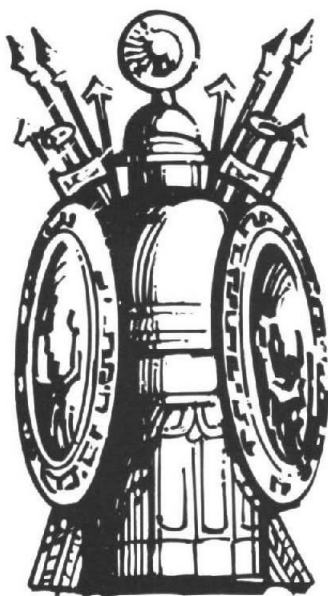


Chapter 5. National Security



Escutcheon in front of Ministry of Defense, Helsinki

IN THE STRATEGICALLY VITAL REGION of northern Europe, Finland and Sweden together form a large expanse of neutral territory between the two military blocs of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact. Finnish defense policy in the late 1980s was based on the principle that, while not directly threatened from any source, Finland was in danger of becoming involved in the event of a larger conflict between the great powers. In such an eventuality, Finnish territory might be violated in military operations targeting objectives beyond Finland's borders. If, as seemed most likely, the potential invader was primarily engaged elsewhere, determined Finnish defensive action should have a realistic chance to succeed, or at least to inflict severe damage sufficient to discourage potential incursions.

Finland's standing forces were modest in number (about 35,000), both as a requirement of the 1947 Treaty of Paris and as a result of the economic constraints on a nation of fewer than 5 million inhabitants. The treaty also prohibited Finland from acquiring arms of an offensive nature. Nevertheless, a conscription system provided military training for nearly all young men, and, in an emergency, a reserve force of former conscripts could put up to 700,000 men, nearly 15 percent of the country's population, in the field. When mobilized, this sizable fighting force, aided by natural defenses of deep forests, marshes and lakes, and a bitter winter climate, could present a formidable challenge to any invading army.

Historically, Finland has been a source of strategic concern to the Soviet Union because of its proximity to the densely populated, industrialized zone centered on the Soviet Union's second largest city, Leningrad. Although Leningrad was still important militarily, by the 1970s the strategic focus had shifted northward, where sparsely inhabited Finnish Lapland lies close to the concentration of Soviet bases and ports on the Kola Peninsula. Upon the outbreak of war, these northernmost regions of Europe would, in all likelihood, become a key area of conflict. Finland's northern defenses, both ground and air, had been reinforced during the 1970s and the 1980s to emphasize its determination to prevent Lapland from becoming a corridor for attack by one of the military alliances.

The Finnish military relationship vis-à-vis the Soviet Union was governed by the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, which committed Finland to use all of its available forces to repel an attack from the West, if necessary with the

assistance of the Soviet Union. Soviet involvement would, however, require Finland's assent. To preclude the possibility of the Soviet Union's insisting on introducing its forces onto Finnish soil under the pretext of a developing threat, Finland deemed it essential that the Finnish Defense Forces be perceived as having the capability to deny the hostile transit of Finnish territory. The Finnish defense posture thus gave considerable emphasis to effective surveillance and alertness in order to detect violations of Finnish air space and land and sea intrusions in any part of the country.

Officially, Finnish defense strategy assumed that attack could come from any direction; hence, its standing forces were distributed throughout the territory. Finland's sensitive relations with Moscow precluded a deployment suggesting that the most likely threat was along its extended eastern border with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, a possible scenario was a Soviet crossing of the northern territories of Finland and Sweden to attack North Atlantic Treaty Organization bases in northern Norway that threatened the movement of Soviet fleet units into the Atlantic.

Finnish strategic doctrine had emerged from the lessons learned during the two phases of its conflict with the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1944—the Winter War and the Continuation War. The Finns' experience of fighting against vastly superior manpower had taught them that set battles with concentrations of forces should be avoided. Defense in depth and mobility of forces were necessary in order to minimize attrition. The emphasis was on smaller fighting elements that could, by guerrilla tactics, employ terrain and weather to pin down and to divide larger enemy forces, then swiftly concentrate their own units for punishing attacks. The ultimate objective was not to win a clear-cut military victory against a more powerful opponent but, as in Finland's World War II campaigns, to inflict sufficient losses on the attacker to persuade him that a negotiated settlement was preferable to a continued drain on resources.

Although Finnish first-line units were undergoing modernization in the late 1980s, the Defense Forces as a whole were only moderately well equipped for the mission of resisting armed attack against or across Finland's territory. Military outlays continued to be among the lowest, in relation to national income, of all of the developed countries. Nonetheless, the nation was firm in its resolve to defend Finnish territory and independence. It was confident that its military preparedness, combined with the qualities of its individual soldiers and its forbidding geography, presented a strong deterrent to intervention from any quarter.

Military Heritage

Although Finland did not achieve full national independence until 1917, its military traditions went back more than 300 years. As a part of the dual kingdom of Sweden and Finland, Finland supplied the Swedish armies not only with drafted foot soldiers, but also with highly qualified officers from the Swedish-speaking aristocracy (see *The Era of Swedish Rule*, c. 1150–1809, ch. 1). Contributing as much as one-third of the manpower of the Swedish armed forces, the Finnish infantry and cavalry distinguished themselves at a time when Sweden was playing a decisive role in European power politics. The setbacks that Sweden eventually suffered in Europe were explained by the Finns, with considerable justification, as mistakes that had been made by the Swedish kings on the political level. The performance of the Finns on various battlefields had justified their reputation for bravery and their confidence in their own martial abilities.

With the decline of Swedish power in the eighteenth century, the Finns were called upon to defend the country's borders to the east against the traditional enemy, Russia. On three major occasions, Russian armies occupied parts of the country for a number of years before eventually being driven out by Finnish and Swedish forces. When Finland became the Grand Duchy of Finland in the Russian Empire in 1809, the Finnish units of the Swedish army were disbanded.

The first indigenous Finnish military elements of three light infantry regiments were raised at the time of Napoleon's eastward drive in 1812, but during most of the nineteenth century, the only Finnish military force was a guards battalion paid for by the tsar. Finns were specifically exempted from Russian conscription, but more than 3,000 of them, mostly from the aristocracy, served in the tsarist armies between 1809 and 1917 (see *The Russian Grand Duchy of Finland, 1809–1917*, ch. 1).

The Finnish Military Academy at Hamina continued to turn out officers who served with distinction in the Imperial Russian Army, a disproportionate number rising to the rank of general. Among these graduates was Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim, who later became the great hero of Finnish resistance and the struggle for independence.

In 1878 the tsar permitted Finland to raise its own national militia through a conscription law providing for selection of recruits by lot to serve either as regulars or reservists. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Finnish army consisted of eight provincial battalions of infantry and a regiment of dragoons, together with

thirty-two reserve companies. In 1901, as part of the Russification movement, the Russian authorities introduced a military service law obligating Finns to serve in the tsarist army, for four years, anywhere within the Russian Empire. Only one regiment of dragoons and one battalion of guards from the Finnish army were to be retained; the rest were to be incorporated in the imperial army. The new law was met by passive resistance in Finland, and it strengthened the Finnish nationalist movement. In a shift of policy in 1905, the conscription law was suspended, and Finns were never again called upon to serve in Russian uniform. Nevertheless, the Russians dissolved the militia, the military academy, and the guards battalion.

Soon after Finland gained independence in December 1917, a nationalistic, middle-class militia known as the White Guards, which had been secretly established in 1904 and 1905 and which had remained underground since then disguised as athletic clubs and other groups, was officially proclaimed the army of the Finnish government under General Mannerheim. This so-called White Army was strengthened and trained by 1,100 officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) who had traveled clandestinely to Germany during World War I and had formed the Twenty-seventh Royal Prussian Jaeger Battalion. Returning to Finland, they brought back with them urgently needed small arms captured from the Russians. The White forces were swelled by new conscripts, officers of the former Finnish armed forces, Swedish volunteers, and Finnish officers who had served in the Swedish and in the Russian armies, in addition to the jaegers. After three months of bitter civil conflict, the White Army of about 70,000 troops defeated the Red Guards from the radical wing of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, in May 1918. Both sides suffered thousands of casualties. In four months, the White Guards had evolved from a strongly motivated, but ill-trained, militia into a battle-hardened, disciplined national armed force. Although numerically superior and reinforced by the Russian garrisons in Finland, the Red Guards were deficient in equipment, training, and leadership (see *The Finnish Civil War*, ch. 1).

During and after the Civil War, conflict emerged between the younger jaeger officers of the Finnish army and the former tsarist officers in its upper ranks. When most of the Finnish officer corps threatened to resign in 1924 over the dominance of the Russian-trained leadership, most of the Russian officers were moved aside and the jaeger officers began to occupy the higher echelons, bringing the influence of German military doctrine and training methods with them.

The new government reinstated conscription after the Civil War and established a small national army. It also introduced a mobilization system and compulsory refresher courses for reservists. The Finnish Military Academy was reactivated in 1919, and during the 1920s a reserve officers' school was formed, together with NCO schools for various branches and arms of the service. The Civil Guard, a voluntary rightist formation of 100,000 personnel derived from the White Guards, constituted a local auxiliary. Nevertheless, Finland did not succeed in building a strong national army. The requirement of one year of compulsory service was greater than that imposed by any other Scandinavian country in the 1920s and the 1930s, but political opposition to defense spending left the military badly equipped to resist attack by the Soviet Union, the only security threat in Finnish eyes.

When the Soviets invaded in November 1939, they were met by a force of 135,000 Finnish troops organized into 9 divisions. In a matter of a few weeks, the Finnish army destroyed large numbers of invading Soviet soldiers. The initial Red Army contingents were poorly trained, and they were unprepared for combat under severe winter conditions. The Finnish army was able to inflict sharp defeats in battles on the Karelian Isthmus and in northeastern Finland. Momentarily, it looked as if Finland would turn back the aggressor and would inflict an astonishing military defeat on its great and powerful neighbor. When the Soviet commanders reverted to a strategy of wearing down the greatly outnumbered Finns in Karelia by their overwhelming firepower, however, Finland's defeat was inevitable. On March 12, 1940, an armistice yielded slightly more territory to the Soviets than they had initially demanded in 1939. The Soviets regarded this territory as being vital to their preparations for a future showdown with Nazi Germany (see fig. 1).

In the Continuation War, fought by Finland as a cobelligerent with Germany from 1941 to 1944, Finnish forces again demonstrated their superior qualities. Thanks to the Germans, the army was now much better equipped, and the period of conscription had been increased to two years, making possible the formation of sixteen infantry divisions. The fully mobilized Finnish army of 400,000 was numerically superior to the opposing Soviet forces, which had been thinned to meet the need for troops to resist the German onslaught on the central front. The Finnish goal was not conquest but regaining territories traditionally Finnish. The Finns refused German pressure to join in the siege of Leningrad, but they pushed 80 to 160 kilometers into Soviet territory farther north above Lake Ladoga before settling for static defensive operations. The Finnish

army continued to occupy this former Finnish area until the major Soviet offensive of June 1944. Confined in the losing Axis coalition, the Finns had to retreat for a second time, and they escaped total Soviet invasion and occupation only by entering into a separate agreement that obligated them to military action against the retreating German armies (see *The Continuation War*, ch. 1).

The demobilization and regrouping of the Finnish Defense Forces were carried out in late 1944 under the supervision of the Allied Control Commission. Following the Treaty of Paris in 1947, which imposed restrictions on the size and equipment of the armed forces and required disbandment of the Civil Guard, Finland reorganized its defense forces. The fact that the conditions of the peace treaty did not include prohibitions on reserves or mobilization made it possible to contemplate an adequate defense establishment within the prescribed limits. The reorganization resulted in the abolition of about 15 percent of officer and NCO positions, the adoption of the brigade—in place of the division—as the basic formation, and the reduction of the term of service for conscripts to 240 days (330 days for NCO and for reserve officer candidates). The organization of the high command was unchanged, but the minister of defense was given slightly more authority in decision making. The completion of this reorganization in 1952 established the structure within which the modern Defense Forces were to evolve.

Treaty Commitments Affecting National Security

Considering the magnitude of the defeat and the blows that were dealt to other nations fighting on Germany's side during World War II, Finland did not fare badly when the terms for the Treaty of Paris were completed on February 10, 1947. With respect to national security, the most important parts of the peace treaty were the restrictions it put on Finland's armed forces. Part III, Articles 13 through Article 22, limited the future regular Finnish army to 34,400 soldiers, the navy to 4,500 individuals, and the air force to 3,000. There were also exclusions of equipment of an offensive nature, such as bombers, missiles, and submarines. Warships could not exceed a combined total of 10,000 tons. The air force could acquire up to sixty combat planes, but they were not to include bombers or fighter bombers. None of the services was allowed to construct, to procure, or to test nuclear weapons.

The stipulations on the size of the Finnish armed forces were included on the demand of Britain, which did not want to accord special treatment to Finland. (Limiting provisions also had been incorporated into the peace treaties with Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary.) Fears that Finland would soon come within the Soviet

orbit may also have influenced the British demands. The peace treaty restrictions have never been interpreted as prohibiting Finland from training and arming a large reserve force, however. The Soviet Union has, on the contrary, been willing to sell Finland equipment far in excess of the needs of its standing army.

Changing geopolitical conditions and weapons technology have resulted in an easing of the treaty's restrictions. In spite of the prohibition against missiles of all types, in 1963 the contracting parties approved an interpretation of the peace treaty permitting Finland to acquire defensive missiles. Finland subsequently armed itself with naval surface-to-surface missiles (SSMs), anti-aircraft missiles, and antitank missiles. In 1983, following another interpretation that the treaty's ban on magnetic underwater mines did not prohibit mines of a defensive nature, Finland was permitted to buy modern mines from Britain and from the Soviet Union.

The problems of national defense were also affected by the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance (FCMA—see Appendix B) with the Soviet Union, requested by Joseph Stalin in February 1948 and signed by the Finnish government in April of the same year (see *The Cold War and the Treaty of 1948*, ch. 1). The most important defense-related clauses were Articles 1 and 2, which deal with military cooperation and consultation between Finland and the Soviet Union. Other articles deal with noninterference in the internal affairs of the other state and agreement not to enter into an alliance aimed against the other party of the treaty.

The Finnish government distinguished the FCMA treaty from a military alliance by pointing out that its military clauses were restricted to situations of attack against Finland or against the Soviet Union through Finnish territory. Moreover, according to the language of the treaty, the military assistance to be provided by the Soviet Union was not to come into effect automatically; it was to require Finland's approval following consultations of the general staffs of the two nations.

The FCMA treaty has been renewed several times, most recently in 1983 for a twenty-year period. The frequent renewals, long before the expiration dates, seemed to reflect intense Soviet interest in the treaty. Finland has strenuously avoided military consultations under the treaty and has never accepted hints by the Soviets that the treaty should be the basis for military cooperation and joint exercises. Nevertheless, the potential for serious strains with Moscow always existed over the need for, and the nature of, assistance under the treaty (see *Soviet Union*, ch. 4).

The Åland Islands have historically served, during conflict in the Baltic Sea, as naval bases and as staging and transit areas in

support of offensive operations on land (see fig. 1). In 1921 the most important Baltic countries, exclusive of the Soviet Union, concluded a convention that strengthened the demilitarization of the islands originally agreed to in 1856. Under this convention, Finland could neither fortify the islands nor construct military bases in the archipelago, but it could send armed forces there temporarily in case of a need to restore order or to carry out inspections by small naval vessels or air reconnaissance. In wartime, the convention authorized Finland to take necessary measures to repel an attack endangering the neutrality of the zone.

In 1940, under a separate agreement between Finland and the Soviet Union, Finland reaffirmed the demilitarization of the islands and pledged not to place them at the disposal of any other state's armed forces. These commitments were recognized by a clause in the 1947 Treaty of Paris stating that the islands were to remain demilitarized. In conformity with Finland's obligations under these agreements, the Coast Guard patrolled the territorial waters of the Åland Islands in peacetime. The Defense Forces would exercise responsibility for their defense in wartime.

Geostrategic Situation

Finland's military importance arises from its geographic position. As a small country, it poses no military threat to its neighbors, but at times in the past larger powers have considered its possession important for their security. The exposed western position of the tsarist capital, St. Petersburg, caused Russian officials to strive for control of Finland. Later, Soviet strategists were likewise convinced that Leningrad's security required Finland's subjugation and therefore mounted invasions. In the postwar period, Finland's military importance increased, for developments in weapons technology and Soviet basing policies caused the country to figure not only in the strategic concerns of its giant eastern neighbor, but also in those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The region itself was peaceful. Sweden, Finland's neighbor to the west, was nonaligned and had a long tradition of friendly foreign relations. The militarily vital regions of Central Europe to the south were relatively distant, and they were separated from Finland by the Baltic Sea. In the high north, where Finland and Norway had a common border, Norway had prohibited operations by other NATO forces in peacetime, and it did not permit nuclear weapons or Allied bases on its territory. Denmark, likewise part of NATO, attached these same restrictions to its membership in the alliance.



*Finnish-made 130mm "turret cannon" firing in reinforced coastal
artillery emplacement
Courtesy General Headquarters, Finnish Defense Forces*

Finland's military importance grew from the fact that, although it formed—along with Sweden—a vast zone of neutrality between the forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the country was adjacent to areas of crucial importance to the superpowers. The Soviet Union maintained its traditional watchfulness over the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Finland, which controlled access to the Leningrad region with its large population and high concentration of vital industry. Although the Soviet Union exercised military domination over the southern shores of these waters, it was highly sensitive to the position of Finland, which occupied the northern shore and strategically significant island groups.

Contiguous to Finland's northern border is the Kola Peninsula, where some of the Soviet Union's most important military installations were located. The only part of the Soviet coastline providing ice-free access to the Atlantic year round, the peninsula's harbors served as home ports of the Soviet northern fleet and of most of its nuclear ballistic missile submarines patrolling the North Atlantic. In the event of hostilities, the Soviets would regard securing the northern Norwegian coast as essential to ensure that their surface and submarine fleets could reach the North Atlantic, where they could disrupt major supply routes for United States forces in Europe. Because of the importance of the Soviet military complexes

on the Kola Peninsula, NATO almost certainly would have to view them as prime wartime targets. Also crucial to the alliance would be confining, in the Barents Sea, whatever Soviet naval assets survived attack. Thus, in the event of hostilities, the superpowers would commit considerable military resources to this region.

The official Finnish view held that the country was unlikely to be the victim of an isolated attack upon its territory, but rather that any military action directed against Finland would almost certainly have to be part of a wider conflict between East and West. Finnish military planners did not regard their country as having strategic targets justifying military aggression, but they believed that foreign powers might try to seize Finnish territory to use it as a transit route to reach essential targets.

Thus, Finnish Lapland was regarded as a possible invasion route for either NATO forces aiming at the Murmansk area or Soviet forces seeking to occupy northern Norway. For the Allies, however, the difficulties of mounting a land attack across northern Scandinavia against Soviet military bases would be enormous. For this reason, military analysts judged that NATO operations in the area would more likely be air-based and sea-based.

Finnish strategists had traditionally regarded the wide buffer zone formed by Finnish and Swedish air space as a deterrent to attack, because it increased the flight time of attacking aircraft to potential targets and thereby reduced the operational time in the target area. Since the deployment of cruise missiles in the 1980s, however, there has been a threat to the inviolability of Finnish air space that did not require intrusions on its land and sea territories. Soviet sensitivity over the cruise missile threat underscored the significance of this problem.

Military planners considered southern Finland and the Åland Islands to be lesser strategic areas, except in the event of a Soviet move against southern Norway through Sweden, and they saw a NATO thrust against Leningrad through the Baltic Sea as implausible. Such an operation would necessitate control of the Danish Straits and of the constricted Baltic itself against strong Soviet land, naval, and air forces. Finland was, however, obliged by treaty to secure the Åland Islands in the event of war to prevent their military use by other powers. This obligation underscored another aspect of Finland's defense environment. War between the power blocs could well mean a preemptive attack on Finland to secure it and to prevent use of its territory by the enemy.

Although Finnish strategists did not publicly emphasize the military threat represented by the Soviet Union, it was evident that the strong Soviet military presence near their shared border, 1,200

kilometers in length, was a prime source of concern. According to a study by the United States Department of Defense in 1988, Soviet conventional forces assigned to the Northwestern Theater of Military Operations, an area that included Finland, consisted of 12 divisions, 1,350 tanks, and 160 tactical aircraft. Although not at full strength, these ground forces could be mobilized quickly for a drive into southern Finland as a preemptive move to deepen Soviet defenses of Leningrad and adjacent areas in a crisis situation.

Another contingency that Finnish planners needed to anticipate was the crossing of northern Finland by Soviet land forces as part of an attack aimed at securing the coast of northern Norway and thereby controlling the sea approaches to the Kola military complex. In the Pentagon's judgment, Soviet operations were likely to include a thrust against northern Norway in which ground forces, supported by land-based air and naval amphibious forces, would try to seize critical airfields and to destroy early warning installations. The ground forces balance significantly favored the Soviets in this area, and probably the air force balance did as well. Such an operation would, nevertheless, be extremely arduous in view of the paucity of east-west road links and the austere climate and terrain.

If Finland is unlucky in its strategic location, as a theater of war, its physical characteristics present exceptional conditions that heavily favor a defending army. Only a few regions are conducive to the maneuvering of modern ground forces. These are primarily in the coastal areas of southern, southwestern, and western Finland, where the main administrative and industrial centers, a majority of the population, and the most highly developed transport networks are located. The vast regions of central and eastern Finland are areas of rivers, lakes, and forests. With swamps covering as much as 50 percent to 60 percent of some parts of this territory, military operations would be constricted to the few roads (see *Geography*, ch. 2; *Transportation and Communications*, ch. 3). Even specially designed rough-terrain vehicles would be greatly hampered in these areas.

In Lapland, above the Arctic Circle, climatic conditions are especially severe. Beginning in November, the long Arctic night hampers winter activity. Frost, snow, and cold (-30°C to -35°C) can paralyze the operations of large bodies of troops and their air support, unless they are specially trained and equipped. In mountainous parts of Lapland, ground operations would also be forced in the direction of the few routes through passes, and the more open northern regions provide little cover for ground forces.

An attack on Finland by sea would be severely hampered by the

jagged coastline of shallow bays, rocks, and clusters of islands. The few narrow ship passages would be heavily defended by modern coast artillery emplaced on cliffs, by highly maneuverable missile boats, and by extensive minefields. The thick ice cover would virtually preclude the winter operation of warships near Finnish territorial waters.

Concepts of National Security

An essential ingredient in Finnish strategic planning was to establish the perception that the nation had the will and the capability to defend its territorial integrity if conflict broke out. To avoid giving the Soviet Union a pretext for intervention, Finland considered it vital to demonstrate to Moscow that it could fully meet its obligations under the FCMA treaty. Similarly, Finland needed to convince Norway, together with its NATO partners and Sweden, that Finnish territory would not be used as a base for threatening them militarily. The primary task, therefore, was to maintain a credible force for repelling a limited conventional attack upon the country during the course of a wider conflict.

Finland's traditional policy was to defend the entire country. It believed that its level of military preparedness rendered unlikely the success of an airborne surprise attack against administrative centers and other key areas. It planned to take advantage of its relatively large underpopulated expanses and of the special terrain conditions to pursue a strategy of defense in depth in order to frustrate an invader. Total defeat of an enemy was not expected. The Finns hoped to demonstrate that any effort to secure their territory as a base for military operations elsewhere would not be profitable compared to the time and sacrifices involved. Despite Finland's small population, military planners assumed an enemy would have most of its forces employed elsewhere and would be able to use only some of its military assets against Finland; hence, the country's limited aims could be achieved. The primary burden for thwarting an attack directed through Finnish territory would fall upon the army.

The heightened strategic significance of the far northern regions of Europe since the 1960s has accentuated the importance of Lapland's defenses. In the late 1980s, first-line Finnish troops were being specially equipped to take advantage of the harsh conditions of terrain, climate, and winter darkness encountered there. Peacetime force deployment in Lapland had been reinforced during the 1980s with the goal of stationing half of Finland's interceptor aircraft and nearly one-third of its ground forces there. This

deployment was considered compatible with the force strengths in northern Sweden and in northern Norway.

Reacting to hints by the Soviets that the threat of cruise missiles fired from United States submarines or from West European bases justified joint defensive measures, Finnish leaders have strongly underscored their determination to act on their own to resist intrusion of Finnish air space in any form. Although advanced radar, fire control, and surface-to-air missile systems were being acquired, the Soviet embassy in Helsinki asserted in mid-1988 that Finland and Sweden must do still more to improve their air defenses.

Finland's mobilization system was characterized by a flexibility that enabled the degree of preparedness to be stepped up as required to meet a particular crisis situation or threat. The first forces called up for mobilization would be the Fast Deployment Forces, consisting of the most mobile and powerful army elements, together with almost all navy, air force, Frontier Guard (*Rajavartiolaitos*—RVL) units, and assorted local forces. The Fast Deployment Forces would be able to reach peak strength—about 250,000 men, 130,000 of whom would be ground forces—in two to three days. The Fast Deployment Forces (also called Protective Forces) would have as their chief duty a protecting or covering mission that would allow the total mobilization in seven days of 700,000 men, including 500,000 ground forces.

Finnish military doctrine divided forces into general forces, local forces, and support forces once full mobilization was achieved. General forces were the best and most powerfully equipped units of all the services, and the elements most suited for decisive massed attacks. In the late 1980s, these forces were estimated at about 250,000 men. In addition to the professional cadre, local forces consisted of older reservists. It was projected that they, being less heavily armed, would be used in guerrilla operations, often behind the lines in areas overrun by the enemy. When needed, local forces could combine with general forces for intense battles against a weakened and encircled enemy. Support forces assisted the other forces with logistics, supplies, and other requirements.

During peacetime, standing ground, sea, and air forces, in keeping with Finland's neutral posture, were not concentrated against any single potential threat but were deployed to deal with invasion from any direction. Defense was predicated on rapid mobilization of the country's general forces and on their rapid deployment to active fronts. Rather than a static defense, for which resources were insufficient, a strategy of maneuver was contemplated. A powerful frontal attack would be met by a "deep zone" defense,

taking fullest advantage of geographical features and climatic conditions. Tactics of delay and attrition would be employed to prevent an aggressor from reaching vital areas. As the attacker's lines of communication lengthened, concentrated counterattacks would be launched under conditions favoring the more lightly armed Finnish units. In areas seized by the invader, local forces would continue to conduct guerrilla-type operations, such as ambushes, limited raids on the enemy's supply lines, mining of roads, and strikes against logistics centers. In the 1980s, military planners modified this flexible defense somewhat, concluding that certain areas were so vital to the country's survival that they were to be held at all costs. Defense of southern Finland and Helsinki, the Åland Islands, and Lapland was to be so intense that they would never be ceded in their entirety to enemy control.

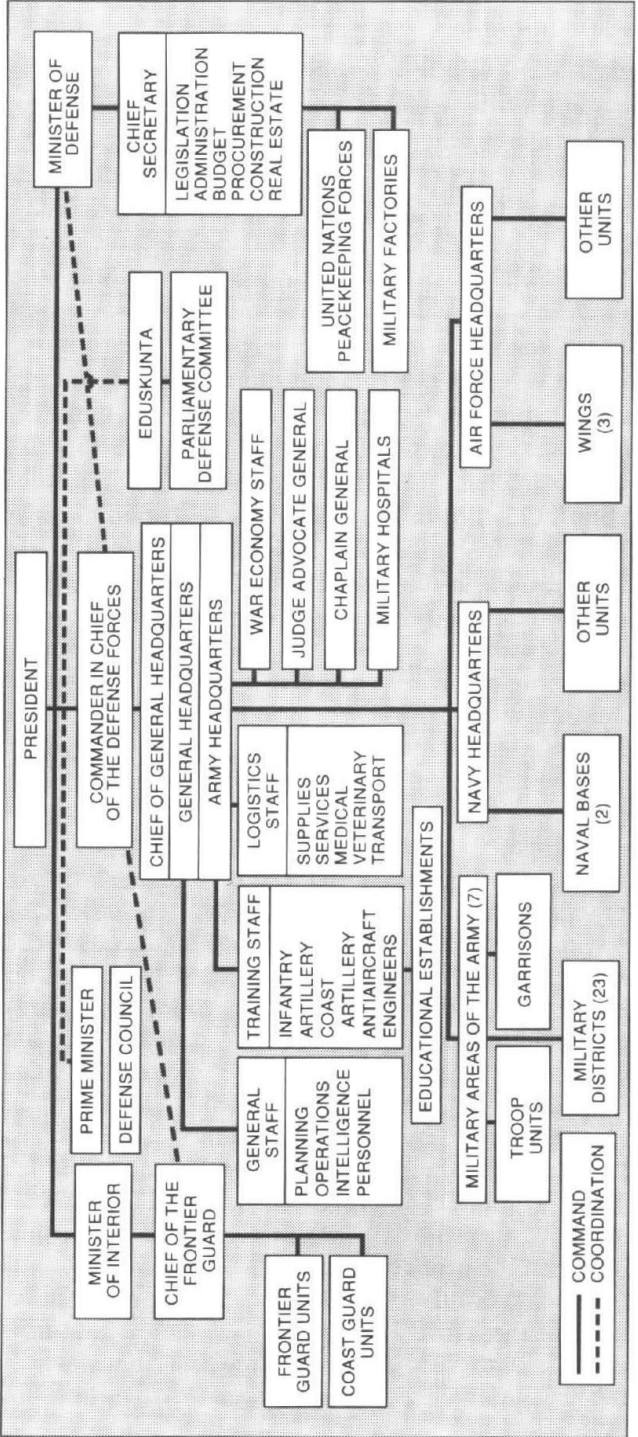
The local defense forces and the RVL would be expected to operate as self-contained units carrying out peripheral attacks in relative isolation. The object would be to sap the strength of the aggressor as he moved deeper into the country, denying the use of roads, and, after combat units were cut off from supplies and reinforcements, segmenting the fighting. Local and general forces could then be brought to bear in devastating strikes against the invader. After suffering costly damage over a protracted period, the aggressor country would find it expedient to abandon its original objectives and to accept a negotiated settlement.

Finland recognized that the outbreak of general war in Europe might result in the use of nuclear weapons. A considerable effort was therefore undertaken to prepare the civilian population against the eventuality of nuclear warfare (see Civil Defense, this ch.). Finland's limited resources did not permit full preparation against nuclear warfare, however, and defense planners based their efforts on the assumption that any threat to the country would be of a conventional nature. Political measures were also undertaken to minimize the likelihood of exposure to nuclear attack. Finland's active promotion of comprehensive disarmament measures and of a Nordic Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zone (NWFZ) was premised on the belief that, if the Nordic countries had no nuclear weapons on their territories, the superpowers might refrain from including nuclear arms in their strategic plans affecting those territories (see Neutrality, ch. 4). The objection to such a commitment, in the view of Western defense planners, was that it would deny NATO the nuclear option in defense of Norway and Denmark while placing no restrictions on Soviet nuclear forces in the Kola Peninsula or on naval vessels in the Baltic Sea.

The Armed Forces

Authority over national defense rested with the president as the supreme commander of the Defense Forces. The president exercised the highest decision-making responsibility, including the power to declare war and to make peace with the consent of the Eduskunta (parliament), to order mobilization, and to issue orders directly to the commander in chief of the Defense Forces. A decree issued in 1957 established a Defense Council with a dual function as the supreme planning and coordinating organ and as the president's consultative arm in matters affecting the defense of the country. The prime minister acted as chairman of the Defense Council if the president were not present. Its other members were the ministers of defense, foreign affairs, finance, interior, and trade and industry; the commander in chief of the Defense Forces; and the chief of the General Staff. Other ministers could be called upon to serve temporarily (see fig. 20). The Defense Council reviewed basic defense plans for wartime, deliberated on the financing of national defense, and directed preparations for national security in areas other than military readiness.

Parliamentary oversight was exercised through ad hoc parliamentary defense committees, which had been convened in 1971, in 1976, and in 1981 to assess basic issues of strategy, equipment, and missions. Recommendations of the committees had an important bearing on defense policy and on future budget allocations. Unlike the Defense Council, all parties represented in parliament were invited to participate. A parliamentary defense commission, acting within narrower terms of reference than parliamentary defense committees, was convened in 1986. In 1988 the government considered setting up a permanent parliamentary council on defense, but no action had been taken by the year's end. The parliamentary committees had been useful in helping to develop a national consensus on security policies and on the commitment of resources to defense. The representatives sitting on the committees tended to be among those most sympathetic to the needs of the military. Government leaders felt, however, that the committees often plunged too far into sensitive strategic matters and threat scenarios. Their budgetary recommendations also tended to be generous, leaving the military disgruntled when the proposed resources could not be found. (One notable exception occurred in 1981, when the procurement recommendations of the Third Parliamentary Defense Committee were largely realized, in part because of the special circumstances of a trade imbalance that made possible large arms purchases from the Soviet Union.)



Source: Based on information from Ernel Kanninen and Vilho Tervaamäki, *Revue Internationale d' Histoire Militaire*, 62, Vaasa, Finland, 1985, 271-76.

Figure 20. Organization of National Defense, 1988

The Ministry of Defense supervised the preparation of legislation affecting national defense, the submission of the annual defense budget, the drafting of defense policies in accordance with principles defined by the national leadership, and the implementation of policies approved by the government and the parliament. The minister of defense had mainly administrative responsibilities, with limited influence over major military policy issues. His deputy, customarily a military officer of three-star rank, exercised an important role within the ministry.

Command Structure

The commander in chief of the Defense Forces was directly subordinate to the president in matters of military command, principally questions of operations and training. He was responsible for issuing military orders for the preparation and maintenance of readiness of the Defense Forces, for ensuring proper command relationships, and for coordinating all branches of the armed forces in personnel matters. He made recommendations to the president on the organization of military commands and on appointments.

The peacetime defense organization was structured around decentralized and autonomous military areas and districts. There were seven military areas and twenty-three military districts as of early 1989, although the government was considering reducing the number of military areas to five and reducing the districts to between fifteen and seventeen. Each military area comprised two to five military districts. The military area commander, a major general or lieutenant general in peacetime, exercised independent control of all military affairs within his region, including the maintenance of readiness, training of conscripts and reservists, maintenance of a functional mobilization system, wartime logistics preparations, cooperation with civilian authorities, and area defense planning. The commander in chief, who retained planning control of the navy and the air force, could order the commanders of these two services to support a given area command, or he could call upon the general forces of one military area to supply reinforcements to another military area.

The authority of the military district commander was limited in peacetime to planning for crisis or wartime contingencies, operating the conscript and reserve organizations (including call-ups and classification for military service), conducting refresher training, and maintaining the mobilization system. Under wartime conditions, the district commander would mobilize reserve brigades and battalions into the general forces in his district and would

command local force operations unless command was assumed by a general forces headquarters.

Army

Finland's defense doctrine foresaw that the army (*Maavoimat*) would bear the brunt of repelling an invasion or any violation of Finnish territorial integrity during a period of hostilities. Consequently, maintenance of sufficient peacetime readiness of ground forces enjoyed high priority. The importance assigned to territorial defense was reflected in the command structure, which integrated army headquarters with general headquarters. Navy and air force headquarters were on a lower level, parallel with the seven military area commands.

As of 1988, the active-duty ground forces consisted of 30,000 troops, of which 22,300 were conscripts. They were organized into 8 brigades, each with a reduced peacetime strength of 1,500 to 2,000, together with 7 independent infantry battalions with strengths of up to 500 each, supported by artillery, antiaircraft, engineer, special forces, signals, and transport units of varying sizes. Under peacetime conditions, the brigade was the basic ground forces unit; there were no divisions or corps. In wartime, 2 or more brigades plus a number of detached battalions could be combined to form a corps of 15,000 to 30,000 tailored to a particular operation.

Upon mobilization, the first-line army forces, numbering about 130,000 and including younger reservists with recent training, would be deployed initially. In accordance with a fifteen-year (1981-96) modernization program, the best equipped of these units were known as Brigade 90 forces. The program provides for an eventual ten to fifteen brigades. The remaining first-line units, known as Brigade 80 forces, were believed to number ten to fifteen brigades when mobilized. They were similarly organized, but they had less advanced equipment. Although details were lacking, analysts believed that no more than one or two brigades met Brigade 90 standards as of late 1988.

In the north, the Brigade 90 forces would be jaeger (ranger) brigades equipped with tracked all-terrain vehicles, such as the Finnish-built NA-140. In central Finland, the jaeger brigades would have many Finnish A-180 Pasi wheeled armored personnel carriers and other light armored vehicles. Armored Brigade 90s in the south would have the T-72 main battle tank, while Brigade 80 elements would have modernized T-55 tanks; both are Soviet built (see table 22, Appendix A).

A jaeger Brigade 90 consisted of four battalions, each with a complement of about 1,000 troops and each possessing some artillery

and antitank capabilities. A battalion comprised four rifle companies. In addition to small arms, its principal weapons were 81mm and 120mm mortars, recoilless antitank rifles, and shoulder-fired antitank missiles. The Brigade 90 antitank company was equipped with truck-mounted, wire-guided missiles. A brigade also included two artillery battalions, one equipped with twelve 122mm howitzers and the other with twelve 155mm howitzers, all towed by tracked vehicles. The brigade air defense battalion consisted of Soviet SA-14 shoulder-fired missiles and 23mm antiaircraft guns, supported by low-level radar and by armored fire control systems. The brigade was supported by an engineering battalion with a strong minelaying unit, and headquarters, signals, and support companies.

Two coast artillery regiments and three independent battalions occupied ten principal hardened gun positions, known as "fortresses," protecting key shipping lanes of the southern coast. These fixed positions, with batteries of turret-mounted 100mm and 130mm guns, had been blasted out of granite cliffs. They were supported by mobile coast artillery battalions to which, in 1988, were being added mobile Swedish RBS-15 antiship missiles mounted on all-terrain trucks.

Antiaircraft defenses were the responsibility of the army, closely coordinated with the air force. The principal weapon was the Soviet SA-3 Goa truck-mounted surface-to-air missile. In 1988 negotiations were reportedly underway with France for the purchase of Crotale missile launchers and fire control systems to be mounted on the A-180 Pasi armored vehicle for medium-range point defense.

In peacetime, trained garrison forces that could be formed into operational units within hours totaled about 10,500 (8,000 army and 2,500 RVL). In an emergency, the existing brigades and independent battalions could be brought up to a wartime strength of some 70,000 within 12 to 24 hours. In the event of an acute crisis or an attack on the country, planners anticipated that the Fast Deployment Forces—consisting of the most mobile and powerful army elements, together with almost all navy, air force, and RVL units, and key local force units in border areas—would be mobilized. The army complement of the Fast Deployment Forces amounted to about 130,000 and could be activated in two to three days.

Details on the organizational pattern of the fully mobilized army were not made public. Tomas Ries, a specialist in Nordic security, has estimated that the army's share of the general forces, that is, the most powerful elements of the Defense Forces, numbered

perhaps 200,000. In combat these troops would be organized into 20 to 25 brigades; about 70 independent light infantry, artillery, antitank, and other specialized battalions averaging 800 personnel each; and some additional specialized forces, mostly of company strength. Many of these units would be equipped with older, less sophisticated weapons, and would include higher age-groups that had not undergone recent training.

The army's share of local forces would consist of about 250 light infantry battalions, as well as smaller specialized units, numbering up to 250,000. They would serve the functions of local defense, surveillance, and guard duty. An important function of the local forces would be to lay antivehicular mines to block the limited road network. These forces would be armed with modern basic infantry weapons, supplemented by older light antitank weapons, mortars, and vehicles, including some commandeered from the civilian sector.

Support troops formed a separate category, normally operating in rear areas, and would not be expected to take part in combat. They would carry out service, support, and logistical tasks. Their mobilized strength would be about 100,000.

Navy

The main peacetime mission of the navy (*Merivoimat*), together with the coast guard, was to conduct surveillance of territorial waters and fishing zones and to identify violators. During a crisis situation or hostilities, the navy would be called upon to prevent unauthorized use of Finland's territorial waters, to protect vital sea routes and maritime traffic, and to close off its most important ports. Treaty obligations and strategic concerns made securing the demilitarized Åland Islands a key wartime mission of the navy. This it would do with the help of the army, coast artillery, and the coast guard. If faced by an amphibious attack, the navy's objective would be to wear down the aggressor and to restrict his operations.

Naval tasks would be carried out in an integrated manner with the army coast artillery and the air force. The shallow waters of the coastline, broken by an extensive archipelago, would facilitate the laying of defensive mines, which would figure importantly in defense against seaborne invasion. Although the fleet units were limited in size and in weaponry, their maneuverability and missile-based firepower could inflict damage on a hostile force operating in Finnish waters and in adjacent sea areas. The precise form in which a naval threat might develop was unclear, because a Soviet invasion by sea was unlikely and Western ships would be directly



*Soviet-built SA-3 GOA low- to medium-altitude anti-aircraft missiles
in use by Finnish Defense Forces
Courtesy General Headquarters, Finnish Defense Forces*

exposed to Soviet naval strength in the Baltic, in the event of general conflict. By providing for control over its own coastal waters, however, Finland hoped to convince the Soviets that the Gulf of Finland would be secure and that the approaches to Leningrad would not be left unguarded.

Under the 1947 Treaty of Paris, naval manpower strength was limited to 4,500. In addition to the overall limit of 10,000 tons, the navy was not permitted to operate submarines or torpedo boats. As of 1988, active naval personnel numbered only 2,700, of whom 1,300 were conscripts. The largest vessels were two small corvettes of 660 tons, each armed with 120mm guns and antisubmarine rocket launchers. Eight missile boats were armed with Swedish and Soviet ship-to-ship missile systems. Four more missile boats were due to be delivered in the early 1990s. These boats were supported by inshore patrol craft, together with minelaying and minesweeping vessels (see table 23, Appendix A).

In peacetime the main naval units were organized into gunboat, missile boat, and mine warfare flotillas. Under wartime conditions, they would be organized into task forces with a mix of vessels as required for specific operations. The wartime task forces would be directed by the navy commander in chief and would be part of the general forces. Naval assets operating with the coast artillery would

be directed by the commander of the military area in which they were located and would form part of the local forces. All three flotillas were based at the navy's operational headquarters at Pansio, near Turku in the southwest, where an archipelago with few navigable channels, guarded by coastal fortifications, would present great obstacles to an intruding naval force. The gunboat flotilla consisted of one corvette as a command ship and the ten Tuima class missile boats and Nuoli class fast attack craft. The missile squadron consisted of the other corvette and the four Helsinki class missile boats. The mine warfare squadron was made up of the minelayers and minesweepers. A patrol flotilla, based at Helsinki, operated the Ruissalo and Rihtniemi class attack craft.

Owing to a serious manpower shortage, only about half of the fleet was manned and operational under peacetime conditions. The readiness of the remaining ships was reportedly maintained at an adequate level by keeping them heated, by frequently testing their systems, and by rotating them into active service.

During a period of crisis or conflict, the Coast Guard, which was part of the RVL, would be integrated into the navy. Several of its larger patrol craft of the Tursas and Kiisla class were fitted with antisubmarine warfare weapons. A large number of patrol boats were equipped with submarine tracking gear.

Air Force

The peacetime missions of the air force (Ilmavoimat) were the patrolling of Finnish air space and the surveillance, identification, and interception of intruding aircraft. In an average year, ten to twenty violations of Finnish air space were detected. If conflict developed in the region, the air force would have the tasks of preserving territorial integrity, preventing overflight of hostile planes and missiles, preventing Finnish territory from being used as a base for attack, and supporting army and navy operations. The protection of Finnish air space in the event of East-West hostilities was considered a highly salient aspect of the air force role. The possibility that Finnish air space would be violated on the flight paths of bombers and cruise missiles of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces was an issue of intense concern. As of 1988, Finland was in the process of acquiring further capability to detect, to intercept, and to destroy cruise missiles crossing Finnish territory.

To fulfill these missions, Finland had given priority in the late 1970s to the upgrading of its interceptor and reconnaissance capabilities. Its three combat air squadrons were equipped with Soviet MiG-21bis and Swedish Saab J-35 Draken fighters. The forty-seven Hawk Mk-51s purchased from Britain for advanced training

and reconnaissance were not counted as combat aircraft under the limits prescribed by the 1947 peace treaty, but they could be fitted with racks for bombs, rockets, and missiles for use as light attack aircraft. Air force transport capability was limited, consisting primarily of three Dutch F-27 Fokkers and six Soviet Mi-8 helicopters (see table 24, Appendix A).

Air force headquarters was located at Tikkakoski in central Finland. The country was divided into three air defense regions (see fig. 21). Each air defense region was the operational zone of an air wing, functioning in coordination with the corresponding military areas. Each of the three command centers was individually responsible for its regional air defense, based on directives issued by the air staff. One fighter squadron was assigned to each wing, but the necessary basing and support infrastructure was in place to enable the air force commander to concentrate all air force resources in a single region if necessary.

As of 1988, the Lapland wing, consisting of eighteen Drakens, was based at the joint civilian-military airfield near Rovaniemi; the wing's headquarters were in a nearby hardened shelter complex. The Satakunta wing, with twelve Drakens based at Tampere-Pirkkala, was responsible for southwestern Finland. All of the wing's command facilities, workshops, and aircraft shelters were hardened, having been blasted out of granite cliffs. Defense of southeastern Finland came under the Karelian wing, which had a squadron of thirty MiG-21bis plus several Hawks for training and patrol duties, operating from Kuopio-Rissala. All three wings had facilities in place permitting the use of alternative military and civilian airfields, as well as prepared highway strips.

In addition to the three combat squadrons based at wing headquarters, the transport squadron was based at Kouvola-Utti and the training squadron was based at Luonetjärvi, adjacent to the flying school at Kauhava. Primary air surveillance was carried out by a fixed long-range radar system supplemented by mobile low-altitude radar, fixed in peacetime, but transportable to concealed, hardened sites in wartime. The civilian air control network was also closely linked to the military system. Automatic long-range radar, ordered in 1988 from the French firm of Thomson-CSF, will be installed at six or seven sites, including one in the far north at Kaamanen that will extend surveillance over the Arctic Ocean and the Kola Peninsula.

Flight training was conducted at the Air Force Academy at Kauhava. The Valmet L-70 Vinka was used for primary training (forty-five hours of flight time). Students then made the transition to jet training on the Hawk (100 hours of flight time), preceded by

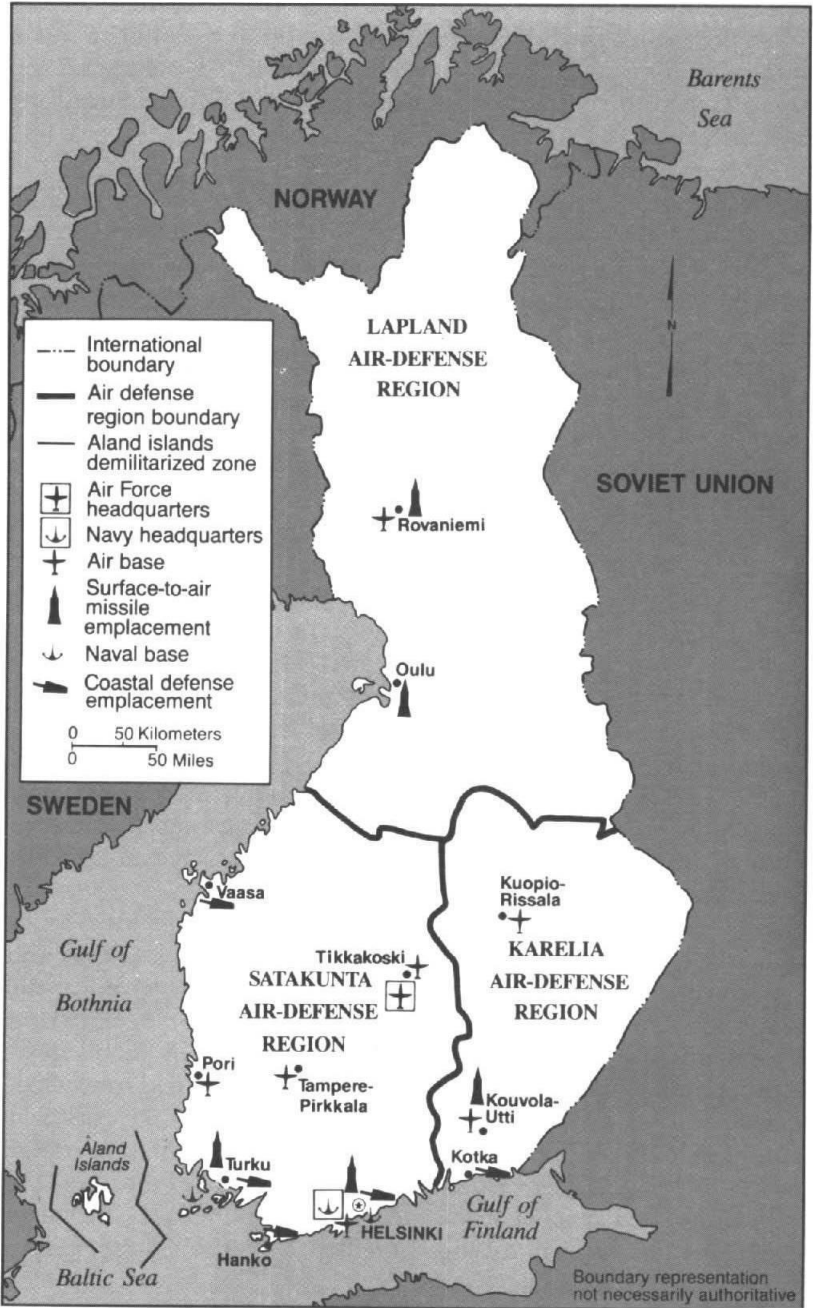


Figure 21. Air and Coastal Defenses, 1988

considerable practice on flight simulators. An intermediate trainer was not considered necessary. Conversion to the Draken or the MiG-21 and advanced tactical training were carried out after assignment to the fighter squadrons. A fully qualified interceptor pilot underwent a total of seven years of preparation. More pilots were being trained than Finland needed for its existing combat aircraft. Moreover, basing and logistical facilities were sufficient for about three times as many combat aircraft as were in the peacetime inventory.

Conscription and Reserve Duty

All Finnish males were liable for military service between the ages of seventeen and sixty. The call-up for active duty normally occurred at the age of twenty, although students could postpone service until completion of their education. Over 90 percent of young men reaching military age actually entered the Defense Forces, a rate believed to be the highest of all Western countries. There had traditionally been three conscript contingents during the course of a year, in February, in June, and in October, but in 1989 these were to be reduced to five call-ups every two years, owing to the decline in the numbers coming of age. For the same reason, the normal age for entering the service was to be reduced to nineteen. About 38,000 conscripts were trained annually, although the decreased birth rate would result in as few as about 26,300 inductees by 1993, stabilizing at that level. As a consequence, the number of reservists of all categories, which had been maintained at about 700,000, would taper off to about 600,000 during the 1990s.

Prior to 1987, conscientious objectors had been permitted to serve in the military in a noncombatant capacity for eleven months, or in civilian social service for twelve months. Legislation enacted in that year, however, required a conscientious objector to serve in alternative civilian service for sixteen months, twice the length of minimum military service. A number of objectors, regarding the new law as a form of punishment, did not accept these conditions, and they were sentenced to prison terms.

Women were not accepted in the Defense Forces, although the tightened manpower situation had provoked discussion of measures to incorporate women into training programs on a voluntary basis to handle nonmilitary tasks in an emergency. About 7,000 women were employed by the Defense Forces, mainly in clerical positions and as nurses. A considerable number were used by the air force as radar monitors in remote areas. Women employees wore uniforms, but they did not receive military training or carry

weapons and had little opportunity for career advancement.

Conscripts were assigned upon induction to a particular branch or corps of service, depending upon existing personnel requirements, although personal preferences were respected to the extent possible. The National Conscription Act of 1950 set the duration of Service for ordinary conscripts at 240 days (8 months) and for reserve officers and NCOs at 330 days (11 months). Certain specialists and naval conscripts also served for 330 days. About 48 percent of the total intake of conscripts served for the longer period. In 1988 the military announced that a separate category of weapons specialists would be designated to serve for nine and one-half months.

Service in the reserves was obligatory after the completion of active duty. For officers and NCOs, active reserve duty continued until age sixty; and for others, until age fifty. Those who completed their active reserve obligation at age fifty were listed in class one of the auxiliary reserve until age sixty when all reserve obligations ended. Those exempted from active duty on grounds of disability were assigned to class two of the auxiliary reserve, and those aged seventeen to twenty without military training were listed in class three.

Until the late 1970s, annual training of reservists was neglected because of budgetary pressures. Efforts were underway in the 1980s to improve the situation in order to compensate for the declining intake of conscripts and to ensure that reservists acquired some familiarity with the new and more complex equipment being introduced. The number of reservists undergoing annual training increased from 30,000 in 1979 to nearly 50,000 in 1988. The relatively infrequent and brief periods of reserve training were still considered insufficient by some observers, however. They noted that Switzerland, although it required a shorter period of initial service, trained far more reservists each year by longer and more frequent refresher call-ups.

Troops assigned to the Fast Deployment Forces could expect to be called for refresher training at least every fifth year; those in some specialist categories were called up more often. Other reservists, generally those in higher age brackets, were not scheduled for training unless their assigned categories were changed. Call-ups were on a battalion basis, and reservists exercised their wartime tasks for a period of seven to ten days. The cumulative total period of active duty for reserve officers could not exceed 100 days; for reserve NCOs, 75 days; and for privates, 40 days.



*Summer and winter military exercises in Lapland
Courtesy General Headquarters, Finnish Defense Forces*

Training and Education

All men serving in the Finnish Defense Forces, even those aspiring to become career or reserve officers, underwent basic conscript training. Army training was conducted within the unit to which the conscript was assigned. The standard initial training phase of twelve weeks was followed by twelve to nineteen weeks of individualized training in infantry, field artillery, coast artillery, antiaircraft, signals, or engineering skills. An ordinary army conscript's service concluded with a refresher period of several weeks, composed of advanced unit training and a field exercise that involved several units of the same conscript contingent. Training programs stressed the development of combat motivation, physical fitness, marksmanship, and the ability to maneuver and to survive in independent guerrilla operations under difficult conditions. Basic training was rigorous, and conscripts spent at least sixty nights outside, even during winter. Evaluations by the conscripts of the effectiveness of the training and of the NCO training staff were generally favorable.

Those conscripts who excelled in the initial stages could apply for a special fifteen-week period of training as reserve NCOs, after which they completed their active military service as squad leaders. Reserve officer candidates selected during the NCO training phase pursued the first eight weeks of NCO training, followed by a further fourteen weeks of reserve officer training. This included six weeks of basic training as platoon leaders and three weeks of practice in the coordinated operation of various weapons units. After completion of training, the reserve officer candidates returned to their original units for thirteen weeks of service as trainers. At the conclusion of their eleven months of service, they were commissioned as second lieutenants. In the late 1980s, about 25 percent of each class of conscripts became NCOs and about 7 percent become officers.

The first two years of a three-year educational program for career officer candidates were conducted at the Military Academy at Santahamina near Helsinki for all three branches of the armed forces and for the RVL. Army cadets attended a school in their chosen arms specialty during the third year. Naval cadets spent the third year of training at the Naval Academy at Helsinki. Air cadets attended the Air Force Academy at Kauhava for the third year of training. The Defense Forces announced in 1988 that the academy's curriculum would be revised to include nonmilitary subjects so that its graduates would have the equivalent of a university-level

degree. The duration of the course would probably be lengthened to three and one-half years. Entry was by examination among those who had completed the reserve officer program during their conscript service.

Army graduates of the Military Academy were commissioned as first lieutenants (with promotion to senior lieutenant within a year), served as instructors for three or four years, and then attended an eight-month to ten-month course that normally led to the rank of captain within two to three years. Six to eight years after taking the captains' course, officers could take examinations leading to the two-year (three-year, for technical specialties) general staff officers' course at the War College. About thirty-five officers, from all three services, who had been successful in the examinations, were enrolled annually. These officers could expect to have general staff assignments, and they would become eligible for promotion to the ranks of colonel and general. Officers not attending the War College were eligible for a senior staff officers' course of eight to ten months, completion of which qualified them for the ranks of major and lieutenant colonel. A very limited group of officers was selected to attend advanced courses abroad, in Sweden, France, the United States, and, occasionally, the Soviet Union.

Training of career NCOs was conducted at the one-year Non-Commissioned Officers School and at various branch or service schools. Applicants had to have completed the reserve NCO course during their conscript service, whereupon they were permitted to take a qualifying examination for the lowest regular NCO rank of staff sergeant and subsequent examinations to advance to sergeant first class and master sergeant. After three years of service, an NCO could apply for phase two of the Non-Commissioned Officers School as a qualification for promotion to sergeant major. Since 1974 career NCOs who successfully advanced through the various training stages were eligible for commissions and, ultimately, for promotion as high as captain.

Each service also had its own training institutions. The infantry had its combat school and paratroop school. The artillery had the artillery school—with its ranges near Rovaniemi in northern Finland, the coast artillery school, and the antiaircraft school. In addition to pilot training, the air force had specialist schools for maintenance, radar, and communications personnel. Refresher courses for reservists were conducted either in these permanent schools or in the reserve units themselves.

Uniforms and Insignia

The Defense Forces wore three basic types of uniforms—a dress

uniform, a service uniform, and a field uniform. The army dress and service uniforms were field-gray. The service uniform for army officers consisted of a field-gray jacket and trousers, a service cap, a silver-gray shirt, a field-gray four-in-hand tie, and black, low-quarter shoes. The service uniform became the dress uniform when augmented with breeches, riding boots, and a field cap. In winter, officer personnel wore field-gray overcoats and fur pile caps. Summer wear for enlisted personnel consisted of a shirt and trousers, combat boots, a scarf, and a visorless field cap. The field uniform was the service uniform supplemented by jackboots, a camouflage jacket, and trousers in summer—or white overalls in winter, along with a field cap or a steel helmet.

Air force uniforms were blue; the navy wore dark blue in winter and white in summer. Officers of the air force and the navy wore service uniforms of the same cut and style as army officers. The air force dress shirt was light blue, and the navy dress shirt was white.

Army officers wore shoulderboards designating by color the branch of service. Insignia of rank were worn on the lapels. Air force officers wore sleeve bars, and naval officers wore stripes that conformed closely to the rank insignia of the United States Navy (see fig. 22). Enlisted personnel wore chevrons against a background color designating the branch of service. Noncommissioned officer ranks were also worn on sleeveboards (see fig. 23).

Conditions of Service

The incomes of career military personnel were considered adequate, although not generous, in terms of the high standard of living in Finnish society generally. Officer and NCO salary scales combined with their allowances were intended to be equivalent to salaries in the civil service, which were regarded as somewhat lower than the remuneration for equivalent forms of employment in the private sector. As of 1986, the salary of a colonel was about Fmk13,000 monthly and that of a major general was about Fmk15,700 (for value of the Finnish mark—see Glossary). Family allowances, allowances for service under hardship conditions (e.g., during field exercises in the far north, on offshore islands, and at remote coast artillery sites), and special allowances (for certain categories of duty, such as those of aircraft pilots and naval personnel on sea duty) were also paid. The normal work week was forty hours; personnel through the rank of captain received overtime pay when on duty for longer periods. There was no extensive post exchange or commissary system. Most career military were

privately housed; those assigned to base housing were charged a moderate rent.

Officers attaining at least the rank of major were eligible for full retirement twenty-five years after graduating from the Military Academy. Promotion through the rank of captain was virtually automatic. Those who had attended the Military Academy could expect to attain at least the rank of major and probably that of lieutenant colonel, but subsequent promotional opportunities then narrowed sharply. As of 1986, there were 672 career majors and lieutenant commanders, 250 lieutenant colonels and commanders, and 88 colonels and naval captains. There were only fourteen major generals and rear admirals and eight lieutenant generals and vice admirals.

Some captains chose to retire after twenty years of career service when their partial pensions were (in 1986) between Fmk6,800 and Fmk7,800 monthly. One personnel problem caused by modest pay was the loss of military pilots to commercial airlines. An experienced pilot with the rank of captain could expect a total income of about Fmk14,000 monthly as of 1988. By resigning to fly for Finnair, he could raise his monthly income to about Fmk20,000.

Conscripts received no pay, but they were paid a modest daily expense allowance, a source of some dissatisfaction. It had, however, been progressively increased from Fmk6.75 in 1981 to Fmk17 in December 1987. Many conscripts complained that they had been forced to fall back on their personal savings during their eight to eleven months of active service. Conscripts were, however, entitled to educational loans at the conclusion of their service, as well as mustering-out bonuses and other benefits, including up to ten paid trips home on leave. They were guaranteed reemployment at the jobs they had held when they entered active duty.

Defense Spending

The combined budget of the Defense Forces and the RVL have remained fairly constant during the 1980s as a percentage of total government expenditures, in most years ranging from 5.5 to 6 percent. Defense costs generally constituted about 1.5 percent of gross national product (GNP—see Glossary), although they rose to 1.7 percent in 1983 before diminishing to 1.48 percent in 1987 as a consequence of budget cuts imposed on the Ministry of Defense. The defense budget totaled Fmk5.58 billion in 1987 and Fmk6.04 billion in 1988.

During the 1982-86 period, the principal expense category was equipment replacement and procurement (31 percent of the total budget), followed by payroll costs (25 percent). Upkeep of

conscripts and training expenses averaged 13 percent of the budget; operations and maintenance, 16 percent; and real estate and other expenses, 15 percent. The procurement projection for the 5-year period, 1987-92, earmarked 48 percent for the army, 25 percent for the air force, 20 percent for the navy, and 7 percent for common-use equipment. This reflected increased emphasis on the acquisition of armor and firepower for the army and a diminishing rate of procurement for the air force. The air force share was expected to rise again after 1992, however, when the entire fleet of fighter aircraft was scheduled for replacement.

Although Finland's defense budget showed a slight increase during the 1980s, it failed to maintain the targeted annual real growth rate of 3.8 percent established by the Third Parliamentary Defense Committee in 1981. In both absolute and relative terms, Finland's defense budget continued to be among the lowest in Europe. A study prepared by the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency found that Finland's defense effort, expressed in terms of military expenditures as a ratio of GNP, was among the lowest of the developed countries of the world. Only Japan, Luxembourg, and Iceland had lighter defense burdens, based on 1985 data. Finland also ranked low in military expenditures per capita (US\$156 in 1984, calculated in 1983 dollars) and as a percentage of central government expenditures (one hundred twenty-third in the world in 1985).

These low budget outlays presaged future deficiencies in modern arms when existing equipment had to be replaced. As senior military leaders pointed out, costs of new weaponry were increasing at a rate of 5 to 15 percent annually on world markets, with the result that new procurements could not keep pace with equipment obsolescence and deterioration, especially in the army. Finnish analysts argued, however, that the budgeted figures somewhat understated Finland's real defense effort compared with other Scandinavian countries, because of the low conscript pay and the fact that certain military infrastructure costs as well as military pensions were not included in the defense budget. Moreover, the RVL, which would be an important adjunct to the military in an emergency, was included in the Ministry of Interior budget rather than in the defense budget.

The Armed Forces in National Life

The Defense Forces held a position of esteem and honor in Finnish society. This was accounted for in part by their reputation for valor, earned in preserving Finland's independence during the Winter War, and by the common military service experience of

male citizens. The long reserve obligation of a large part of the population also reinforced continuing interest in the effectiveness and the welfare of the military establishment. The obligatory period of service was perceived as an important unifying factor for Finnish society. Conscripting was treated as an opportunity to provide civic education by deepening understanding of the history and the security policies of the country and to improve standards of behavior and good citizenship. One of the arguments advanced for national service for women was that the experience would help them, as citizens, to comprehend national security issues better and to view the military in a positive light.

Opinion surveys revealed a high degree of public confidence in the Defense Forces and a willingness to provide the necessary resources for an effective defense. Polls generally found that over 75 percent of Finns agreed that the country should be willing to go to war to defend itself. (Among conscripts, 95 percent supported a firm defense against aggression.) In 1988 one-half of those queried were in favor of the existing level of defense appropriations, while one-third believed they should be increased, and only slightly more than one-eighth thought they should be reduced. The need for a sufficient level of military readiness was accepted by all major parties represented in the Eduskunta; only communist factions had urged curtailing defense expenditures, arguing that any future war was bound to be nuclear, making preparations for a conventional conflict of little avail.

The Defense Forces were often prominently involved in public events, helping to organize and to stage large sports competitions, ceremonies, conferences, and exhibitions. In most communities, there were guilds connected with military units, often those linked to the area by long tradition, that brought together older and younger veterans. The Defense Council was active in furthering the public's knowledge of defense issues, and by the late 1980s about 20,000 Finns, prominent locally or nationally, had attended courses under its direction. About 20 percent of those receiving instruction attended a course lasting nearly a month; the remainder attended a one-week course.

The Finnish military establishment had intervened in politics during the Civil War of 1917-18 and during the subsequent clashes between the right and the left wings in the 1920s. In the period preceding World War II, leaders of the armed forces had sought to convince the government and the public to initiate military preparedness for the impending conflict. Since the end of the war, however, the constraints of the 1947 peace treaty and the FCMA treaty, together with the authority asserted by civilian governments,

have discouraged direct involvement by the military in politics. The career military were forbidden to join political parties or to run for political office while on active duty. They were, however, permitted to vote and to hold office at local levels, such as membership on municipal boards, which did not require party affiliation.

During the 1980s, the public profile of the senior members of the armed forces was generally low; the leadership confined itself to restrained comments when it felt this was needed to draw attention to the inadequacy of defense appropriations. The impact of the military on issues affecting national security was, nonetheless, significant. Its opinion was highly respected, in part as a legacy of the Winter War and in part as a result of the direct experience of the entire male segment of society with matters of national defense. Observers believed it probable that a large majority of the representatives in the Eduskunta (parliament) held officer commissions in the reserves. Views of the senior commanders were accorded serious attention by top policymakers and legislators. Reserve officer associations in every part of the country formed a strong constituency sympathetic to the interests of the military.

There appeared to be little sentiment among the public that the military enjoyed excessive influence in the Finnish political system. In a survey taken in 1984 concerning the power of various institutions, over 75 percent of those polled felt that the armed forces exercised the right amount of power; only 15 percent thought that they held too much power. In this respect, the public's estimate of the military was more positive than its estimate of any of the other institutions of government and society, except the presidency itself.

United Nations Peacekeeping Activities

Finland has taken an active role in United Nations (UN) peacekeeping matters as a means of demonstrating its interest in the maintenance of international peace. Because of their unimpeachable behavior in conformity with Finland's neutral status, Finnish troops have almost invariably been welcomed as elements of UN peacekeeping forces by the parties involved in international crises. A law enacted in 1964, defining the conditions of Finnish participation, limited the maximum number of soldiers serving at any one time to 2,000. Regular troops of the Defense Forces could not be sent abroad, so the peacekeeping forces were composed of volunteer reservists, career officers, and NCOs who wished to be detached from their units to serve with UN contingents. A six-month rotation was customary, but many reservists had volunteered for repeated service. By the late 1980s, some 20,000 Finns had served

in UN peacekeeping missions. Specialized instruction was provided at a permanent training site where clothing and equipment were stored for immediate availability. A stand-by force, consisting of a reserve motorized infantry battalion of approximately 700 men, could be prepared for mobilization anywhere in the world within four weeks. Its key officers could be in place much sooner. Officer training for the special requirements of UN service was conducted on a cooperative basis with other Nordic countries. Finland was responsible for training military observers; Sweden trained staff officers; Denmark, military police officers; and Norway, logistics and transportation officers.

Within a year after its admission to the UN in 1955, Finland sent a reinforced rifle company of 250 men as part of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) based in Egypt for service in the Sinai and the Gaza Strip. In 1964 a reinforced battalion with a strength of 1,000 men was attached to the UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). It was composed of five light infantry companies and a support company, armed with rifles, machine pistols, light machine guns, mortars, and bazookas. Later Finnish contingents were organized and equipped in similar fashion, with the addition of a vehicle repair unit, a field hospital, and most transport, signal, and housing requirements.

Finnish units served from 1973 to 1979 in a buffer zone between Israel and Egypt in the Suez Canal area as part of the UN Emergency Force II (UNEF II), after which the contingent was transferred to the Golan Heights between Israeli and Syrian forces as part of the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF). Beginning in 1982, a Finnish battalion was assigned to serve with the UN Interim Force (UNIFIL) in southern Lebanon. As of late 1988, about 1,000 members of the Finnish armed forces were serving on peacekeeping missions. In addition to the UNIFIL battalion, they were assigned as cease-fire observers in Cyprus, along the India-Pakistan border, in the Sinai, on the Golan Heights between Israel and Syria, in the Persian Gulf, and in Afghanistan. Finland was also committed to contribute to the UN peacekeeping force to be sent to Namibia.

Sources of Equipment

By the late 1980s, nearly 40 percent of Finnish military equipment purchases were of domestic manufacture, the remainder being imported about equally from Soviet and Western sources. The Soviet Union was the largest single source, followed by Sweden, France, Britain, and the United States. Finnish industry was capable of supplying many of the Defense Forces' needs for explosives and

ammunition, light weapons, mortars and artillery, ships, and transport. Low-level radar and many other electronic items were also being produced locally. Finland continued to be dependent on foreign suppliers for jet aircraft and helicopters, missiles, tanks and most armored vehicles, and anti-aircraft systems.

Arms Acquisitions from Foreign Suppliers

Until the late 1950s, strained economic conditions precluded the refitting of the Finnish armed forces, which had to be content with the large stocks of munitions and equipment remaining at the end of World War II. As the economy strengthened, a political decision was made to modernize the armed forces so that they could defend Finnish neutrality credibly. The government allocated a modest amount for new equipment in 1955, and it enacted a major new appropriation in 1957. These procurements stimulated a revival of the small Finnish armaments industry, although most major items continued to be acquired from abroad. Britain was initially the primary source of supply, providing tanks, aircraft, and a training ship. Jet trainers were purchased from France and Sweden, and anti-aircraft guns and fire control systems were obtained from Switzerland. The decision reached in 1959 to rely more heavily on arms procurements from the Soviet Union was partly a political effort to demonstrate Finnish neutrality by balancing purchases from the East and from the West. Economic factors also played a part. Finland's trade with the Soviet Union was based on bilateral balancing, and imports from the Soviet Union had to be found to compensate for the high level of Finnish exports. Favorable credit terms offered by Moscow were a further attraction (see *Foreign Economic Relations*, ch. 3).

Among the heavy weapons deliveries from the Soviet Union during the early 1960s were T-54 and T-55 main battle tanks, armored personnel carriers, self-propelled anti-aircraft guns, and artillery pieces. The political crisis sparked by a Soviet call for consultations under the FCMA treaty in October 1961 convinced Helsinki that further efforts must be made to build up the nation's air defenses in order to demonstrate its determination to resist violations of its neutrality. Accordingly, an order was placed with the Soviet Union for thirty-five MiG-21Fs and associated Atoll air-to-air missiles. Since the MiG fighters did not have an all-weather capability, the Finnish air force turned to Sweden for Saab J-35 Draken all-weather interceptors; the first of these aircraft were delivered between 1972 and 1977. Beginning in 1981, the MiG-21bis, an all-weather fighter with a more powerful engine, was introduced to replace the MiG-21F. It was armed with a more advanced

version of the Atoll missile. Extensive new purchases for the modernization of the armored forces began in 1981 with the acquisition from the Soviet Union of armored personnel carriers, followed later by T-72 tanks, armored transports, and BMP-1 assault tanks.

By the mid-1990s, the entire combat air force of Draken and MiG fighters will need replacing, and observers have surmised that the Soviet MiG-29 will be one of the models selected. Financing the purchase would be facilitated by the fact that an imbalance had developed in Finnish-Soviet trade as a result of the drop in the price of Soviet crude oil deliveries. Financing of a Western model, possibly the Swedish JAS-39 Gripen, was expected to present a difficult budgetary hurdle.

Finland was eligible to purchase matériel under the Foreign Military Sales Program of the United States Defense Department. Its principal acquisitions from the United States were advanced electronic equipment and I-TOW (improved tube-launched, optically sighted, wire-guided) antitank missiles.

Domestic Arms Production

Finland's own production capacity had gradually expanded beginning in the 1960s. Among the arms manufactured domestically were the M-60 122mm field gun, the M61/37 105mm howitzer, the M-62 assault rifle (a highly regarded redesigned version of the Soviet AK-47), and the M-62 light machine gun, the basic infantry weapons of the Finnish army. Domestic shipyards turned out all of the vessels needed by the navy, although much of their advanced electronic equipment and weaponry was imported. Earlier, a number of ships had been purchased from the Soviet Union and from Britain and had been modified in Finnish yards for minelaying and other special requirements. The only aircraft entirely of Finnish manufacture was the Valmet L-70 Vinka basic trainer. Another Valmet design, the Redigo, had been marketed abroad as a basic trainer without success. Analysts expected that the Finnish air force would acquire it as a light transport in the early 1990s. The British Hawk advanced jet trainer and later consignments of the Draken were assembled at the Valmet plant.

An all-terrain truck, the KB-45 manufactured by Sisu-Auto (SISU), was used by the Finnish army as a gun tractor and personnel carrier and by Swedish and Finnish peacekeeping forces in the Middle East. SISU also manufactured the SA-150 Masi all-terrain truck and the NA-140 Nasu adverse terrain vehicle. The SISU A-180 Pasi, a newly designed six-wheeled amphibious armored personnel carrier, had been introduced into the army, and several hundred were on order as of 1988.

By 1988 the Finnish arms industry consisted of about twenty firms, most of them small subsidiaries of conglomerates primarily oriented toward civilian markets. The Ministry of Defense had its own plants for the manufacture of munitions and for the modernization of heavy equipment such as the T-55 tank. In addition to SISU and Valmet, one of the larger private manufacturers was Tampella, which produced field artillery, mortars, turret guns, and grenade launchers. Most of the missile boats were constructed by the Hollming shipyards in Rauma and at Wärtsilä's yards in Helsinki, although their weapons systems were acquired abroad.

Finnish arms exports were a minor item in the balance of trade, amounting to only Fmk60 million in 1986. Nearly half of these exports were to NATO countries, most of the remainder going to neutral developed countries such as Sweden. About half of the export total consisted of gunpowder. Ammunition, artillery shells, and assault rifles composed most of the remainder.

Civil Defense

Under the Civil Defense Act of 1958, the Ministry of Interior was directed to provide civil defense to protect persons and property in wartime as well as in peacetime. The act stipulated that the ministry was to be responsible for providing shelters in high-risk areas, for evacuating civilian population from threatened areas, and for limiting damage from natural disasters. In emergency situations, firefighting, rescue, ambulance, and first-aid services were coordinated with the civil defense effort. Civil defense operations were entirely a civilian responsibility.

The ministry delegated the implementation of national policy to county and municipal authorities, which acted through locally appointed civil defense boards. These boards supervised operations from more than 100 civil defense centers designated throughout the country. Personnel in national and local government agencies, committed to civil defense in emergency situations, and in independent voluntary organizations that would come under their jurisdiction numbered over 100,000. Nongovernment organizations involved in civil defense activities included the Finnish Red Cross and the Rescue Service. Police were also assigned to reinforce civil defense workers as conditions required.

An alarm system was in place in urban centers to warn the civilian population of threatened attacks. During an emergency situation, instructions would be broadcast through normal media channels. The early warning civil defense system was tied into the nationwide military air surveillance system.



*Finnish-built L-70 Vinka elementary trainer produced by Valmet
Courtesy General Headquarters, Finnish Defense Forces*

The Ministry of Interior maintained hard shelters, capable of accommodating 2.6 million persons, in cities and in other densely populated areas where two-thirds of the country's population lived. They were built to withstand the detonation of a 100-kiloton nuclear bomb at ground zero. There was no shelter program in rural areas nor were most detached dwellings and townhouses equipped with shelters. About 10 percent of the shelters were carved out of natural rock, but most were beneath office and residential buildings. Some were designed for multiple use as parking garages, schoolrooms, skating rinks, and swimming pools. By law, builders were obliged to include shelters in blocks measuring 3,000 cubic meters or more. In Helsinki, 536,000 spaces were provided, of which 118,000 were in large rock shelters and 14,000 were in subway stations. The shelter space was sufficient to accommodate over 100 percent of the nighttime population of the city, but only 67 percent of the daytime population.

The most serious shortcoming of Finland's civil defense system was that 1.5 million Finns had no access to shelters. Another reason for concern was that many shelters were poorly equipped and maintained. All shelters were supposed to be outfitted with self-contained power and ventilation systems, sanitary facilities, and emergency supplies. Nevertheless, inspections during 1986 found that two-thirds of shelters in private buildings had some deficiencies.

Contingency plans included massive evacuation of civilians from likely target areas, threatened with attack by conventional forces in time of war. Medical services for civilian casualties would be provided at local facilities in coordination with the civil defense branch of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. Civil defense authorities considered, however, that evacuation of the civilian population to escape fallout following a nuclear attack would be pointless, and no provision was made for such a contingency.

The public's perception of civil defense efforts was marked by considerable indifference during the 1980s. Although its system was far more complete than the systems in most countries of Western Europe, Finland's annual expenditure per capita on civil defense of US\$12 was well below the rate of other Scandinavian countries, which averaged US\$20 per capita. The nuclear accident at Chernobyl in the Soviet Union in 1986 underscored Finland's vulnerability and triggered renewed concern over shortcomings in the civil defense program. In response, the government announced plans in 1988 to introduce an automatic radiation surveillance network to supplement the existing manual one and to ensure that an outdoor alarm system was operational in all municipalities.

Public Order and Security

Responsibility for law enforcement and for the maintenance of public security rested entirely with the central government. No police forces were maintained by lower levels of government. The minister of interior exercised control over all police forces through the Police Department, one of the departments of the Ministry of Interior. It functioned as the central command unit supervising the two types of ordinary police forces—town police and rural police—as well as three special police units, the Central Criminal Police (Keskusrikospoliisi—KRP), the Mobile Police (Liikkuva—LP), and the Security Police (Suojelupoliisi—SUPO). The total personnel complement of the police, as of late 1988, was 8,341, of whom approximately 200 were women.

The RVL, a paramilitary force with responsibilities for guarding Finland's borders and for maintaining public order and safety in frontier and coastal areas, was also under the supervision of the minister of interior in peacetime. Its headquarters was the Frontier Guard Department, a separate division within the ministry. The personnel strength of the RVL was roughly half that of the police.

Police Organization

Chambers of Police were established in 1816 in Turku, and later in other large towns. These chambers had the duty of keeping

order, preventing crimes and breaches of the peace, and acting as courts for minor offenses. Although the term "police department" was officially adopted in 1861, police forces retained their judicial powers until 1897. In 1903 and 1904, the town police became part of the state administration, although until 1977 towns still had the responsibility of contributing one-third of some costs of police service.

In rural areas, provincial governors had traditionally appointed sheriffs, often poorly educated and inefficient peasants, who frequently did not have regular deputies. Only in 1891 did a decree provide for each sheriff's office to have a number of state-employed constables. The Police Act of 1925 brought town and rural police under the same set of regulations. Previous legislation and regulations pertaining to the police were superseded by the Police Act of 1967, a comprehensive law covering all police activities. Amendments in 1973 established advisory committees of laymen to help improve relations between the police and the general public. The 1973 law also defined the structure of the Police Department in the Ministry of Interior.

The Police Department of the Ministry of Interior was both the supreme command of the police and an operational arm for special functions carried on at a centralized level. Among the most important of these was directing three special police forces, the KRP, the LP, and SUPO (see fig. 24). A superintendent of police headed each provincial police office, which had operational command over local police units but had no police forces directly under it. Most prosecutors were part of the police system. The provincial superintendent of police was, at the same time, the provincial prosecutor who prosecuted the most serious crimes. Sheriffs were local administrative officers, acting as prosecutors in lower courts, as debt collectors, and as notaries public. Town police departments, headed by police chiefs, numbered twenty-seven in 1988. There were 225 rural police districts headed by sheriffs.

The organization of individual police departments varied depending on the size of the community and on its particular public safety problems. Departments generally had sections that dealt with public order and safety, accidents, driver's permits, criminal investigation, social problems (investigation of crimes against the Narcotics Act and violations of the Temperance Act), the civil register (population records, passports and identity cards, alien supervision), and a unit for preventive police work among youth. In communities large enough to be divided into precincts, the precinct officers conducted investigations of minor crimes, placed drunks

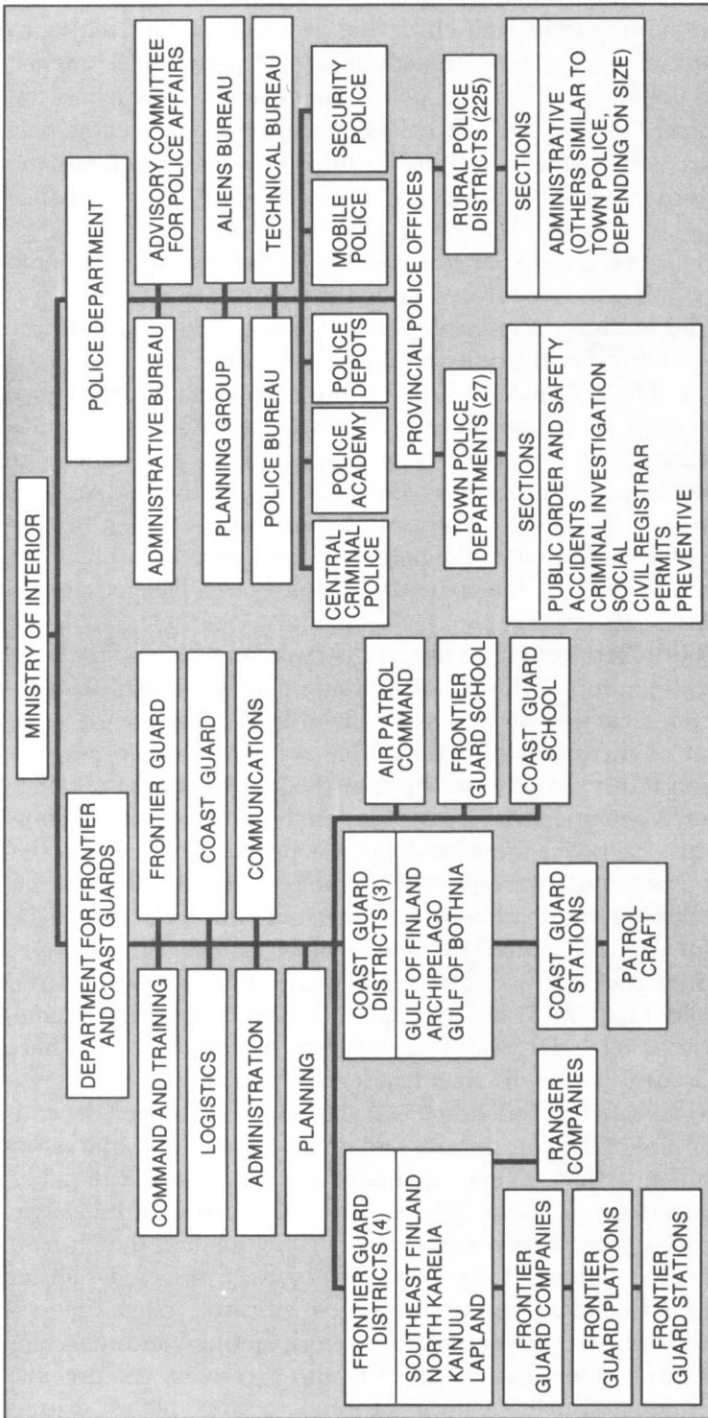


Figure 24. Police and Frontier Guard Organization, 1988

in sobering-up cells, and supervised public facilities, including train and bus stations.

Larger rural police districts had similar divisions, with the addition of an administrative division to handle permits, debt collections, fines, and similar matters. The majority of the districts were small, however, with a staff of only ten or twelve policemen and no divisional organization.

Central Criminal Police

The Central Criminal Police (Keskusrikospoliisi—KRP) was formed in 1954 to assist the country's other police elements in efforts against crime, particularly that of a serious or deeply rooted nature. A special concern of the Central Criminal Police was white collar crime. To carry out its mission, the force had advanced technical means at its disposal, and it maintained Finland's fingerprint and identification files. In addition to working with local police forces, the KRP operated independently throughout the country.

Mobile Police

The Mobile Police (Liikkuva Poliisi—LP) was formed in 1930 to operate throughout the country to prevent smuggling, to control highway traffic, and, above all, to be ready at a moment's notice to assist local police forces in quelling civil disturbances. With a complement of 724, as of 1988, the LP had a department in each province and command units in larger communities. Its main functions, in addition to its responsibility for traffic regulation and vehicle inspection, were to prevent the illegal importation and the manufacture of alcohol and drugs, to enforce hunting and fishing regulations, and to assist other police units in investigations and in apprehension of fugitives. The LP also provided security for the nation's president, passport control at the Soviet border, and security at the Helsinki international airport.

Security Police

The Security Police (Suojelupoliisi—SUPO) had its headquarters in Helsinki, but it maintained bureau and district offices in various parts of Finland. Formed in 1948, it replaced a similar police force dating from the late 1930s. Its function was to investigate crimes and offenses against the law and order of the state, including subversion, conspiracy, and espionage. SUPO had, in addition, certain responsibilities for safeguarding classified government documents and for checking on foreign citizens visiting or working in Finland. It conducted liaison with security and intelligence organizations of other countries. Agents of SUPO did not have

the right to make arrests or to detain anyone, nor were they authorized to search private residences. Anyone suspected by SUPO of having committed a crime was dealt with by a criminal investigation unit.

The country faced few internal security problems. It continued to be a homogeneous nation with only 20,000 foreign residents and an immigration quota of 200 people a year. Admittance was denied to job seekers from Third World countries. The few Soviet defectors who managed to escape across the border into Finland were carefully screened, and most were sent back. A few were granted asylum as political refugees; others succeeded in reaching Sweden before being apprehended by Finnish authorities.

Police Training

Competition for employment by the police was keen. Fewer than 10 percent of the average of 3,500 who applied annually were accepted for training. Candidates were required to have completed secondary school and to have emerged from military service with at least an NCO rank. The five-month police cadet course was given at the Police Training Center at Tampere. The course was followed by twelve to eighteen months of active police work, after which policemen returned to the center for six months of further training. Completion of this phase led to the rank of senior constable.

Advanced police training was conducted at the Police Academy in Otaniemi near Helsinki. The five-month NCO course provided instruction in such fields as police administrative law, criminal law, criminal trial law, civil law, police tactics, psychology, and forensic medicine. Those completing the course advanced to the rank of sergeant. An eight-month course for officers led to the rank of lieutenant, and a four-month commanding officers' course prepared candidates for police chief's duties.

Frontier Guard

The Frontier Guard (Rajavartiolaitos—RVL) was considered an elite force, organized, even in peacetime, along military lines into companies and platoons; its personnel held military-type ranks. The RVL was established in 1919, and it was placed under the Ministry of Interior. The Coast Guard (sometimes called the Sea Guard), dating from 1930, was also under the Ministry of Interior and was made part of the RVL in 1944. In a time of crisis or war, authorities could integrate the entire RVL, or parts of it, into the Defense Forces. The peacetime tasks of the RVL were to guard and to patrol national boundaries; to work with the police in maintaining public order and safety in frontier and coastal areas; to

prevent and, if necessary, to investigate frontier incidents; and, together with the Customs Office, to exercise customs control. The RVL patrolled a special frontier zone of three kilometers on land and four kilometers at sea along the Finnish-Soviet border. A permit was required to enter this zone.

The personnel complement of the RVL, as of 1988, was about 3,500; an additional 1,000 conscripts were assigned to it. Coast Guard personnel numbered 600; no conscripts served with the Coast Guard. The RVL was divided into four districts, and the Coast Guard was divided into three. Each district was composed of three or four frontier companies, a ranger or commando company, and a headquarters platoon. Actual patrolling of the border was conducted by the frontier companies, which consisted of two to four frontier platoons. Each platoon manned one to three RVL stations. The ranger companies, which served as training units for the conscripts, were located at the district headquarters. Only career personnel participated in regular boundary patrolling. A separate Air Patrol Command was equipped with Agusta Bell Jet Ranger light helicopters and Aérospatiale Super Puma medium helicopters, the latter with an antisubmarine warfare role in wartime.

Basic training of the RVL was conducted at the Frontier Guard School at Immola in the municipality of Imatra and at the Coast Guard School at Otaniemi. NCOs received their training mainly at the Defense Forces' NCO school; officer training was carried out at the Military Academy and at other military schools. Conscripts received their ranger training in the districts where they were assigned. Conscripts admitted to the RVL were required to be in top physical condition, and they were usually residents of border areas. Opportunities offered to RVL conscripts for training as reserve NCOs and officers were similar to those offered in the Defense Forces (see *The Armed Forces*, this ch.).

Under wartime conditions the RVL would be organized into special Frontier Jaeger Battalions. Their mobilized strength would be about 11,500. Their tasks would be to operate against key targets in the enemy's rear and to defend against enemy airborne or other penetration of Finnish rear areas. The Coast Guard did not have a reserve component, but several of its larger patrol craft had a submarine tracking capability, and they could be rapidly converted for antisubmarine warfare and minelaying and minesweeping operations.

Each Coast Guard district consisted of a headquarters platoon, three Coast Guard areas (each comprising two to six Coast Guard stations), and Coast Guard vessels. Its fleet consisted of 7 offshore

patrol craft of between 135 and 700 tons displacement and 53 smaller coastal patrol craft.

Criminal Justice System

The Swedish penal code was retained in Finland until 1889, when the Grand Duchy of Finland adopted a new code that was derived from the familiar Swedish practice but allowed for more precise definition of crimes. Judges were given considerable latitude in interpreting the law, but the new code limited the punishments that could be exacted for particular categories of offenses. Although frequently amended over the ensuing decades, the Penal Code of 1889 remained in force in the 1980s. In 1977 the government authorized establishment of the Penal Law Committee to study the system of corrections and to reconsider the principles on which criminal policy was based in order to make recommendations for revisions in the penal code. No action had been taken on penal code reform as of 1988, however.

Principles of Criminal Justice

Finnish thinking on criminal policy as it evolved in the 1980s regarded the punishment of offenders essentially as society's reproach to the criminal. In the abstract, the type and the length of punishment prescribed by law were considered indicative of the norms of society regarding the seriousness of the offense and the potential threat posed to society by the offender. In practical terms, punishments were standardized, and they were imposed consistently for all categories of crimes, in the interest of ensuring equality in the application of the law. For this reason, the penal code restricted the discretionary power of the courts in imposing sentences.

Imprisonment was not regarded as benefiting the offender, nor was the length of time in an institution to be set on the basis of need for treatment; it was accepted that punishment was detrimental and should be used sparingly. Thus, the tendency has been to rely on light punishment, especially on fines, and to emphasize short sentences of a few weeks or months.

In addition to ensuring that sentences were equal and proportional, the penal code advised that sentences imposed should not cause the "unregulated accumulation of sanctions," that is, when assessing punishment, courts should avoid several sanctions' being imposed—such as dismissal from office, or revocation of a driver's permit—as the result of a single offense. The courts were also expected to ensure that punishment was not extended indirectly to the offender's family.

The tendency since the early 1970s has been to decriminalize



*Frontier Guards in bivouac during winter patrol
Courtesy General Headquarters, Finnish Defense Forces
Ski troops towed by a Swedish-built Bandvagn
206 multipurpose tracked vehicle
Courtesy General Headquarters, Finnish Defense Forces*

a number of actions formerly indictable under the penal code. The modifications in the code reflected changing priorities in assessing the seriousness of criminal conduct, changing norms of social behavior, and an attempt to distinguish between premeditated crime and spontaneous actions. Among the acts decriminalized were creating a public disturbance because of drunkenness as well as certain offenses against property, such as petty theft. Homosexual acts between consenting adults also ceased to be regarded as a criminal offense. Stiff penalties for offenses against persons, for threatened violence against persons, and for drunken driving remained unaffected, however.

Finland has been less willing than other Scandinavian countries to replace punishment with other measures, such as treatment-oriented institutions for repeat offenders. Under legislation enacted in 1931, offenders "dangerous to private or public safety" could be confined in a separate institution for recidivists after their sentences had expired. In 1971 the law was amended so that property offenses could no longer be considered grounds for indeterminate incarceration, and conditions under which violent offenders could be so confined were more narrowly defined. As a result, the number of offenders held in internment of any kind fell dramatically, from nearly 400 in the 1960s to fewer than 10 in 1984.

Criminal Courts

Criminal courts of the first instance were of two types, each having jurisdiction in distinct areas and each following separate procedures. The first type of court provided criminal justice in thirty "old towns," including Helsinki. These long-established town courts consisted of three professional judges—one of whom presided—and two lay jurors from the city council. Circuit courts, the second type, exercised jurisdiction in rural districts and in cities incorporated after 1958. The latter category included Espoo and Vantaa, Finland's fourth and fifth largest cities, respectively, located in the greater Helsinki metropolitan area. More than 140 circuit courts in 71 judicial districts formed this system. Circuit courts were conducted by a professional judge, assisted by five to seven jurors elected for the term of the court by the local municipal council. Public prosecutors for both kinds of courts determined whether to press charges against persons accused of offenses solely on the basis of evidence presented by police investigation.

Criminal cases were heard in continuous sessions by both types of courts of the first instance. Verdicts were determined by the vote of the panel of judges and jurors. A two-to-one majority was sufficient in three-member town courts. In circuit courts, however, the

verdict of the presiding judge prevailed if the jurors failed to reach a unanimous decision. Measures were pending in 1988 to harmonize court procedures.

Cases involving criminal offenses by on-duty members of the Defense Forces were tried in fifteen special courts of the first instance presided over by a panel of military judges. These courts-martial were integrated into the criminal courts system.

Appeals from the courts of the first instance were heard in six three-member regional courts of appeal that were also responsible for supervising the lower courts. When a panel considered appeals from courts-martial, two military judges were added. About two-thirds of the business of appeals courts involved criminal cases. The Supreme Court, which ordinarily sat in panels of five members, handled final appeals from criminal cases. Permission to appeal was, however, granted by a three-member panel. Because of a tendency by the Supreme Court to limit the cases reviewed to those having value as precedents, the courts of appeal had become increasingly important in criminal matters.

Criminal actions were preceded by a police pretrial investigation. A suspect could be detained by the police for questioning, without access to a lawyer, for three days; this period could be extended to fourteen days, for special reasons on proper authority and with notification to the court. Reforms scheduled to take effect on January 1, 1989, shortened the maximum detention to seven days, with access to a lawyer. The institutions of habeas corpus and bail did not exist as such. Those accused of serious crimes were required to remain in custody. Those accused of minor offenses could be released on personal recognizance at the court's discretion. Preventive detention was authorized only during a declared state of war for variously defined offenses, such as treason or mutiny.

Court proceedings were conducted by the presiding judge, who normally also questioned witnesses. The entire written court record was used as the basis for proceedings in the courts of appeals. Oral hearings were conducted only in those criminal cases in which courts of appeal had original jurisdiction, such as criminal charges against certain high officials. Neither the accused nor his counsel was present when a case was considered by the court of appeal. An accused person had the right to effective counsel. Persons lacking sufficient funds were entitled to free proceedings so that their attorneys' fees and direct costs were borne by the state. Local courts could decide to conduct a trial behind closed doors in juvenile, domestic, or guardianship cases, or when publicity would offend morality or endanger state secrets.

Incidence of Crime

According to official Finnish data for 1986, the largest group of crimes covered by the Criminal Code was crimes against property (75 percent of the total); theft alone accounted for 42 percent, and embezzlement and fraud for 15 percent. Drunken driving constituted 9 percent of all Criminal Code violations, and crimes against personal safety, mostly assaults, accounted for 7 percent.

During the 1970s, the crime rate showed a rising trend corresponding to the growing affluence of the country and to the shift in population from the rural north to the urban south. After the mid-1970s, however, the rate for many crime categories leveled off; in some cases it even fell. Robberies decreased during the 1980s, and bank robberies were infrequent, only sixteen cases being recorded in 1986. Assaults increased somewhat during the same period, roughly parallel to the increase in alcohol consumption. Embezzlements and fraud increased noticeably, in part as a consequence of the mass introduction of credit cards in the 1980s. Drunken driving offenses slackened off relative to the number of automobiles, from a rate of 161 per 100,000 cars in 1977 to 122 per 100,000 cars in 1985. This was due both to stricter controls and to an absolute decrease in the number of drunken drivers.

In 1986 the number of murder and manslaughter cases investigated by the police amounted to 143. The homicide rate of 3 per 100,000 of population was considered to be high by European standards. Finland's rate of assault was more than three times the rate of Denmark and Norway, but similar to that of Sweden. Finland, however, experienced the lowest theft rate of all the Scandinavian countries; this appeared to be explained by differentials in the level of prosperity, urbanization, and population density among the nations. Finland was also lowest in narcotic offenses (see Drug Enforcement, this ch.).

Sentencing and Punishment

Prison sentences for criminal offenses were of three kinds: fully fixed terms of fourteen days to three months; fixed terms of three months to twelve years, with the possibility of release on parole for the equivalent of the remainder of the original sentence; and life terms, which had no minimum time but which allowed release only upon pardon by the president. Courts could also render a conditional sentence, specifying a term of imprisonment, but establishing a probation period for the same duration. If no new offense was committed, the execution of the sentence would be considered complete.

Since the early part of the nineteenth century, capital punishment has been virtually abolished in practice. After Finland's independence in 1918, capital punishment was only enforced in wartime, although it was not until 1949 that it was formally proscribed in peacetime. In 1972 executions were abolished. In practice, life imprisonment was reserved for the crime of murder. As of the end of 1984, only twenty-seven prisoners were serving life terms. Those under life sentence were generally pardoned after ten or fifteen years. The average number of convictions for murder had been steadily diminishing, from forty-six annually in the early 1920s to eleven in the late 1970s.

Fines were the most common form of punishment, constituting 90 percent of all sentences when minor traffic offenses were included. In addition to traffic offenses, fines were commonly applied in cases of petty theft and petty assault. The actual amount of a fine depended on the income and wealth of an individual. Thus, a fine for speeding, normally about US\$70, could be assessed at US\$20 for an indigent and at well over US\$1,000 for a single person with a high salary.

Of 299,000 persons sentenced in 1986, less than 9 percent (26,000) were given prison terms, of whom fewer than half (11,300) received unconditional sentences. The remainder were sentenced to a fine together with a conditional prison term. A considerable proportion of the latter category were persons convicted of aggravated drunken driving. The median length of unconditional prison sentences was 4.1 months in 1985. Typical sentences were, for theft, 3.4 months; for forgery, 8.0 months; for robbery, 9.5 months; for aggravated assault, 8.7 months. About 95 percent of sentences were for under 2 years.

The daily average prison population was marked by a downward trend, from 5,600 in 1976 to about 4,200 in 1986. But the prisoner rate of 86 per 100,000 of population in 1986 was still much higher than rates in other Nordic countries and in Western Europe in general. Since the crime rate in Finland was rather low in comparison with the other Nordic countries, it appeared that the higher rate of incarceration was the result of a high rate of solved crime, a greater use of unconditional sentencing, and longer prison terms.

There were two types of prisons—closed prisons and open institutions. The latter were classified as either permanently located open prisons or as labor colonies established for a limited period of time for the performance of certain work. Sentences for the non-payment of fines as well as sentences of up to two years were served in open institutions, if the prisoner was physically able to perform the work and if the danger of escaping was minimal.

The criminal justice system applied only to offenders over the age of fifteen. Those under that age were placed under the custody of child welfare authorities. Juveniles between fifteen and eighteen years of age were customarily accorded a reduced sentence, and offenders between fifteen and twenty-one were more likely than adults to receive conditional sentences. Those in this age group who were sentenced to an unconditional term of six months to four years might be sent to a special juvenile prison. Such institutions were meant to have a training and education function, but in practice they did not differ greatly from ordinary prisons.

Drug Enforcement

Narcotics abuse and trafficking were relatively small problems, ranking below other social problems, such as alcohol abuse. The narcotics units of the KPR were responsible for overseeing drug enforcement throughout the country. Altogether, there were about 150 officers working in drug enforcement, half of whom were attached to the Helsinki police. Drug seizures by police numbered 200 to 300 annually, but they accounted for only about 3 percent of the drugs consumed in the country. About half of the seizures consisted of heroin. Police estimated that more than 60 percent of all illicit narcotics entering Finland in the late 1980s had originated in Denmark. The most common carriers were returning Finnish workers living outside the country, particularly in Sweden.

Finnish laws prohibited the use, the possession, and the sale of any drugs that were not approved pharmaceutical products, and the laws dealt severely with all drug-related offenses. No formal distinction was made regarding the quantity or the potency of drugs involved or regarding whether possession was for personal use or for sale. In practice, courts assessed penalties according to the type of drug; first offenders, possessing drugs for personal use alone, usually received probation and/or a fine. The annual number of sentences for narcotics offenses ranged from 369 in 1981 to 1,070 in 1985. Nearly half of these cases involved only drug use, the principal drug (73 percent of offenses) being marijuana. Although the number of persons sentenced was obviously rising, observers believed that the use of narcotics was diminishing. The higher arrest rate was a result of a widened definition of what constituted a narcotics offense and to more effective police control.

* * *

A comprehensive overview of the contemporary organization and doctrine of the Finnish Defense Forces can be found in the 1988

work by Tomas Ries, *Cold Will: The Defence of Finland*. The first part of this study provides an account of the combat experience of the armed forces in the Civil War of 1918 and in the Winter War and Continuation War of 1939–44. Friedrich Wiener's *Die Armeen der neutralen und blockfreien Staaten Europas* provides complementary information on the configuration of the Defense Forces, together with photographs and technical data on weapons and vehicles. *The Military Balance, 1988–89*, produced by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, contains an up-to-date listing of the Finnish arms inventory.

Fundamentals of Finnish defense strategy, together with the organization of national defense and the structure of the individual services, are summarized in a concise official Ministry of Defense publication, *Finnish National Defence*. Although its appraisal of the strengths and the weaknesses of the armed forces is no longer current, the *Report of the Third Parliamentary Defence Committee* (1981) contains a useful analysis of Finland's security policy and its strategic position in Northern Europe. *Aspects of Security: The Case of Independent Finland*, produced by the Finnish Military History Commission, traces the development of the Defense Forces from independence in 1917 to 1985, reviewing Finnish strategy and tactics in the campaigns of 1939 to 1944.

Numerous studies have analyzed Finland's military role in Northern Europe and the defense of Scandinavia. *Nordic Security* by Erling Bjøl, although brief, examines the common geostrategic issues of the region and the diversified approach to security adopted by each of the five Nordic countries.

The organization and missions of the Frontier Guard and the police are summarized in two short official publications, *The Frontier Guard in Finland* and *The Police of Finland*. *The Finnish Legal System*, edited by Jaakko Uotila, contains background on the Finnish system of justice and, in an article by Inkeri Anttila, a discussion of criminal law and punishment. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Appendix A

Table

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Table 1. Metric Conversion Coefficients and Factors

When you know	Multiply by	To find
Millimeters	0.04	inches
Centimeters	0.39	inches
Meters	3.3	feet
Kilometers	0.62	miles
Hectares (10,000 m ²)	2.47	acres
Square kilometers	0.39	square miles
Cubic meters	35.3	cubic feet
Liters	0.26	gallons
Kilograms	2.2	pounds
Metric tons	0.98	long tons
.....	1.1	short tons
.....	2,204	pounds
Degrees Celsius	9	degrees Fahrenheit
(Centigrade)	divide by 5 and add 32	

*Table 2. Finnish and Swedish Names of the Provinces
and of Selected Place-names*

Finnish	Swedish
Provinces	
Ahvenanmaa	Åland
Häme	Tavastehus
Keski-Suomi	Mellersta Finland
Kuopio	Kuopio
Kymi	Kymmene
Lappi	Lappland
Mikkeli	St. Michel
Oulu	Uleåborg
Pohjois-Karjala	Norra Karelen
Turku ja Pori	Åbo och Björneborg
Uusimaa	Nyland
Vaasa	Vasa
Place-names	
Espoo	Esbo
Hämeenlinna	Tavastehus
Hamina	Fredrikshamn
Hanko	Hangö
Helsinki	Helsingfors
Kaskinen	Kaskö
Kokkola	Gamlakarleby
Lahti	Lahtis
Lappeenranta	Villmanstrand
Loviisa	Lovisa
Maarianhamina	Mariehamn
Pori	Björneborg
Pietarsaari	Jakobstad
Porvoo	Borgå
Raahe	Brahestad
Saimaa	Saima
Savonlinna	Nyslott
Tammissari	Ekenäs
Tampere	Tammerfors
Tornio	Torneå
Turku	Åbo
Uusikaarlepyy	Nykarleby
Uusikaupunki	Nystad
Vaasa	Vasa
Vantaa	Vanda

Table 3. Presidents of Finland, 1919-

Name	Years in Office	Former Party Allegiance
Kaarlo Juho Ståhlberg	1919-25	Young Finn
Lauri Kristian Relander	1925-31	Agrarian
Pehr Evind Svinhufvud	1931-37	National Coalition
Kyösti Kallio	1937-40	Agrarian
Risto Ryti	1940-44	National Progressive
Carl Gustaf Mannerheim	1944-46	none
Juho Kusti Paasikivi	1946-56	National Coalition
Urho Kekkonen	1956-81	Center
Mauno Koivisto	1982-00	Social Democratic

Table 4. Distribution of Parliamentary Seats, 1966-87

Party	1966	1970	1972	1975	1979	1983	1987
Finnish Social Democratic Party (SDP)	55	52	55	54	52	57	56
National Coalition Party (KOK)	26	37	34	35	47	44	53
Center Party (Kesk)	49	36	35	39	36	38	40
Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL)	41	36	37	40	35	26	20
Swedish People's Party (SFP)	12	12	10	10	9	10	12
Finnish Rural Party (SMP)	1	18	18	2	7	17	9
Finnish Christian League (SKL)	0	1	4	9	9	3	5
Liberal People's Party (LKP)	9	8	7	9	4	0	0
Social Democratic Union of Workers and Small Farmers (TPSL)	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	2	1	5	5
TOTAL	200	200	200	200	200	200	200

Source: Based on information from Finland, Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1987*, Helsinki, 1987, 426.

Table 5. Coalition Governments, 1966-

Date of Nomination	Prime Minister (Party Affiliation ¹)	Coalition Parties ¹
May 27, 1966	Rafael Paasio (SDP)	SDP, Kesk, SKDL, TPSL,
March 22, 1968	Mauno Koivisto (SDP)	SDP, Kesk, SKDL, TPSL, SFP
May 14, 1970	Teuvo Aura (none)	civil-service caretaker
July 15, 1970	Ahti Karjalainen (Kesk)	SDP, Kesk, SKDL, LKP, SFP ²
October 29, 1971	Teuvo Aura (none)	civil-service caretaker
February 23, 1972	Rafael Paasio (SDP)	SDP
September 4, 1972	Kalevi Sorsa (SDP)	SDP, Kesk, SFP, LKP
June 13, 1975	Keijo Liinamaa (none)	civil-service caretaker
November 30, 1975	Martti Miettunen (Kesk)	SDP, SKDL, Kesk, SFP, LKP
September 29, 1976	Martti Miettunen (Kesk)	Kesk, LKP, SFP
May 15, 1977	Kalevi Sorsa (SDP)	Kesk, SDP, SKDL, LKP, SFP ³
May 25, 1979	Mauno Koivisto (SDP)	Kesk, SDP, SKDL, SFP
February 19, 1982	Kalevi Sorsa (SDP)	Kesk, SDP, SKDL, SFP ⁴
May 6, 1983	Kalevi Sorsa (SDP)	SDP, Kesk, SMP, SFP
April 30, 1987	Harri Holkeri (KOK)	SDP, KOK, SMP, SFP

¹ For full names of political parties, see Table 4.

² After March 26, 1971, this government consisted of the SDP, Kesk, LKP, SFP.

³ After March 2, 1978, this government consisted of the Kesk, SDP, SKDL, and LKP.

⁴ After December 30, 1982, this government consisted of the Kesk, SDP, and SFP.

Source: Based on information from David Arter, *Politics and Policy-Making in Finland*, New York, 1987, 54; and Juhani Mylly and R. Michael Berry (eds.), *Political Parties in Finland*, Turku, Finland, 1984, 189.

Table 6. *Parliamentary Election Results, 1979-87*

Party	Number of Votes (Percentage of Total Vote)	
	1979	1987
Finnish Social Democratic Party (SDP)	691,512 (23.9)	795,953 (26.7)
National Coalition Party (KOK)	626,764 (21.7)	659,078 (22.1)
Center Party (Kesk)	500,478 (17.3)	525,207 (17.6)
Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL)	518,045 (17.9)	400,930 (13.4)
Finnish Rural Party (SMP)	132,457 (4.6)	288,711 (9.7)
Swedish People's Party (SFP)	122,418 (4.2)	137,423 (4.6)
Democratic Alternative (DEVA)		122,181 (4.2)
The Greens		115,988 (4.0)
Finnish Christian League (SKL)	138,244 (4.8)	90,410 (3.0)
Finnish Pensioners' Party		74,209 (2.6)
Liberal People's Party (LKP)	106,560 (3.7)	35,100 (1.2)
Constitutional Party of the Right (POF)	34,958 (1.2)	27,824 (1.0)
Unification Party of the Finnish People	9,316 (0.3)	3,096 (0.1)
Others	13,694 (0.5)	68,543 (2.3)
TOTAL	2,894,446 (100.0 ²)	2,979,694 (100.0 ²)

¹ Joined forces with Center Party for this election.

² Figures do not add up to total because of rounding.

Source: Based on information from Finland, Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1982*, Helsinki, 1982, 392; Finland, Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1987*, Helsinki, 1987, 426-28.

Table 7. National Population and Percentage Living in Urban Municipalities, Selected Years, 1800-1985

Year	Population	Percentage Living in Urban Municipalities
1800	832,700	5.6
1850	1,636,900	6.4
1900	2,655,900	12.5
1920	3,147,600	16.1
1940	3,695,600	26.8
1950	4,029,800	32.3
1960	4,446,200	38.4
1970	4,598,300	50.9
1980	4,787,800	59.8
1985	4,910,700	59.8

Source: Based on information from Finland, Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1987*, Helsinki, 1987, 38.

Table 8. Population by Province, Selected Years, 1960-85 (in thousands)

Province	1960	1970	1980	1985
Aland	21.0	20.7	22.8	23.6
Häme	580.8	635.7	664.3	667.8
Keski-Suomi	245.0	238.0	242.9	247.7
Kuopio	270.5	255.5	252.1	256.0
Kymi	337.8	343.9	344.3	340.7
Lappi	205.1	197.1	194.9	200.9
Mikkeli	234.6	219.2	208.6	209.0
Oulu	407.0	401.2	416.9	432.1
Pohjois-Karjala	207.7	185.3	176.7	177.6
Turku ja Pori	660.3	675.1	703.0	713.0
Uusimaa	832.9	1,005.2	1,128.5	1,187.9
Vaasa	443.5	421.4	432.8	444.4

Source: Based on information from Finland, Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1987*, Helsinki, 1987, 39.

Table 9. *Finnish Social Welfare Expenditures,
Selected Years, 1974-85*

Year	Amount (in millions of Finnish marks ¹)	As a Percentage of GDP ²	Social Welfare Expenditure Per Capita (in Finnish marks ¹)	Index of Per Capita Social Welfare Expenditure (1980 = 100)
1974	14,168	15.7	3,021	70
1976	23,863	20.3	5,049	87
1978	31,557	22.0	6,639	95
1980	40,042	20.8	8,377	100
1982	55,433	22.5	11,484	112
1984	72,300	23.4	14,810	124
1985	82,799	24.6	16,891	134

¹ For value of the Finnish mark—see Glossary.

² GDP—gross domestic product.

Source: Based on information from Nordic Council of Ministers, Nordic Statistical Secretariat, *Yearbook of Nordic Statistics, 1987*, Copenhagen, 1988, 316-17.

Table 10. *Social Expenditures, 1980 and 1985
(in millions of Finnish marks) **

Item of Expenditure	1980	1985
Health	10,717	23,157
Industrial injury insurance and occupational safety	578	1,139
Unemployment	2,658	5,589
Pensions, old-age, invalidity, etc.	17,899	36,050
Family and child welfare	4,468	9,915
General assistance	203	814
Benefits to military and war casualties	1,094	2,237
Estimated tax deduction for children	701	1,156
Administrative costs	1,286	2,742
TOTAL	39,604	82,799

* For value of the Finnish mark—see Glossary.

Source: Based on information from Nordic Council of Ministers, Nordic Statistical Secretariat, *Yearbook of Nordic Statistics, 1982*, Copenhagen, 1983, 278-79; and Nordic Council of Ministers, Nordic Statistical Secretariat, *Yearbook of Nordic Statistics, 1987*, Copenhagen, 1988, 313-14.

*Table 11. Health Care Personnel and Facilities,
Selected Years, 1960-85*

	1960	1970	1980	1985
Physicians	2,827	4,798	9,016	11,072
Population per physician	1,567	960	531	444
Dentists	1,809	2,695	3,938	4,595
Nurses and midwives	12,083	20,783	28,432	43,989 ¹
Pharmacies	532	562	565	577
Hospitals	348	357	349	372
Hospital beds, total	41,027	52,264	58,599	60,958
Private hospital beds	2,570	3,145	3,087	3,068
Patients admitted during year	521,336	786,769	954,577	984,074 ²
Hospital occupancy rate (in percentage)	91	93	85	82 ²
Average hospital stay in days	26.2	21.9	19.1	18.3 ²

¹ Includes all qualified persons under age sixty, active and inactive.

² 1983 figures.

Source: Based on information from Finland, Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1987*, Helsinki, 1987, 368, 370.

*Table 12. Sex and Age Specific Death Rates by Cause, 1981-85
(Deaths per 100,000 mean population)*

Cause of Death	Age					All
	0-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +	
Men						
Cardiovascular diseases	7.8	83.2	372.8	1,075.5	9,191.2	514.3
Cancer	8.5	33.8	137.4	502.7	3,566.5	211.8
Other diseases	31.1	47.3	103.6	224.6	3,144.9	169.9
Violent deaths *	65.5	134.2	170.3	175.4	543.0	114.1
Total deaths	112.9	298.5	784.1	1,978.2	16,445.6	1,010.1
Women						
Cardiovascular diseases	2.6	21.7	71.9	287.0	6,515.2	484.4
Cancer	6.6	38.9	113.6	271.0	1,720.0	173.8
Other diseases	23.5	20.6	42.3	110.1	2,055.8	157.3
Violent deaths *	15.7	28.4	40.6	45.2	278.6	29.6
Total deaths	48.4	109.6	268.4	713.3	10,569.6	845.1

* Includes suicides, accidents, and poisonings.

Source: Based on information from Nordic Council of Ministers, Nordic Statistical Secretariat, *Yearbook of Nordic Statistics, 1987*, Copenhagen, 1988, 66-67.

Table 13. Gross Domestic Product (GDP), by Sector,
Selected Years, 1950-86

	1950		1960		1970		1980		1985		1986	
	Amount *	Percentage of Total GDP	Amount *	Percentage of Total GDP	Amount *	Percentage of Total GDP	Amount *	Percentage of Total GDP	Amount *	Percentage of Total GDP	Amount *	Percentage of Total GDP
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing ..	1,234	25.9	2,792	19.8	5,408	13.9	16,573	9.6	24,167	8.1	23,947	7.6
Industry												
Mining and quarrying	26	0.5	97	0.7	370	1.0	861	0.5	1,309	0.5	1,039	0.3
Manufacturing	1,325	27.8	3,773	26.8	11,710	30.0	48,408	28.1	75,189	25.3	75,096	23.8
Construction	474	9.9	1,314	9.3	3,702	9.5	13,654	7.9	23,138	7.8	24,386	7.7
Electricity, gas, and water	100	2.1	411	2.9	1,037	2.7	4,991	2.9	9,296	3.1	8,901	2.8
Total Industry	1,925	40.3	5,595	39.7	16,819	43.2	67,914	39.4	108,932	36.7	109,422	34.6
Services												
Transportation and communications	313	6.6	1,043	7.5	2,721	7.0	13,644	7.9	23,672	8.0	25,992	8.2
Retail trade	492	10.3	1,405	10.0	3,787	9.7	20,268	11.7	33,163	11.2	36,949	11.7
Banking, insurance, and real estate	182	3.8	1,230	8.7	3,139	8.1	19,275	11.2	39,159	13.2	47,413	15.0
Government	208	4.3	505	3.6	1,702	4.4	28,616	16.6	55,782	18.8	57,015	18.2
Other Services	418	8.8	1,514	10.7	5,330	13.7	6,222	3.6	11,836	4.0	14,991	4.7
Total services	1,613	33.8	5,697	40.5	16,679	42.9	88,025	51.0	163,612	55.2	182,360	57.8
TOTAL	4,772	100.0	14,084	100.0	38,906	100.0	172,512	100.0	296,711	100.0	315,729	100.0

* In millions of Finnish marks at current prices; for value of Finnish mark—see Glossary.

Table 14. Central Government Budget, 1982-86
(in millions of Finnish Marks ¹)

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986 ²
Current revenue					
Direct taxes	16,953	19,298	22,225	25,384	30,015
Indirect taxes	33,206	36,975	43,530	47,803	52,498
Income from property and entrepreneurship	1,936	2,228	2,649	2,986	2,812
Other domestic current transfers	2,822	3,301	3,858	4,638	4,269
TOTAL (current revenue)	54,917	61,802	72,262	80,811	89,594
Current expenditure					
Purchase of goods and services	15,044	17,371	18,374	20,672	21,973
Subsidies	7,377	8,459	9,340	9,878	10,990
Property income payable	2,171	3,096	3,824	4,575	4,582
Current transfers	26,703	32,409	35,984	40,471	43,267
TOTAL (current expenditure) ..	51,295	61,335	67,522	75,596	80,812
Net current saving	3,622	467	4,740	5,215	8,782
Depreciation	1,037	1,172	1,223	1,353	1,487
GROSS SAVING	4,659	1,639	5,963	6,568	10,269
Capital investment					
Gross fixed capital formation	3,268	3,822	3,758	4,024	4,321
Purchases of land, net	170	216	134	156	156
Increase in stocks	254	335	232	193	350
TOTAL (capital investment) ...	3,692	4,373	4,124	4,373	4,827
Surplus on current and fixed investment account	967	-2,734	1,839	2,195	5,442
Capital transfers to other sectors, net	-1,849	-1,625	-1,732	-1,805	-1,699
Net lending	-882	-4,359	107	390	3,743

¹ For value of the Finnish mark—see Glossary.

² Provisional figures.

Source: Based on information from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Finland*, Paris, April 1988, 113.

Table 15. *Labor Force, Selected Years, 1950-85*
(in thousands of persons)

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1985
Labor force					
Employed					
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	909.3	720.8	429.0	279.2	241.8
Industry	412.7	439.3	549.5	584.7	554.2
Construction	125.4	176.2	176.8	156.7	168.4
Commerce	187.6	276.4	399.8	425.8	483.4
Transportation, com- munications, etc.	106.7	128.8	150.2	175.7	172.6
Services	214.2	285.5	383.9	550.1	648.9
Other	28.4	6.2	29.0	50.7	7.5
Total employed	1,984.3	2,033.2	2,118.2	2,222.9	2,276.8
Unemployed	n.a.	n.a.	144.7	114.0	139.1
Total labor force	n.a.	n.a.	2,262.9	2,336.9	2,415.9
Population	4,029.8	4,446.2	4,598.3	4,787.8	4,910.7
Working-age population (15-75)	2,740.7	3,003.0	3,354.4	3,625.1	3,711.4
Labor force participation rate (percentage)	n.a.	n.a.	67.5	64.5	65.1
Unemployment rate (percentage)	n.a.	n.a.	6.4	4.9	5.8

n.a.—Not available.

Source: Based on information from Finland, Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1985-86*, Helsinki, 1986, 6, 44, 302, and additional information from Embassy of Finland, Washington.

*Table 16. Production of Major Farm Commodities,
Selected Years, 1980-86
(in thousands of tons)*

Commodity	1980	1985	1986
Grains			
Barley	1,534	1,854	1,714
Oats	1,258	1,218	1,174
Rye	124	72	70
Wheat	357	473	529
Other Grains	28	27	32
Oilseeds			
Rapeseed	88	95	105
Root crops			
Potatoes	736	600	700
Sugar Beets	900	704	843
Fruits and vegetables			
Apples	8	10	10
Tomatoes	20	20	20
Animal products			
Beef and Veal	112	125	124
Cow's milk	3,277	3,083	3,044
Eggs	79	85	81
Mutton and Lamb	1	1	1
Pork	169	171	172
Poultry	15	20	21

Source: Based on information from United States, Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, *World Indices of Agricultural and Food Production, 1976-1985*, Washington, 1986, 58, and additional data from the Economic Research Service.

Table 17. Use of Arable Land, Selected Years, 1950-85
(in thousands of hectares)

Crop	1950	1960	1970	1980	1985
Grains					
Barley	115.1	212.7	403.5	533.4	645.7
Oats	437.4	490.3	524.3	447.8	411.3
Rye	133.3	110.7	65.9	53.3	30.9
Wheat	188.7	180.8	175.5	124.3	157.0
Other grains	14.7	24.3	27.7	12.1	9.2
Oilseeds					
Rapeseed	n.a.	3.4	6.6	55.3	57.7
Root crops					
Potatoes	95.8	86.4	60.1	40.9	39.4
Sugar beets	10.1	14.9	14.9	31.7	31.2
Animal feed					
Fodder	21.8	15.2	13.6	n.a.	n.a.
Hay	1,001.4	1,139.0	873.3	477.8	397.7
Silage	20.9	12.1	52.3	233.6	222.9
Pasture	220.9	237.8	230.7	203.3	169.8
Other crops	92.8	69.7	170.9	246.9	167.9
Fallow	78.0	56.7	47.8	102.3	69.7
TOTAL	2,430.9	2,654.0	2,667.1	2,562.7	2,410.4

n.a.—Not available.

Source: Based on information from Finland, Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1985-86*, Helsinki, 1986, 84-85.

Table 18. Industrial Production by Commodity, 1982-86

Commodity	Unit	Year				
		1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Wood products						
Cellulose	1,000 tons	4,048	4,384	4,743	4,734	4,686
Fiberboard	-do-	136	137	140	109	86
Mechanical pulp for sale	-do-	36	31	37	34	37
Paper and paperboard ...	-do-	5,752	6,295	6,661	7,412	7,491
Plywood and veneers	1,000 m ³	537	582	551	513	568
Sawn goods	-do-	5,822	7,327	7,611	6,350	6,449
Chemicals						
Fertilizers	1,000 tons	1,511	1,755	1,778	1,752	1,669
Nitric acid	-do-	409	541	545	484	508
Oil products	-do-	8,602	9,010	8,765	8,880	7,841
Sulphuric acid	-do-	1,032	1,149	1,165	1,439	1,359
Metal products						
Copper cathodes	-do-	48.0	55.4	57.3	58.8	64.2
Crude steel	-do-	2,414	2,416	2,632	2,519	2,588
Hot rolled steel products	-do-	1,847	1,964	1,985	2,063	1,996
Nickel cathodes	-do-	12.3	14.5	15.3	15.7	17.8
Pig iron	-do-	1,944	1,898	2,034	1,890	1,979
Zinc	-do-	155	155	159	160	155
Other						
Cement	-do-	1,907	1,979	1,692	1,623	1,261
Cotton fabrics	-do-	16.6	17.2	16.5	9.1	8.1

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Finland, 1988-89*, London, 1988, 18.

Table 19. *Geographical Distribution of Trade, 1982-87*
(in percentage of total value of imports or exports)

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Exports						
EC ¹	34.9	36.2	37.9	37.0	38.3	42.2
EFTA ²	19.2	18.2	19.2	19.7	22.0	22.7
Comecon ³	28.8	27.7	20.8	23.4	22.0	17.1
Soviet Union	26.7	26.1	19.0	21.5	20.3	15.4
Sweden	12.0	12.3	12.3	13.2	14.8	15.0
Britain	10.8	10.3	12.0	10.8	10.5	11.4
West Germany	9.1	9.5	9.6	9.3	9.7	10.9
France	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3.9	4.5	5.3
United States	3.2	4.0	8.2	6.3	5.4	5.2
Norway	4.9	3.3	4.5	4.2	4.5	4.7
Denmark	2.6	3.6	4.1	4.0	4.0	3.9
Netherlands	3.1	4.0	3.5	3.3	3.5	3.6
Imports						
EC ¹	33.5	33.6	35.6	38.7	43.1	44.4
EFTA ²	17.9	17.3	17.9	17.2	19.3	18.5
West Germany	13.3	13.1	13.9	14.9	17.0	17.4
Comecon ³	28.0	28.5	26.2	24.1	18.2	17.0
Soviet Union	24.6	25.7	23.1	21.0	15.3	14.4
Sweden	12.2	11.2	12.3	11.8	13.6	12.9
Britain	7.3	6.6	7.7	7.2	6.5	7.1
Japan	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	5.3	6.5	7.1
United States	n.a.	n.a.	5.0	5.4	4.8	5.2
France	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3.4	4.5	4.3
Netherlands	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.9	3.1	3.1
Denmark	2.3	1.7	2.4	2.5	2.8	2.8
Norway	2.1	2.6	2.1	2.4	2.2	2.2

n.a.—Not available.

¹ EC—European Community (see Glossary).

² EFTA—European Free Trade Association (see Glossary).

³ Comecon—Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (see Glossary).

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Finland, 1988-89*, London, 1988, 27-8.

Table 20. Balance of Payments, 1978-86
 (in millions of United States dollars)

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Exports, f.o.b. ¹	8,508	11,098	14,114	13,669	12,848	12,187	13,098	13,286	16,026
Imports, f.o.b. ¹	7,417	10,715	14,760	13,327	12,682	12,036	11,607	12,375	14,402
TRADE BALANCE	1,091	383	-646	342	166	151	1,491	911	1,624
Services, net	-374	-429	-634	-643	-851	-948	-1,334	-1,463	-2,167
BALANCE ON GOODS AND SERVICES	717	-46	-1,280	-301	-685	-797	157	-552	-543
Transfers									
Private transfers, net	-15	-16	-20	-10	-27	-23	-22	-6	-118
Official transfers, net	-37	-95	-102	-106	-107	-120	-152	-171	-227
TOTAL TRANSFERS	-52	-111	-122	-116	-134	-143	-174	-177	-345
CURRENT ACCOUNT BALANCE	665	-157	-1,402	-417	-819	-940	-17	-729	-888
Long-term capital									
Private	784	-40	-61	395	404	244	577	1,107	760
Official ²	117	282	110	163	229	109	97	-45	-108
TOTAL LONG-TERM CAPITAL	901	242	49	558	633	353	674	1,062	652
BASIC BALANCE	1,566	85	-1,353	141	-186	-587	657	333	-236
Short-term capital									
Non-monetary	-548	-206	388	149	-158	-51	636	-298	-191
Private monetary institutions	-179	295	994	-98	310	228	347	850	-2,121
Errors and omissions	196	-48	226	201	-3	158	-59	-263	985
TOTAL SHORT-TERM CAPITAL	-531	-41	1608	252	149	335	924	289	-1,327
Net transactions of monetary authorities	1,035	126	255	393	-37	-252	1,581	622	-1,563

Table 20. —Continued

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Use of IMF ³ credit (net)	-43	-111	0	-17	-41	-15	0	0	0
Miscellaneous official accounts ⁴	-322	289	26	-619	301	51	193	-9	-743
Allocations of SDRs ⁵	0	36	36	30	0	0	0	0	0
CHANGE IN RESERVES ⁶ (+ = increase)	670	340	318	-210	223	-217	1,774	613	-2,307

¹ f.o.b.—free on board.

² Includes government bond issues.

³ IMF—International Monetary Fund (see Glossary).

⁴ Includes payments agreements (tied currencies).

⁵ SDRs—special drawing rights.

⁶ Convertible reserves.

Source: Based on information from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Finland*, Paris, April 1988, 114.

Table 21. Daily Newspapers with Largest Circulations, 1986

Newspaper	Place of Publication	Frequency of Appearance per week	Party Affiliation *	Circulation
Helsingin Sanomat	Helsinki	7	none	430,251
Iltä-Sanomat	Helsinki	6	none	193,971
Aamulehti	Tampere	7	KOK	140,918
Turun Sanomat	Turku	7	none	131,630
Maaseudun Tulevaisuus	Helsinki	3	none	130,894
Uusi Suomi	Helsinki	7	none	92,596
Kaleva	Oulu	7	none	88,177
Savon Sanomat	Kuopio	7	Kesk	85,167
Iltalehti	Helsinki	6	none	78,949
Keskisuomalainen	Jyväskylä	7	Kesk	76,283
Kotimaa	Helsinki	3	none	76,064
Kauppalehti	Helsinki	5	none	72,983
Etelä-Suomen Sanomat	Lahti	7	none	65,145
Hufvudstadsbladet	Helsinki	7	none	65,089
Pohjalainen	Vaasa	7	KOK	64,008
Satakunnan Kansa	Pori	7	KOK	60,807
Ilkka	Seinäjoki	7	KOK	53,465
Karjalainen	Joensuu	7	KOK	53,364
Kansan Uutiset	Helsinki	6	SKDL	41,504
Lapin Kansa	Rovaniemi	7	none	40,407
Pohjolan Sanomat	Kemi	7	Kesk	39,149
Etelä-Saimaa	Lappeenranta	7	Kesk	34,304
Suomen Sosialidemokraatti	Helsinki	5	SDP	34,099
Keskipohtjanmaa	Kokkola	7	Kesk	33,064
Suomenmaa	Helsinki	5	Kesk	32,802

* For full names of political parties, see Table 4.

Source: Based on information from Finland, Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1987*, Helsinki, 1987, 410.

Table 22. Major Army Equipment, 1988

Type	Estimated Number in Inventory	Country of Manufacture
Armored vehicles		
T-54/T-55 main battle tank	100	Soviet Union
T-72 main battle tank	50	-do-
PT-76 light reconnaissance tank	15	-do-
BMP-1 infantry combat vehicle	30	-do-
BTR-50P armored personnel carrier, tracked	90	-do-
BTR-60P armored personnel carrier, 8 wheeled	60	-do-
A-180 Pasi armored personnel carrier, 6 wheeled	59	Finland
Towed artillery		
M-37, M-61 105mm howitzer	70 +	-do-
M-38, D-30 122mm howitzer	n.a.	Soviet Union
M-54 130mm field gun	170	-do-
M-40 150mm howitzer	n.a.	Germany (World War II)
M-38 152mm howitzer	240	Soviet Union
M-74 155mm howitzer	12	-do-
Coast artillery		
D-10T tank turrets, 100mm	n.a.	-do-
M-60 122mm gun	n.a.	Finland
130mm turret gun	170	-do-
152mm turret gun	240	-do-
Surface-to-surface missiles (coastal defense)		
RBS-15	n.a.	Sweden
Mortars		
M-56, M-64, M-71 81mm	800	Finland
M-43 120mm	550	Soviet Union and Finland
Antitank wire-guided missiles		
AT-4 (SPIGOT)	24	Soviet Union
I-TOW (tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided)	12	United States
Recoilless rifles		
M-55 55mm	n.a.	Soviet Union
SM 58-61 95mm	100	Finland
Air defense guns		
ZU-23 23mm	n.a.	Soviet Union
Oerlikon GDF-002 35mm	n.a.	Switzerland
Bofors L-60/Bofors L-70 40mm	100 +	Sweden
S-60 57mm towed	12	Soviet Union
ZSU 57-2 self-propelled	12	-do-
Surface-to-air missiles		
SA-3 GOA	n.a.	-do-
SA-7/SA-14 shoulder-fired	n.a.	-do-

n.a.—Not available.

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1988-89*, London, 1988, 88; and Tomas Ries, *Cold Will: The Defence of Finland*, London, 1988, 215-6.

Table 23. Major Naval Equipment, 1988

Type *	Number	Date Commissioned
Corvettes		
Turunmaa class, 660 tons, 120mm gun, antisubmarine rocket launchers	2	1968, modernized 1984-86
Missile craft		
Helsinki class fast attack, 300 tons, eight RBS-15 SF missiles	4	1981-86
Helsinki-2 class, 200 tons	4	projected 1990-92
Tuima class 210 tons (Soviet OSA-II), four SS-N-2A Styx missiles	4	purchased 1974-75
Isku (experimental), four SS-N-2A Styx missiles	1	1970
Fast attack craft (gun)		
Nuoli class, 40 ton	6	1961-66, moder- nized 1979
Ruissalo class, 130 ton, antisubmarine minelaying	3	1959, modernized 1977-80
Rihtniemi class, 110 ton, antisubmarine minelaying	2	1957, modernized 1981
Minelayers		
Pohjanmaa, 1100 ton	1	1981
Keihässalmi, 360 ton	1	1957
Minesweepers		
Kuha class, inshore	6	1974-75
Kiiski class	7	1984
Landing craft, utility		
Kampela class, 90 ton	3	1976-79
Kala class, 60 ton	6	1956-59
Kave class, 27 ton	5	1956-60
Coast Guard		
Large offshore patrol craft, 700 ton	2	1986-87
Large patrol craft	5	1963-87
Coastal patrol craft	24	15 in 1981-86, others earlier

* All ships constructed in Finland except Tuima class missile craft, which were built in the Soviet Union.

Source: Based on information from *Jane's Fighting Ships*, 1988-89, London, 1988, 155-62.

Table 24. Major Air Force Equipment, 1988

Type	Number	Country Manufacture	First Acquired
Fighters-interceptors *			
MiG-21 bis	30	Soviet Union	1978
SAAB J-35 Draken	41	Sweden	1974
Training			
MiG-21 U/UM	4	Soviet Union	1974
SK-35C Draken	4	Sweden	1972
Hawk MK-51	39	Britain	1980
L-70 Vinka	30	Finland	1979
Reconnaissance			
Hawk MK-51	8	Britain	1980
Transport			
F-27 Fokker, medium	3	Netherlands	1980
Mi-8 helicopter	6	Soviet Union	1973
Hughes 500 helicopter	2	United States	1975
Liaison			
CM-170 Magister	5	France	1964
Piper (Cherokee Arrow and Chieftain) ...	14	United States	n.a.

* Some in conversion and training status.

Source: Tomas Ries, *Cold Will: The Defence of Finland*, London, 1988, 217-8, and *The Military Balance, 1988-89*, London, 1988, 88.

Appendix B

TREATY

of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the Republic of Finland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The President of the Republic of Finland and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.;

Desiring further to develop friendly relations between the Republic of Finland and the U.S.S.R.;

Being convinced that the strengthening of good neighbourly relations and co-operation between the Republic of Finland and the U.S.S.R. lies in the interest of both countries;

Considering Finland's desire to remain outside the conflicting interests of the Great Powers; and

Expressing their firm endeavour to collaborate towards the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the aims and principles of the United Nations Organization;

Have for this purpose agreed to conclude the present Treaty and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

The President of the Republic of Finland: Mauno Pekkala, Prime Minister of the Republic of Finland;

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.: Viacheslav Mihailovich Molotov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and Minister for Foreign Affairs,

who, after exchange of their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

ARTICLE 1

In the eventuality of Finland, or the Soviet Union through Finnish territory, becoming the object of an armed attack by Germany or any State allied with the latter, Finland will, true to its obligations as an independent State, fight to repel the attack. Finland will in such cases use all its available forces for defending its territorial integrity by land, sea and air, and will do so within the frontiers of Finland in accordance with obligations defined in the present Treaty and, if necessary, with the assistance of, or jointly with, the Soviet Union.

In the cases aforementioned the Soviet Union will give Finland the help required, the giving of which will be subject to mutual agreement between the Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 2

The High Contracting Parties shall confer with each other if it is established that the threat of an armed attack in Article 1 is present.

ARTICLE 3

The High Contracting Parties give assurance of their intention loyally to participate in all measures towards the maintenance of international peace and security in conformity with the aims and principles of the United Nations Organization.

ARTICLE 4

The High Contracting Parties confirm their pledge, given under Article 3 of the Peace Treaty signed in Paris on February 10th, 1947, not to conclude any alliance or join any coalition directed against the other High Contracting Party.

ARTICLE 5

The High Contracting Parties give assurance of the decision to act in a spirit of co-operation and friendship towards the further development and consolidation of economic and cultural relations between Finland and the Soviet Union.

ARTICLE 6

The High Contracting Parties pledge themselves to observe the principle of the mutual respect of sovereignty and integrity and that of non-interference in the internal affairs of the other State.

ARTICLE 7

The execution of the present Treaty shall take place in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Organization.

ARTICLE 8

The present Treaty shall be ratified and remains in force ten years after the date of its coming into force. The Treaty shall come into force upon the exchange of the instruments of ratification, the exchange taking place in the shortest time possible in Helsinki.

Provided neither of the High Contracting Parties has denounced it one year before the expiration of the said ten-year period, the Treaty shall remain in force for subsequent five-year periods until either High Contracting Party one year before the expiration of such five-year periods in writing notifies its intention of terminating the validity of the Treaty.

In witness hereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and affixed their seals.

Done in the City of Moscow on the sixth day of April 1948 in two copies, in the Finnish and the Russian languages, both texts being authentic.

The Plenipotentiary of the
President of the Republic of

Finland:

Mauno Pekkala.

The Plenipotentiary of the
Presidium of the Supreme

Soviet of the U.S.S.R.:

V. Molotov.

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Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA, CEMA, or Comecon)—Members in 1988 included Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Vietnam. Its purpose is to further economic cooperation among members.

Council of Europe—Founded in 1949 to foster parliamentary democracy, social and economic progress, and unity among its member states. Membership is limited to those European countries that respect the rule of law and the fundamental human rights and freedoms of all those living within their boundaries. As of 1988, its membership consisted of twenty-one West European countries.

European Community (EC—also commonly called the Community)—The EC comprises three communities: the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Economic Community (EEC, also known as the Common Market), and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). Each community is a legally distinct body, but since 1967 all the members have shared common governing institutions. The EC forms more than a framework for free trade and economic cooperation: the signatories to the treaties governing the communities have agreed in principle to integrate their economies and ultimately to form a political union. Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) are charter members of the EC. Britain, Denmark, and Ireland joined on January 1, 1973; Greece became a member on January 1, 1981; and Portugal and Spain entered on January 1, 1986.

European Economic Community—See European Community.

European Free Trade Association (EFTA)—Founded in 1961, EFTA aims at supporting free trade among its members and increasing the liberalization of trade on a global basis, but particularly within Western Europe. In 1988 the organization's member states were Austria, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland.

Finnish mark (Fmk)—Also called Finnmark. Consists of 100 *penniä* (singular: *penni*). In terms of the United States dollar, the average annual exchange rate was Fmk3.22 in 1965, Fmk3.86

in 1975, Fmk3.85 in 1980, Fmk5.30 in 1982, Fmk6.54 in 1984, Fmk5.42 in 1985, Fmk4.79 in 1986, Fmk3.95 in 1987, and Fmk4.17 in 1988.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—An international organization established in 1948 and headquartered in Geneva that serves as a forum for international trade negotiations. GATT members pledge to further multilateral trade by reducing import tariffs, quotas, and preferential trade agreements, and they promise to extend to each other any favorable trading terms offered in subsequent agreements with third parties.

gross domestic product (GDP)—The total value of goods and services produced by the domestic economy during a given period, usually one year. Obtained by adding the value contributed by each sector of the economy in the form of profits, compensation to employees, and depreciation (consumption of capital). Most GDP usage in this book was based on GDP at factor cost. Real GDP is the value of GDP when inflation has been taken into account.

gross national product (GNP)—Obtained by adding GDP (*q.v.*) and the income received from abroad by residents, less payments remitted abroad to nonresidents. GNP valued at market prices was used in this book. Real GNP is the value of GNP when inflation has been taken into account.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)—Established along with the World Bank (*q.v.*) in 1945, the IMF is a specialized agency, affiliated with the United Nations, that takes responsibility for stabilizing international exchange rates and payments. The main business of the IMF is the provision of loans to its members when they experience balance-of-payment difficulties. These loans often carry conditions that require substantial internal economic adjustments by the recipients.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)—Established in 1961 to replace the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, the OECD is an international organization composed of the industrialized market economy countries (twenty-four full members as of 1988). It seeks to promote economic and social welfare in member countries as well as in developing countries by providing a forum in which to formulate and to coordinate policies.

World Bank—Informal name used to designate a group of three affiliated international institutions: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), and the International Finance

Corporation (IFC). The IBRD, established in 1945, has the primary purpose of providing loans to developing countries for productive projects. The IDA, a legally separate loan fund administered by staff of the IBRD, was set up in 1960 to furnish credits to the poorest developing countries on much easier terms than those of conventional IBRD loans. The IFC, founded in 1956, supplements the activities of the IBRD through loans and assistance designed specifically to encourage the growth of productive private enterprises in less developed countries. The president and certain senior officers of the IBRD hold the same positions in the IFC. The three institutions are owned by the governments of the countries that subscribe their capital. To participate in the World Bank group, member states must first belong to the IMF (*q.v.*).

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