell, p. 10

³⁴ Castren et al (HME7) p. 190

³⁵ Lehtonen and Huttunen (PH3), p. 128

³⁶ *ibid* p. 192

of “a chaotic situation caused by a world war and civil war”³⁷. The chapter’s pictures in all three books mainly feature Lenin, usually shown as a leader figure with a mass of revolutionaries attentively listening to him³⁸. Indeed in all three books for the grade in question Lenin is one of the few historical figures to receive extensive coverage alongside Finns of the nationalist movement in the 19th century such as Elias Lönnrot, writer of the Finnish national epoch Kalevala.

USSR UNDER STALIN

After Lenin’s death his criticism of Stalin is mentioned in all books. The power struggle and is referred to briefly – “Trotsky had to withdraw from Stalin’s way”. In a similar way the actual extent of the Great Terror is not described. “Officers and civil servants” were shot or sent to prison camps³⁹ but there is no mention of the ordinary people or any statistics. Planned economy is referred to in a very positive way, and all three books contain diagrams of great increases in the production of, for example, steel. Collectivisation is referred to as effective, but the forced nature of it is not mentioned – peasants were “encouraged” to join collective farms⁴⁰. Khrushchev’s criticism of the cult of personality and breach of laws are mentioned but these appear overshadowed by the great progress – and, ultimately, the victory in World War II, the “Great Patriotic War”. The 2009 Aikalainen book groups Stalin’s Soviet Union together with Hitler’s Germany and Mussolini’s Italy as dictatorships whereas similar approach is lacking in the books examined⁴¹.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Soviet Union’s extensive size, forming the basis for much of the depiction of the nation, appears central during the war. Russia and USSR are depicted as the ultimate goals - and demises - of military leaders such as Napoleon and, during the Second World War, Hitler.⁴² Unique to the 70s textbooks, the resilience and will to defend of the Russians are mentioned; Länsiluoto notes that similar narrative is lacking in textbooks written after the collapse of the USSR.⁴³ When describing the outbreak of the Winter War of 1939-40 mentions are made of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and its

³⁷ Peruskoulun opetusuunnitelmakomitean mietintö POPS-70, Opas 4. *Historia, yhteiskuntaoppi ja taloustieto*. (Helsinki: Kunnallispaino, 1970) p. 45. An official document by the Finnish National Board of Education, it gives advice to students on the way the topics within the history, civics and economics curriculum should be treated.

³⁸ For example, Ahonen et al (HM7), p. 190, Lehtonen and Huttunen (PH3) p. 130

³⁹ Castren et al (HME7) p. 193S

⁴⁰ Lehtonen and Huttunen (PH3) p. 135

⁴¹ Ville Kohvakka, Matti Ojakoski, Jari Pönni and Tiina Raassina-Merikanto. *Aikalainen 8*. (Helsinki: WSOY Oppimateriaalit, 2009) p. 7

⁴² Ahonen et al. (HMA8), p. 45

⁴³ Liina Länsiluoto. “Toiseuden tarinat, uhan kuvat: Venäjä-kuva ja suomalaishistoriallisen identiteetin rakentaminen 1970- ja 1990-luvun peruskoulun historian oppikirjoissa.” (Master’s thesis, Jyväskylä University) p. 71

secret protocol, which divided Europe into spheres of influence where Finland was assigned to the Soviet sphere⁴⁴. The Secret Protocol was not officially acknowledged by the USSR until December 1989. On the other hand, USSR's security interests are seen as justified and important for the outbreak of both the Winter War and the Finnish Continuation War (1941-44). Concerning the results of the war textbook authors write fairly carefully. USSR "freed" Eastern Europe from Nazis and Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia "joined" the USSR and socialist order was "established".⁴⁵

USSR AFTER WWII

The great casualties, as well as the material losses Soviet Union suffered are emphasized in all three books, with figures included. Soviet Union had to face a great rebuilding effort with the same "resilience that they had shown during the war"⁴⁶. The scientific advances in the Soviet Union are focused on very much, with newspaper extracts on the Soviet space flights, as well as the extensive amounts of scientific research and experts⁴⁷. Lack of living space and consumer goods are mentioned as problems that the CPSU was aware of and aimed to solve⁴⁸. Khrushchev, Stalin's successor in 1955, is one of the few mentioned Russian figures – his regime appears to be marked by more liberal policies in economy and elsewhere⁴⁹. The pictures used in the pages keep up with the theme of technological advances: examples of modern Soviet architecture, as well as pictures of Juri Gagarin. In foreign policy the Soviet Union is regarded as one of the world's superpowers together with USA. Economically Soviet Union has "steady economic growth" that inflation and unemployment do not deter, and the Siberian resources are examined in great detail.⁵⁰

Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence, however, appears to determine the contemporary Soviet policy: the country has not been involved in wars although it has, according to Historian maailma, supported "liberation movements" in Asia and Africa. In a similar way as the results of the WWII from the Soviet point of view the conflicts in Czechoslovakia and Hungary are referred to very carefully although undertones of criticism can be seen in some books.⁵¹

⁴⁴ Castren&Riikonen (HME8) p. 25-26, Ahonen et al. (HMA8), p. 56 and Lehtonen, Huttunen & Laine (PH4) p. 34

⁴⁵ Castren & Riikonen (HME8) p. 33

⁴⁶ Ibid p. 62

⁴⁷ Lehtonen, Huttunen & Laine (PH4) p. 54

⁴⁸ See, for example, Ahonen et al (HMA8) p. 70

⁴⁹ For example, Castren & Riikonen (HME8) p. 93

⁵⁰ For example, Lehtonen, Huttunen & Laine (PH4) p. 70-71

⁵¹ The Czech Prague Spring of 1968, reforms by Slovak Alexander Dubček including decentralization and relaxation of censorship in the Eastern bloc state, caused the sending of thousands of Warsaw Pact troops to occupy the country to begin a period of "normalization". According to HMA the conflict was solved peacefully. Hungarian events in 1956 included a revolt against the government and its Soviet-imposed policies. The new

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

According to prior research the depiction of Russia has throughout history been negative and focused on the differences between the countries. Indeed, Russia is seen as an enemy with a different language, religion, form of government and, in the 20th century, political ideology. This is easily explained by both current and prior perceived threat to Finnish independence and shared national history⁵². This is strikingly similar to the Russian image of Europe and its function in creation of national identity. Textbooks have traditionally been considered conservative and slow in reacting to changes within the society. Janne Holmen identifies three fundamental changes within the textbooks. In the 1940s previous anti-Russian and nationalist content was removed, whereas from 1970s onwards the picture given by textbooks was extremely positive until the 1991 collapse⁵³. These findings correspond well with the levels of uncritical writing on the Soviet Union in Finnish media noted by Kallenautio⁵⁴; school textbooks can in this way be considered a part of a wider phenomenon of self-censorship in the Finnish society.

The emphasis on the progress of economy, science and art is all the more striking when one notes that there is very little criticism of the more negative sides of some periods of Soviet history. In comparison, Holmen, having studied the depiction of the United States of America in textbooks of the period notes that Finnish textbooks emphasised racism, environmental problems and criticised the Vietnam War⁵⁵. In addition criticism towards developments in Eastern Europe is non-existent whereas according to Länsiluoto, the approach to the creation and conflicts in the Eastern European socialist states is extremely critical in textbooks published in the 90s⁵⁶. Similar criticism towards the post-WWII Soviet Union is extremely rare – the poor quality of consumer goods and lack of living space were, according to the books, being solved at the time of writing. Indeed criticism seems to only be on the matters that could officially be criticised in the Soviet Union: Stalin’s cult of personality and “breach of laws” is described mainly through quoting Khrushchev’s famous, disapproving speech in the Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU. In a similar way his criticism of the poor quality of consumer goods seems to justify its mention within the books.

government declared its intention to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and to hold free elections; a large Soviet force invaded Budapest with mass arrests to follow.

⁵² Most importantly, the Russification of Finland in late 19th and 20th century, as well as two bitter wars fought between the countries during WWII. Naturally especially after Finnish independence it was important for the country to appear independent from – and different to – Russia.

⁵³ Holmen, p. 314-329

⁵⁴ Kallenautio, p. 315-17. It is thus easy to note that as self-censorship in the media increased the textbook content followed.

⁵⁵ *ibid* p. 187-189

⁵⁶ Länsiluoto, p.77

As it has been noted the content of textbooks was, to some extent, in accordance with Soviet historiography. The October Revolution of 1917 is iconized as it is in earlier Soviet historiography; the Bolsheviks are seen as liberators and, to some extent, tools of a wider, inevitable historical progress. Other examples include Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful co-operation" and emphasising the foreign involvement within the Russian Civil War. On the other hand, this is not necessarily so for issues that are mainly those with some greater value or importance to the Finnish population: these include the heroic depiction of the Finns in the Winter War, as well as acknowledging the existence of Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. This is despite a 1975 note from the Soviet Union demanding the removal of the mentions of the Pact from Finnish textbooks which the Finns refused to do⁵⁷. Thus it appears that the compliance was not in any way unconditional; those parts of the historical narrative which served a greater purpose in the creation of the Finnish national and historical identity in pupils might be included in the textbooks despite discrepancies with Soviet historiography.

World War II is, indeed, even now one of the main building blocks of the identity of a nationalist Finn, with talks of the "spirit of the Winter War" which helped Finland overcome the attack of the economically and militarily superior Russia, the "arch enemy"⁵⁸. In the textbooks researched there is, still, considerable understanding for the security concerns of a great power, and starting the Winter War is even seen as justified by some books. Soviet demands for some areas of Finland after the war are seen in fairly similar, understanding terms. This approach is entirely lacking in, for example, the 2009 Aikalainen. This shows that this understanding for need of military security was a central part of the political situation and foreign policy of Finland that also had to appear justified to the pupils. Similar justification is given by emphasising the superior military power and size of Russia and USSR. As mentioned, books depict Russia as unconquerable and the ultimate demise of great military leaders such as Hitler and Napoleon.

It may also be that in choosing to exclude some events or people textbook authors have not chosen a biased view but have rather acted due to the fact that the space – and classroom time – is limited⁵⁹. In any case it is not plausible that this lack of space was the sole reason for lack of criticism of Soviet Union when USA was treated so differently. My quantitative analysis shows that the relative amount of space allocated differs the most in the narrative on 1917 revolutions and USSR

⁵⁷ Ahonen, p. 249. Named after the respective foreign ministers of Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, this was a non-aggression pact with a secret clause according to which Finland belonged to the Soviet sphere of influence

⁵⁸ The conclusion on the importance of both the Winter War and the Continuation War is confirmed by research; for example Kyösti Knuutila. "Historiallinen muutos ja kansallinen kertomus Suomalaiset ja historia-esitutkimuksessa" (Master's Thesis, Helsinki University).

⁵⁹ Reflecting the problem of selection in academic historiography.

after the Second World War⁶⁰. These are also the parts of the textbooks that can be considered the most biased. This seems to be due to factors involving first the importance of the revolutions for the Soviet Union and the relative lack of importance for the Finnish national identity as well as Finnish historiography and second the contemporary importance of creating a positive depiction of the USSR. However, despite the narrative based on Soviet historiography the historical paradigm itself was not that of Marxism-Leninism. Events are not explained, as such, through concepts such as historical materialism, that is, society being determined by material conditions of the time. In addition, historical determinism is not explicitly used although in some textbooks signs of this can be seen. On the other hand, all four series extensively cover both Marx's life and his thoughts, and concepts such as class struggle are introduced to the pupil⁶¹. This is where the limit of the acceptable seemed to lie in the contemporary Finnish society, as shown by the results of the Pirkkala experiment.

The political ideology of the textbook authors themselves is of great importance. It appears that the author teams of all the series in consideration were ideologically quite different. Some authors seem well aware of the political pressure exerted on them during the writing process; Castren, a co-author of the *Historia ja me* series, has described the period as "the time of persecution" and "the storm" in his book⁶². Other authors have also described the writing process and mentioned that they were forced to write against their beliefs. In establishing the degree of Finlandisation it is, of course, important to know if the authors genuinely admired Soviet Union - or agreed with the CPSU historiography - or if they had to write in 'finlandised' ways due to other reasons. Due to the diverse ideological nature of the author teams it appears that at least some, like Castren, were forced to write in an ideologically foreign manner. The reasons for this were a complex mixture of both foreign and domestic policy choices. These domestic factors include the FNBE authorisation process, pressure from left-wing media and student organizations, the Finnish-Soviet society, as well as to some extent the requirements of the official school curriculum. The foreign policy factors would include necessities of the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line which led to the self-censorship process influencing domestic media, as well as the FNBE, and organising textbook conferences. Indeed one has to note that the domestic conditions were created, and at the very least, heavily influenced by the foreign policy choices.

⁶⁰ See Appendix 1

⁶¹ For example, Ahonen et al (HMA7), p. 69-73

⁶² Matti J. Castren. "Historianopetus muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa". In the work Castren et al. *Historia koulussa*. (Helsinki: Yliopistopaino, 1992) p. 14-24

What, then, was the effect on history teaching that these books had? Prior research has shown that textbooks are one of the most important pedagogical tools in shaping the teaching of a subject: especially young and inexperienced teachers rely on them extensively.⁶³ Naturally in the politically turbulent climate of the 1970s there were teachers who disagreed with the material and focused on their own views. Despite the provision of pro-Soviet material and seminars there was nothing resembling a totalitarian control of the teaching itself. “A history teacher’s training for critical thinking”, writes Maija-Leena Kero, “got much use”⁶⁴. With this in mind it has to be asked whether the textbooks of the period can be considered propaganda⁶⁵. A distinction has to be made between academic historiography and textbook writing; it is clear that even present textbooks are concerned with spreading values considered acceptable by the society⁶⁶. On the other hand, especially the clear omission of information in the textbooks seems to be a step too far even in the context of educational system as opposed to academic research; a situation where historical knowledge is clearly secondary to socio-political norms.

⁶³ Gösta Wennberg. 1990: Geografi och skolgeografi. ”Ett ämnes förändringar”. Uppsala Studies in Education 33, p. 165

⁶⁴ Maija-Leena Kero. ”Leninistä pyhimys ja YVA-sopimuksesta mantra”. <http://www.norssit.fi/sivut/6_17_leninista_pyhimys_ja_yva-sopimuksesta_mantra.php>. Accessed 18th of August, 2010. Written by a Finnish history teacher who also taught in the 70s and experienced, for example, Soviet-Finnish education seminars, writes on the Finlandisation of education. The author is very much against the ‘finlandisation’ of education and paints a picture of a completely pro-Soviet FNBE.

⁶⁵ A form of communication aimed at influencing the attitude of a community toward some cause or position.

⁶⁶ Examples would include positive attitude towards the European Union, internationalism, multiculturalism, and democracy. In this sense all textbooks – and even education as a whole – can be considered propaganda according to the earlier definition as it as a whole is considered with anchoring the society’s socio-political norms.

CONCLUSION

Finnish political situation of the time has been compared to tightrope walking – policy makers were forced to carefully keep a balance between the East and the West - and it appears that the textbook authors have adopted a similar line. Textbooks paint a picture of the past that not only creates a national identity but also justifies the present policies by emphasising the supreme military power of the USSR and Russia, as well as her security concerns. It is clear that the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line and the domestic political climate was a heavy influence on both media and the textbooks. The depiction of the Soviet Union is extremely positive, and the rare occasions of criticism are worded carefully and justified by pre-existing criticism by Soviet authorities such as Khrushchev. This is striking when comparisons are made with the depiction of the USA, which is criticised for several matters including the Vietnam War. On the other hand, the series do not follow a Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history, instead focusing on reasons for historical change unrelated to concepts such as materialistic determinism although these are introduced within the textbooks. In some matters that are of great national importance, such as the secret protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact as well as the Winter War all textbooks are blatantly against CPSU line. It appears that in these matters presentation of events in a way that strengthens the Finnish national identity has been deemed most important.

Further research on the exact reasons for this process – domestic or foreign policy factors, or perhaps the political ideology of the textbook authors themselves – is necessary in gaining a wider understanding of both textbook revisionism and Finlandisation as a wider phenomenon. Especially important would be establishing whether this compliance in textbook writing was due to genuine or imagined security concerns and wants of the USSR, and also to research in what ways the changes in textbooks could be seen in teaching. In addition, comparisons to textbooks of other states that have adopted a similar foreign policy towards a superpower, such as Taiwan and China, would also be extremely interesting⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Heng Chang. "Is Taiwan Moving Toward Finlandization?", 09 June, 2010. URL: <http://www.eurasiareview.com/201006092907/is-taiwan-moving-toward-finlandization.html> Accessed 8th of September, 2010.

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APPENDIX 1

Theme	October revolution		Stalin's regime		The Second World War		USSR after WWII	
	Pages	% of total	Pages	% of total	Pages	% of total	Pages	% of total
Historian maailma	27	7.0%	6	1.5%	41	20.2%	10	3.4%
Historia ja me	11	5.0%	2	0.9%	29	13.4%	8	3.7%
Peruskoulun historia	14	7.4%	5	2.6%	15	11%	5	3.8%
Historian perustiedot	13	5.9%	3	1.3%	34	17%	5	2.6%
Average for the 70s books		6,325%		1,575%		15,4%		3,375%
Aikalainen	4	2.5%	4	1.8%	34	15%	4	1.8%

Quantitative analysis of the allocation of page numbers for each theme, including the percentage of total page numbers allotted to it. The first four series are from the 70s whereas the last one, Aikalainen, is a 2009 series.

To supplement the quantitative analysis more information on textbook sales from the 1970s were requested from the four Finnish publishers of the books researched by e-mail. This information was not, however, available.