



Sisällys

FINN FORUM '79

An international conference on the history of Finnish immigration to North America

Summaries of Finnish Researchers' papers

Douglas J. Ollila & Auvo Kostiainen
Finnish-American Anarcho-Syndicalism and the Industrial Workers of the World

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FINN FORUM '79

An international conference on the history of Finnish immigration to North America

The international conference dealing with Finnish immigration to North America was held November 1-3, 1979, in Toronto, Canada. The organizer was the Multicultural History Society of Ontario. The arrangements in Finland were the responsibility of the Migration Institute (Siirtolaisuus-instituutti) in Turku.

The conference was aimed to bring together researchers working in the field of migration as well as others interested in it, provide them with an opportunity to exchange views and experiences, and present the latest results of research — and at the same time stimulate historical migration studies, particularly as they relate to Finnish immigration to Canada.

The conference was attended by more than 300 participants, 32 of them from Finland. Papers were read by eight researchers from the host country of Canada, fourteen by researchers from the United States and fifteen by participants from Finland. The conference was the first occasion of its kind to be held in Canada, and it is intended to make it into a regular series, to convene at set intervals in one of the participating countries. Preliminary plans call for the publication of the conference material in English in two volumes.

A symposium was also held during the period of the conference to look into the gaps that have appeared in the organization and utilization of documentary material preserved in archives.

To prepare matters, a committee was set up to which the following members were elected: from the United States, Professor Rudolf Vecoli, Immigration History Research Center (Minn.); from Canada, Professor Robert F. Harney, the Multicultural History Society; and from Finland, Dr. Olavi Koivukangas, the Migration Institute; as well as the editors of the publication, Professor A. William Høglund, from the United States, Dr. Edward Laine, from Canada, and Mr. Keijo Virtanen, Ph. Lic., from Finland. The idea is to carry out a survey in each of the countries of archives and other material relating to emigration from Finland and on the basis of the findings produce a joint publication designed to serve as a source guide to research into Finnish immigration to North America.

Apart from the conference proper, so-called miniconferences were held Nov. 4 at Thunder Bay and Sudbury, where many of the participants who read papers in Toronto appeared as speakers. Both the miniconferences attracted some 100 participants and there were lively discussions — as well as at the main conference in Toronto — about immigration problems.

Siirtolaisuus-Migration is publishing in this issue summaries of the Finnish researchers' papers read at the FINN FORUM conference in the order followed in the program. All the papers will be published in English in two volumes next year.



Thursday, November 1, 1979

Session:

FINNISH IDENTITIES IN COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION

Olavi Koivukangas, Ph. D.
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THE FINNS IN AUSTRALIA BEFORE WORLD WAR II

Emigration to Australia from Finland before World War II was on a small scale on account of the vast distance between the two countries. It is nevertheless part of the Finnish overseas emigration as well as of the history of the development of Australia.

Although European mariners had sailed to Australian shores in the 16th and 17th centuries, it was not until 1770 that Captain James Cook took possession of the eastern parts of the island continent on behalf of the English crown. Accompanying Cook on his historical voyage was a Finnish naturalist named Herman Dietrich Spöring, a native of Turku, who caught a fever and died on the way back. After England's loss of the American colonies, the first British penal colony in Australia was established in 1788 in the area where the city of Sydney now stands. Typical of the development in the early decades of the Australian settlements was the exploitation of convict labor and generous royal land grants. Free settlers, among them an occasional Finn, also gradually made their way down under before gold was discovered there in 1851.

Seamen deserting their ships — often including the captains — were the first arrivals in the gold fields of Victoria. They were soon followed by prospectors from California who had tried their luck in the gold rush of 1848, among them some Finns, too. As a result of the gold fever, the population of the settlements in Australia exploded from 405,000 in 1851 to 1,145,000 ten

years later. In the "golden decades" of the 1850s and the 1860s, some 200 Finns arrived in Australia, many of them seamen jumping ship or otherwise remaining ashore.

The first Finns to settle in Australia permanently were natives of Turku, Vaasa, Raahé, Oulu and other coastal Finnish towns. Soon they were joined by emigrants from surrounding rural areas, notably the districts of Munsala and Lohtaja. From such centers boasting strong migratory traditions, so-called chain emigration, that is, migration inspired by a desire to join relatives and friends settled abroad, has continued up to our own day. The Finnish emigrants living in Australia have not, however, hailed from the Bothnian region in proportionally such large numbers as have their kinsmen in America.

The most fascinating chapter in the annals of Finnish emigration to Australia deals with Matti Kurikka's attempt to found the "Kalevan Kansa" utopian community in Queensland at the turn of the century. At that time, also Finns were able to avail themselves of free passage from London to Australia. Kurikka's experiment failed and he left for Canada to found another utopia, called "Sointula." Many of his early followers stayed down under for good.

When the United States began to restrict the entry of immigrants in the 1920s, the Finnish migratory stream turned toward Canada, but some 1,000 persons also migrated to Australia, settling especially in the sugar-growing districts of northern Queensland, until the Great Depression halted the flow of migrants in the 1930s.

Owing to the length, high cost and even attendant dangers of the journey, 90 % of the Finns who migrated to Australia before World War II were men. Of the ones who settled in the country permanently, about a half never married and most of the ones who did marry had little choice but to take a wife of some other nationality.

The Finns who arrived in Australia as seamen or as regular immigrants often led a sequestered existence. After the turn of the century, concentrated Finnish communities began to develop. In Nambour, near Brisbane, the area settled by Kurikka's contemporaries was called "Finnbury." The Finns of Nambour had a club named "Erak-

ko" (Hermit) and they produced a handwritten journal titled "Orpo" (Orphan) in the years 1902-04 – suggestive names both. Between the two world wars, Finnish centers appeared in, notably, the sugar-growing districts of Queensland and, during the 1930s, in the mining town of Mount Isa. As a connecting link among the Finns, there was a newspaper called "Suomi" which was founded in 1926 by a seamen's chaplain – as the only Finnish-language journal published in the southern hemisphere.

During the depression years of the 1930s, many Finns, especially the ones who had migrated with the idea of earning enough money to buy a farm later back home, returned to Finland. During World War II, some of the Finns, including the seamen's chaplain, were interned as nationals of an enemy country.

After the war, emigration to Australia was slight till the late 1950s, since which unemployment in Finland and passage assistance arranged by the Australian government have caused some 15,000 persons to move down under from Finland.



Eero Kuparinen, M.A.
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A GOLDEN DISAPPOINTMENT – FINNISH MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE WORLD WAR I

Up to the seventh decade of the last century, the southern tip of Africa had scarcely anything to offer to migrants from Europe. During the period between 1820 and 1860, when the number of Europeans migrating to North America, Australia and New Zealand rose to about 7.3 million, South Africa's annual share of the total averaged no more than 750.

The inception of mining activity, however, came to have a revolutionary effect on the economic development of South Africa. It opened up jobs and drew both capital and immigrants into the country. What actually caused the South African migratory flood was the emergence in Transvaal in 1886 of the Witwatersrand district, created by the city of Johannesburg, as a gold field.

The situation in South Africa became especially favorable to the influx of migrants from abroad in the mid-1890s. Mining activity in Transvaal had gained momentum and ushered in a vigorous boom in South Africa just at a time when an economic slump had hit the United States, Canada and Australia. This raised the South African share of European emigration to its peak. The highest point was reached in 1896, when emigration accounted for nearly 15 % of the traffic taking place via Great Britain.

Also in the annals of Finnish emigration, South Africa took a visible place in the mid-1890s. The area affected mainly in Finland was South and Central Finnish Bothnia, where the high wage level in Transvaal stirred up momentarily an epidemic popular movement. The South African fever quickly passed, however, for it soon became known that the tidings from Transvaal had spread rapidly during the course of 1895 across different parts of Europe and set into motion a veritable gold rush. The chain of events was such that Johannesburg, which at the beginning of the year had acted as a powerful migratory magnet, turned out by the end of the same year to be an overcrowded graveyard of disappointed hopes for hordes of migrants looking for work.

Finnish emigration to South Africa was reactivated during the economic boom of 1902-03 following the Boer War. The sequence of events repeated the pattern of the mid-1890s: The rising trend in market conditions opened up abundant well-paid employment opportunities, inspired dreams of an opulent heaven on earth in South Africa, lured additional migrants to that country and ultimately turned it into an overpopulated inferno of unemployed aliens.

In magnitude, the emigration from Finland to South Africa was never significant. Taking into account also the migration of Finnish seamen, which continued to some extent the whole time,

the total number of Finns settling in South Africa before World War I can be estimated at around 1,500. A special interest and also comprehensibility are bound up with the circumscribed area in Finland involved in the migratory movement. The emigration to South Africa took place almost exclusively from Swedish-speaking communities in the southern and central Bothnian coastal region. Moreover, even in this region, the South African fever overtook only a few localities lying mostly between the towns of Vaasa and Kokkola (Gamla Karleby). Its narrowly local character remains a persuasive token of the importance of tradition in sustaining emigration to South Africa.



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FINNISH GROUP IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AMERICA: EXPERIENCES OF FINNISH COLONIZATION IN ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND CUBA

In the history of Finnish overseas emigration, the emigration to Latin American countries amounts to a small and relatively insignificant side migratory flow — a kind of exotic episode. In the absence of systematic and reliable source material, it is not possible to obtain any accurate figures on the Finnish emigrants, but a rough estimate would put the total number at around two thousand. Of all the Nordic countries, Finland is the land of origin of the fewest migrants who have settled in regions south of the Rio Grande.

Chronologically, the emigration from Finland to Latin American countries is limited to the present century. Earlier, the few Finns encountered in Latin America were seamen who had jumped ship or lone adventurers. The arrival of immigrants proper did not begin until as late a date as 1906, distinctly later than that of other Scandinavians. This highly irregular migratory flow reached its maximum volume in the depression year of 1929, when, according to official statistics, a total of 201 Finns were admitted into Latin American states.

Regionally, Finnish emigration has been concentrated on three countries in South America and two in the Caribbean Sea. In South America, the chief destinations of Finnish emigrants have been Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay, and in the region of the Caribbean Sea, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Argentina and Brazil, which have received the largest share of the Finnish migratory flow to Latin America, have also been the most important migratory magnets in general. In addition, solitary Finnish migrants or small Finnish groups have settled in nearly all the Latin American countries.

Finnish emigration to Latin America has been characteristically group emigration, and the establishment of fixed settlements has marked the activities of these migrants to a prominent extent. The Colonia Finlandesa in Argentina, the Villa Alborada in Paraguay, Penedo in Brazil, Ponnistus in Cuba and Viljavakka (Villa Vasquéz) in the Dominican Republic represent this special feature, each in its own way.

Particular interest in the undertakings of Finnish settlers in Latin America attaches to their aims, which have been very high but, critically judged, utterly unrealistic. These aims have ranged from aspirations to establish a new Suomi — Finland — to utopian dreams of an Eldorado or Paradise on Earth. Precisely owing to its exceptional nature, the Finnish emigration to Latin America deviated also in structure and motivation from the general picture of mass emigration to a striking extent.

With few exceptions, the Finnish emigrants in Latin America have enjoyed only modest success,

especially in comparison with their great expectations. The proportion of repatriated emigrants has been high, and to many a Finn the experience in voluntary exile has been a bitter disappointment.



Altti Majava,
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FINNS IN SWEDEN, CHARACTERISTICS AND LIVING CONDITIONS

At the end of 1978, there were 187,600 Finnish citizens living in Sweden, 41,300 of them having been born there. Of the inhabitants of Sweden at that time, 242,100 were born in Finland, and of this number 96,100 had acquired the status of Swedish subject. The immigrant Finnish population of Sweden thus totalled 283,400 persons (=Finnish citizens and/or persons born in Finland). Adding the children born in Sweden of parents who had changed their national allegiance, the total number of residents of Sweden wholly or half Finnish by birth or descent rises to some 380,000.

This immigrant population is almost completely a result of the postwar exodus from Finland, for in 1945 less than 15,000 persons born in Finland were living in Sweden. Since then, nearly 440,000 Finns have moved west across the border to the Swedish side, and of these less than 200,000 have moved back. The postwar Finnish deficit in this migratory movement has therefore been almost 240,000 persons. The tide of emigration out of Finland was at its height in the years 1869-70, when the population of the country declined as a consequence.

About 2/3 of the Finnish citizens resident in Sweden are of working age (18-64 years) and only two per cent of them have reached the age of 65 years. Of those who have become Swedish subjects, no less than 86 % are of working age and eight per cent have reached the age of retirement (only six per cent of the children were born in Finland).

At the end of last year, there lived in Sweden 104,800 children under 18 years of age at least one of whose parents or guardians (or only one) was born in Finland. Only 30 % belonged to families both of the parents of which were Finnish-born. Every third child had a non-Finnish father and 15 % a non-Finnish mother. No less than 22 % of the children were in the sole custody of the mother and 1 % in that of the father.

Emigration has a noticeable influence on the choice of spouse. In 1977, for instance, no less than 49 % of the women who were Finnish citizens and got married in Sweden picked a mate not of Finnish extraction. As regards the men, the corresponding figure was 26 %. A distinctly smaller proportion of the male Finnish emigrants marry than the corresponding figure for the male population in Finland, but Finnish women marry in Sweden somewhat more frequently than do Swedish women.

Divorces are strikingly common among the Finnish emigrants living in Sweden. For example in 1977, the proportionate number of divorces awarded Finnish citizens in Sweden was twice as high as in Finland and one and a half times as high as among the native Swedish population. The proportion of divorcees among the Finns of Sweden is roughly three times that among the population of Finland; the proportion of bachelors is likewise strikingly high.

The birth rate among the married Finns of Sweden does not differ appreciably from that among the corresponding population of Finland or among native Swedish women. Births out of wedlock occur with considerably greater frequency among the emigrant Finns, especially the youngest age classes, than in Finland and with slightly greater frequency than among the native Swedish population. To some extent, this difference may be due to the prevalence of common-law marriages in Sweden. Thirty-nine per cent of all the children

born in 1977 to Finnish women in Sweden were born out of wedlock; in Finland, the corresponding figure was 11 % and among the native Swedish population 34 %. A total of 4,300 children were born to Finnish citizens in Sweden that year; it would have increased the number of children born in Finland by 6.6 %. The significance of mixed marriages is reflected by the fact that in only 35 % of the cases both parents were Finnish citizens. Only the father was Finnish in 5 % of the cases.

The participation of Finns in the working life of Sweden is more general than that of the population as a whole in either Finland or Sweden. Over half the Finnish emigrants are employed in industry, although this figure has diminished in recent years. Few Finns are employed in agriculture or as white-collar workers. The unemployment figures among the emigrant Finns were proportionally twice as high last year as among the native Swedish population but markedly lower than in Finland.

The material standard of living among the Finns in Sweden does not essentially differ from that prevailing among native Swedes of the same age and working in the same occupations but somewhat higher than among their compatriots back home. Compared with the Swedes, the emigrants are obliged, however, to work harder and put in longer hours, and the state of their health is poorer. The children of emigrants face tougher problems than children back in Finland; the scantiness of instruction in their mother tongue weakens their later chances of further education and thereby their opportunities for advancement in their careers.



Friday, November 2, 1979

Session:

LABOUR HISTORY

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CONTACTS BETWEEN THE FINNISH LABOUR MOVEMENTS IN CANADA AND THE USA

Canada and the United States resemble each other closely in the structure of their societies, their industrial life and other features. A significant point of resemblance is, for example, the existence of large ethnic minorities in both countries.

In this paper, the relations between Finns in North America across the international boundary were examined; and the observation was made that these relations have been quite lively in, for instance, the spheres of religion, the temperance movement and the labor movement. The migratory movement between the countries has also been lively - particularly from Canada to the United States, which has exerted a magnetic pull on account of its superior economic strength. The Finns in both countries have worked in the same occupations and their cultural activities in both countries have been very much of the same type.

As a case in point, the exceedingly active contacts between the Finnish supporters of the labor movements in the United States and Canada have been examined here. The examination has concentrated on three levels: personal contacts, organizational and general cultural relations, and the effects of these relations carried across the border. It could be noted that because the

Finnish immigrant community of the United States is the older, the labor movement among the Finns living in that country became organized at an earlier date, in the 1890s, whereas in Canada the organizational process did not actually begin until the early years of the 20th century. As a result, many influences were carried over from the American to the Canadian side: much help was received from the United States in the form of visiting speakers, agitators, cash contributions, etc. Books and newspapers were distributed from the American side to Canadian Finns. The Finnish labor movement of the United States has acted like, in a way, a "big brother" idealings with the corresponding movement in Canada.

World War I constitutes a kind of turning point. After the war, the United States imposed stiffer restrictions than ever on the influx of immigrants, and migrants from Finland moved in increasing numbers to Canada. This turning point also marks the gradual aging of the Finnish immigrants in the United States and a weakening of their activities. By contrast, the Canadian Finnish community and also the labor movement gained strength; the movement in Canada gradually gained parity, at the very least, with the corresponding Finnish movement across the border. Cooperative action also grew more animated and received new forms.

In general, the question might be raised in the light of the foregoing about collaboration between ethnic minorities across the boundary between the United States and Canada, a matter that till now has been studied very little. As far as the relations between the Finnish immigrant labor movements is concerned, such collaboration has been close — but it could have been even closer had not the boundary between the two countries set up obstructions to the development of activities.



Arja Pilli, Ph. Lic.
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CANADIAN—FINNISH RADICALISM AND THE CANADIAN AUTHORITIES

Prior to World War I and even in the 1920s, the aim of Canadian immigration policy was to attract as much new labor into the country as possible. Immigrants were needed to turn the wheels of the dominion's economic life. Finns, like the other North Europeans, were generally welcomed as immigrants. According to the census of 1931, the number of Finns living in Canada came to about 44,000, the majority of them resident in the province of Ontario. During the period before World War II, the Finns of Canada were divided sharply into two political camps — the socialists and the non-socialists felt nothing but rancor toward each other. There are also indications that the attitude of the Canadians toward Finnish immigrants belonging to the socialist camp began to take an unfriendly turn as early as shortly before the outbreak of World War I.

The earliest Canadian-Finnish labor organizations were founded right after the turn of the century, and in 1911 *Suomalainen Sosialistijärjestö* (Finnish Socialist Organization) was formed to link them together. At quite an early stage, the Finnish socialists of Canada made moves toward getting into the main currents of the Canadian labor movement. Before World War I, they gave their support first to the Socialist Party of Canada and later to the Social Democratic Party of Canada — then, after the war, to the communist movement.

None of these radical leftist parties sprang very strong roots in to the political soil of Canada. Most of their support came from radical immigrant groups, like the Finnish and Ukrainian socialists. From time to time, the Canadian ruling circles felt highly disturbed over the possibility that revolutionary doctrines might gain too strong a foothold among the ethnic minorities. This concern was intensified at the closing stages of World War I and again during the Great Depression at the turn of the '20s and '30s. This feeling was shared by the authorities in other countries as well.

In September 1918, the Canadian government passed a couple of decrees that restricted the activity of the Finnish socialists. One decree forbade the publication of newspapers or literature in fourteen "enemy languages," among which Finnish was included. As a consequence, two Finnish newspapers, the non-socialist *Canadian Utiset* and the socialist *Vapaus* ceased to appear for a time. The other decree was designed to restrain the activities of socialistic organizations, and it was used to outlaw, among others, the Social Democratic Party of Canada and the *Canadian Suomalainen Sosialistijärjestö*. These extraordinary measures remained in force only up to the month of April 1919, but their rescission did not mean the dispelling of suspicions.

At the turn of the '20s and '30s, the Canadian authorities strove to curb the activities of the Communist party, in which Finns also took part. In the 1930-1935 period, about a thousand Finnish immigrants were deported because of unemployment and economic difficulties as well as for political reasons.



Session:

WOMEN'S HISTORY

Riitta Stjärnstedt
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FINNISH WOMEN IN THE NORTH AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

Women who emigrated from Finland to the New World participated with great enthusiasm in the activities of Finnish organizations, also within the fold of the labor movement. In the Finnish Socialist Organization of America, which was founded in 1906, there were about 4,000 women,

or 28 % of the total membership in 1911. In 1919 women accounted for as much as, perhaps, 40 % of the membership. The percentage of women in the Finnish-American labor movement was higher than in the Finnish Social Democratic party and noticeably higher than in the American Socialist party.

The women's activities took place mainly in the socialist locals, which offered opportunities for many kinds of activities. Their role in the locals was traditionally feminine. The principle form of activity was the sewing circle; there was one in almost every local. The sewing circles produced needlework for sale at bazaars, with the proceeds going to assist in building activity of the locals. The women organized evening entertainments and social affairs, and they cooked and served coffee. The discussion on the role of women in the organization's papers sometimes took on an acrimonious flavor. Women were also elected to the executive committees of the locals, though, it is true, fewer of them than their number would have called for. Some women were elected even to the most influential offices in the Socialist Organization.

Women aspired, moreover, to initiate activities of their own in the organization. In the very early years, special women's sections were established in the locals, after the model of the labor movement in Finland. Controversy raged for years over the need for such women's locals, but their importance remained slight. Separate women's activities were opposed frequently on the ground that the bourgeois women's movement might influence the socialist women.

The women's activity was at its liveliest in the years 1909-1912. In connection with the meeting of representatives of the Socialist Organization in 1912, a special women's conference was held to take up issues concerning women. The year before, a paper for women called *Toveritar* began to be published. After 1914, the women became distinctly more passive in their activity, although their proportion of the membership of the organization increased. The reason was the schism that overtook the Socialist Organization, as a consequence of which the most active women quit its ranks.

Session:

FINNISH DRAMA IN NORTH AMERICA

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THE AMATEUR THEATRE AND DRAMA-LITERATURE OF THE FINNISH EMIGRANTS IN CANADA, 1900–1939

The cultural activities of Canadian-Finnish immigrants in general and the manifold sectors of immigrant culture associated with them have so far received rather little attention from research scholars, although the migratory movement to Canada belongs to the so-called early phase of European overseas emigration. The amateur dramatic activity in particular that was carried on by members of the labor movement, however, was of such importance and took on such visible forms that it deserves more thorough study than it has been given to date.

The roots of the dramatic activity of the Finnish immigrants in both the United States and Canada are to be found in the temperance movement at the end of the last century. From the temperance societies, it was transferred around the turn of the century to workers' organizations as a significant part of their program of activities. The performance of plays then evolved into something more than a form of entertainment and recreation. For the immigrants who had embraced socialist ideas, the stage began to serve as a vehicle for the propagation of these ideas; it was perceived that plays could be used to educate audiences. The aim of the labor movement and its various organizations was to make the Finnish immigrants class conscious, and the theater and dramatic productions were better adapted to further this aim than many other methods. In the major Finnish immigrant centers of Canada — Toronto, Sudbury, Port Arthur and Vancouver —, the dramatic performances in "Finn halls" were a conspicuous part of the cultural activities of the immigrant population for decades.

It was endeavored from the very beginning to recruit writers of plays for the immigrant dramatic societies from their own midst. In the labor movement, it was felt that the plays performed for working-class audiences had to fulfill certain criteria before they were acceptable. Finnish immigrant playwrights produced "programs up to the standard," as the definition put it, for the workers' theater. The plays they wrote dealt, above all, with issues of timely interest. They pointed up faults in the social order and urged people to demand reforms and justice for individuals and groups. The majority of the plays fell into the category of "one-shot" literature, offering some polemic argument in support of the labor ideology. They were capable of filling the dramatic societies' momentary requirements, but with a few exceptions they were unable to survive as a form of dramatic literature.

The plays written by immigrants cannot, however, be criticized purely on literary grounds by removing them from the background to which they organically belong. The dramatic output of the immigrants must be examined in the first place as a whole, which they form alongside the immigrants' own dramatic activities. These activities and the literature they gave birth to provide in combination an answer to the question of what the significance and the influence of the plays amounted to in the sphere of Finnish immigrant culture. It is only after this that the artistic merits and representativeness of the plays should be examined and a comprehensive estimate possibly made of their worth alongside the immigrants' output of prose and poetry.





Saturday, November 3, 1979.

Session:

FINNISH SETTLEMENTS

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FINNS IN PORT ARTHUR IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

The movement of people to Canada had been cut off by World War I and post-war readjustments impeded its revival, but by 1923, another phase was well in progress although the overall figures attained in 1902-13 were not reached again. With the onset of the Depression, this phase ended abruptly by 1931.

Canada also placed some restrictions on immigration although it did not establish a formal quota system. A list of "preferred" and "non-preferred" countries for selection of immigrants virtually excluded the Chinese and limited other Asian groups severely. The proportion of the Canadian population of other than British, French or native, however, rose by more than 18 % by 1931.

The Royal Commission on Bi-lingualism and Bi-culturalism states in its report on the "other" ethnic groups: "Many immigrants of this period settled in the mining and mill towns of northern Ontario and British Columbia, including large numbers of Finns. They were from the peasant and working class - losers in the class struggle which followed Finland's achievement of independence in 1917. Many went to the Port Arthur area, joining earlier Finnish settlers, and they also developed communities in Sault Ste. Marie, Timmins, Sudbury, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver."

The right to naturalization was suspended for all alien residents in 1914 and in 1919 the suspension was extended for ten years for aliens from former enemy countries, including Finland. The suspension was lifted in 1923. This suspension of rights led to the belief that the Conservative Party was less hospitable to members of other cultural groups than the Liberal, CCF and Social Credit parties. This suspension of the right to naturalization was accompanied by suppression of the ethnic press of former alien nationalities after 1919.

The Depression and accompanying unemployment caused many ethnic groups to seek to improve their position through political organization. Most prominent here were the Ukrainian and the Finns. In both groups, significant numbers joined the Communist Party.

Their anti-fascist propaganda was commonly viewed as a menace to peace. Meetings in foreign languages were restricted and prominent leaders were jailed. Alienation of ethnic groups which opposed it occurred in the period following the Munich agreement. By 1940, meeting places of the Ukrainian Labor Temple and the national Finnish body, the Finnish Organization of Canada, were pad-locked.

Thus the post-war period seems to divide into two periods, one characterized by a high influx of immigrants and economic prosperity; the other by low immigration, some return migration, and a struggle with the austere conditions of an economic depression.

Although the largest immigrant movement to Canada occurred in the pre-war period, reaching a peak of 400,870 in 1913, Finnish immigration is a departure in that the highest inflow occurred in the 20's. The peak years for immigration were 1923-1924 when 6,123 persons arrived.

The United States, although traditionally the promised land of European immigrants, does not figure prominently in post-war Finnish movements. In 1921, the U.S. set firm restrictions on immigration and established a Finnish immigration quota of 566 persons annually. This can be viewed as a decisive factor in the post-war movement to Canada.

Early organizational influences, initially through the temperance movements, sports and cultural activities and finally politics, can be traced to the United States. The arrival of refugees from the war in Finland in the 1920's had an influence which was reflected in the latter half of this period.

Such social and political developments need to be related to changing economic conditions. The role of the Finns in the general process of industrialization in Northwestern Ontario can be related to national and international economic changes including the growth of an industrial working class.



Session:

CULTURE AND LANGUAGE OF FINNISH AMERICA

Dr. William R. Copeland
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Finland

THE EARLY FINNISH – AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS IN FLORIDA

Palm Beach county in southeast Florida today has one of the largest native-born Finnish-American settlements in North America. About 10,000 Finns from the North and from Finland have made the Lake Worth-Lantana area their permanent home. During the winter months, this community swells to more than 15,000 persons. The Gold Coast Finntown is today the most dynamic Finnish ethnic community in the United States. Many traditional immigrant activities continue strong in this community. It supports four churches, two imposing halls, three radio programs, scores of business and social services, and 18 different ethnic clubs or organizations.

Although Finnish Americans are today mainly concentrated in two areas, New Port Richey and Lantana - Lake Worth, these are not the locations of the earliest Finnish communities or settlements in Florida. As was the case in the North, isolated Finnish "pioneers" initially drew attention to the possibilities offered by the last of the frontier areas of continental United States. The most notable of these early travellers to Florida was Lars Florell. Florell was a member of the Finnish resistance movement and was forced to leave the country in 1907. The Swedish-Finnish architect purchased a citrus grove in De Land, Florida, and thereby became the first (known) Finn to put down roots in Florida. Through Florell, a number of enterprising Finns in Minnesota and Michigan became aware of the possibilities of farming in Florida. One of these was Martin Hendrickson, a Finnish socialist speaker from Virginia, Minnesota, who served as a sales agent for a Florida land speculator. Through Hendrickson, more than twenty families from Minnesota and Michigan purchased land in Astor, Florida. This community, located about 30 miles southwest of Daytona Beach, was the first serious effort by Finns to farm in Florida. A combination of lack of know-how for growing citrus fruit, unsuitability of the land for immediate planting, difficulties in adjusting to the Florida climate, and marketing problems prevented the Astor colony from prospering. The spread of adverse publicity about conditions in Astor made it impossible to attract others to the area. The modest size of the colony and its inability to generate the usual immigrant institutions (hall, church) also played a part in preventing the colony from expanding and flourishing.

Jacksonville, Florida, promised to become an important Finnish center around 1910 when its ship-building industry attracted more than a hundred carpenters. However, the war and the post-war economic recession spelled doom for this colony. Many of these builders moved to Miami, where an economic boom during the early 1920's provided employment for several hundred Finnish builders. A number of these families purchased farms outside of Miami and became permanent settlers in the area. Approximately the same was repeated in Palm Beach, 65 miles north of Miami, a decade later when six Finnish families purchased farms in the area.

The origins of the New Port Richey Finnish colony is similarly connected with the early construction boom of Tampa – St. Petersburg.



Prof. Pertti Virtaranta
University of Helsinki
Finland

FINNISH DIALECTS IN AMERICA – SOME EXPERIENCES AND PROBLEMS

Professor Pertti Virtaranta first describes the material on which his extensive study of "Finglish" (*fingliska*) is primarily based: tape recordings made among Finns living in the United States and Canada, amounting to roughly 400 hours' playing time, of which the tapes made by Virtaranta himself account for some 250 hours. (All the recordings are stored in the Finnish-Language Archives of tape recordings in Helsinki). In addition, the professor has consulted his handwritten notes from two research trips to the United States and Canada (two months in 1965 and three weeks in 1975). The number of subjects interviewed by Professor Virtaranta in North America comes to about 200, most of whom migrated to the New World before or during World War I.

The study Professor Virtaranta has under way and the structure and results of which he discusses in his paper is divided into three parts:

1 A selection of about a hundred samples of free (that is, not read from any paper) speech, transcribed from sound tapes and accompanied by comments.

2 An etymological dictionary of American Finnish, or Finglish. This part contains some 2,500 Finglish words or expressions that are derived in one way or another from American English (loans adapted to the Finnish language, loans by translation, quotation loans). After the title word, its American English model is presented along with an example or examples of its use in speech (the examples

being picked either from tapes or Virtaranta's notes) and/or Finnish-American literature (news-papers, calendars, albums). The dictionary at present comprises some 850 typewritten pages, but the author intends to make further revisions and additions on a research trip scheduled for the spring of 1980.

3- A study of the distinguishing features of American Finnish, particularly as they pertain to vocabulary as well as to phonology and morphology and, to some extent, syntax too. This part would become a substantially enlarged version of an article published by Virtaranta in 1971 in Swedish under the title *Finskan i Amerika*.

In research into American immigrant speech, it is especially important to know well the local dialects of the regions where the immigrants came from; this is a matter scholars who have made a study of, for instance, American Swedish have emphasized. And this has also been Virtaranta's guiding thought. Many Finnish Americans have retained the antiquated dialect of their home district in the Old Country surprisingly well (notwithstanding their having mixed words of English derivation in their speech, some more, some less), in some cases even better than their contemporaries who have lived all their life in Finland but whose speech has been affected by standard Finnish, especially of late. The conservative features of the Finnish speech of Finns in America thus yield interesting information also about certain Finnish dialects as they existed around the turn of the century.

Professor Virtaranta also draws attention to the subject matter of loan-words from American English and the motivations for the loans - in other words, why has such and such a word been borrowed? For example: why have words like *haussi*, *ruuma*, *leeki* or *leiki*, *hilli* been adopted to replace in Finglish the homey words *talo*, *huone*, *järvi*, *mäki* or *vuori*?

Particular emphasis is placed on the differences to be noted between the Finnish spoken by the first immigrant generation and that of their offspring as well as of the next generation after that, and also on the speech differences between immigrants living in different surroundings.

Virtaranta's study is philological, but it also has sociological aspects. Furthermore, there is reason to point out that Part I of the study casts fairly varied light on the history, life and habits of thought of Finnish Americans, for they have spoken about such things as: life in the "Old Country" before their departure for America, the reasons for their migrating to America, early difficulties in the "New Country," life as a farmer, miner, lumberjack, fisherman, domestic servant, etc., organizational activity, contacts with other American Finns, ties to Finland, observations on other ethnic groups, like the Indians, relations with other immigrants, comparisons between America and the Old Country, opinions about current conditions.



Session:

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

**Reino Kero, doc.
University of Turku
Finland**

THE CANADIAN FINNS IN SOVIET KARELIA

When the Soviet Union, in connection with the implementation of the first five-year plan, sought to find suitable products to export to markets in western Europe, Soviet Karelia became a highly important region. The production goals of the forest industry in Soviet Karelia were set much higher than earlier, and this meant that new labor had to be obtained for the region. As Soviet Karelia lacked skilled labor in particular, the Finnish immigrants who had acquired experience in the lumber camps of Canada and the United States appeared to be extremely suitable for recruitment. Between about 2,000 and 3,000 Canadian Finns migrated at that time with high hopes to Soviet Karelia.

When the first Finnish forest workers from Canada arrived in Soviet Karelia, the political leaders of Soviet Karelia laid down directives for these men to teach the local inhabitants the tricks of their trade. The Canadian Finns did not get as visible a teachers' role as had been contemplated at the lumbering center of Matroosa, which had been intended to serve as a model for other such centers. A number of courses were nevertheless arranged at Matroosa with the idea of "passing on the experiences of the Canadians to the great masses." It appears that several hundred "instructors" got their training at Matroosa and that quite a large proportion of them hailed from other parts of the Soviet Union than Karelia.

Agriculture was a second-class occupation in Soviet Karelia, but it was endeavored to develop agriculture there too during the period of the first five-year plan. Old farms were combined to form kolkhozes and, at least in certain boggy areas, land was cleared for new collective farms. The kolkhozes of Hiilisuo, Säde and Vonganperä, for example, were founded by Finns arriving from North America. Of these, Säde belonged expressly to Finnish migrants from Canada; and, according to accounts published in Soviet Karelian newspapers, it was the best cultivated collective farm in the Karelian province of Aunus (Olonez).

Although the Canadian Finns did succeed to some extent in fulfilling the goals set by the Soviet Karelian authorities, many of the Finns from Canada were bitterly disappointed in the conditions prevailing in Karelia. Thus, it may be estimated that nearly one-half of the Canadian Finns returned after a few years either to Canada or to Finland.



Keijo Virtanen, Ph. Lic.
University of Turku
Finland

SETTLEMENT OR RETURN: FINNS IN THE OVERSEAS RETURN MIGRATION MOVEMENT

1) The repatriation of emigrants has been the subject of hardly any research whatever. The doctoral thesis of this writer is now in press and it was scheduled to appear by the beginning of December this year. It deals with the 380,000 Finns who migrated overseas (mainly to the United States, Canada, Africa, Australia and South America) before 1930. At the same time, this phenomenon is compared with the repatriation of emigrants of other nationalities. Accordingly, at this stage it is not possible to bring to the fore the main research results, which, however, will be made available immediately after the public debate on the thesis. It can already be stated that the elucidation on the general and individual levels of the migratory antitheses, to remain/to return, while taking into account the motives prompting emigration, will probably provide interesting comparative and explanatory material for dealing with the current migratory problem involving emigration from Finland to Sweden. The starting points of the phenomena are similar: economic factors were the basic reasons for emigration. Although the distances between the country of departure and the countries of destination were different, corresponding adjustment problems are to be seen as fundamental in both migratory movements. Since overseas emigration is largely a phenomenon of the past, many of the factors shedding light on the emigration taking place at present can be perceived in its phases, specifically as related to repatriation; in other words, the study sheds light on the matter of what determined the emigrant's decision either to return or to stay abroad. This, in fact, is the central problem of manpower and population policy at present. Whereas the observation is made, for instance, that in overseas emigration repatriation generally had to take place very soon if it was to take place at all, certain special conditions are set up with regard to the repatriation of Finnish emigrants now settled in Sweden. Corresponding examples are to be found in abundance in my doctoral thesis, which has a strong socio-

historical point of view when it produces, for instance, a typology of the central factors determining repatriation.

2) My talk in Toronto relates particularly to the Finns of Canada, so that the following can be dealt with even before the academic debate. Up to 1930, about 60,000 emigrants left Finland for Canada, roughly one-half the number having migrated in the 1920s. The choice of Canada came about because the United States, the preferred destination, imposed stiff restrictions on the entry of foreigners in the early 1920s, which caused the migratory stream to find a new discharge channel. In general, the emigrants in Canada were placed in jobs not requiring any special skills and that ranked low on the social scale. The men worked mostly in mines and in the lumbering industry and the women in service occupations. The main areas of settlement were the provinces of Ontario and British Columbia. The emigrants were concentrated in certain localities, which helped them to adjust to Canadian society. The most important center of Finnish settlement was Port Arthur (later Thunder Bay), on the shore of Lake Superior. Owing to the recency of the arrival of the immigrants, the Finnish stamp is visible to this day on the face of this city of 100,000 inhabitants. There is a section of the town where the signs on stores and other business establishments are in both Finnish and English. Correspondingly, as the immigrant generation has aged, a lively migratory movement has taken place from cold Ontario to Vancouver, in particular, on the Pacific coast of British Columbia, with its pleasant climate. This migration can be compared to the migration of Finnish-Americans since World War II from northern states to Florida.

The emigrants' difficulties of adjustment were at their worst right after their arrival in the country. They gradually began to feel more at home as relatives from Finland joined them, as they got married, and so on. Thus their ties with the Old Country began to loosen, and the idea of returning, which many emigrants had at first nursed in their minds, receded into the background. Only a small minority - 12,000 - 14,000 persons - returned to Finland to stay, even though the conditions of travel starting in the 1920s

were good in comparison with the situation around the turn of the century. On the other hand, temporary visits became commonplace along with the improvements made in communications.



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PATTERNS AND REASONS IN EMIGRATION OF SWEDISH FINNS

The Swedish-speaking minority in Finland has been proportionately declining since 1910. In that year, the 73,000 Swedish Finns accounted for 17.5 % of the total population of the country. In 1975, the corresponding figures were 303 000 and 6.4 %. The highest reliable population count for the Swedish-speaking Finns is to be found in the census of 1950. Their number in that year was 348,300 and their proportion of the total population of Finland came to 8.6 %.

Two great periods of emigration are on record: the period between 1880 and 1914, and the period between 1950 and 1970. In each period, forty to fifty thousand Swedish-speaking Finns left the country without any intention of ever returning.

Characteristic of the first emigration period was an exodus from the Bothnian region, where an estimated 53,000 emigrants hailed from, compared with the figure of only 5,000 for the southern province of Uusimaa. In spite of the exceptionally high birth rate and rapid population growth in the Bothnian cities and towns, a consequence of this emigration was nevertheless a decrease in the Swedish-speaking population of the Bothnian region. On the other hand, the Swedish-speaking population increased at a high rate in both the urban and rural communities of Uusimaa (Nyland).

The second emigration period drained the population of the Swedish-language areas more evenly and contributed heavily to a population decline in all the regions at the same time as the birth rate at this time (1950-1970) was low. In the decade of the 1970s, emigration was on the wane, but two or three times as many Swedish-speaking as Finnish-speaking Finns, proportionally speaking, continued to leave the country.

A comparison between these two emigration periods as regards the effects of emigration on the size of the Finnish-Swedish population, the distribution between town and country and the social structure would be an important research task, which would be closely bound up with the study of the people who became emigrants. The paper points up in this connection the effects on the distribution between urban and rural communities as well as on the size of the population as a whole.


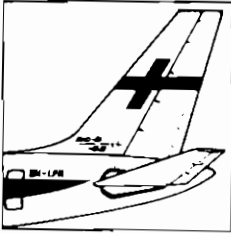
The population of the cities and towns (with the exception of rural areas that technically belonged to urban municipalities) grew vigorously during the first emigration period but remained by and large unchanged during the second period. The province comprising the Åland Islands is the exception, for the population of the capital city, Mariehamn, grew exceptionally rapidly between 1950 and 1970. During this period, the population decreased in all the rural districts. The rural decline in population is dependent on both emigration and urbanization as well as the interaction of these factors. As regards the first period, regional differences show up clearly. In rural Uusimaa, the population increased markedly whereas in the rural districts of the Bothnian region it underwent a steep downward trend; on the other hand, the rural population of Turunmaa and the Åland Islands remained unchanged.

In 1880-1914, the migratory movement was directed mainly toward North America but following World War II mainly to Sweden. General factors common to both language groups underlie the emigration to the United States, whereas economic factors have seldom underlain the emigration of Swedish-speaking Finns to Sweden. Family ties and language factors, together with Sweden's selective recruitment of immigrants, have been of greater importance.

Despite the differences in time and distances, linguistic milieu and history, it can be noted, in considering the country of destination of Finnish-Swedish emigration, that the activities of Swedish-speaking emigrants from Finland contain many similar features in the United States and Sweden, features that can be analyzed by means of the pair of concepts, linguistic and regional loyalty, or the sense of belonging together. An astonishing number of Swedish-speaking emigrants from Finland living in Sweden experience identity problems, which, viewed against the background of largely a common language, seem puzzling. On the other hand, it is only natural for the individuals with the strongest Finnish-Swedish identity to experience the biggest difficulties in the circumstance that they are no invisible minority group in Sweden.



Matkaraht kotiinpäin



FINNISH—AMERICAN ANARCHO— SYNDICALISM AND THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Douglas J. Ollila

&

Auvo Kostiainen *

** This article was originally written by late professor Douglas J. Ollila, Jr., of Augsburg College, Minneapolis. Auvo Kostiainen, Ph.D., of the University of Turku, has prepared a shortened version of the paper as well as rewritten parts of it, particularly in the last pages, to include the latest stage of research of the Finnish-American history.*

Finnish immigrants in America are a remarkable exception to the conservative immigrant thesis presented by American scholars like Gerald Rosenblum.¹ Instead of growing accommodation and acceptance of the American way of life, the labor Finns moved steadily leftward, protesting the American capitalistic system. Experiences in the labor movement through a series of disastrous strikes led to the conviction that more radical solutions were necessary to solve the problems of industrial America. Many were convinced of the poverty of craft union solutions to the dilemma of industrialized labor, and they chose to move away from the Western Federation of Miners to affirm the Industrial Workers of the World, and a large bloc seceded from the Socialist Party of America to join the ranks of the industrial unionists and to recognize the leadership of Big Bill Haywood. Many of the Finnish political radicals who remained in the Socialist

Party after the industrial unionists bolted the Party subsequently affiliated with communism and became the largest national group in the Workers' Party of America in the early 1920's, comprising more than 40 percent of the membership.² The disastrous strikes on the Mesabi Iron Range in 1907 and 1916, the illfated Michigan Copper District strike in 1913-1914, and the troubled history of the Socialist involvement in the Butte, Montana, labor unions and municipal government effectively radicalized Finns who were soon convinced that the American capitalist system itself had to be destroyed. Thus it was argued that the American labor movement was not radical enough, and left wing Finns increasingly sought more and more revolutionary solutions.

The purpose of this article will be to examine the sources and development of radicalism in the Finnish-American Socialist labor movement, from its Social Democratic beginnings to its involvement in the Industrial Workers of the World. The beginnings of that story go back to Finland, where the growing political and trade union movement came increasingly under the sway of German Marxism. The Finnish Diet, which enjoyed relative freedom and autonomy even though the nation was a Grand Duchy of imperial Russia, excluded the working classes as well as the small

farmers and agricultural laborers. The issue of political representation intensified working class consciousness at the same time that Finland was sharpening its own sense of national selfconsciousness. At a meeting in 1899, it was decided to found the Finnish Labour Party which adopted Kautsky's Erfurt Program. While the trade union movement remained quite weak, the political labor organizational effort became very popular, and by the time a fully democratic franchise was introduced, the laborites, now called the Social Democratic Party, were able to capture 80 out of the 200 seats in the legislature in 1907.

Nineteenth century Finnish peasant culture had been dominated by the Lutheran Church and a number of revival movements which flourished under the umbrella of the national church. But the church steadily alienated the lower classes, particularly the new industrial workers, smaller leaseholders (*torppari*) and landless agricultural laborers. During the rising tide of labor self consciousness, the leading clergy decried the new liberalism which they believed had caused the lower classes to lose respect for society's class distinctions, demand political power, excessive wages and too much freedom. Some of the alarmed clergy in the growing urban centers advanced the British model of Christian socialism as a suitable alternative, but for the most part, the status quo of society was regarded by the church as the proper "order of creation"

By the time that the German Social Democratic model became normative for Finnish Socialists in 1899, the church steadily lost communication with industrial laborers. In the important industrial city of Tampere, for example, attendance at Holy Communion by factory workers dropped from twenty-six percent in 1895, to ten percent in 1905, sharply demonstrating the breakdown of the rigidly class structured old

Lutheranism which had not kept pace with the dramatic changes in Finnish society. The introduction of Quaker teachings, Methodism and the growth of indigenous Lutheran revivalism failed to stem the tide of this alienation.³ Efforts of the church to prevent the precipitous slide into Marxist Socialism had come far too late, partly because the clergy were too patriarchial, and "credulous almost to the point of blindness".⁴ That the church was reactionary was indicated by its support from 1899-1905 of Russification policies in Finland, and citizens became so disenchanting with the clergy that the clerical estate was abolished in 1906 with the establishment of a one-house parliament.

The changes in agriculture with the rapid growth of farm tenancy and population meant that the emigration from Finland was largely a rural exodus. Finnish industry grew too slowly to draw off the excess population into employment, thus emigration was the only choice left. Between 1893 and 1920, passports were issued to 273 366 emigrants, of whom 236 507 were from rural communes. Most of them were landless farm workers, domestic servants, landowners' and tenants' children, and persons with no fixed occupation.⁵ Reino Kero's research on Finnish emigration indicates that a disproportionate number of the radicals came from the southern and eastern areas of Finland, while conservative Finns were primarily from Southern Ostrobothnia (the western coastal regions), especially the province of Vaasa.⁶ The Vaasa province also contributed many adherents to the Finnish-American left, but these were the proletariat of the Finnish countryside-landless laborers, cottagers, hired hands, and maids.⁷ These persons were thus raw material for the radical labor movement in America, along with the impoverished classes in Southern and Eastern Finland.

While very few of the landless peasants from Finland had been exposed in great measure to socialism in the mother country,⁸ nevertheless much of the early leadership of the movement had been exposed to socialism and an urban setting already in the homeland. In a biographical list by Elis Sulkanen of 115 Finnish-American labor leaders, it comes out that seventy-three percent of them came to the United States between 1900 and 1910, during the years when the Social Democratic Party and Marxism had made enormous strides. Over thirty-five percent had had direct contact and involvement with the Socialist political or trade union movement, and forty percent were born in an urban center or had lived in one. Most of the leadership came from the southern and eastern portions of the country. Conservative Vaasa province, for example, contributed only twenty-five percent of the leadership, but nearly fifty percent of the emigrants. About seventy-nine percent of the radical leadership came from the skilled trades and professions, while a scant seventeen percent were industrial workers or farmers. The educational level of the leadership was also much higher. Some seventy-five percent had gone on beyond grammar school, and twenty-five percent qualified for the university, or had attended higher educational institutions. This is compared with roughly forty percent of the general immigrant population which had attended only confirmation school, and forty percent which had attended elementary school from a few weeks to two years.⁹

A precipitous series of events brought much of this elite guard of the Finnish socialists to America, giving to the movement unusually effective leadership. Taavi Tainio, a journalist and party leader was forced to leave Finland because of speeches against military conscription into the Russian army in 1904. Others came after

the revolt of the Russian garrison, Fort Sveaborg, such as Leo Laukki, the high priest of the industrial union Finns and principal of the *Työväen Opisto* (Work People's College) at Duluth, Minn. Many fled to North America after the Red Guard lost the Civil War in Finland in 1918 when the Red leadership was purged by the victorious White government. For example, Oskari Tokoi, who had been *Prime Minister* in 1917, came to edit *Raivaaja*. Many others such as Dr. Antero Tanner, Moses Hahl, Kaapo Murros and Vihtori Kosonen added to the list of socialist leaders who brought the new gospel to immigrant Finns who listened with wonderment at the new evangel.

The earlier immigrant Finns had already organized churches and temperance societies before the radicals began to arrive after 1900. At first, there was hope that all of the Finns might be united into a harmonious ethnic community. Fellow countrymen bound themselves together in churches, temperance lodges, and the Imatra Workers' League which represented an idealistic, mutual benefit type of workers' society. But the illusion of a united Finnish community was shattered very quickly. From 1904, the apostles of socialism promoted class conscious doctrines in the pages of the newly founded *Työmies* and the *Raivaaja* newspapers. Several popular journals spelled out the principles of international socialism and its history in Europe and America, and the basic Marxist classics were issued in a steady stream.

A most dramatic event in the immigrant community was the conversion of the floundering People's College into the Work People's College in 1907. Socialists purchased the majority of the stock and converted it into a Marxist training institution which offered basic education and socialist doctrine as its curriculum. The school enrolled as many as 159 pupils in a year,

but began to flounder after the Chicago 166 trial and persecution by the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety. But there were other institutional conversions as well. In some communities, socialists "insolently seized" temperance halls and transformed them into labor temples, while Marxist agitators were elected pastors of congregations because the membership had converted overnight. One zealous agitator was even proclaimed a bishop. Socialism began to spread like wildfire among the immigrants, and "sank into us like hot grease into dry leather", observed one temperance leader who had become a convert.¹⁰

The Finnish Socialist Federation, founded in 1906, was far more than a labor organization or political movement with more than 17,000 members in 1914. Socialism became a way of life as a secularized, substitute church, complete with itinerant agitators who were called "apostles", congregations of the faithful, Sunday Schools, sewing circles, labor temples, a puritanical ethic, and an eschatological hope for the coming great revolution. Some 260 local clubs boasted of musical organizations, athletic clubs, lecture and debate societies and agitation committees. Because other Finnish organizations often lacked cultural and recreational activities, socialist groups sponsored dances, and 107 dramatic groups performed innumerable plays and operas, all the way from homespun proletarian drama to the opera *Carmen* at the Virginia, Minn., "Socialist Opera" house. The broadened range of social and cultural activities was dubbed "hall socialism", and these activities often overshadowed political concerns and labor organizing efforts.¹¹ One writer complained that the radicals were no longer interested in planning the revolution, but only in promoting frivolity. The Duluth, Minn., local was considered to be degenerate because it produced only splendid plays where overflow audiences had to be turned away.¹²

But political and labor concerns were not missing. At the founding convention of the Federation, the issue of industrial unionism was a key issue. Kaapo Murros argued against old style craft unions as effective supports for working class power, and he supported the Industrial Workers of the World. His arguments were familiar, emphasizing organization of unskilled workers in all industries, using revolutionary "direct action" techniques and the general strike in order to seize the means of production.¹³ Why many Finns affirmed IWW principles at such an early date, even before the IWW itself had hardly begun to define its own purposes and solve its factional problems with the DeLeonists, is not surprising. Murros had translated anarcho-syndicalist writings in Finland, and he had belonged to the radical faction of the Social Democratic Party in Finland which advocated direct revolutionary techniques to establish a radical government. He and many of his comrades had participated in the highly successful General Strike in Finland in 1905, and it seemed only natural to translate that experience into American terms.¹⁴

The moderate faction at the Federation's founding convention argued against industrial unions, and favored working with the American Federation of Labor, converting its members to socialism, and engaging in legislative activity. The convention compromised the issue, however, condemning those unions which "groped after bourgeois support" and "opposed class warfare", and supported those unions which were "based on class struggle and the furthering of socialist education". This left the door open for the IWW, and the purification of the AFL as well. These issues of dual unionism and political activity were never solved by the socialists, and eventually resulted in a schism in the Federation.

The enthusiastic resolve of the nascent party was soon translated into practical action. During the summer of 1906, Teofila Petriella was sent to the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota to organize miners into the Western Federation of Miners (which at the time belonged to the IWW), and after 2,500 were organized, a strike was called on July 20, 1907. Finns played a major part in the strike in organizing and supportive roles. The strike failed because of massive resistance by the mining companies, local business men and the churches. The governor of the state determined to remain neutral, so the militia could not be enlisted. Accordingly, the Oliver Mining Co., a subsidiary of U.S. Steel, hired armed deputies, and imported 1,124 Montenegrin and Croatian strikebreakers who replaced the miners, bringing production back to normal. Local stores were pressured to cut off credit from the strikers, and by the middle of September, the strike was over.¹⁵

The strike had far reaching effects in the total Finnish community. Conservatives who called themselves "true Finns" often became victims of discriminatory hiring practices because the companies assumed all Finns were radicals. In order to preserve the good name of the Finns, church leaders issued official proclamations, dubbed "Judas resolutions" by the socialists, condemned the leftists as "anarchists, atheists, and betrayers of the Fatherland". A rash of anti-socialist societies sprang up throughout the immigrant community, and the net effect of all these events was to divide the Finnish-Americans irreconcilably, making rapprochement between "white" and "red" Finns impossible.¹⁶

But the strike intensified conflict in the ranks of the socialists as well. Many of the embittered, blacklisted socialists moved into the cutover lands and eked out a living on submarginal farms. Many of these

radicals never forgot the blacklisting, and after the Russian revolution embraced communism. Some of these more dedicated revolutionaries finally left the United States for Soviet Karelia to assist in the technological development of that republic.¹⁷ Others moved off to new industrial towns to find employment or were slowly rehired in the mines, but vowed that the next strike would be victorious, and that radical union organizational activity must continue. The Eastern socialists, on the other hand, viewed the walkout as a momentous disaster, questioning the validity of strikes and the ensuing violence.

Conflict within the Finnish community continued. The Minnesota radicals were charged with anarchism by Social Democrat "yellows" and right wing Finns as well. Local newspapers developed such stereotypes as "Finlanders - fiery followers of the Red Flag", "Jackpine Savages" and "members of the Mongolian race". In a test case, John Svan and sixteen others were denied citizenship as "Mongolians" until a lower court judgment was reversed by the U.S. District Court in January, 1908.¹⁸

A convention of the Federation was called in 1909 to deal with the syndicalist position, resulting in a disavowal from anarchism and the impossibilists, thus attempting to quiet fears that Finns in America were undesirable citizens who favored radicalism, atheism, and the IWW.¹⁹

But the radical tendencies continued in the Federation, especially in the Central District. Primary inspiration for a syndicalist position was provided by the Work People's College whose principal teachers represented far left socialist positions. The most important of these leaders was Leo Laukki. As principal and ideological leader at the school, he trained young immigrants in socialist doctrines, revolutionary techniques and organizational skills. Serving as sometime

editor of *Työmies*, author of several volumes on socialist history and theory, and a spell-binding orator at labor festivals, he is judged to have been the most important leader of the syndicalist Finns.²⁰ Important also was Yrjö Sirola, a genuine Marxist from Finland, who taught at the College in 1910-1913. Students used Haywood and Bohn's *Industrial Socialism* as a standard textbook, and debated "tactics" in their student society, eventually concluding that the MacNamara dynamiting episode had been beneficial for the workers, and that the WFM was bankrupt. Eastern "yellows" labeled the students "*tussarit*" (gun hawks), and vowed to cleanse the Federation and school of IWW heresy.²¹

Nothing seemed to avert the inexorable radicalization of the Central District of the Federation. A convention of the Federation was called in 1912, where the national Party's anti-syndicalist amendment was adopted, and tight control over the Work People's College was planned through monitoring the curriculum. But convention actions proved to be only a temporary truce, and several events in 1913-1914 brought a final showdown and schism.

The Michigan Copper District strike in 1913-1914 convinced many of the Finns that the WFM had sold its soul to capitalism, and that the strike failed because of a lack of militancy, mismanagement and regressive policies. This strike was marked by violence, a panic at a Christmas party at the Italian Hall in Calumet where seventy-four died, a good deal of intemperate socialist rhetoric and vigilante action by the Citizen's Alliance which paraded 40,000 people who vowed that the WFM must go. Some 14,500 miners were idled by the walkout, and state negotiation proposed by Michigan's progressive Governor Ferris and federal investigation brought no results. With the aid of over 3,000 special deputies and state militia, the mining companies stood firm.

Charles Moyer, WFM union head, was shot and ridden out on a rail, and *Työmies*, serving as publisher for WFM propaganda and strike headquarters, was continually harassed. The strike was finally broken, and it was announced that die hard union men could find employment elsewhere. Radicals of the Finnish Socialist Federation drew only one conclusion from these disastrous results - the WFM was bankrupt, bound to the "reactionary shackles of trade unionism".²²

The troubled situation in Butte, Montana, brought radicals to a similar judgment. Socialists in that city controlled the municipal government, and the WFM union counted 8,000 members. But Anaconda Copper outmaneuvered both municipal government and the union through company agents and spies. Sympathizers with the radical IWW had agitated for a more militant stance for a number of years, but they were controlled through the use of a "*rustling card*" which was an employment application used as a blacklisting device. Frustration over the company-controlled union reached a peak on June 13, 1914, when workers destroyed the union hall and voted overwhelmingly not to show their rustling cards. Charles Moyer was driven out of town in a shoot out, but he was followed by a Finnish WFM organizer who had been a leader in the Copper District strike, Frank Aaltonen. A radical Finnish miner then stormed into the local mayor's office and demanded that Aaltonen be removed from the city. Both shot at each other, the miner eventually dying from his wounds. The paralysis of the WFM in Butte was further evidence that the more militant IWW was the only suitable alternative, at least as far as the radical Finns were concerned.²³

These crises within the WFM and the disastrous strikes coincided with the first major schism within the Finnish Socialist Federation. A division within the Negaunee,

Michigan, local brought the issue of industrial unionism to a head. The local manager of the Labor Temple, William Risto, an anarchist agitator, alienated the Social Democratic membership by preaching sabotage and revolution. When he was blamed for mismanaging a state Socialist Party election, the state secretary, James Hoogerhyde, revoked the charter of the local and gave a new one to the smaller Social Democratic minority.

Eastern District socialists and their powerful voice *Raivaaja*, decided to expose the "vile" intentions of the midwestern red industrialists, and locked the Federation in a conflict which culminated in the Central District convention where the yellow Social Democrats and their spokesman, Frank Aaltonen, were discharged after seven days of debate.

The red takeover of *Työmies* newspaper was averted with the help of *Raivaaja* company's finances. The reds, however, managed to confiscate enough money to begin their own daily, *Socialisti*, later called *Industrialisti*.²⁴ The Work People's College remained in the hands of the midwestern reds and in 1920 became the official training school of the IWW.

With the rupture of the Federation completed, over thirty percent of the membership had resigned or were discharged, thus leaving only 9,000 members in the national organization. The reds, in the meantime, affiliated with the IWW.

It was not long before the new commitment was tested. In 1916, Finns were engaged in the gigantic Mesabi strike, organized by Carlo Tresca, Sam Scarlett, Frank Little, Joseph Schmidt, Joseph Ettor and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and aided by ethnic leaders George Andreytchine, a Bulgarian, and William Wiertola and Charles Jacobson who were Finns. While the IWW organizers

faced great difficulties because the union was called in after the walkout had begun spontaneously, nevertheless some 5,000 of the 10,000 were successfully recruited into Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union 490. Again the strike was broken, this time by 1,000 armed deputies who kept picket lines open. Because foreign labor was no longer available to replace strikers as was the case in the 1907 strike, the companies resorted to intimidation and terrorist tactics, as well as starvation to force strikers back to their jobs. After a confrontation at the home of Philip Masonovich, where a deputy and a bystander were killed, Scarlett, Tresca and Schmidt were arrested and charged with murder, even though they were nowhere near the scene.

No amount of pressure, applied by federal investigators and two local mayors on the mining companies, brought the adversaries towards settlement. On September 17, after a vote by the workers, the strike was called off. The strike was an immediate failure, but eventually the companies made some concessions along the lines of some federal recommendations for change, marking the beginning of paternalistic, welfare capitalism. But the union was not recognized, and it was over two decades before miners again attempted to organize a union. Not only were the industrial giants too formidable to defeat in spite of some support for labor among small merchants and political leaders, but lack of solidarity among workers themselves hampered efforts. Not all workers joined the union, and labor Finns were divided among themselves, with Social Democrats generally not supporting the strike. Many Southern and Eastern Europeans remained anti-union and faithful to their church and lodges.

For the red Finns, the strike was not regarded as a failure. In fact, it was regarded as "a time of glory" which foreshadowed the final great conflict which would bring

forth a glorious victory in the form of a general strike, and a proof that the movement away from political, reformist methods had been well founded. It was generally agreed that the strike was not really over, and the word of the Strike Central Committee provided only hope: "we have planned to fight to a finish our next encounter."²⁵

In actual fact, however, the end of the Mesabi strike marked the beginning of the decline of the Finnish IWW movement. The time of glory had passed, and the group never recovered its revolutionary fervor. There was a brief but unsuccessful strike of lumber mill workers in the area at the end of 1916, and a strike of mine workers was called for the summer of 1917, but there was no response.

Nothing seemed to go right after the strike. Imprisonments, systematic harassment, protracted legal trials, defections to communism and the Soviet Union, and the persecution of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety all combined to exhaust and dissipate the energies of the radicals. Leo Laukki and four other Finns received sentences at the Chicago 166 trial, and while at Leavenworth, Laukki and several of his friends defected to communism. While on bail, Laukki and Haywood escaped to the Soviet Union.

The case of the Finnish-American IWW did not, however, indicate the death of Finnish-American radicalism. In the 1920's many Finnish-American Wobblies joined the Rowanist, decentralist Emergency Program of the "true" IWW, and still in the 1920's the movement had strong support in the Midwest and contacts with the One Big Union supporters on Canadian side of the state border were frequent. In the 1920's the cultural life of the Finnish-American Wobblies was still vivid with *Industrialisti* having good circulation. The traditional activities in the halls were maintained for years to come with the aging Finnish-American population after the immigrants quotas were enforced in the early 1920's. The IWW Finns officially affirmed the orthodox doctrines of the IWW to the very end in the pages of *Industrialisti* until the paper ceased publication in 1976.

An important occurrence was the shift of many Wobbly leaders and rank and file into the communist group, which was the case in the American IWW movement in general and in the Finnish-American movement, too. The subsequent main body of the Finnish-American radical movement was now to be found in the vigorous Finnish-American communist movement with more than 6,000 members and with a notable part in the communist circles in the United States.²⁵



TIIVISTELMÄ

Amerikansuomalainen anarko-syndikalismi ja the Industrial Workers of the World

Artikkelissa on käsitelty amerikkalaisen anarko-syndikalistisen työväenjärjestön, the Industrial Workers of the World' in (per. 1905) suomalaisia kannattajia. Lähtokohtana on ollut selvittää amerikansuomalaisen työväenliikkeen Suomesta

lähtevä tausta ja hakea siitä selittäjiä liikkeen käyttäytymiselle ja tuelle, joka annettiin IWW:lle. Erityisesti tällöin on kiinnitetty huomiota työväenliikkeen nousun sosiaaliseen taustaan: maattomien suuriin joukkoihin, Suomen vahittaiseen teollistumiseen ja toisaalta kirkon kyvyttömyyteen vastata muuttuneiden olosuhteiden asettamiin haasteisiin. On myös havaittu, että amerikansuo-

malaisessa työväenliikkeessä on ollut poikkeuksellisen paljon kyvykkäitä johtajia, jotka jo Suomessa ovat toimineet aktiivisesti työväenjärjestöissä ja toisaalta, vaikka monet johtohenkilöistä olivat kotoisin maaseudulta, he olivat usein työskennelleet Suomessakin teollisissa ammateissa. Näin ollen ko. radikaaleilla johtajilla on selvä teollinen tausta, mikä on poikkeuksellista tarkasteltaessa suomalaista amerikansiirtolaisuutta kokonaisuutena. Myös johtajien koulutustaso on ollut huomattavasti keskimääräistä korkeampi.

Yhdysvalloissa suomalainen työväenliike järjestäytyi valtakunnallisesti vuonna 1906, jolloin perustettiin Yhdysvaltain Suomalainen Sosialistijärjestö. Alkuaan sosialidemokraattisen suunnan edustajana se joutui jyrkkää linjaa ajavien IWW:n kannattajien taistelulentäksi: vaadittiin IWW:n periaatteiden mukaisesti yleislakkoa, suoraa toimintaa ja jopa sabotaasia, koska vanhat ja vakiintuneet työväenliikkeen menetelmät eivät näyttäneet tuovan toivottua tulosta ja nopeaa yhteiskunnallista muutosta. Näiden näkemysten kärjistyminen tapahtui amerikansuomalaisten osalta suurten työtaistelujen kuten Minnesotan Mesabialueen rautakaivostyöläisten lakon (v. 1907) ja Michiganin Kuparialueen lakon (vv. 1913-1914) seurauksena. Näissä ilmeni selvästi, kuinka voimattomia vanhat ammattijärjestöt, kuten Western Federation of Miners, olivat ja toisaalta, miten helppoa työnantajien oli saada viranomaisten suora tai epäsuora tuki lakon murtamisessa.

Erityisesti vuoden 1916 Mesabin lakko kuitenkin osoitti, ettei IWW:kään voinut kunnolla ajaa työväestön etuja, vaikka se oli niin väittänyt. Tuosta lakosta alkoi varsinaisesti amerikansuomalaisen syndikalismien lasku. Samaan suuntaan vaikutti myös ensimmäisen maailmansodan aikana Yhdysvalloissa vähitellen voimistunut radikalismien vastainen suuntaus. Työväenliikkeen aktivisteja pidätettiin pitkään vankeusrangaistuksiin ja jopa karkotettiin maasta.

Tärkeä merkitys amerikansuomalaisen syndikalismien kehitykselle oli Työväen Opiston (Duluth, Minn.) muuttamisella kirkollisesta koulusta maalliseksi työväestön oppilaitokseksi vuonna 1907. Pian siitä kehittyi jyrkän suunnan kannattajien tukikohta ja lopulta IWW:n virallinen oppilaitos. Opettajina siellä toimivat mm. amerikansuomalaisen syndikalismien suuntauksen varsinainen johtaja

Leo Laukki ja Yrjö Sirola, joka ilmeisesti sai paljon vaikutteita IWW:n menettelytavoista.

Amerikansuomalainenkin anarko-syndikalismi oli näin ollen melko vaatimaton tuloksiltaan. Se sai kannattajikseen osan Suomalaisen Sosialistijärjestön jäsenistä, mutta kuten amerikkalainen emäjärjestö noin satatuhantisine jäsenjoukkoineen, eivät sen suomalaiset kannattajatkaan menestyneet paljolti oman kansallisuusryhmän ulkopuolella. Ehkä tärkeimpänä syynä tähän oli van-

hojen ammattijärjestöjen saama vakiintunut asema, joka vaikeutti uuden järjestön nousua. Toisaalta IWW oli selvästi ulkomaalaisperäisten ammattitaidottomien työläisten dominoima, mikä osaltaan vaikeutti varsinaisen amerikkalaisen työväestön kannatuksen saamista.

Amerikansuomalaisen anarko-syndikalistisen liikkeen voimakkainta tukialuetta olivat Yhdysvaltain keskiosat sekä idän teollisuuskeskukset. Suurimmillaan sillä lienee ollut noin 10 000 suomalaista tukijaa. Heidän toimintansa keskittyi pääosin Industrialisti-lehden tukemiseen ja sosiaalisten tilaisuuksien järjestämiseen jäsenilleen sen lisäksi, että varsinainen tarkoitus oli koota työväestö "yhteen suureen unioon". Järjestön oppi "työväestön järjestämisestä teollisuuksittain" pysyi periaatteena Industrialistin palstoilla aina sen lakkauttamiseen asti vuonna 1976. Vielä on syytä todeta, että huomattava osa amerikansuomalaisista IWW:läisistä siirtyi sen toimintaan pettyneinä 1920-luvulla amerikansuomalaisen kasvavan kommunistisen liikkeen riveihin.



FOOTNOTES:

- 1) Gerald Rosenblum, *Immigrant Workers* (New York, 1973), pp. 135-138. This view has been challenged by, for example, Herbert Gutman, in "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1915-1919", *American Historical Review*, June 1973, pp. 531-588, and Michael Karni, ed., *Spectrum*, May 1975, p. 1, f.
- 2) See Auvo Kostianen, *The Forging of Finnish-American Communism, 1917-1924. A Study in Ethnic Radicalism*. Migration Studies C 4, Turku 1978, esp. pp. 138-152.

- 3) Paavo Kortekangas, *Kirkko ja Uskonnollinen Elämä Teollistuvassa Yhteiskunnassa. Tutkimus Tampereesta, 1855-1905* (Porvoo, 1965), pp. 314-318.
- 4) Jussi Kuoppala, *Suomen Papisto ja Työväen-kysymys, 1863-1899* (Helsinki, 1963), pp. 344-365; 379.
- 5) William Hوجلund, *Finnish Immigrants in America* (Madison, 1960), pp. 3-16.
- 6) Reino Kero, "The Social Origins of the Left-Wing Radicals and 'Church Finns' among Finnish Immigrants in North America" in *Publications of the Institute of General History, University of Turku Finland, Nr 7, Studies*, Vilho Niitemaa, ed., (Turku, 1975), pp. 55-62.
- 7) Reino Kero, "The Roots of Finnish-American Left-Wing Radicalism", in *Publications of the Institute of General History University of Turku Finland. Nr. 5, Studies*, Vilho Niitemaa, ed., (Turku, 1973), p. 53.
- 8) Kero, *ibid.*, p. 54.
- 9) *Amerikan Suomalaisen Työväenliikkeen Historia* (Fitchburg, Mass., 1951), pp. 485-503.
- 10) Douglas J. Ollila, "The Emergence of Radical Industrial Unionism in the Finnish Socialist Movement", in *Publication nr 7, Studies*, pp. 27-29. The best study on the Work People's College is Hannu Heinilä, *Work People's College – Amerikansuomalaisen työväestön oppilaitos* (MA thesis in general history, University of Turku, 1976).
- 11) See Kostiainen, *The Forging*, pp. 35-37.
- 12) *Industrialisti*, January 17, 1922.
- 13) *Pöytäkirja, Amerikan Suomalaisen Sosialistiosastojen Edustajakokouksesta Hibbingissä, Minn., Elokuun 1-7 päivinä 1906* (Hancock, Mich., 1907), pp. 10-23.
- 14) Hannu Soikkanen, *Socialismin tulo Suomeen*. Ensimmäisen yksikamarisen eduskunnan vaiheihin asti. (Helsinki, 1961), p. 324.
- 15) Hyman Berman, "Education for Work and Labor Solidarity: The Immigrant Miners and Radicalism in the Mesabi Range", unpublished ms., (Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota), p. 38.
- f. See also Michael Karni, "The Founding of the Finnish Socialist Federation and the Minnesota Strike of 1907", in *For the Common Good - Finnish Immigrants and the Radical Response to Industrial America*, Michael G. Karni and Douglas J. Ollila Jr., eds., (Superior, Wisc., 1976), pp. 65-86.
- 16) *Eveleth News*, July 28, 1907; *Raivaaja*, October 12 and 26, 1907; *Amerikan Suometar*, April 8 and 15, 1908.
- 17) Auvo Kostiainen, "Finnish-American Workmen's Associations", in Vilho Niitemaa et al. eds., *Old Frieds-Strong Ties* (Vaasa, 1976), pp. 205-234.
- 18) *Mesaba Ore* (Hibbing), July 27, 1907, and Hans R. Wasastjerna, *History of the Finns in Minnesota*. Translation by Toivo Rosvall, (New York Mills, Minn. 1957), p. 476.
- 19) *Komannen Amerikan Suomalaisen Sosialistijärjestön Edustajakokouksen Pöytäkirja. Kokous pidetty Hancockissa, Mich. 23-30 p, Elok., 1909*. Ed. by F. J. Syrjäjä (Fitchburg, Mass., n.d.), p. 10.
- 20) Tero Ahola, "Leo Laukki Amerikan suomalaisessa työväenliikkeessä (MA thesis in political history, University of Helsinki, 1973), p. 1-14.
- 21) Douglas Ollila, "The Work People's College: Immigrant Education for Adjustment and Solidarity", in *For the Common Good*, pp. 102-111.
- 22) Arthur E. Puotinen, "Early labor Organizations in the Copper Country", in *ibid.*, pp. 119-166, presents a comprehensive history of the strike.
- 23) *Rajvaaja*, August 11, 1914 and *Socialisti*, August 26, 1914.
- 24) For a detailed history of these events see Ollila, "The Emergence of Radical Industrial Unionism", pp. 44-54.
- 25) Kostiainen, *The Forging*, pp. 128-137. The analysis of the Development of the Finnish-American Wobbly movement from 1920's onwards as well as the Finnish One Big Union supporters still wait for scholarly treatment. Thus far only general statement have been presented.

TIEDOTUKSIA

V Pohjoismainen Siirtolaisuus- Tutkijoiden Seminaari

Pohjoismaisen ministerineuvoston ja pohjoismaisen työmarkkinatoimikunnan (NAUT) järjestämä V pohjoismainen siirtolaisuustutkijoiden seminaari pidettiin Osllossa 15-17.10.1979.

Seminaariin oli edeltäkäs in ilmoittautunut 14 osanottajaa Tanskasta, 19 Norjasta, 21 Ruotsista ja 9 Suomesta. Aivan kaikki osanottajat eivät olleet varsinaisia siirtolaisuuden tutkijoita vaan seminaaria seuraamaan oli tullut myös joitakin siirtolaisuusasioista kiinnostuneita ja näistä asioista vastaavia viranomaisia.

Seminaarin tarkoituksena oli luoda yleiskuva Pohjoismaissa tapahtuvasta tutkimustoiminnasta ja samalla antaa mahdollisuus eri maiden tutkijoille tutustua toisiinsa. Seminaarissa oli tarkoituksena lähestyä Pohjoismaihin ja Pohjoismaiden sisällä tapahtuvaa muuttoliikettä lähinnä teoreettisesti ja metodologiset ongelmat huomioiden.

Mainittua tarkoitusta tukivat myös seminaarissa pidetyt yleisluennot. Ensimmäisen luennon piti professori J.-H. Hoffman-Nowotny, joka toimii Zürichin yliopiston sosiologian laitoksella. Hänen aiheensa oli "A Macrotheoretical Approach towards a General Explanation of Migration and Related Phenomena". Toisen päivän yleisluennon piti professori Jagdish N. Bhagwati, Massachusettsin Teknologisesta instituutista. Hän esitelmöi aiheesta "Economic Theory and Labour Migration".

Molemmista esitelmistä virisi erittäin vilkas ja välistä kiivaskin keskustelu.

Varsinainen seminaarityöskentely tapahtui kuitenkin työryhmissä, joita oli kuusi. Ryhmien teemat olivat seuraavat: Integraatioprosessin käytännölliset ja teoreettiset seuraukset vastaanottajamaassa; työvoiman ja pääoman liikkuvuus työmarkkinoilla; lapset, nuoris o, koulu ja luovuus; maahanmuuttajien järjestäytyminen ja ryhmäidentiteetti; lähtömaan olosuhteet ja takaisin paluu sekä sukupuoliroolit ja siirtolaiset. Ryhmiin oli jakauduttu jo aikaisemmin ja niissä käsiteltiin ryhmäläisten esitelm iä ja keskusteltiin niiden pohjalta.

Vaikka teoreettiset ja metodologiset ongelmat eivät tulleetkaan esille siinä määrin kuin seminaarin tarkoituksena oli, on todettava, että se toimi erittäin tarpeellisenä foorumina siirtolaisuuskeskustelulle. Vaikeutena, mutta tavallaan keskustelua rikastuttavana tekijänä oli se, että osanottajamaat ovat erilaisessa asemassa siirtolaisuuteen nähden. Erityisesti muista poikkeaa Suomi, joka on muuttotappiollinen, muiden saadessa muuttovoittoa. Tällöin tutkijoidenkin intressit jossain määrin poikkeavat toisistaan, mutta pienryhmätyön etuna on se, että voidaan paremmin paneutua ja ottaa huomioon eri maiden erilaiset ongelmat. Seminaarin materiaali tullaan julkaisemaan.

Arja Munter

SIIRTOLAISUUS SUOMESTA RUOTSIIN KAUTTA AIKOJEN-NÄYTTELY

Siirtolaisuusinstituutti tekee tällä hetkellä näyttelyä suomalaisesta siirtolaisuudesta Ruotsiin. "Siirtolaisuus Suomesta Ruotsiin kautta aikojen"/ "Migrationen från Finland till Sverige genom tiderna" -näyttelyn avajaiset on tarkoitus pitää Suomen Päivänä, 18.5.1980 Göteborgissa.

UTSTÄLLNINGEN OM MIGRATIONEN FRÅN FINLAND TILL SVERIGE GENOM TIDERNA:

Migrationsinstitutet planerar för närvarande en utställning om den finländska emigrationen till Sverige. Utställningen - "Migrationen från Finland till Sverige genom tiderna - Siirtolaisuus Suomesta Ruotsiin kautta aikojen" - öppnas enligt planerna på Finlands dag 18.5.1980 i Göteborg.

Näyttelyn tarkoitus on lisätä tietämystä suomalaisesta siirtolaisuudesta Ruotsiin, ja erityisesti lisätä ruotsalaisten ymmärtämystä suomalaisia siirtolaisia ja heidän ongelmiaan kohtaan. Pyrimme myös käsittelemään siirtolaisuuden merkitystä lähtömaalle, tulomaalle ja siirtolaiselle itselleen.

Näyttely pohjautuu asiantuntijoiden tekemiin käsikirjoituksiin. Asiantuntijoina ovat toimineet, prof. Unto Salo, prof. Gunvor Kerkkonen, prof. Toivo Paloposki, tri Eric De Geer sekä toim.pääll. Altti Majava. Tarkoituksena on jakaa näyttely kronologisesti aikajaksoihin, näyttely alkaa Ruotsin ja Suomen esihistoriallisten yhteyksien selvittämällä ja jatkuu aikajärjestyksessä nykyyhetkeen asti. Kunakin ajanjaksona pyritään esittämään siirtolaisten kohdealueet, siirtolaisuuden tarkoitusperä ja luonne, elinkeinojen osuus ja merkitys, elinolosuhteet sekä siirtolaisten lähtöalueet ja lähtijöiden tausta. Siirtolaisuuden tulevaisuudenkuvaa ja lähtevävoitteita pyritään myös mahdollisuuksien mukaan selvittämään.

Näyttely on esillä Göteborgissa marraskuuhun 1980, jonka jälkeen sen on tarkoitus kiertää eri puolilla Ruotsia mm. Luulajassa ja Tukholmassa. Tämän jälkeen näyttely tulee Suomeen, on esillä ainakin Helsingissä ja Tampereella ja jää pysyväksi Suomen Ruotsin siirtolaisuuden näyttelyksi Siirtolaisuusinstituuttiin Turkuun.

Näyttelyyn on eri näyttelypaikoilla tarkoitus liittää näyttelypaikkakunnan suomalaisväestön omaa toimintaa kuvaava ohjelmä näyttely.

Näyttelymateriaali tulee suurimmaksi osaksi koostumaan valokuvista. Mahdollisuuksien mukaan pyrimme kuitenkin elävöittämään näyttelyä esineillä, aidoilla asiapapereilla, kartoilla jne. Niinpä kaikenlainen Ruotsin siirtolaisuutta koskeva materiaali — niin tietopuoliset vihjeet kuin erilaiset lahjoituksetkin — otetaan kiitollisena vastaan.

Siirtolaisuusinstituutti
Kasarmialue, rak. 46
20500 TURKU 50

Avsikten med utställningen är att öka kännedomen om den finländska invandringen till Sverige och speciellt öka svenskarnas förståelse för finländska invandrare och deras problem. Man strävar även till att uppmärksamma migrationens inverkan på utvandrarnlandet, invandrarnlandet och på den enskilda flyttaren.

Utställningen baserar sig på manuskript gjorda av experter på området; prof. Unto Salo, prof. Gunvor Kerkkonen, prof. Toivo Paloposki, dr Eric de Geer samt byråchef Altti Majava.

Meningen är att indela utställningen i kronologisk tidsordning varvid man börjar med kontakterna mellan Sverige och Finland under förhistorisk tid och beskriver sedan olika utvecklingsskeden fram till våra dagar.

För varje tidsperiod beskrivs migrationens målområden, orsaker och karaktär, näringsgrenarnas andel och betydelse, levnadsförhållanden på utflyttningsområdena samt flyttarnas bakgrund.

Flyttningsrörelsernas framtidsperspektiv samt utveckling på kort sikt strävar man också att i mån av möjlighet beskriva. Utställningen visas i Göteborg fram till november 1980 varefter den kommer att ambulera till olika orter i Sverige, bl.a. Luleå och Stockholm. Därefter kommer utställningen till Finland och visas i Helsingfors och i Tammerfors för att därefter stationeras vid Migrationsinstitutet i Åbo.

Till utställningen är det meningen att på olika orterna i Sverige foga information om den finländska lokalbefolkningen och dess aktiviteter.

Utställningsmaterialet kommer till största delen att bestå av fotografier, men kommer att kompletteras i görligaste mån av föremål, fornyfynd, dokument, kartor o.dyl.

Allehanda material rörande migrationen till Sverige tas emot med tacksamhet. Adress:

Migrationsinstitutet
Kasarmområde, byggn. 46
20500 TURKU 50
FINLAND

KVEENISEMINAARI
9. – 10.6.1980
ROVANIEMELLÄ

KVÄNSEMINARIET
DEN 9. och 10. JUNI 1980
I ROVANIEMI

Siirtolaisuusinstituutti ja Lapin kesäyliopisto järjestävät Rovaniemellä ensi kesänä seminaarin, joka käsittelee muuttoliikettä pohjois-Suomesta ja -Ruotsista Pohjois-Norjaan. Tämä muuttoliike alkoi jo 1700-luvun lopulla ja kulmineitui 1800-luvun keskivaiheilla ja jälkimmäisellä puoliskolla ja loi perustan ns. kveenikulttuurille.

Kveeniseminaarin tavoitteena on tieteenaloittain selvittää mitä aikaisemmin on tutkittu, millaista kveeneihin kohdistuvaa tutkimustoimintaa on parhaillaan käynnissä ja mitkä ovat kiireellisimmät kveenikulttuurin tutkimus-, museointi- kielenhuolto ym. tarpeet. Tällöin kveenikulttuuri on nähtävä pohjoiskalotin kokonaistaustaa vasten eikä erillisilmionä. Näin ollen seminaarin alustajiksi kutsutaan asiantuntijoita Suomesta, Ruotsista ja Norjasta.

Seminaarista on tarkoitus tehdä avoin tilaisuus tutkijoille, päättävillä tahoille sekä kaikille asiasta kiinnostuneille.

Seminaarin tulokset julkaistaan instituutin ruotsinkielisessä julkaisusarjassa.

Asiasta kiinnostuneita pyydetään ottamaan yhteyttä instituutin toimistoon.

Migratinstitutet och Lapplands sommaruniversitet i Rovaniemi kommer nästa sommar att anordna ett seminarium som behandlar utvandringen från norra Finland och norra Sverige till Nordnorge. Denna utflyttning påbörjades redan under 1800-talets mitt och senare hälft, - denna flyttningsrörelse lade grunden för den kvänska kulturen.

Kvänsseminariet eftersträvar att klargöra vad man inom olika vetenskapsområden redan har forskat, hurudant kvenforskning det för tillfälle finns och vilka är de mest brådskande behoven inom forskningen och inom museispråk och språk områden betraktas mot nordkalotens helhetsituation, inte som en sårforeteelse. Till seminariets inledare kallas sakkunniga från Finland, Sverige och Norge.

Meningen är att seminariet skall stå öppen för alla forskare, beslutfattande organ samt för alla intresserade.

Resultate för seminariet publiceras i Migrationsinstitutets svensk serie.

Vi ber alla intresserade kontakta institutets kansli.

OHJELMA

Maanantai 9.6.1980 Lappia-talo

ILMOITTAUTUMINEN 10.00-11.30
LOUNAS 11.30-12.45
Seminaarin avaus: 13.00
Siirtolaisuusinstituutin johtaja, tohtori Olavi Koivukangas

Pohjoismaiden Neuvoston Suomen valtuuskunnan edustajan puheenvuoro

Rovaniemen kaupungin tervehdys
Kaup.joht. Tuure Salo

Akat. Kustaa Viikuna: 13.30
"Pohjanperilta Jaämeren rannoille"

Fylkeskonservator Einar Niemi, Vadsø 14.15
"Kvensk kulturforskning og vernearbeid"

PROGRAM

Måndag, den 9 juni 1980 Lappia-huset

ANMÄLAN OCH MATERIALUTDELNING
LUNCH
Seminariets öppnande:
Direktören för Migrationsinstitutet
doktor Olavi Koivukangas

Nordiska rådets Finlands delegations representant

Rovaniemi stads halsning
stadsdirektör Tuure Salo

Akademifedamot Kustaa Viikuna, Finland
"Från Lapplands odemarker till Ishavskusten"

Fylkeskonservator Einar Niemi, Norge
"Kvensk kulturforskning och vernearbeid"

KAHVI	14.45	EFTERMIDDAGSKAFFE
Prof. Pertti Virtaranta, Helsingin yliopisto "Kveenien kieli"	15.15	Professor Pertti Virtaranta, Finland "Kväernas språk"
Dos. Pekka Raittila, Helsingin yliopisto "Laestadiolaisuus -pohjoiskalotin ilmiö"	15.45	Docent Pekka Raittila, Finland "Laestadianismen - en foreteelse på Nord- kalotten"
Författare Hans Kr. Eriksen, Stonglandseidet, Norge "Svenska kultur i dag och i morgen"	16.15	Författare Hans Kr. Eriksen, Norge "Kvensk kultur i dag och i morgen"
Keskustelua/lehdistöilaisuus	16.45-18.00	Plenardiskussion
PÄIVÄLLINEN	18.00	MIDDAG
Mahdollisesti opetusministerin vastaanotto	19.30	Kvällsmottagning
Finmarkin läänin tervehdys Maaherra Anders Aune		Finnmarks fylkes hälsning Landshovding Anders Aune
Norrbottnen läänin tervehdys Maaherra Ragnar Lassinantti		Norrbottnens läns hälsning Landshövding Ragnar Lassinantti
Lapin läänin tervehdys Maaherra Asko Oinas		Lapplands läns hälsning Landshövding Asko Oinas
Kveeniohjelmaa		Kvænprogram
Tiistai 10.6.1980 Lappia-talo tai muu paikka	8.30	Tisdag, den 10 juni 1980 Lappia-huset eller annat ställe
Työryhmien järjestäytyminen ja alustukset: <i>Ryhmä I: Historiatieteet</i> 1. Amanuenssi Knut Einar Eriksen ja stipendiat Henry Minde, Tromsön yliopisto 2. Doc. Sune Åkerman, Uppsala universitet, Ruotsi 3. Maakunta-arkitonhoitaja Samuli Onnela, Oulu, Suomi		Grupparbete: <i>Grupp I: Historia</i> Förberedda inlägg: Amanuens Knut Einar Eriksen och stipendiat Henry Minde, Norge Docent Sune Åkerman, Sverige Landskapsarkivarie Samuli Onnela, Finland
<i>Ryhmä II: Kielitieteet</i> 1. Prof. Pertti Virtaranta, Suomi		<i>Grupp II: Språksvetenskap</i> Förberett inlägg: Professor Pertti Virtaranta, Finland
<i>Ryhmä III: Kansankulttuuri</i> 1. Konservator Hovard Dahl-Bratrein, Norja 2. Dos. Phebe Fjällström, Ruotsi 3. Fm Lassi Saessalo, Kulttuurien tutkimuksen laitos, Turun yliopisto		<i>Grupp III: Folkkultur</i> Förberedda inlägg: Konservator Hovard Dahl-Bratrein, Norge Docent Phebe Fjällström, Sverige Fil,mag. Lassi Saessalo, Finland

**Ryhmä IV: Kulttuurimaantiede ja sosiaali-
tieteet**

1. Prof. Uno Varjo, Oulun yliopisto
2. Mag. Ivar Björklund, Niemenakio, Kjåkan,
Norja
3. Doc. Jan Sundin, Umeå universitet

Grupp IV: Kulturgeografi och socialvetenskap

Förberedda inlägg:
Professor Uno Varjo, Finland
Magister Ivar Björklund, Norge
Docent Jan Sundin, Sverige

LOUNAS	11.30-13.00	LUNCH
Ryhmätyöskentely jatkuu	13.00	Grupparbetet fortsätter
Ryhmäraporttien esittely, keskustelu ja hy- väksyminen	14.30	Grupprapporterna presenteras, plenardiskussion och sammanfattning
Päätössanat	16.00	Avslutning
Lapin Kesäyliopiston edustaja		Representant för Lapplands sommaruniversitet

MUUTTOLIIKESYMPIOSIUM 20. – 21. 11. 1980 TURUSSA

Siirtolaisuusinstituutin, joka aloitti toimintansa vuonna 1974, tehtävänä on edistää siirtolaisuuteen ja maassamuuttoon liittyvää tutkimus- ja tiedotustoimintaa. Kiinnittääkseen huomiota maassamuuttoa koskevan tiedon puutteellisuuksiin ja niistä seurauksena oleviin mahdollisiin viheratkaisuihin, päätti instituutin valtuuskunta järjestää maamme tutkijoille, suunnittelijoille ja päätöksentekijöille tarkoitettua valtakunnan sisäistä muuttoliikettä käsittelevän symposiumin Ruissalon kongressihotellissa marraskuussa 1975. Symposiumin tarkoituksena oli tarkastella muuttoliikettä kokonaisuudessaan ja erityisesti niitä alueita, jotka olivat keskusteluissa ja tutkimuksissa jääneet vähäiselle huomiolle. Huomiota kohdistettiin pääasiassa muttavaan ihmiseen, hänen muuttomotiiveihinsa, odotuksiinsa, valintoihinsa ja käsityksiinsä yhteiskunnan tehtävistä muuttoliikkeen ohjauksessa.

Maassamuutto on muuttanut luonnettaan 1970-luvun puolivälin jälkeen, saanut uuden kuvan. Vuoden 1975 jälkeen on tapahtunut elinkeinorakenteen selvää muuttamista, kaupungistumis-

prosessi on selvästi heikentynyt, muuttoliike on alkanut suuntautua yhä enenevästi pois suurista keskuksista ja alueellista tasaantumista on ollut selvästi havaittavissa. Useat Etelä-Suomen väestökeskukset ovat viime vuosina olleet muuttotappiollisia. Uuden muuttoliikkeen mukana on tapahtunut myös arvostusten muutoksia. Taloudellisen kasvun hidastuminen on suunnannut huomiota ympäristön laatuksymyksiin ja niiden vaikutuksiin asuinpaikan valinnassa.

Vuoden 1975 symposiumista saatujen myönteisten kokemusten ja edellä esitettyjen muutosilmiöiden innoittamana järjestää Siirtolaisuusinstituutti Turussa 20. – 21. 11. 1980 muuttoliikesymposiumin, jonka yleisteema on maassamuuton kehitys vuoden 1975 jälkeen. Työmuotona symposiumissa ovat yleisalustukset ja niiden pohjalta käytävä yleiskeskustelu sekä ryhmätyöskentely.

Muuttoliikesymposiumia valmisteleva työryhmä on alustavasti suunnitellut symposiumin ohjelman seuraavanlaiseksi:

ALUSTAVA OHJELMA

Pitopaikkana: Hotelli Rantasipi, Turku
Symposiumin teema: Maassamuuton kehitys
vuoden 1975 jälkeen

Torstai 20.11.1980

- 9.00 ILMOITTAUTUMINEN JA MAJOIT-
TUMINEN
- 10.00 SYMPOSIUMIN AVAUS
VALTIOVALLAN TERVEHDYS
TURUN KAUPUNGIN TERVEHDYS
- 10.30 MUUTTOLIIKKEEN Uudet SUUNNAT
– tilastoanalyttinen tarkastelu
- 11.00 VASTAAKO MUUTTOLIIKETUTKIMUS
TIEDON TARVETTA ?
– tutkimusanalyttinen tarkastelu
- TALOUDELLINEN KEHITYS JA MAAS-
SAMUUTTO
- 11.20 Kansantaloudellinen näkökulma
- 11.40 Maassamuutto ja elinkeinoelämän rakenne
- 12.10 Kunnallistalous ja muuttoliike
- 12.50 KESKUSTELUA
- 13.10 Lounas
ALUERAKENTEEN KEHITYS
– palvelujen saavutettavuus ja maassa-
muutto
- 14.10 Kokonaistarkastelu valtakunnantasolla
- 14.40 Kokonaistarkastelu maakuntatasolla
- 15.10 Kahvi
Palvelujen saavutettavuus
- 15.25 Koulutuspalvelut
– Korkeakoulutus ja aikuiskoulutus
– Perus- ja keskiasteen koulutus
- 16.05 Kulttuuripalvelut
- 16.25 Terveyspalvelut
- 16.45 KESKUSTELUA
- 17.05 TERVEELLINEN ASUMISYMPÄRISTÖ
– terveelliselle, hyvälle asumisympäristölle
asetettavat vaatimukset
- 17.35 ELINTASO VAI YMPÄRISTÖN LAATU ?
– maassamuuton yhteydessä tapahtuneet
arvostusten muutokset
- 18.05 MUUTTOLIIKE JA YHDYSKUNTA-
SUUNNITTELU
- 18.35 KESKUSTELUA
- 18.55 Päivällinen
- 19.55 TYÖRYHMIEN ENSIMMÄINEN KO-
KOONTUMINEN
ALUSTUKSET TYÖRYHMISSÄ
KESKUSTELUA ALUSTUSTEN POHJAL-
TA
- 21.30 Mahdollinen iltaohjelma

Perjantai 21.11.1980

- MAASSAMUUTON OHJAUS JA YKSILÖ
– Käytetyt ja käytettävät keinot
- 8.30 Väestö- ja perhepolitiikka
- 9.00 Työvoimapolitiikka
- 9.30 Asuntopolitiikka
- 10.00 Aluepolitiikka
- 10.30 Pääomavirtojen ohjautuminen
- 11.00 Vaihtoehtoiset linjat maassamuuton oh-
jauksessa
- 11.30 PANEELIKESKUSTELU AIHEESTA YK-
SILÖ JA MUUTTOLIIKE-PÄÄTTÄJÄN
VASTUUN IHMISESTÄ MUUTTOLIIK-
KEEN OHJAUKSESSA
Keskustelussa toimivat kysyjinä muut-
toliikkeen seurausilmiöiden tutkijat ja
vastaajina poliittiset päätöksentekijät
- 13.00 Lounas
- 14.00 RYHMÄTYÖSKENTELY jatkuu
- 15.00 Kahvi
- 15.30 TYÖRYHMIEN RAPORTTIEN KÄSIT-
TELY
- 18.00 SYMPOSIUMIN PÄÄTÖSSANAT

MUUTTOLIIKESYMPOSIUMIIN ON ALUSTAVASTI KAAVAILTU SEURAAVIA TYÖRYHMIÄ

1. Muuttoon liittyvien yksilöllisten seuraus-
ilmiöiden huomioon ottaminen muutto-
liikkeen ohjauksessa
2. Muuttoon liittyvien mielenterveydellisten
ongelmien huomioon ottaminen muutto-
liikkeen ohjauksessa.
3. Lapsi muuttoliikkeen rattaissa.
4. Väestöpolitiikan uudet keinot.
5. Terve elinympäristö ja sen ehdot.
6. Maassamuutto vai siirtolaisuus?
7. Ruotsinkielisen väestön asema muuttoliik-
kessä.
8. (Pää) kaupunkiseudun muuttoliikkeen
uudet piirteet.
9. Auerakenne ja sen kehittäminen.
10. Alueeseen liittyvien sosiaalisten häiriöteki-
joiden poistaminen.
11. Yhteiskuntapoliittiset tavoitteet maassa-
muuton ohjauksessa.
12. Muuttoliikkeen syyt eilen - tänään - huo-
menna.
13. Tuottavuuden nousu eri aloilla ja sen
vaikutus muuttoliikkeeseen.

Symposiumia valmisteleva työryhmä jatkaa edelleen työtään ja toivoo saavansa symposiumin ohjelmaa tai alustajia koskevaa palautetta. Asiasta kiinnostuneita pyydetään ottamaan yhteyttä instituutin toimistoon (921/17 536) tai suoraan symposiumia valmistelevan työryhmän sihteeriin (Kai Lindström työ: 377 844, koti: 445 936 suuntanumero molemmissa 921).

Laitoksia ja virastoja pyydetään huomioimaan Muuttoliikesymposium ensi vuoden talousarvioissa.

JOHN NURMINEN OY
TURKU

KIRJALLISUUSESITTELYJÄ JA ARVIOITA

Regional Dynamics of Socioeconomic Change. Antoni Kuklinski & Olli Kultalahti & Briitta Koskiahho (eds.) Finnpublshers, Tampere 1979.

Tamperelainen pienkustantamo on ryhtynyt mit-tavaan hankkeeseen: "Regional Dynamics of Socioeconomic Change" on 547-sivuinen ko-koomateos, jonka kirjoittajat edustavat yli kym-mentä maata. Olli Kultalahden laatiman esipuheen mukaan pyrkimyksenä on kartoittaa ja kehittää uusia lähestymistapoja aluetutkimukseen, -suun-nitteluun ja -politiikkaan. Samalla kyseessä on eräänlainen jatko-osa Antoni Kuklinskin aiemmin toimittamille samaa aihepiiriä käsitteleville artik-kelikokoelmille. Teoksessa on neljä pääosaa: Tutkimuksen ja käytännön suunnittelun yhteydet ovat suppean avausosan (3 artikkelial kantava teema. Toisessa osassa (4 artikkelial) esitellään malleja ja metodeja. Kolmannen ja laajimman osan (15 artikkelial) aihepiiriksi on kirjattu kaikenkat-tava "käsitteitä ja lähestymistapoja". Kohteina ovat yhtäältä spatiaaliset järjestelmät muutok-sineen sekä toisaalta näiden järjestelmien suun-

nittelu. Neljännessä osassa (13 artikkelial) esitel-lään valikoituja kokemuksia ja esimerkkejä, jotka ryhmitetään kolmannen osan tapaan kahteen alajaksoon. Teoksen loppuponnnet muotoilee alue-tutkimuksen ja -suunnittelun kansainvälinen mana-gerihahmo Antoni Kuklinski. Tilanpuute estää kaikkien artikkelien kommentoinnin tässä - eikä kukaan tietysti luekaan tiiliskiven kokoisia moni-aineksisiä kokoomateoksia kannesta kanteen. Poi-min seuraavassa muutamia näyrteitä sisällöstä. John Friedmann pohtii aluetieteen tulevaisuutta. Hänen teesisä ovat tulleet keskustelun kohteiksi muidenkin esittäminä, mutta arvostetun auktori-teetin sanalla on aina painonsa: Aluetieteen ongel-manasettelu on perimmältään yhteiskunnallinen ja poliittinen. Kuitenkin sen teoria on eristynyt suunnittelun arjesta. Tähän tarvitaan muutos ja sitä toteutettaessa olisi analysoitava myös alue-tutkimuksen filosofisia perusteita. Näistä kannan-otoista Friedmann päätty konkreettisiin esityk-siin aluetieteen kehittämisen toimintaohjelmaksi. Hollantilainen tutkijakvartetti van Leeuwen-Paelinck-Wagenaar-Tack soveltaa spatiaalista eko-nometriaa monialueisen vuorovaikutusmallin kehit-

telyyn. Tämänkaltaisten mallien käytännön sovel-
 lusten vankkana esteenä on niiden valtaisa infor-
 maatiotarve. Kyseessä on joka tapauksessa eks-
 panstiivinen tutkimussuuntaus, joka tulee toden-
 näköisesti myös suomalaisten aluetutkijoiden har-
 rastusten kohteeksi ennen pitkää. Myös puola-
 lainen Wladyslaw Switalski tarkastelee aluetut-
 kimusta taloustieteen näkökulmasta. Hänen tee-
 mansa on J. W. Forresterin kehittämän ja sittem-
 min mm. useissa maailmanmalleissa käytetyn
 systeemidynamiikan soveltaminen aluetutkimuk-
 sessa. Näin tämä artikkeli liittyy useimpia muita
 kiinteämmin teoksen nimen viitoittamaan lähes-
 tymistapaan. Charles L. Leven luo katsauksen
 USA:n suurkaupunkien kehityssuuntia koskeviin
 tutkimustuloksiin. Hän katsoo suurkaupunkialuei-
 den kasvun taittumisen liittyvän jo kauan näh-
 tävissä olleisiin taloudellisen ja muun yhteiskun-
 nallisen kehityksen trendeihin. Tämä on tietysti
 varteen otettava näkökohta myös eurooppalai-
 sille suunnittelijoille. Toinen aluetutkimuksen
 veteraani, John H. Cumberland, analysoi energialai-
 tostien sijoittamiskysymyksiä. Artikkelin on ongel-
 manasettelultaan esimerkki aluetutkimuksen ja
 ympäristötutkimuksen konkreettisia yhtymäkoh-
 dista, jotka ovat varmasti tutkijoiden ja suunnit-
 telijoiden lisääntyvän mielenkiinnon kohteina
 tulevaisuudessa. Teoksen kotimaisista kirjoittajista
 Seppo Aho pohdiskelee alueellisen tasa-arvon
 käsitettä, Briitta Koskiaho selvittelee Suomen
 alueellista kehitystä, Olli Kultalahti esittelee
 alueellisen kehityksen, suunnittelun ja politiikan
 ulottuvuuksia sekä selostaa Suomen aluepolitiik-
 kaa ja aluetutkimusta, ja Ari Ylönen analysoi
 kaupunkimaisen elämäntavan sosiaalisia ja spatiaa-
 lisia rajoitteita. Näiden artikkelien kantavuus
 suomalaisen aluetutkimuksen esittelyinä riippuu
 tietysti siitä, missä määrin "Regional Dynamics
 of Socioeconomic Change" löytää tiensä aluetut-
 kimuksen "kansainvälisille kentille", jonne se
 on pääasiallisesti suunnattu. Aluetutkimus on
 niin laaja tutkimusala, etteivät sen kaikki suun-
 taukset mahdu mukaan laajaankaan yleistökseen.
 Esimerkiksi muuttoliike alueellisen kehityksen
 dynamiikan keskeisenä komponenttina on esillä
 yllättävän niukasti. Painotuksista voidaan tietysti
 aina olla monta mieltä. Teoksen kokonaisarvio-
 sa lieneekin järkevintä kiinnittää huomio sen
 heterogeenisuuden merkitykseen ja vaikutuksiin.
 Yhtäältä heterogeenisuus on aivan luonnollista:
 Aluetutkimus on osoittautunut alaksi, jolla esi-
 merkiksi idän ja lännen tutkijoiden yhteistyö on
 edennyt tuloksettaasti. Tämä teos vahvistaa

osaltaan tuota suuntausta ja on moniaineisuus-
 dessaan dokumenttina siitä, miten erilaisista
 näkökulmista suunnilleen samoja asioita voidaan
 lähestyä. Toisaalta heterogeenisuus oikeuttaa ky-
 symyksen, kenelle teos on viime kädessä tarkoi-
 tettu. Oppikirja se ei ole, sillä artikkelit ovat
 johdannon selittelyistä huolimatta kovin erilli-
 siä. Mutta ei se ole myöskään aluetutkijan käsi-
 kirja: spesiaalisti keskittyy lähinnä vain oman sek-
 torinsa aikakauskirjoihin ja kongressijulkaisuihin.
 Kaikenkaikkiaan "Regional Dynamics of Socio-
 economic Change" on merkittävä suomalainen
 yritys aluetutkimuksen yleistösten tulvassa. Siihen
 perehtyminen on täysin perusteltua muutoinkin
 kuin isänmaallisista syistä!

Heikki Eskelinen

*David Anderson, LINES IN SNOW; The Water-
 gate Rag and other Poems, Vantage Press.*

New York 1977, p. 77.

Suomalaista syntyperää olevan v. 1929 syntyneen
 ja nykyisin Minneapolissa asuvan runoilijan David
 Andersonin runokokoelma sisältää myös siirto-
 laisuutta ja etnisiä taustoja käsitteleviä teemoja.
 Oheisena katkelma runosta: The Watergate Rag

INSTANT

Americanization at Ellis Island
 as immigration officials
 drag out their guillotines
 suffixes, prefixes, all those unAmerican
 somehow subhuman
 syllables, sounds
 "Can't spell it." "Can't pronounce it."
 in a bloodless massacre are dropped
 chopped off
 ending with a million Swedes
 blond and blue eyed

Andersons

Martinsons

Hills, Storms and Tress

pastoral farmers looking for the Faerie
 Queene:

Our nameless, landless gentry

looking for a family tree

find neither escutcheons nor nobility

but the working class, the peasant-tree.

Suosittellemme runokokoelmaa englanninkielisen
 runouden ystäville.

O.K.

SIIRTOLAISUUSINSTITUUTIN KIRJASTOON SAAPUNEITA JULKAISUJA PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

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ARRA, Esa, *The Finns in Illinois*. New York Mills, Minnesota 1971. 278 s.

The effect of current demographic change in Europe on social structure. Proceedings of the third European population seminar, Beograd, 26-29 September, 1978. Ed. by Milos Macura. Beograd 1979. 221 s.

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KYYKKÄ, Sirpa, OJALA, Veijo, PAASIVIRTA, Anssi & SUNDROOS, Anders, *Flyttningsrörelsen och levnadsvillkoren. En beskrivning av den interna flyttningen i Finland*. NordREFO. Stockholm 1979. 171 s.

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