



L'ascesa del nazionalismo estremo in Finlandia

Markku Koivusalo

Università degli Studi di Genova, Martedì 16 febbraio 2016, 14:00-17:00



Quello che sta accadendo in Finlandia?

- The rise of neo-nationalism
- The rise of “populist” Finns Party, now in Government
- The rise of anti-parliamentary extreme neo-nationalist movements
- Refugee “crisis”
 - Finland “welcomes” refugees → People actively helping
 - Prime minister offers his house – did not happen
 - Yet the rhetoric of exaggeration
- The extremely strong austerity politics, cutting social services + refugees
 - The extreme rhetoric of austerity + exaggeration of refugee crisis → threat
- The growth on anti-refugee movements and sentiments
 - Violent attacks against asylum centres
 - Right wing street patrols “securing women” from refugees
 - Aggressive social media “discussions”



Giorno dell'Indipendenza 2016





Soldati di Odino

The far-right group protecting the streets and especially women from asylum seekers.

Odin? Nothing to do with Finland.
“Soldiers” - international neo-right



LOLdati di Odino



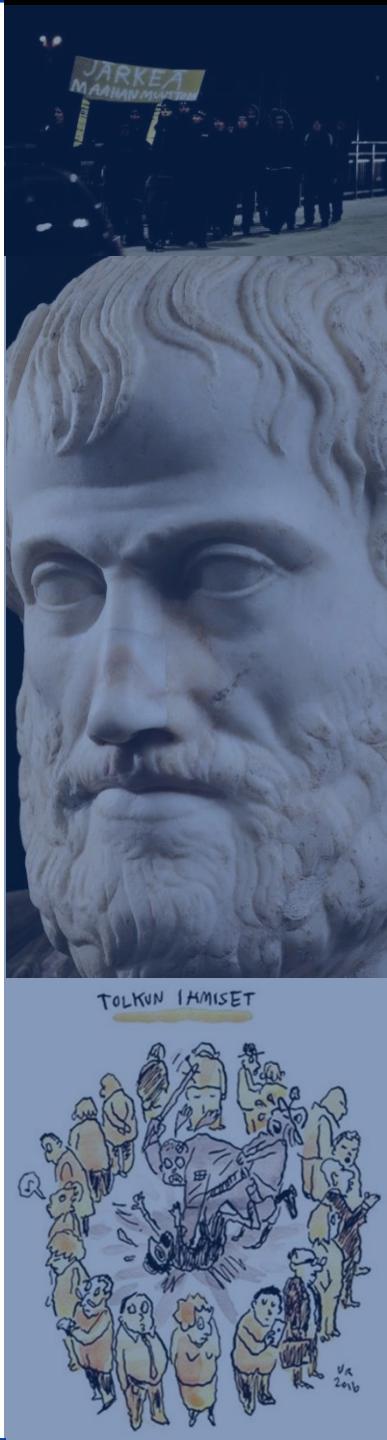
Incitamento all'odio

- Hate speech prohibited in penal code, *War crimes and crimes against humanity*
 - “Publishing data, an opinion or other statement that threatens or insults a group on basis of race, nationality, ethnicity, religion or conviction, sexual orientation, disability, or any comparable basis.”
 - Hallo-Aho (Finns MP) ← Supreme Court found guilty of ethnic agitation
- Finnish social media is very active
- New forms of politicization and actually increase of political “activity”
- New political public, even if segregation
- Yet increase of aggressive hate speech, polemics as *ad hominem* attacks
- Especially attacks against women and female left-politicians
 - Suvakkihuorat (tolleranza puttana)
 - Rape fantasies and threats
- New publicity, new forms of publicity, yet dubious “alternative” social medias
 - Freedom of (hate) speech and misinformation
 - Struggle in favour of open “information”
 - Make up of pseudo-news & misinformation
- “What a Fuck” (Mitä vittua?) Finnish Internet journal established in Spain
- Magnetic media (antisemitism, denial of holocaust etc.)
- Finnish News (Finns Party)



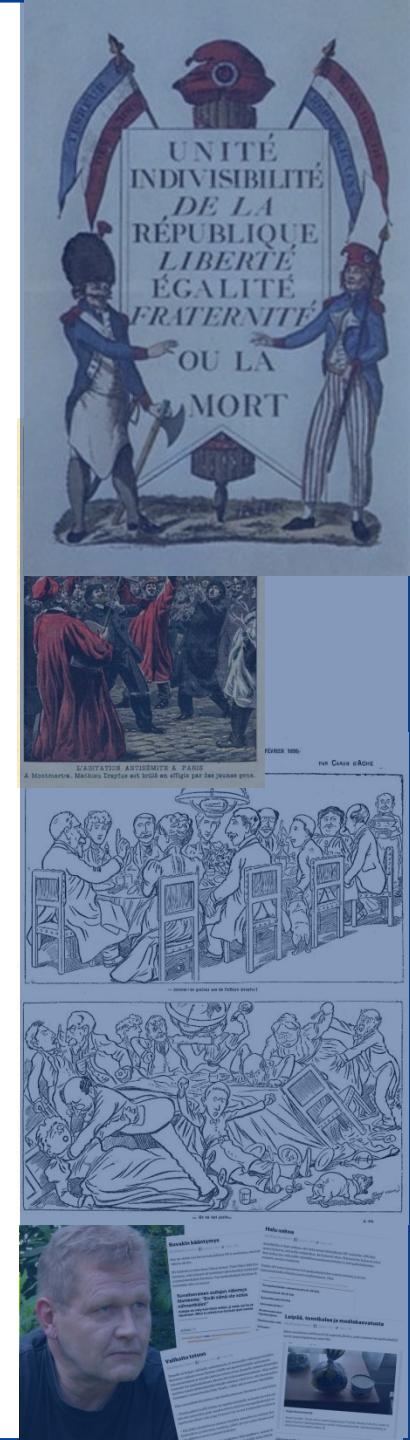
Personae di buon senso?

- You have to come into your senses!
 - Aristotle: The golden mean: Virtue and excellence as mean (*to meson*)
 - Moderation between the extremes, against the excess
 - Justice and good ≠ mean → always excesses
- Perversity of current “moderate” thinking
 - Extreme right ≠ extreme left → moderation
 - Where is the “extreme” left?
 - Respecting “bourgeois” rights → extreme left?
 - Moderate violence, racism, criminality etc.
 - Non-violence ≠ violence → moderate violence
 - Non-racism ≠ racism → moderate racism
 - Lawful action ≠ unlawful action → moderate criminality
- Justice and truth itself becomes mean between “extremes”
- Moderate immigration?
 - One extreme: Violent aggression, close all borders immediately, attack refugees
 - Other extreme: Respecting human rights, helping the refugees
 - Phantasy extreme: Tolerant for everything, does not think there is any problems, etc.



Affare (Dreyfus) Rifugiato

- From French revolution to the Dreyfus affair
 - *"This is a remarkable century which opened with the Revolution and ended with the Affaire! Perhaps it will be called the century of rubbish."* Roger Martin du Gard / Hannah Arendt
- The birth of popular modern antisemitism + extreme nationalism
 - Citizen rights ↔ “ethnocentric rights”
 - Can Jew be loyal French citizen?
- The birth of modern media politics
 - Fought in the newspapers, the rumors and misinformation
- The birth of a modern intellectual Émile Zola: *J'accuse ...!*
- Dreyfusards ≠ anti-dreyfusards
 - *dreyfusards, dreyfusiens, and dreyfusists*
- Refugee Affaire
- Popular islamophobia + neo-nationalism
- The SOME (social media) politics
- The birth of a new kind of SOME Intellectual:
 - Sakari Timonen: Mietteitä peräkammarin uuninpankolta

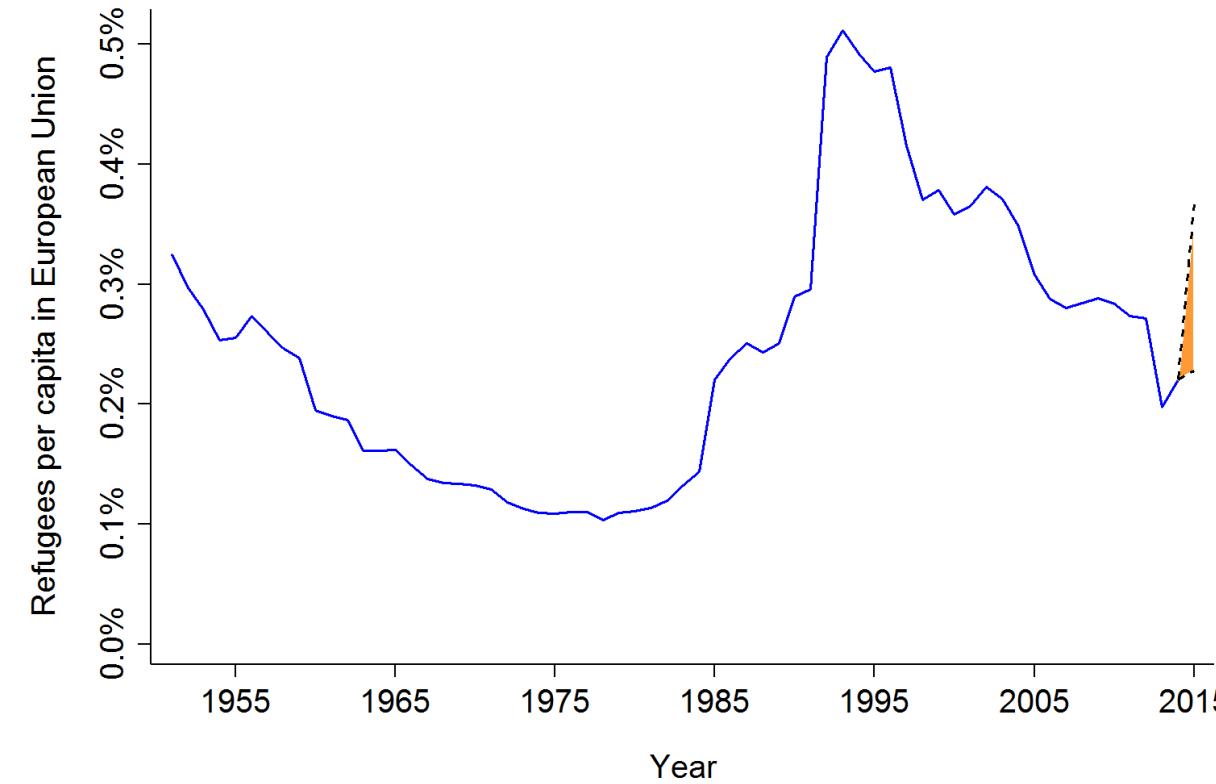
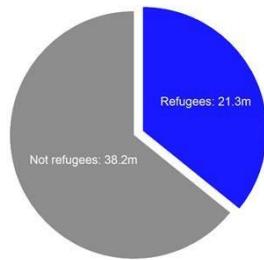


Discorso ambivalente

- Opening of the legislature's Spring term, President Niinistö speech
- Migrants pose challenge to western values
 - *"The international rules were drawn up and their interpretation evolved under quite different circumstances,"*
 - *"There are therefore no good options. We have to ask ourselves whether we aim to protect Europe's values and people, and those who are truly in acute danger, or inflexibly stick to the letter of our international obligations with no regard for the consequences."*
 - *"Anyone who can say the word 'asylum' will have the right to cross the border."*
- Interpretation ?
 - What did the president really mean?
 - Seemed suddenly to take of the side of anti-refugee sentiments and neonationalists
 - Right and even extreme right welcomed the speech
- 90 % of Finnish approved the presidents talk and thinks that is was excellent



Crisi europeo per i rifugiati



La critica della costituzione

- The constitution should be flexible and changing according to the needs of time
 - 1930's critique of liberal constitution – will of the people – demands of the time
- The sudden emerge of anti-constitutional discourse from right
 - The defence of constitutional rights
 - Right ≠ Left → Left ≠ Right
 - “Revolution”, transformation, Left → right
- The criticism of the basic rights
 - European Convention on Human Rights, part of Finnish legislation
- The criticism of the social rights
 - Cannot be afforded anymore
- The criticism of constitutional jurists
- Economic necessity
 - The need to cut social rights
 - Are the cuts anymore constitutional? Do they violate constitutional rights?
- “Racist” necessity
 - Refugee crisis, social rights only for “national” Finns



I rifugiati come il nemico politico

- Carl Schmitt: Politics as friend enemy relation
 - The constitution of the nation through the enemy
- Finnish nationalism in relation to the Russia
- Russia as an ambivalent enemy, the stepfather and the “enemy”
 - Finland and Finnish nationalism created as a grand duchy of Russian Empire
 - Russian gives Finland autonomous position, before there is strictly speaking no Finland
 - Russian starts the russification politics → intensification of nationalism
- Soviet Regime
 - Soviet Russian government issued a decree, recognizing Finland's independence
 - Soviet Union attacks Finland → intensification of national unity
- 1930s extreme right-wing nationalism
 - Communism as the main enemy → in the background Soviet Union
- After second world war, the enemy as the friend, YYA, Finlandization
- Neo-nationalism
 - Putin, the enemy of liberals, yet the “friend” of the neo-nationalism
 - EU as the enemy → immigration as the enemy, multiculturalism enemy “ideology”
 - Refugee as the enemy? Can refugee be a national enemy?

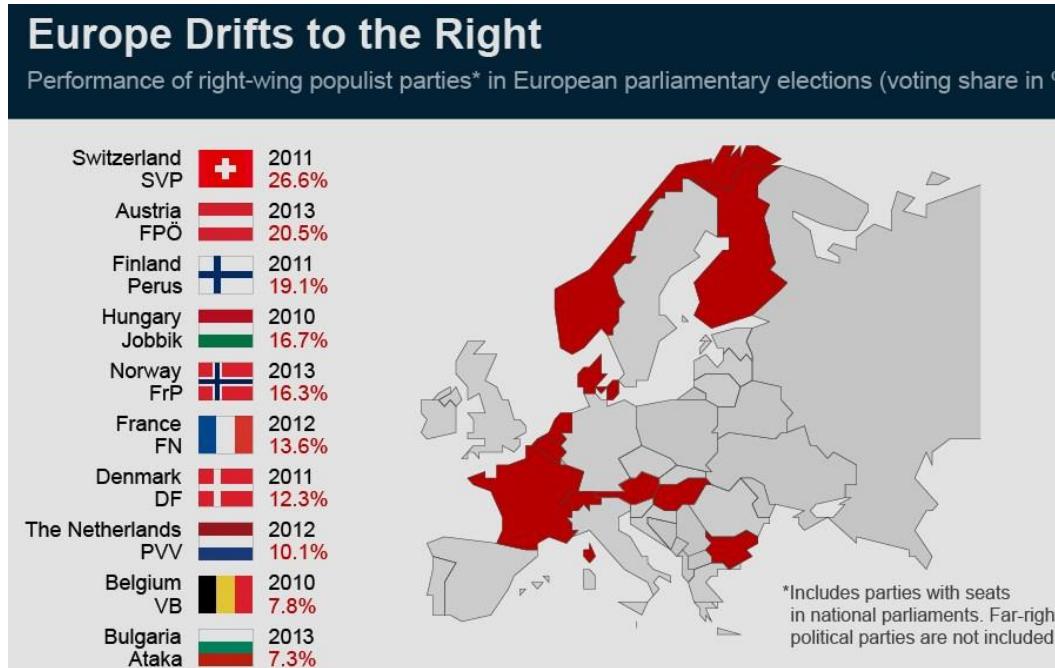


Il fascismo finlandese?

- The politics of historical interpretation
 - “Rightist” and nationalist history
 - After IIWW → reclaiming the repressed, “leftist” history
 - After collapse of Soviet Union → reclaiming the repressed “rightist” history
 - Return of the strong nationalistic sentiments
- The quarrel about the Finnish civil war
 - Freedom war, red revolt, class-war etc.
- The quarrel about Finnish fascism
 - Did indeed exist
 - “Finnish fascism” repressed and denied after IIWW
 - Is there now the return of the repressed?
- A new book “Fascismo finlandese” 2016
 - Warning about the return of the repressed
- Minister of Defence, Jussi Niinistö (Finns party)
 - Historian, keen interest in right wing movements and radicalism
 - Histories as a kind of extreme right apologies
 - Movements helped to save Finland from communist threat
 - Earlier interpretations: Suppressing the movements saved Finland from fascism
 - Playing down the radical right violence

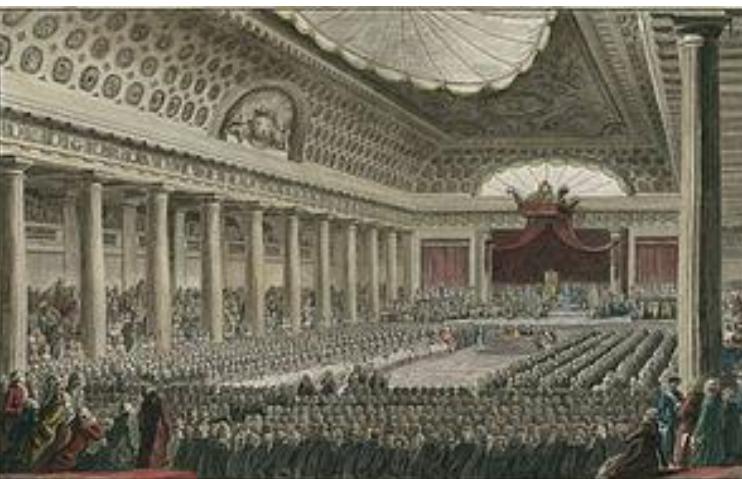
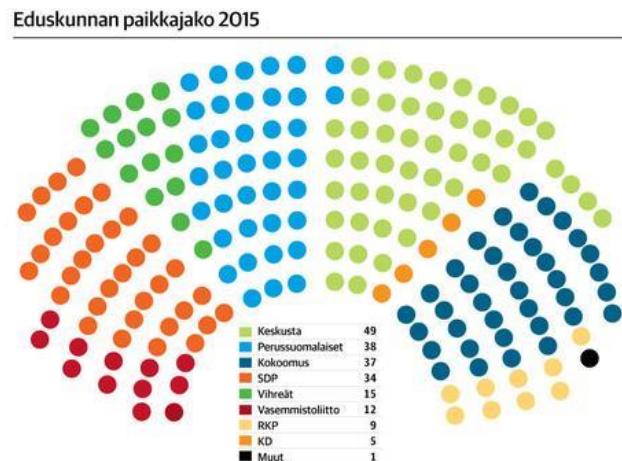


L'ascesa della destra e neo-nazionalismo in Europa



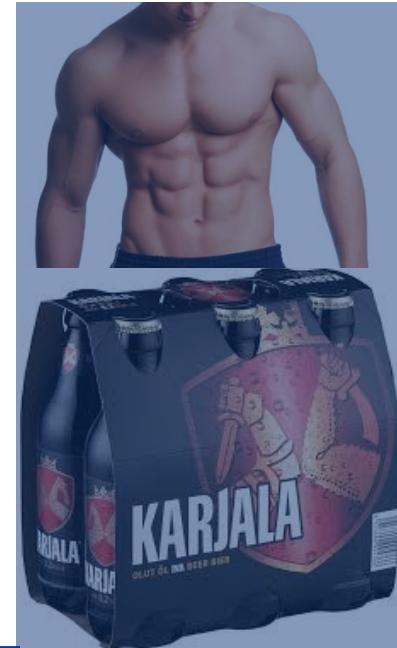
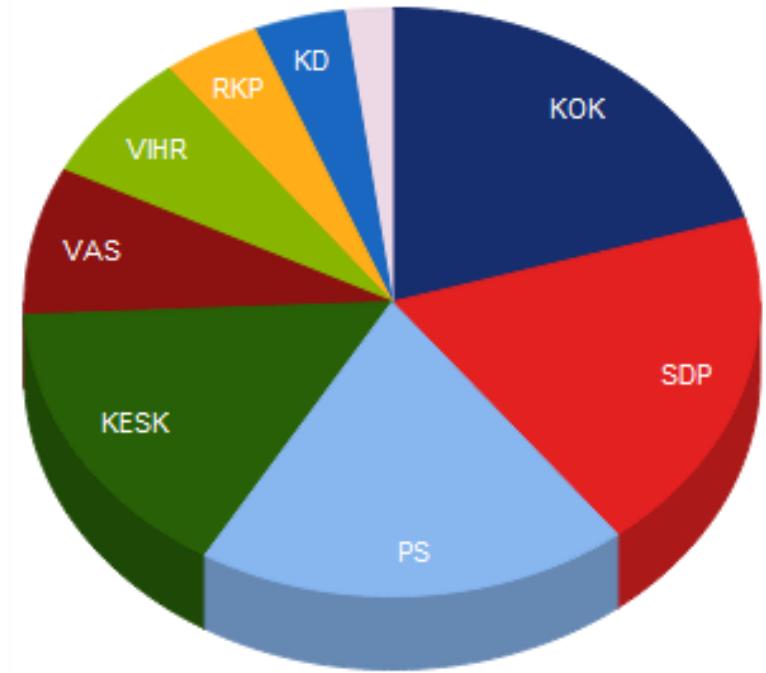
Sinistra e destra (girare a destra)

- Left – right division from French National Assembly
- Not binary but flexible, left of right, right of left etc.
- Rainbow coalitions. Favoring Centre.
- From left to right → Socialist → liberal → ~~monarchist~~
- From right to left → neo-nationalist, neo-liberal → social liberal → communist
- The rhetoric of change: Left → Right , reactive right → reactive left
- The division of right – neoliberal “progressive” ≠ neoconservative “reactive”



Coalition governments

- The main parties
 - The Social Democratic Party (SDP)
 - The Centre Party (old agrarian league) (Keskusta)
 - National Coalition Party (Kokoomus)
 - Left Alliance (Vasemmistoliitto) ← (Finnish People's Democratic League)
 - Green League
 - Finns Party (True Finns) Perussuomalaiset
 - Swedish People's Party of Finland (RKP)
 - Christian Democrats (KD)
- Coalitions
 - 'Red ochre coalition'
 - Blue-red coalition
 - Bourgeois government
 - National front
 - Rainbow coalition
- Six pack: Jyrki Katainen's cabinet (2011-2014)
 - National Coalition + Social Democratic + Left, Greens, Swedish, Christians
 - Opposition: The Centre Party + Finns



2011 Grande Jytky (rumoreggiare?)

- The (true) Finns – Spectacular rise
- Marginal: 1999 0,99 %, 1 seats, 2003 1,57 %, 3 seats, 2007 4,05 % 5 seats
- 2011 The Big Jytky
 - Gained 34 seats (5→39), (4% →19%) → 3. biggest party
 - Left out from government → 2011 23 %, suddenly the most popular party
- Perussuomalaiset - Finns fundamentali
 - Perus (base, foundation, ordinary, basic, fundamental). The Fundamental Finns
 - Persut, perse (culo)
- Timo Soini (leader), famous for his populist buzz phrases and *one-liners*
 - Persut eivät myy persettäään. Fundamental Finnish never sell their ass
- 2015 17,65 %, 38 seats – second biggest party after center party
- Joined the government coalition.
- Started to sell its ass → now popularity 9,8 %
 - Social democrats are gaining back the working class voters from the Finns



Populismo finlandese



- “Populist” parties strongly identified with their “charismatic” leaders
- **Veikko Vennamo** (1913 – 1997)
 - One mans movement against “Kekkoslovakia”
 - Kekkonen, President of Finland (1956–1982)
 - Agrarian League → Finnish Rural Party
- Elites ≠ people rhetoric
 - Against the established elites and political corruption (Ròtòsherrat kuriin)
 - In favor of the “common” people; “forgotten people” “small citizens”
- Finnish Rural Party (1959-1995) → The (true) Finns party
- **Timo Soini** (b. 1962) oppipoika – (apprendista)
 - The Finns party's leader since 1997
 - Political scientist, graduate work on populism, populism as a positive politicization
 - Converted to Roman Catholicism ← the ordination of women as Lutheran priests
 - Also opposition to abortion and homosexuality
 - Started as a strong EU critic: “Where (is) EU, there (is a) problem.”
 - Vennamo rhetoric, we are on the side of “small people”
 - Claims that he has only social conservative morals not economics, however against the left
 - New right as anti-new left (especially against greens and red-greens liberals)

(Nuovo) Finns

- 2011 Grande Jytky → from minor to big party
 - New people, new representatives, new budget
 - Lacking the organization of the big party
- 2015 Governmental responsibility
 - Protes and opposition party, radical criticism of government, EU etc.
 - Now itself sitting in the government, the need to change the strategy
- Governing positions
 - Minister of Foreign Affairs, Timo Soini
 - Minister of Justice and Employment, Jari Lindström
 - Minister of Defence, Jussi Niinistö
 - Minister of Social Affairs and Health, Hanna Mäntylä
 - Speaker of the Parliament Maria Lohela
- New people and new fractions
- Social policy + anti-EU + anti-corruption
 - “poor and common people” → betrayal of the poor
- Outside the government becoming more an one issue party (anti-immigration)
 - Tension with government position and popular basis
 - Against multiculturalism and immigration
 - Anti-refugees, neo-nationalism → Growing racism



La voce di uomo comune



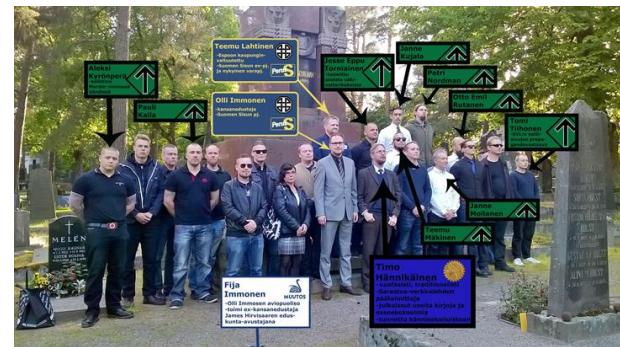
Pericolo di scissione

- Timo Soini still (almost) unquestioned leader
 - Harder to be anymore one man's party
 - Sampo Terho: Leading the parliamentary group
 - The effort to keep the people and fractions together
 - The effort to find more “respectable” role as governing party
 - The effort to keep people inside party not giving openly racist or fascist statements etc.
- Soini: Tension as foreign minister and populist party leader
 - Problems in keeping these positions separate
 - Foreign minister of Finland cannot just make popular one liners
- Soini → to keep party as “moderate” populist conservative party
 - In theory denies its being new right, extreme right or even right-wing party
 - Denies all fascist, racist and new right association
 - However, in practice hesitates to condemn the radical fractions
- The popularity of party through its anti-refugee and even racist views
 - Especially now after having betrayed the “common people” in social politics
- The danger of splitting the party → extreme “tolerated”
 - The refugee “crisis” makes the division more open
 - Government had to take care ← Lets close the borders movement



Finns → sezione radicale ala destra

- Takes the party more extreme nationalism → danger of splitting the party
- Jussi Halla-Aho (MP) (“intellectual”)
 - Not charismatic leader, but «intellectual» rhetorician
 - Became popular anti-immigration and anti-multiculturalist blogger
 - Condemned once because incitement to ethnic or racial hatred
 - Focus on criticism of immigration, refugees and Islamophobia
- Olli Immonen (MP)
 - Repeating the rhetoric's of the 1930's so called conservative revolution thinkers
 - Anti-globalization and anti-neoliberalism through strong neo-nationalism
 - Multiculturalism as the deadly threat
 - Almost messianic nationalism, only strict nationalism can save us
 - Chairman of the neo-nationalist Finnish Sisu
 - Contacts with neo-Nazis



29.5.2015, il nuovo governo Sipilä, Stubb, Soini (SSS)



Sipilä Juha, primo ministro

- Jyrki Katainen → EU → Alexander Stubb (primo ministro)
 - “Bourgeoisie” voters → Centre party
- Juha Sipilä (leader of Centre Party)
 - Newcomer to politics
 - 2010 → MP 2011 → party leader 2012 → pm 2015
 - Engineer
 - IT-business (Solitra) → sold to the American company → “millionaire”
 - Hidden laestadian background
 - Conservative Lutheran “pietistic” revival movement
- Saving Finland with business “practice”
 - “Suomi kuntoon” - Lets fix / trim Finland, Lets make Finland in better shape
 - Leading Finland as business corporation
 - Project diagrams, efficiency, pragmatism etc.
- Sipilöinti
 - Making decisions and then giving them up
 - Problems with legislation, problems with “expert” knowledge etc.
 - Authoritarian style, getting rid of the norms
 - You cannot lead state as it would be your own corporation



I valori di uomini SSS

- Government mainly represented and identified with **S(ipilä)**, **S(tubb)** and **S(oini)**
- Tensions in National coalition + Centre party
 - Neoliberalism ≠ social liberalism, conservatism ≠ liberalism
 - Regional politics ≠ metropolitan politics
- Sipilä Juha, Prime minister
 - Business values, bringing business people in the government
 - ← criticism from the old party people
- Stubb Alexander
 - Liberal section of National coalition party, neoliberal in economy, cultural liberal
 - Pro gay rights, everybody is alright, free and nice, so long as they have money
- Timo Soini
 - Neoconservative values both in economy and culture
- Timo Soini ≠ Alexander Stubb
 - neo-conservative ≠ neo-liberal, anti-Eu ≠ pro-Eu, anti-globalization ≠ pro-globalization
 - Compromise: Conservative and populist values (Soini) + neoliberal politics (Stubb)
- Compromise = Juha Sipilä



Cai-Göran Alexander Stubb b.1968





TO

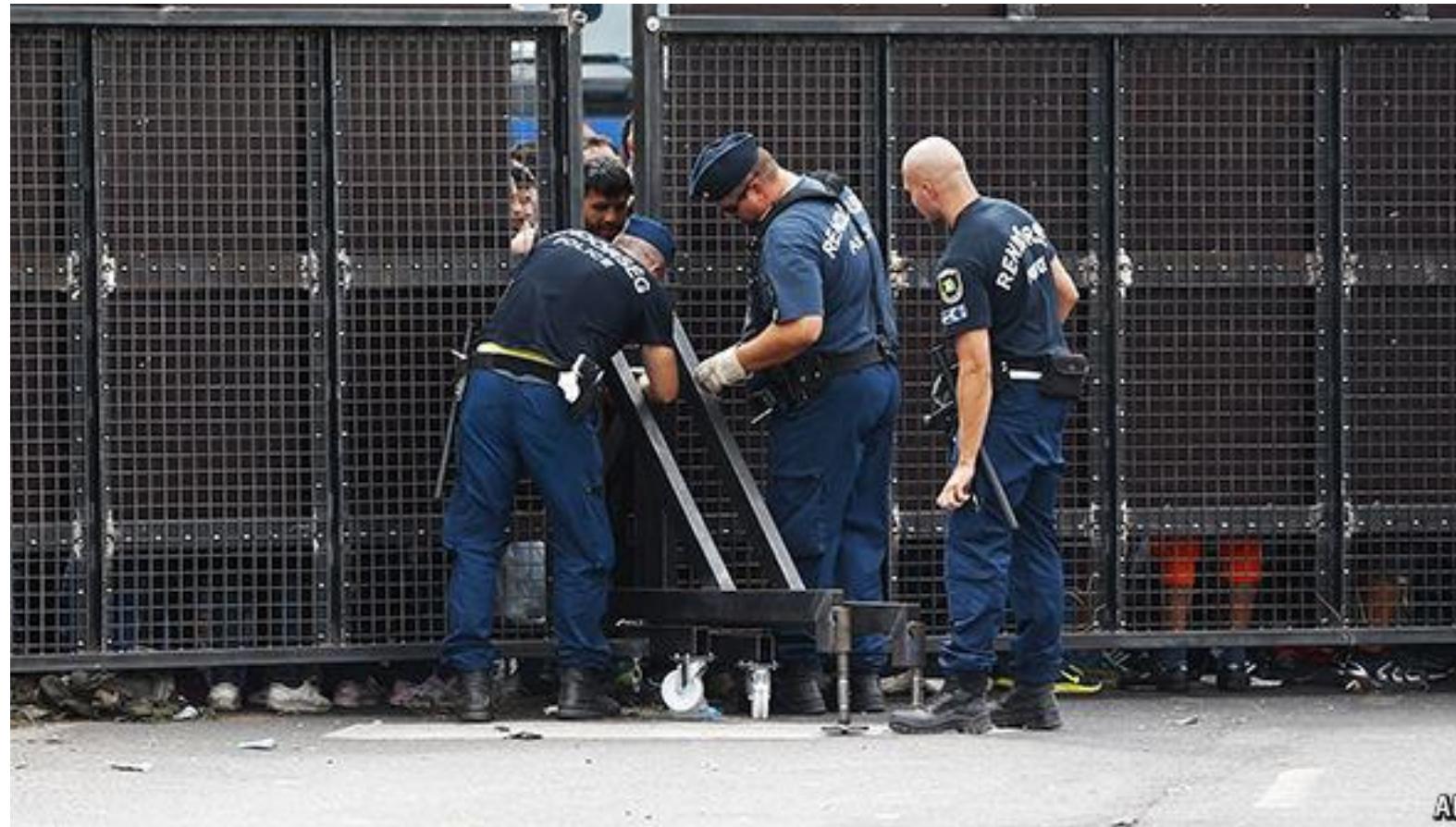
Timo Juhani Soini (b.1962)



1989 La caduta del muro di Berlino



2016 la costruzione di nuovi muri



AP

La vittoria del liberalismo?

- La fine della storia (Hegel → Kojève → Fukuyama)
 - *“What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.”*
- The Passing of the Illusion («Revisionist" historian - François Furet)
 - *« Rien d'autre n'est visible dans les débris des régimes communistes que le répertoire familier de la démocratie libérale...l'expérience soviétique constitue l'une des grandes réactions antilibérales et antidémocratiques de l'histoire européenne au xx^e siècle, l'autre étant bien sûr celle du fascisme, sous ses différentes formes. »*
- The Return of the National Prejudices
 - The return of the « fascist » stories myths
 - The return of more aggressive political anti-liberalism from right
- Liberal Russia → authoritarian and neo-nationalist Russia
 - The common interest with the European right wing parties
 - Putin as the model of strong leader

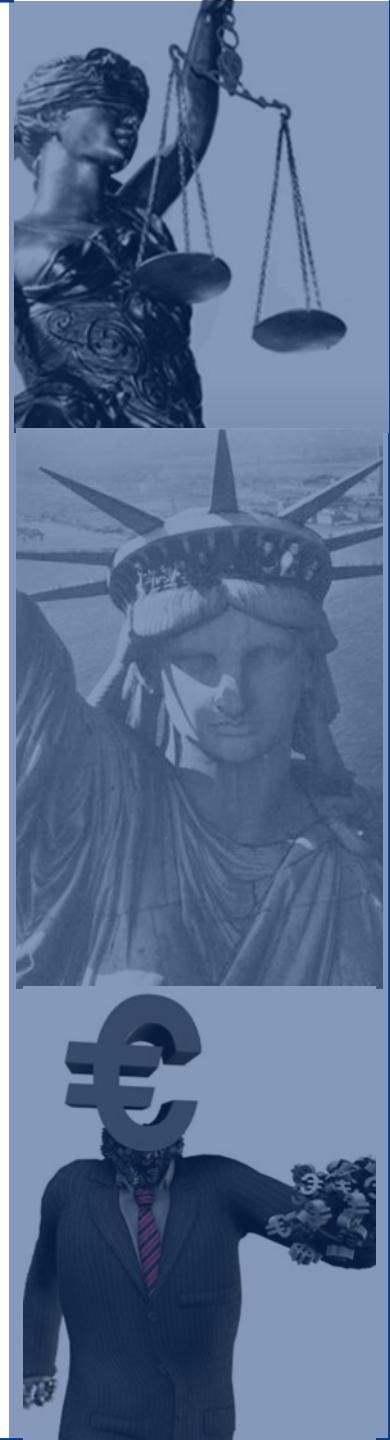


FAR-RIGHT PARTIES, LOBBYING FOR THE INTERESTS OF RUSSIA IN EUROPE



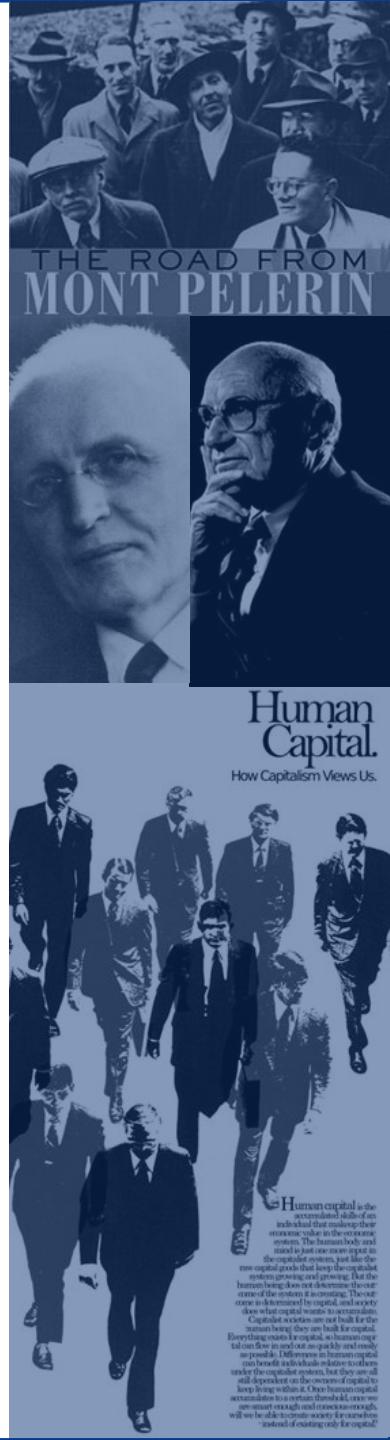
Liberalismo

- Liberalism as critique of 17th and 18th century reason of state (ragion di stato)
 - Setting limits to the absolute state
- Juridical liberalism (Principle of justice)
 - External limitation
 - Law, Will and Rights, Bourgeoisie Revolution
 - Constitution, civil rights, individual rights
 - Formal rights → formal equality
- Economic liberalism (Markets – economic interests)
 - Internal limitation
 - Markets, interests, utility
 - Concrete government → government of interests → government through markets
- Two concepts of freedom in liberalism (Michel Foucault)
 - Homo juridicus ↔ homo economicus
 - State - markets
 - Justice ≠ Cutting the Public Budget
 - Social rights ≠ Austerity → minimal rights



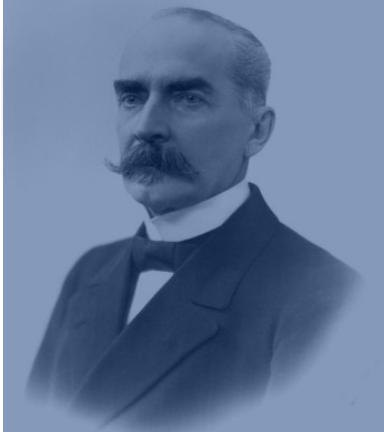
La vittoria del liberalismo neo-liberismo

- Economic liberalism – The principle of Markets
 - Neo, more intense and active economic liberalism
- The death of classical liberalism → birth of neoliberalism
 - From passive to active market principles and government
- Natural markets → constructed and promoted markets
 - Classical economic liberalism → make room for the natural markets
 - Neoliberalism → markets as regulative principle, had to be constructed
- Markets as the test and principle of government
 - Passive → active market governance
 - Economic equilibrium → competitive markets
- The different forms of neoliberalism
 - German ordo-liberalism – social market liberalism
 - Chicago school American economic liberalism
- Neoliberalism as the governmental reason
 - Economic efficiency, budget cuts, non-keynesian politics
 - Economic “efficiency” ↔ costly rights



Liberismo finlandese

- Finland = constitutional republic
 - Weak liberalistic political tradition
- Liberal parties
 - First liberal club 1877. party 1880-1882. Swedish speaking elite "Gentlemen party"
 - Liberal nationalist Young Finnish Party (1894-1917) → efforts to reawaken in 1990's
 - Split between social liberal and conservative economic liberal fractions
 - The National Progressive Party 1918-1951.
 - Almost always in government
 - After II WW small parties. Liberalism in a different forms taken by other parties.
 - Swedish speaking party and Centre party
 - Social liberalism → Green and new left
 - Economic liberalism → National Coalition Party
- Nationalism and socialism
 - Much stronger political history in Finland
 - Nationalism → The Finnish Party (not the Finns) → National Coalition Party
 - Extreme nationalism in 1930's → IKL
 - Social democrats, first elections 1907, biggest party
 - Split after civil war: Communist Party of Finland illegal until 1944
 - Socialist Workers' Party of Finland 1920-1923
 - All communist associated parties banned in 1930's
 - After second world war, 17%–24%. until 1980's



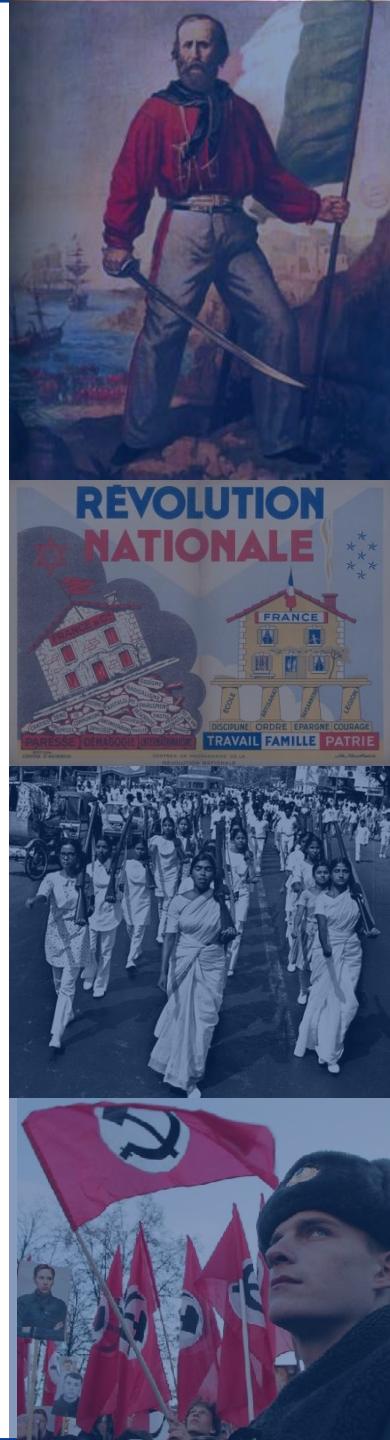
Neoliberalismo finlandese

- Not so much as a political ideology but governmental reason
- Started as new governmental rationality (Ministry of Finance)
 - NPM - New Public Management, PM -Performance management
 - Paradox: The growth of administration and bureaucracy as pure control mechanism
- First round as a “state” neoliberalism
 - Making public sector “market” regulated
 - Regulation in the name of deregulation, bureaucracy in the name of de-bureaucracy
 - “Social democratic” neoliberalism
- Second round: getting rid of the public sector → “austerity” neoliberalism
 - Privatization, fiscal austerity, reducing the public sector in order to lessen its influence
- A New paradigm: from welfare state to competitive state
 - Welfare state paradigm
 - Swedish model, salary work, universal social rights, state as responsible, centralized collective bargains, strong position of labour unions.
 - Competition state paradigm
 - Finland as export state, competitive state (neomercantilism)
 - Competitiveness - competitive advantage
 - The Highest Aim. Magic word.



Nazionalismo → estremo → post → neo

- The great 19th century ideologies: **liberalism, socialism and nationalism**
- Renaissance Republican **patriotism** → 19th century **nationalism**
- **The nation-state** as universal model for political community
 - French state → French nation-state
 - German, Italy, Finland: Nationalism → State
- Socialism ↔ liberalism → nationalism
 - 19th century → “*risorgimento*» nationalism.
 - 20th century → “integral” and extreme nationalism.
- World Wars
 - I WW – nationalistic total war → II WW → condemnation of extreme nationalism
- Post-colonial nationalism
 - Arab nationalism → Islam
- Globalization and Post-nationalism
- Neo-nationalism



Zeitdiagnose - tempo diagnosi

- From post- to neo-times.
 - The changing time attitude – the changing mood
- The postmodernity and post-history
 - Poststructuralism, post-religion, post-nationalism, post colonialism, post-marxist, postfeminist, post-politics, post-philosophy etc.
- Melancholy
 - Eternally enduring long goodbyes
 - Traces, remnants, remainders, residues etc.
 - Something is gone, we do not want it back, but want to save the remnant
- The neo-times
 - Suddenly everything was not actually new, but neo-new
 - The old gods raised from their graves with new neon lights.
 - A new intensification?
- From post- to neo-nationalism
 - Postnationalist: The time of nations and nationalism is over - to save the remnant.
 - Neonationalism: A new kind of intense nationalism would save us.



Nazionalismo finlandese

- Recent but strong nationalism
- Finland as a nation was created quite late
 - Strong national awakening
 - 19th century nationalistic ideologies
- Civil war, national symbols reclaimed by right
- Healing the division
- Strong cultural homogeneity
- Forms of extreme nationalism before IIWW
- Now again returning



Parte orientale dell'impero svedese 1250-1809



La leggenda di Lalli

- Habitants from post-glacial times
 - The oldest confirmed from c. 8900 BCE. Mainly seasonal hunter-gatherers.
 - Pre-Christian Times, Finnish tribes
- The Legend of first crusade 1155??? (Never happened)
 - King of Sweden Eric the Holy, Bishop Henry converting people to Christianity
- Legend of Henry, Martyr, saint, The catholic cult of Henry
- Folk poem called "The Slaying of Henry" (Henrikin surma).
 - Lalli´s wife Kerttu tells that bishop had departed their house without paying for his food, drink, or fodder. Lalli became enraged and went to decapitate Henry with an axe.
 - The first Finnish hero as violent madman decapitating foreign intruders
 - Recently Lalli was chosen as the 14th greatest Finn.
- Second Swedish Crusade by Birger Jarl in the 13th century.
 - Finland became part of Sweden for the next 550 years.



1596-1597 rivolta contadina

- Guerre mazza / Nuijasota, peasant revolt
- Originally nothing to do with non-existing nationalism
- Later reclaimed by both right and (less) from left
- Constructed later as a “nationalistic” national myth



Guerra di Finlandia 1808-9



- Russian Emperor Alexander I concluded the 1807 Treaty of Tilsit with Napoleon,
- War between the Kingdom of Sweden and the Russian Empire
- Later romanticized by national poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg



Granducato di Finlandia 1809-1917

- Sweden loses Finland to Russia in the Finnish War 1808-1809
- Diet of Porvoo 1809
 - The four Estates pledged allegiance to Alexander I of Russia
 - The laws and liberties as well as religion would be left unchanged.
- Finland as an autonomous grand duchy within the autocratic Russian Empire
 - 1809–1862: Years of consolidation, the loyalty to Russian Tsar
 - 1863–1898: Increased independence, building nationality
 - 1899–1917: Attempted russification, nationalism as resistance to Russia
- Nationalism in relation to the Russia
- Russian as “stepfather” and the “main enemy”
 - Russian gives Finland autonomous position, before there is strictly speaking no Finland
 - Russian starts the russification politics → intensification of nationalism
 - Soviet Russian government issued a Decree, recognizing Finland's independence
 - Soviet Union attacks Finland → intensification of national unity



Fennomania – costruzione della nazione

- “*Swedes we are no more, Russians we cannot become, therefore Finns we must be.*”
- Swedish ↔ Finnish language nationalism
- Swedish-speaking upper class choose to promote Finnish culture and language.
- *Kalevala* 1835 (Finnish Carelian mythology)
 - Epic poetry compiled by Elias Lönnrot from oral folklore
- Johan Ludvig Runeberg, national poem, the heroic tales from Finnish War
- Johan Vilhelm Snellman (Hegelian national philosopher)
- Finnish currency, the Markka, in 1865
- The language strife
 - Finnish as peasant language, Swedish as language of administration and culture
 - In 1863, the Finnish language gained an official position in administration.
- Fennomans ← Svecomans
- Akseli Kivi
 - Finnish language national author, *Seven Brothers*



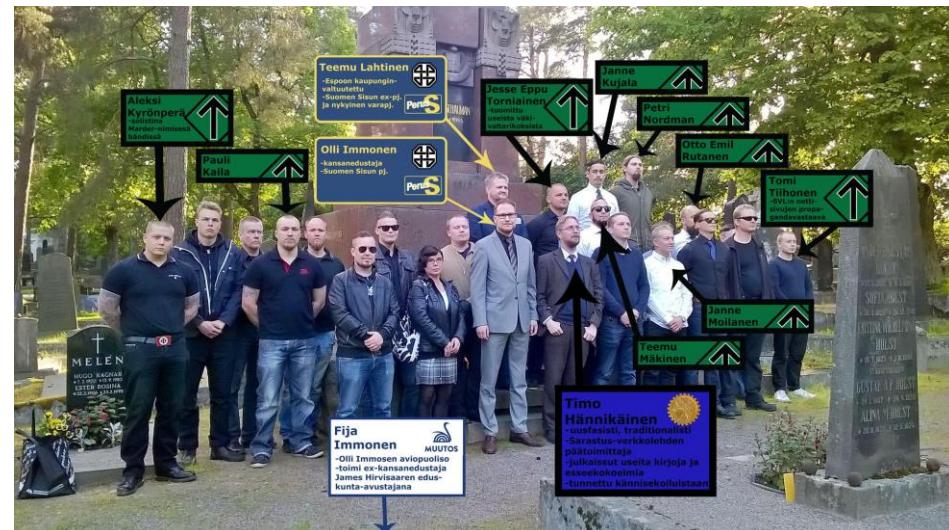
Anni di gelo (Routavuodet) 1899–1905

- Russian nationalism / Pan-Slavism → Russification of the empire.
 - Efforts to abolish the administrative and cultural autonomy
- *Précis du droit public du Grand Duché de Finlande 1886 (Mechelin)*
- February Manifesto of 1899 (Nicholas II)
 - The imperial right to rule Finland without the consent of local legislative bodies,
- Russian as an administrative language
- Army question: Finnish → Russian army → Russian soldiers to Finland
- Finnish resistance
 - The Great Address – collects 522 931 names
 - Young and old fennomans: passive resistance - appeasement.
 - Expulsion of nationalists
- Nikolai Bobrikov, Governor-General of Finland.
 - Dictatorial rights – shot by young nationalist Eugen Schauman
- 1905 Russian loses the Japan war
- 1905 Revolution



eroe nazionale→ terrorista → destra radicale

- Eugen Schauman, young nationalist shoots Nikolai Bobrikov
- Became national hero, Schauman cult
- 2004 a hundred years from murder (war against terror)
 - Prime minister Vanhanen: We should not celebrate terrorist in times of war against terror
- 2015 Far-right activist memorial event for Schauman.
 - Finnish Resistance Movement , Olli Immonen, MP for the Finns Party



Sciopero generale 1905

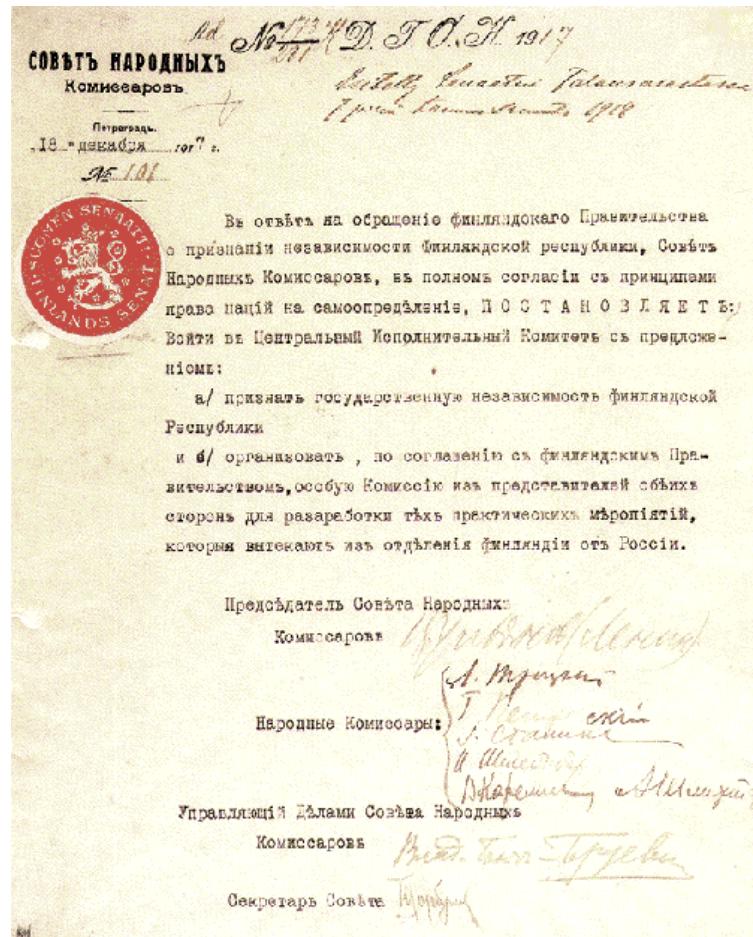
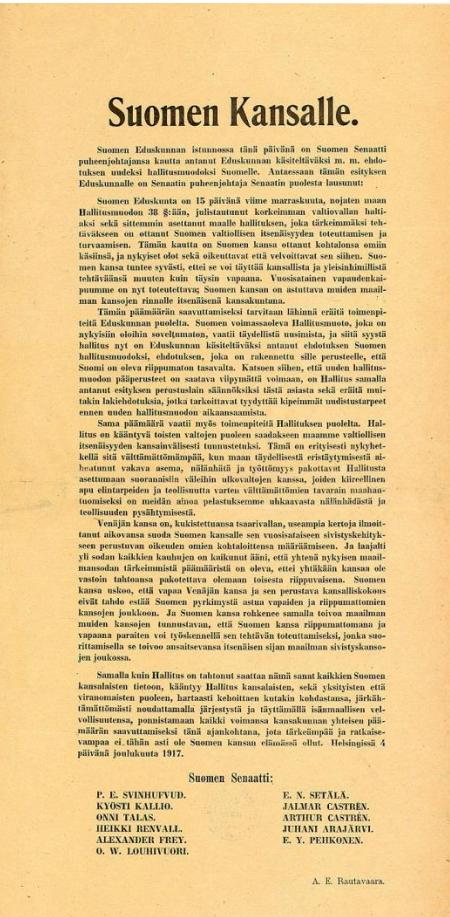


La riforma costituzionale 1906

- Radical change from “medieval” estate system to modern parliament
- The Diet of Finland with four estates → modern unicameral parliament
- Universal suffrage and eligibility.
- Women could both vote and run for office as also landless people with no excluded minorities
- The first Parliament had 19 female representatives.
- The rise of the social democrats
- 1907 Elezioni parlamentari
 - Partito Socialdemocratico Finlandese 80 37,03% 329 946
 - Partito dei finlandesi 59 27,34% 243 573
 - Partito dei giovani finlandesi 26 13,65% 121 604
 - Partito Popolare Svedese 24 12,60% 112 267
 - Lega Agraria 9 5,75% 51 242
 - Lega dei lavoratori cristiani 2 1,55% 13 790



Dichiarazione di Indipendenza finlandese 6.12.1917



Guerra civile (27.1 – 15.3 1918)



Repubblica di Finlandia 17.7.1919 (Suomen tasavalta)



Friedrich Karl,
Il «Re» della Finlandia 9.10-14.12.1918

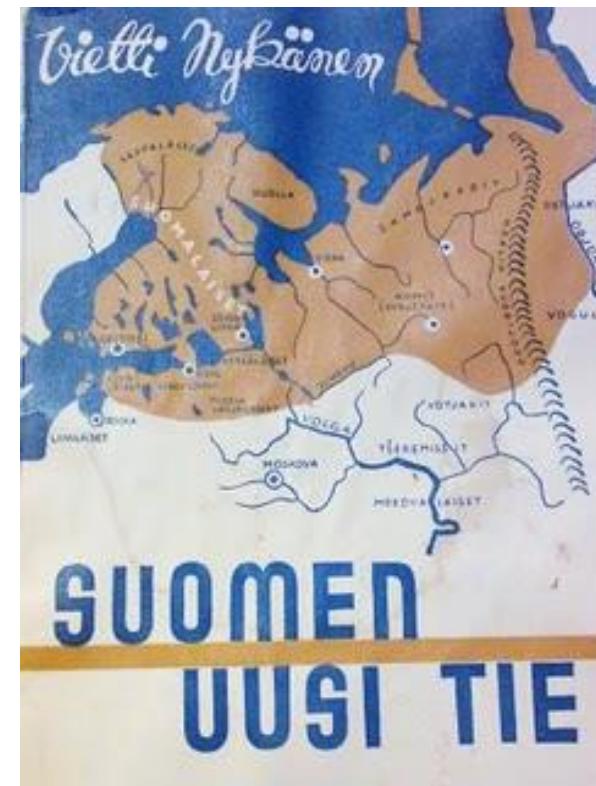
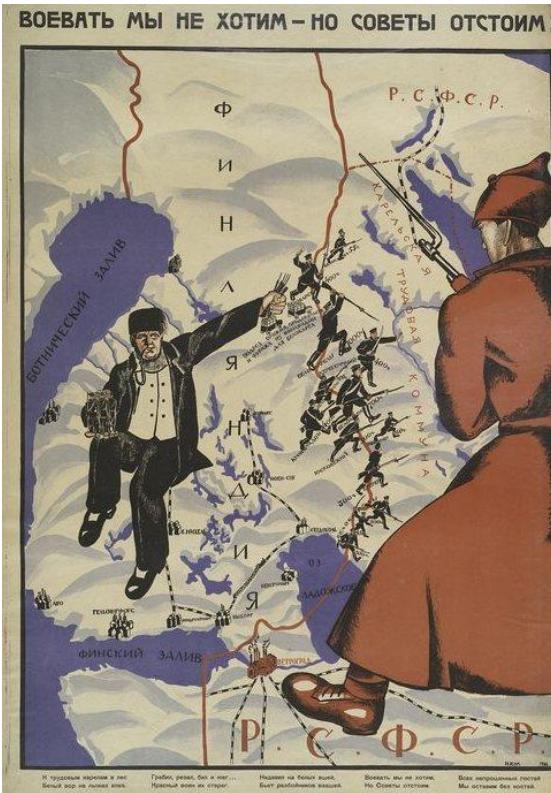


K. J Ståhlberg, stesura della Costituzione,
Primo presidente(1919–1925)



Nationalismo estremo

- Guerre di parentela 1918-1922
- La società accademica Karelia
- Maggiore Finlandia



Movimento Lapua (Lapuan liike)

- Anti-communist radical nationalists movement with strong Lutheranism
 - 1929 Young Communist mocked God, Fatherland and Mannerheim in Ostrobotnia
 - Started a movement to get rid of all the communists
- Attacks against communist
 - Destroying communist printing press, communist papers were outlawed
 - Attacks in the communist meetings
 - Next plan to get rid of the social democrats
- “Muilutus”
 - Beating, kidnapping and driven people to the border of Soviet Union.
 - Even bourgeois ex-president Ståhlberg kidnapped and driven to Joensuu
- "Peasant March" to Helsinki 7.7.1930 (12,000 men)
 - Vihtori Kosola, “Finnish Mussolini”
- Mäntsälä rebellion
 - Attempted coup d'état led by General Wallenius.
 - Banned 1932 by Protection of the Republic Act, demanded by the movement itself





Movimento Patriottico Popolare



Guerra d'Inverno 1939, 100 giorni



The Armchair Commander's Classic War
Collection from BELLE & BLADE Studios



- The Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact → Soviet invasion of Finland on 30.11.1939
 - The League of Nations deems the attack illegal and expels the Soviet Union
 - Moscow Peace Treaty on 13.11.1940.
- The Greatest National Heroic Independent Sacred Story (myth)
 - *"No-one helped us, and we small under armed nation fight united and hold back the Great Despotic Oriental Empire like Greeks in Marathon and Thermopylae."*
- Saying: “It is like Finnish winter war”
 - When something is extremely hard
- The “Spirit of Winter War”
 - The united nation fighting together
 - Used nowadays every time there is ideological demand for national unity

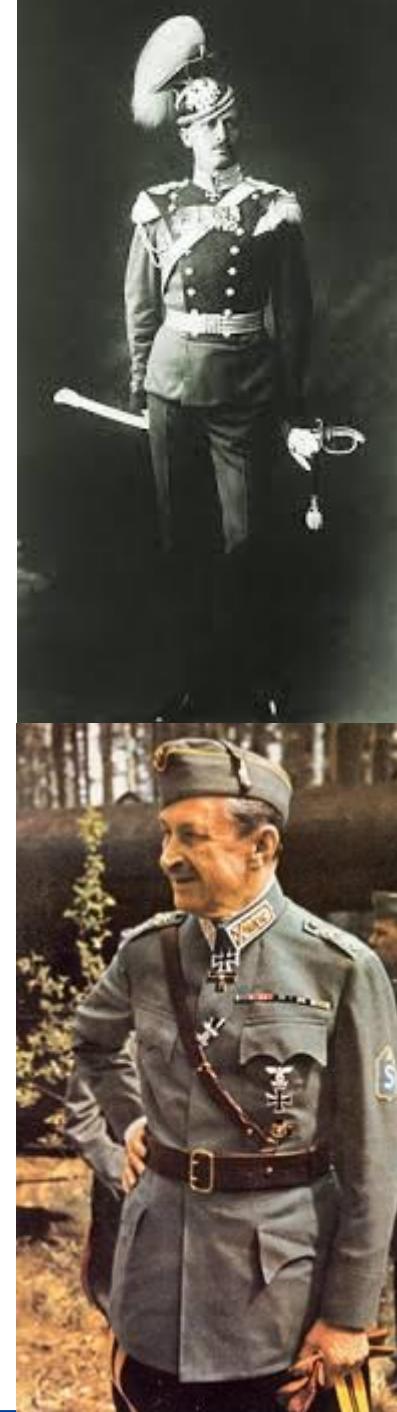


Guerra di continuazione 1941-1944



Maresciallo della Finlandia, Mannerheim

- Baron Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim (1867 – 1951)
- Voted as the greatest Finn of all time
- Swedish-speaking aristocrat (did not speak proper Finnish)
- Career in the Imperial Russian Army, the rank of lieutenant general
- Loyalty to Tsar → desire to bring down the Bolshevik revolution
- During civil war appointed the military chief of the Whites.
 - Became the national hero of whites
 - Hated as butcher among reds
- Commander-in-chief in winter war 1939 and the Continuation War 1941-1944
- Made President in order to get Finland out of the war
 - Germany losing the war → Finland needed the peace
- Became the national hero of whole nation
- Resigned the presidency 1946 and moved to Switzerland because of the health reasons

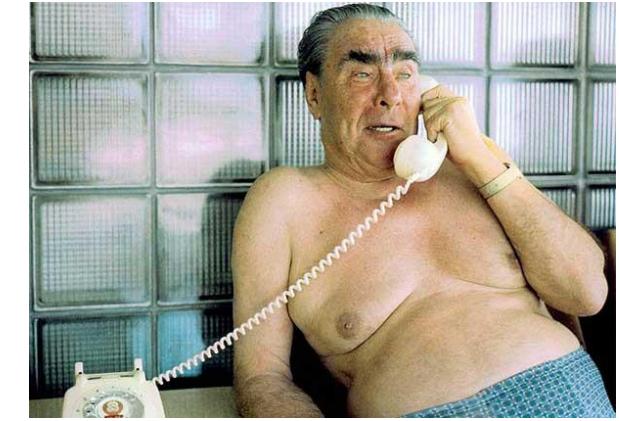


culto nazionalista ← sacrilegio



YYA Finlandia

- YYA Treaty with Soviet union 1948
- The Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance



Nazismo ridicolo



riabilitazione del fascismo?

