

iespējas republikas interešu veicināšanā un aizsardzībā pret centralizācijas tendencēm, kas nāca no Maskavas. Partokrātu atbalstītais lokālo interešu aizstāvēšanas modelis vismazāk apmierināja kultūras nomenklatūru, jo tai bija grūti apvienot patriotismu ar padomju ideoloģiju, nezaudējot sabiedrības cieņu. Kā atzīmē autors, lokālpatriotisma modelis, kurš Brežņeva laikā palīdzēja uzturēt nacionālo pašapziņu, kļuva par šķērslī daļai nomenklatūras iesaistīties “perestroikas” procesos. Līdz pat 1988. gadam attieksme pret M. Gorbačova reformām bija formāla, īpaši to var teikt par partokrātiem.

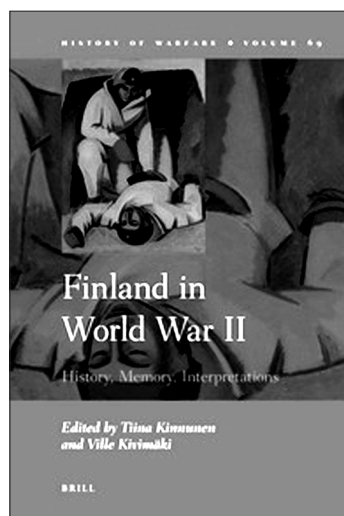
V. Ivanauska pētījums ir svarīgs ne tikai Lietuvas, bet arī Latvijas vēstures pētniecībā. Tas apstiprina to, ko mēs jau zinām, – ka lietuviešu nomenklatūrā pastāvēja sava veida konsenss vismaz vienā jautājumā, un tā bija republikas un vietējo interešu aizsardzība pret Maskavas mēģinājumiem pastiprināt padomju republiku integrāciju. Pētījuma novitāte slēpjas apstākļi, ka autors ir parādījis, ka šis konsenss balstījās uz specifisku birokrātiskās kultūras modeli, un grāmatā veiktā analīze parāda, kā tas darbojās.

*Daina Bleiere*

Tiina Kinnunen, Ville Kivimäki (eds.). *Finland in World War II: History, Memory, Interpretations*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. 608 p.: il. (History in Warfare, vol. 69)

The history of Finland during World War II has always been a topic of interest also for the international audience. The two separate conflicts which Finland fought against the USSR – the first one a defensive war against the Soviet invasion and the second one fought side by side with the Axis coalition – made Finland, in some ways, a special case in wartime Europe. The unique wartime experience

was even more evident in the fact that Finland managed to survive the war as an independent democratic Nordic country and avoided Soviet occupation by establishing its own “special relationship” with the USSR. So far, however, a concise English-language general study on the history



of Finland during World War II has been lacking. The best available book until now has been *Finland in the Second World War*, written by Professor Olli Vehviläinen and published ten years ago.

During this decade, a lot has happened in Finnish historiography. New evidence has surfaced on the fate of the Soviet prisoners-of-war and wartime deportations; the so-called new military history with its emphasis on individual experiences, social interactions and wartime culture has become part of Finnish mainstream research; and even the old debate on whether the relationship with Germany during the Continuation War of 1941–1944 should be described as an “alliance” or “co-belligerency” has gained new momentum. By the 2010s, the Finnish military history has obtained a new face; and a new presentation for the international audience is thus called for. The new book, *Finland in World War II: History, Memory, Interpretations*, fills this gap perfectly. Edited by Tiina Kinnunen and Ville Kivimäki, this ambitious compilation of articles by fourteen professional scholars, both Finnish and international, provide a thorough overview of the Finnish wartime experiences and the post-war politics of memory.

The one-volume book consists of four parts, the first of which focuses on international politics and military operations, in a manner reminiscent of traditional military history. The articles of Professor Henrik Meinander and Michael Jonas explore the Finnish alliance relationship with the Third Reich. Both articles offer an honest portrayal of the close and voluntary cooperation between Finland and Germany. Nonetheless, both of them point out quite accurately that even though the wartime Finnish material dependence on Germany was considerable, describing Finland merely as a Nazi satellite would hardly do justice to the complex political situation of the country. The third article, written by military historian and a former United Nations peacekeeper Pasi Tuunainen, covers the operational history of the Finnish armed forces during all three wars fought in 1939–1945 – that is, the two wars against the USSR in 1939–1940 and 1941–1944, and the Lapland war against Germany in 1944–1945. Besides the straight operational history, Tuunainen devotes considerable part of his article to the military cohesion of Finnish soldiers. This particular focus on military sociology has long traditions in Finland, dating back to Knut Pipping’s classic study on machine-gun company as a miniature society.

The theme of the second part is Finnish wartime society and culture. The first article, written by associated professor Marianne Junila, offers a thorough portrayal of the Finnish home front. The chapter gives a full account of all the aspects of the civilian life during wartime: rationing, censorship, fates of the Karelian evacuees, “war children” who were relo-

cated to Sweden, Soviet bombings and the Soviet partisan attacks upon the Finnish civilians on the eastern border. As is the case with the other articles, Junila successfully retains the international context when describing the Finnish experiences. The second article, written by Ville Kivimäki and Tuomas Tepora, is heavily influenced by the works of Joanna Bourke, and is a prime example of the “new military history”. Kivimäki and Tepora treat the themes of heroic death and the sacrifice to the fatherland, presenting the war as an instrument of social cohesion and as a gateway to the national solidarity. The article provides a critical and well-reasoned perspective on the wartime experience as a cornerstone of Finnish national identity. The third article, written by Sonja Hagelstam, deals with the wartime correspondence between soldiers and their loved ones. Whereas the other articles tend to focus on broader structures and frameworks, Hagelstam analyses the wartime experience purely on the individual level, focusing on the correspondence of five Finnish soldiers and their families. The article contains a vivid presentation of the concept of family, the wartime “gender contract”, social differences and the significance of letter-writing as a way of maintaining intimacy under difficult conditions. As an analysis on the interaction between the battle zone and the home front, Hagelstam’s article is one of the best ever written in Finland.

The third part, “Ideologies in practice”, opens with an article by Helene Laurent. Both as a historian and as a professional in medicine, Laurent writes of public health and social policy in wartime Finland. The article is a well-written, excellent synthesis and discusses such diverse topics as the activities of civic organizations, family policy, nutrition and diseases and the high mortality among psychiatric patients during the war. Laurent’s article also shows how the wartime experience shaped the Finnish society still for a long time after the guns had fallen silent. The state intervention in social projects during wartime was the first precursor of the subsequent post-war welfare state, even though, as Laurent shows, the continuum between the wartime experience and the post-war policies was not necessarily direct. In comparison, many post-war Scandinavian and European social reforms actually reached Finland at a relatively late stage.

The theme of ideologies and practical reality is continued in the articles of Oula Silvennoinen and Tenho Pimiä. Silvennoinen’s article is partly reminiscent of his thesis *Secret comrades-in-arms (Salaiset aseveljet, 2008)*, which revealed the existence of *Einsatzkommando Finnland* and opened a new perspective on the wartime cooperation between the Finnish State Police and the Nazi security agencies. Silvennoinen’s ground-breaking research has subsequently led to the discovery of still more new information on the extraditions he described. Silvennoinen’s article in this collection

provides a balanced and thorough overview on the treatment of Soviet prisoners-of-war and interned Soviet civilians in Finnish custody. The article does not shy away from the grim realities such as the exceptionally high mortality rate of the Soviet prisoners-of-war in 1941–1944; all in all, Silvennoinen does full justice to the topic. Whereas Silvennoinen's article focuses mostly on practicalities, Pimiä deals with the ideologies behind the Finnish policies during the Continuation War of 1941–1944. As a professional ethnologist, Pimiä describes the traditional Finnish academic interest in East Karelia, which was occupied by Finland after 1941. This earlier "tribal" ideology between the "kindred peoples" eventually became the cornerstone in the wartime considerations of Finland's very own "eastern question" and "living space". Pimiä's article also describes the practical cultural and folkloristic work in wartime East Karelia, and gives full recognition to the Finnish scholars who preserved the local heritage at the last possible occasion.

The last part, which is perhaps the most challenging section of the book, is titled "Wars of Memory". War always reshapes culture, and the Finnish experience of World War II has also been actively commemorated; but parts of this experience have also regularly been subjected to intensive, sometimes even passionate disputes. The culture of memory is highlighted in the article by Markku Jokisipilä and Tiina Kinnunen, and the text offers a good overview of the changing currents of conservative patriotism, voices of dissent and the emergence of "neo-patriotism" in the 1990s and the early 21st century. The article skillfully problematises the "neo-patriotic paradigm" in the Finnish commemoration of World War II. This paradigm has also been challenged by a somewhat more pacifist counterculture, which received its academic incarnation in the critically-acclaimed collection *Ugly War (Ruma Sota, 2008)*. The second article of this section is written by Outi Fingerroos, and focuses on the significance of the lost Karelia in the Finnish politics of memory. The article is a well-written synthesis clarifying the position of Karelia in the Finnish culture, and portrays also the new discussion on Karelia after the breakup of the USSR. This has, among other things, included Finnish pilgrimages to the lost Karelia, and the emergence of new civic associations advocating a border revision and the restitution of the pre-war territories.

The very last article of the book, and perhaps the most controversial, is written by Antero Holmila, and it deals with the treatment of Holocaust in the Finnish collective memory. At times, the article is quite sharp. This is by no means a bad thing, since many of Holmila's shots are to the point; this is particularly the case when it comes to his critique on Colonel Sampo Ahto's comments on the Hollywood TV series *Holocaust*, when

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it was first aired in Finland. Some of Holmila's interpretations, however, seem very weak, especially his casual suggestion that *The Diary of Anne Frank* was "glossed over" in Finland; in fact, it was even dramatized as a radio play already in the 1950s. When describing the observance of the International Holocaust Memorial Day, the article almost reaches the level of political pamphlet, as Holmila equates the wartime deportation of Jewish refugees with the present-day treatment of Iraqi and Somali asylum seekers. This occasional desire to provoke is a pity, considering that Holmila's article is otherwise an excellent description of the treatment of Holocaust in Finnish historiography, literature and public discussion.

All in all, *Finland in World War II* provides a perfect synthesis of the Finnish historiography on the years 1939–1945 and their historical legacy. The disposition of the collection is sensible, the shift from one theme to another is smooth, and the articles, written in pleasant American English, are occasionally even quite eloquent. The illustration is simply magnificent, consisting both of the more famous wartime photographs, as well as pictures of somewhat more marginal reputation. Finnish readers have every reason to feel satisfaction at having made themselves acquainted with this book, and the international audience will most definitely find it a seminal work. When striving for broader understanding in the world, it is important to understand the history of other nations; and for a small nation, the opportunity to make its history known to the international audience is particularly significant.

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