

USSR and Khrushchev was not amused when the Finnish cartoonist Kari Suomalainen participated in an international cartoon contest in London with a cartoon lampooning the famous painting *Barge Haulers on the Volga* (1870–1873) by Russian painter Ilya Repin. Photo: Unknown/Helsingin Sanomat

Forum

Cold War Finnish News Journalism:

From Americanisation to Finlandisation



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During the Cold War, Western European news journalism had to cope with the tensions of international politics. That was also the case in the Nordic countries, yet the different geopolitical situations of these countries after World War II impacted their national media. As is well known, the Cold War struggles between superpowers were not only political but also cultural. One of the most influential cultural dimensions of the Cold War was American cultural diplomacy and propaganda, disseminated through consumption patterns and entertainment-oriented media representations. Especially after World War II, American 'cultural imperialism' took a strong hold throughout post-war Western Europe via the media.

Finnish Cold War journalism has been studied especially from the standpoint of Finlandisation, meaning the process by which a small independent country was forced to abide by the politics and policy rules of a larger, more powerful country,¹ namely the Soviet Union. In news journalism, it meant practi-

sing self-censorship, at least on a subconscious level, with respect to Finland's Eastern policy. Newspapers, and the public broadcasting company Yle, thus published nothing that might have genuinely annoyed the Soviet Union.

Finlandisation has been a conversation piece in the Finnish public sphere recently after Yle aired a documentary series on Finland in the Cold War (*Kylmän sodan Suomi*, Yle, 2021) The series has been criticised by scholars of political history for its biased and one-dimensional agenda.² According to the series, the Finnish elite, including the media, were totally Finlandised during the entire Cold War period. The main idea of this article is to show that this was not the case and that Finnish media was Americanised, if anything, before the late 1960s.

Hence, although I also describe the formative years of Finlandisation at the end of this review, I mostly discuss the Anglo-American impact on Finnish news journalism during the Cold War. My focus is on the largest Finnish newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, which was quite pro-American but at the same time had to go out of its way not to offend the Soviet Union.

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The different origins of the Nordic Cold War
 People outside the Nordic countries – Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland – often tend to think that the modern historical trajectories of these countries are pretty much the same. On the

one hand, it is true that culturally and socially they share a great deal: all are Lutheran countries and have similar welfare state models. Concerning the media, the Nordic countries famously belong to the *democratic-corporative model*, characterised by high newspaper circulation rates, a historically strong party press, strong professionalisation, institutionalised self-regulation and strong public-service broadcasting.³ Another common denominator has been the early spread of literacy into lower social groups.

On the other hand, the histories of the Nordic countries differ quite dramatically in the twentieth century, not least in terms of their political situation with respect to international relations after World War II. During the war, Finland fought against the Soviet Union as a co-belligerent with the Germans (since 1941 in the Continuation War), whereas Norway and Denmark were under German occupation and Sweden remained neutral.

After the war, Finland signed the Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance (YYA Treaty) with the Soviet Union in 1948,⁴ while Denmark, Norway and Iceland joined the North Atlantic

defence alliance (NATO) in 1949 and Sweden adhered to a policy of neutrality while supporting the Atlantic alliance.⁵ The Mutual Assistance Pact outlined Finnish foreign policy, and other nations often viewed Finland as belonging to the 'Soviet sphere of interest', or at least not being entirely outside it.

One good example of how of the Nordic countries differed is the varying extent of their participation in the European Recovery Program (ERP), better known as the Marshall Plan. Finland was the only Western European country that fought in World War II and did not receive aid under the Marshall Plan. The reason was to avoid antagonising the Soviets: the peace treaty between Finland and Soviet Union had not yet been ratified. The [Allied] Control Commission was still in Helsinki. Officially, Finland wanted to remain neutral.⁶ Ironically, though the ideological motive behind the Marshall Plan was to save Europe from

communism, Finland only escaped communism by saying no to the scheme.

The Scandinavian countries also differed in terms of how they accepted the aid. Whereas the process was uncontroversial in Denmark (\$236 million in grants and \$42 million in cheap loans), it was met with some hesitancy by the Norwegian government, with politicians in the Labour Party (Arbeiderpartiet) in particular being suspicious of the aid (\$350 million in grants and \$50 million in loans); they saw it as a tool to promote American capitalism and wanted to act as 'bridgebuilders' rather than overtly favour either one of the Great Powers. The Communist Party coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948, however, prompted Norway to join NATO in 1949. The difficulties faced by Danish politicians in accepting the aid mostly had to do with politics of the economy; the Danish government tried to preserve its freedom of action

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to the greatest possible extent in its international economic policy. Sweden received U.S. aid through the back door since it had not participated in World War II. The percentage of national income resulting from this aid was only 0.3%

in Sweden, whereas in Denmark it was 3.3% and in Norway 5.8% (in comparison it was 14% in Austria and 10.8% in the Netherlands). Though Sweden did not obtain much from the general programme's gift package, it benefitted from the shipment of goods and services to other countries receiving Marshall Plan aid.⁷

Another example of Finland's exceptional post-war situation in the Nordic context, especially concerning international news, had to do with the BBC Overseas Service (BBC World Service since 1965) radio broadcasting. The BBC started short-wave broadcasts in all the Nordic countries in 1940, including Sweden. But whereas the BBC ended its broadcasting in the Scandinavian countries in 1957, the British government decided to continue supporting Finland's position as a Western country by continuing its Finnish-language broadcasts until 1997, way beyond the end of the Cold War.⁸



Finland was the only Western European country that fought in World War II and did not receive aid under the Marshall Plan. The photo shows Marshall Aid arriving in Norway. Photo: Unknown/NTB Scanpix.

Among other concerns, London did not trust the Finnish national broadcasting company Yle to transmit reliable information. Among the Anglo-American powers, Finland was seen as being on thin ice from a geopolitical standpoint, and therefore in need of saving via the tools of propaganda. However, according to a recent book on the Finnish-language BBC service in London, its broadcasting was not intended as propaganda but more as a form of 'indirect diplomatic influencing'. After all, the news stories met the highest standards of journalistic quality, as the editor of and a former journalist for the Finnish-language BBC service in London recently emphasised.⁹

On the other hand, not all propaganda needs to be overly 'black' or negative, consisting of lies, fabrications and deceptions. It can be also 'white': in such instances, the source of a message is known and the information is more or less accurate, but the mes-

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sage is presented in such a way as to convince the audience with reference to only the best ideas and political ideology.¹⁰ As Max Jakobson, another former journalist in the Finnish-language BBC service in London and later a prominent diplomat, recently noted, 'The BBC broadcasts were not made by lies, but rationing truth out selectively'.¹¹ Indeed, journalistic practice often required striking a balance between the winds blowing from the East and those from the West during the Cold War.

Americanisation before Finlandisation

The concept of Finlandisation (*Finnlandisierung*, used especially by West German conservative politicians in the 1960s) has categorically been employed only since the end of that decade. Although Finland had to accommodate Soviet interests, it was culturally very pro-American in the 1950s and 1960s.

Finns generally associated the United States with 'the American dream': wealth, a comfortable standard of living, freedom and a peaceful life – happiness that could be realised through consumption. To be sure, the US became the symbol of modernity throughout post-war Western Europe at the time. Cultural Americanisation, which had begun already in the interwar years, soon had a powerful sway in many European countries, yet there was also resistance to American influence in many places.¹²

The Americanisation of Finland did not take place so much through the influx of consumer goods as through ideas. Although Finland did not benefit from the Marshall Plan aid, it received instead 'the Marshall Aid of ideas'. The effects were evident in many ways, not least in advertising. American ideas about marketing had already impacted Finnish economic thinking before World War II. Many major figures in Finnish advertising worked and lived in the United States in the 1920s and 30s.¹³ After the war, such influences, as well as Americanism as a general point of reference, had a strong impact on Finnish advertising. Finland also introduced one of the most Americanised television systems in Europe in the late 1950s. Finnish television not only advertised American-type filter cigarettes, jeans, chewing gum and such, but also sponsored programmes – Finland being the first country in Europe to finance television through sponsorship – which constituted the basis of American television until the end of the 1950s.¹⁴

Before the late 1960s, the reason for such strong pro-American sentiment as well as a lack of anti-American sentiment can be found in Finnish history (the trivialising of the leftist intelligentsia because of the Civil War of 1918), the geopolitical situation (the desire to express neutrality between East and West) as well as the desire to stand apart from Eastern European culture. Overall, the other alternative in the Cold War, becoming part of the Eastern Bloc, was well known in Finland.

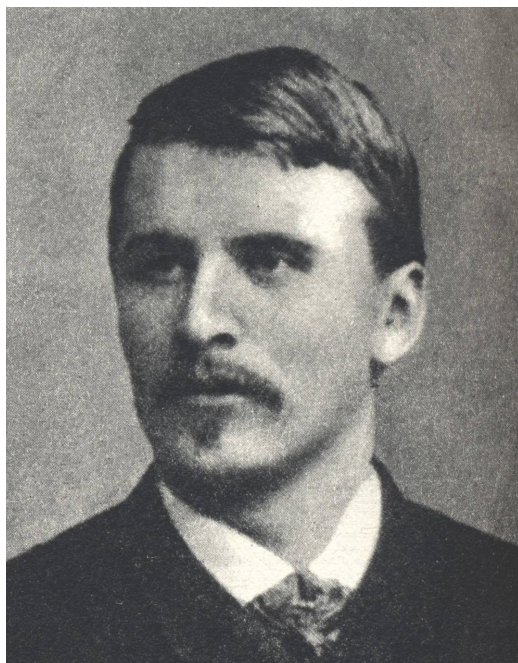
In addition, Finnish consumer researchers have suggested that the strong pioneering spirit of the settlers in the American West was equally evident among Finnish peasants clearing their own wilderness. The American values of freedom and democracy

were well suited to Finland, where no hereditary court or strong nobility ever existed, unlike in so many other European countries, including the Scandinavian countries. Finnish society had strong peasant roots and an egalitarian tradition. In both countries, the progressive tone evident in building the nation can be related to a sort of 'new frontier' ideology.¹⁵ This ideology was adopted early on by the country's most important private news media.

Erkko's American sympathies

Helsingin Sanomat, nowadays the largest newspaper in the Nordic countries, was founded as *Päivälehti* in 1889. The paper was forced to close in 1904, when Finland was part of the Russian Empire as a Grand Duchy, as a result of intensified Russification policies. It was suppressed as a result of the paper's editorial policy. *Päivälehti* was the main organ of the 'Young Finns' (Constitutionalists) political party and thus eagerly advocated Finnish freedoms and an opposed limiting Finland's special status as a Grand Duchy and its political autonomy. Due to the Russification policies, the first editor-in-chief of *Päivälehti*, and later *Helsingin Sanomat*, Eero Erkko, lived in exile in the United States in the years 1903–1905.¹⁶ His sojourn had far-reaching consequences in terms of the paper's American sympathies as it has been run by one family throughout almost its entire history.

Erkko's son, Eljas Erkko (1895–1965), who became the editor-in-chief of *Helsingin Sanomat* in 1927, was an American enthusiast, a predilection that manifested quite strongly in his career as a journalist, diplomat and politician. While exiled in the United States with his family, Eljas Erkko went to school in Brooklyn, learnt English fluently and absorbed American ideas and values. Before joining his father's newspaper editorial staff just before Eero Erkko's death, he worked for the Foreign Service of Finland. Eljas Erkko became an MP in 1933 and Minister of Foreign Affairs before the Winter War of 1938–39 (he was a minister without a portfolio and the Minister of the Interior already in 1932). Eljas Erkko was an anti-communist who saw the Soviet Union as a warped society, and his mission was to resist socialism. During negotiations with the Soviet Union before the war, Erkko was uncom-



Eero Erko (1860-1927) was the first editor-in-chief of *Päivälehti*, (later *Helsingin Sanomat*). Photo: Unknown.



Eljas Erko (1895-1960), editor-in-chief of *Helsingin Sanomat* from 1927 was an American enthusiast. Photo: Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive.

promising towards the Soviet propositions about Finnish territorial cessions. J.K. Paasikivi (1870–1956), principal negotiator with the Soviets and later president of Finland, famously called later the Winter War ‘Erkko’s war’.¹⁷

Just like American press baron William Randolph Hearst, Eljas Erko was also keen on cartoons. *Helsingin Sanomat* licenced its first American cartoon, Felix the Cat, from Hearst’s King Features Syndicate in 1927. Disney’s Mickey Mouse started appearing on the pages of *Helsingin Sanomat* in 1931, and Donald Duck in 1938.¹⁸ Of all the Disney characters, Donald Duck became hugely popular in Finland after WWII. Sanoma Oy (nowadays Sanoma Corporation), the publishing company behind *Helsingin Sanomat*, started publishing *Donald Duck* (*Aku Ankka* in Finnish) comic magazine in 1951, which soon achieved the largest circulation rate in the world proportionally out of all places Disney comics were published. In Finland particularly, *Aku Ankka* magazine was a ‘Trojan horse of Americanism’. The magazine served as a mythical

fiction of modern society in the 1950s.¹⁹

Sanoma Oy also started publishing *Reader’s Digest* (*Valitut Palat* in Finnish) in 1945. Finland was the third European country after Britain and Sweden to publish a national version of *Reader’s Digest* – the major promoter of the middle-class American white Anglo-Saxon Protestant lifestyle: individualism, market economy and the idea of liberal society. Overall, Eljas Erko played a central role in introducing American influences to Finland. During World War II, when Finland was a co-belligerent with Nazi Germany and Erko was removed from state politics, he founded the Finnish-American Association. In the post-war years, Erko was very active in Western European and American relations, including those concerning news media. For instance, he was at the inaugural meeting of the International Press Institute (IPI) at Columbia University in New York in 1950. In 1954, Eljas Erko became chair of the IPI, which was funded by the Ford and Rockefeller foundations.²⁰

Both the IPI and *Reader’s Digest* had connections

with intelligence agencies, if not outright operations directed by the CIA or USIS (United States Information Service). Eljas Erkko himself had a warm relationship with USIS public affairs officer Everett G. Chapman. Moreover, Erkko already had a connection with the predecessor of the CIA, the OSS (Office of Strategic Services). The OSS had made contact with Eljas Erkko through his brother, Eero O. Erkko, who lived in the US, making the former an important source of information for the CIA during the Cold War. For instance, the USIS offered photographs from the US for *Helsingin Sanomat*, free of charge. In addition, Erkko had close connections with the biggest American news agencies, the Associated Press (AP) and United Press (UP).²¹

As Marek Fields, who has studied Anglo-American cultural diplomacy and propaganda in Finland during the Cold War, writes:

Erkko's ability to include even strongly anti-communist content, for instance, in the pages of *Valitut Palat* continuously amazed his American colleagues. When asked about how he was able to publish such material, Erkko noted that when the material touched propaganda he wished only to touch the danger line, not go over it, and that in many cases his publishing practice was 'a matter of instinct more than of brains'.

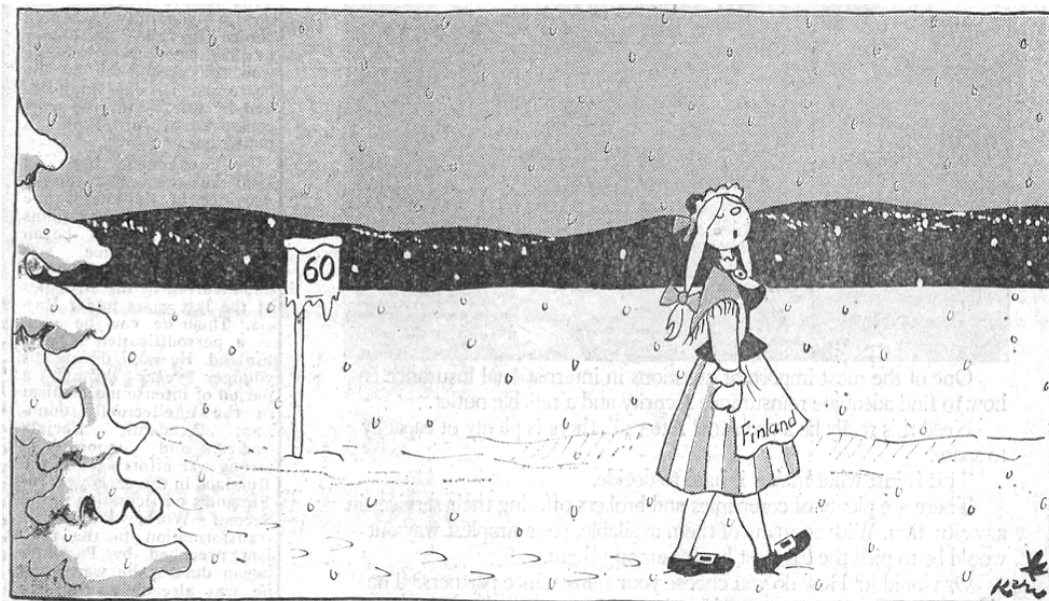
According to Fields, the line was sometimes crossed, though, at least in the eyes of politicians.²² *Helsingin Sanomat* started publishing the monthly series 'Letter from America' in the 1950s, which pleased USIS officers. To be sure, all major Finnish non-communist newspapers published largely USIS-based articles and photographs sent by USIS to their editorial offices. Moreover, the reports about the Marshall Plan and world events, such as the Korean War, were pro-American. The USIS material delivered to Finnish newspapers also included anti-communist propaganda, yet in such a way that it did not usually include direct criticism of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, in terms of controversial political content, Finland was not remarkably different from many other Western countries in the mid-1950s. This also included reporting about

the Hungarian Uprising of 1956. The future editor of *Helsingin Sanomat*, Simopekka Nortamo, was even awarded a specialist grant by the Americans after reporting about the events of the Hungarian Uprising in *Viikkosanomat*, a picture magazine published by Sanoma Oy.²³

Finnish journalists also participated in Cold War propaganda and espionage activities. For instance, many *Helsingin Sanomat* journalists took part in the parties organised by the Western Foreign Press Club (WFPC) in Helsinki, assisted by the CIA, while the Soviets tried to recruit the journalists as agents, at least to write for the Soviet papers. Presumably, none of the *Helsingin Sanomat* journalists worked for the Soviets at the time, but at least one of them worked for CIA during the 1970s. This journalist participated in a large espionage project coordinated by the CIA on the reception of Western propaganda radio (Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Deutsche Welle and BBC). The journalist reported on critical attitudes among Soviet scientists as well as ordinary Soviet citizens throughout the Soviet Union.²⁴

Towards Finlandisation

Still, in the 1950s, *Helsingin Sanomat* was rather defiant when writing about the Soviet Union. The newspaper published critical articles about Eastern Europe after the Hungarian Uprising of 1956, to the extent that Nikita Khrushchev, the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, complained to the president of Finland, Urho Kekkonen (1900–1986), that Finnish journalists and writers were digging into the dustbins of history. One of the most famous instances of defiance during the era was not a newspaper article, however, but a political cartoon. In 1958, a caricaturist for the *Helsingin Sanomat*, Kari Suomalainen, participated in an international cartoon contest in London with a cartoon lampooning the famous painting *Barge Haulers on the Volga (1870–1873)* by Russian painter Ilya Repin. The 'barge haulers' in the cartoon were East European countries and Nikita Khrushchev was shouting to the Western leaders: 'Shame on you Imperialists'. An enlargement of the cartoon was to be hanged on the wall facing the UN headquarters. Foreign Minister Johannes Virolainen, who was in



Miss Finland says “Footloose and fancy free, but it doesn’t mean to say I haven’t had my chances.” The cartoon is drawn by Kari Suomaleinen, of the *Helsingin Sanomat*.

The Times published this illustration by Kari Suomaleinen at des. 5. 1977 for a special report about Finland, the day before Finland celebrating 60 years as an independent nation. Photo: Unknown/*The Times*.

New York at that time, wrote to Prime Minister Karl-August Fagerholm that he should ask Eljas Erkkö not to bring the cartoon to New York. ‘Freedom of the press is surely a precious matter, but the freedom of a country is even more important’, wrote the foreign minister from New York.²⁵

The political cartoon was published at arguably the most crucial time in Cold War relations. The situation in Berlin was tense, which meant Finland’s situation was serious. The Mutual Assistance Pact obligated Finland to resist any armed attacks by ‘Germany or its allies’, which meant that Finland could be asked to provide military aid to the Soviet Union. Accordingly, the political situation changed radically after the so-called Note Crisis, when the Soviet Union sent Finland a diplomatic note in 1961, which was major news in Finland.

The note was related to the Cold War crises in Berlin and the Bay of Pigs Invasion in Cuba. The motive behind Soviet actions was to use the Mutual Assistance Pact to consult with the Finns on strengthening

Soviet-Finnish relations. The note caused a major political crisis in Finland, which was not resolved until President Kekkonen visited the Soviet Union and discussed matters personally with Nikita Khrushchev. When the note was sent, Kekkonen was on a state visit to the US, followed by a vacation in Hawaii. While there is no clear evidence about the real Soviet motives, the most common view, which persists among historians, is that the note was sent to ensure Kekkonen’s re-election. There has even been wide speculation that it was ordered by Kekkonen himself. Regardless, Kekkonen was re-elected after his main opponent, Chancellor of Justice Olavi Honka, withdrew from the race after release of the note.²⁶

After the Note Crisis, the Finnish press began to control what was published. It led to self-censorship, which was seen as a sign of Finlandisation by other Western countries. Yet *Helsingin Sanomat* had also criticised the United States since the late 1960s for its role in the Vietnam War. When it came to publishing articles about the great powers, the United Sta-

tes was not nearly as sensitive a topic as the Soviet Union. The Soviet embassy in Helsinki followed the Finnish newspapers closely and was quick to contact the Finnish Foreign Ministry to complain about any articles that spoke unfavourably of the Soviet Union.²⁷ Avoiding anti-Soviet rhetoric was not only a political but also an economic matter. For instance, some major Finnish corporations (such as Hyvon Kudeneule, warp knitting and tights manufacturer) that benefitted significantly from Soviet trade refused to advertise in the right-wing newspaper *Uusi Suomi*, which was an official organ (until 1976) of the National Coalition Party (*Kansallinen Kokoomus, Samlingspartiet*) in the early 1970s. The private companies did not want to jeopardise their businesses by irritating the Soviets, who continued to apply pressure to the Finns in various sectors of society during the period.²⁸

The editor-in-chief of *Helsingin Sanomat* did not have good relations with the Soviet Union at the time and the paper did a poor job of following official Soviet government policy. The problems caused by the paper's news bulletin on Soviet matters were also due the fact that *Helsingin Sanomat* did not have a correspondent in Moscow like they did in other major European capitals and in Washington. This was due to Eljas Erkko's anti-Moscow politics of the 1950s. Even *Helsingin Sanomat*'s main rival, the newspaper *Uusi Suomi*, had had its own Soviet correspondent since 1957, not to mention the national broadcasting company Yle, whose correspondents in Moscow were usually communists.²⁹

This meant that most Soviet and Eastern European news stories published in *Helsingin Sanomat* came from the West through such papers as *Life* and *The Times*, which were then translated for a Finnish audience. In addition, *Helsingin Sanomat* also purchased news stories from more questionable sources, such as the Information Research Department (IRD), which was a subsection of the British Foreign Office. The IRD

cooperated with the British Secret Intelligence Service and the BBC. *Helsingin Sanomat* also used material from the London-based American news agency Forum World Feature (FWF), which was founded by the CIA. The CIA was surprised at how much profit they made from the FWF by selling news material to Western European newspapers, including Finnish papers. The evening paper *Ilta-Sanomat*, owned by Sanoma Oy, was a regular customer of FWF until 1975, when it was revealed that the 'news agency' was an American propaganda institution.³⁰

Eljas Erkko's successor as the head of *Helsingin Sanomat*, his son Aatos Erkko, continued the daily's Western-minded policy, but he also wanted to maintain good relations with President Kekkonen and the Soviet Union. Ultimately, *Helsingin Sanomat* established an office in Moscow in 1975, the last major Finnish news outlet of the era to do so.³¹

Conclusion

Research has demonstrated Finland was not the only Western country whose journalists had to strike a balance between the political East and West during the Cold War. The rivalry between the superpowers and their military alliances, as well as the overall battle for hearts and minds, became etched in the journalistic work of Nordic newspapers and in broadcasting.³²

The Cold War impacted not only the articles that journalists published (or did not publish) but also the organisations with which they were affiliated. In a recent book on the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), Kaarle Nordenstreng, professor emeritus in journalism and mass communications at the University of Tampere, Finland shows how the Cold War was also fought at the organisational level. Soon after the Second IOJ Congress in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in 1947, Anglo-American press reports started to accuse the IOJ of 'falling under Russian influence', with its headquarters having been 'taken over by communists' and the organisation being a hard-line

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puppet of Moscow. The IOJ belonged to the Soviet sphere of influence and Nordenstreng himself, who served as president of the IOJ from 1976 to 1990, was accused of being a 'useful idiot', to use Lenin's well-known phrase, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the IOJ.³³

Indeed, Finns had to cope with different political circumstances than did the other Nordic countries. However, we must remember that Finlandisation and a policy of bowing to Soviet interests did not really start before the late 1960s. Moreover, American policymakers still managed to make their propagandist messages heard rather easily through the Finnish journalists in the public sphere. This was especially evident in the country's leading newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, both in the journalism and in the publication policy of its parent company.

Endnotes

- 1 Salminen, 1999; Salokangas, 2015; Lounasmeri, 2015
- 2 Leppänen 2022; Koivunen, Lalu, Matala & Soimetsä, 2022
- 3 Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 143–197
- 4 See e.g., Hanhimäki, 1997:26–29
- 5 A good English summary of the Nordic countries in international relations after WWII is provided by Wilson, 1999: 116–147
- 6 Putensen, 2008
- 7 Pharo, 1976; Hilson, 2018: 63–65; Hanhimäki, 1997; Jensen, 1989; Samuelsson, 1988: 363–384; Milward, 1984: 96.
- 8 Fields, 2015: 51–52
- 9 Uimonen, 2020: 306
- 10 Jowett and O'Donnell, 2015: 20
- 11 Mänty, 2020: 61
- 12 See e.g. Alexander, 2006; Wagnleitner, 1994; Fehrenbach & Poiger, 2000; Ross, 1997; Kroes, 1996. For Scandinavia, see Nilsson, 2016; Houe and Rossel, 1998; O'Dell, 1997; Lundén and Åsard, 1992
- 13 Heinonen, 2000
- 14 Kortti, 2003; Heinonen et al., 2003
- 15 Heinonen and Pantzar, 2002
- 16 Zetterberg, 2001: 327–358
- 17 Manninen & Salokangas, 2009: 17–18, 159–302; Mainio, 2018: 17–18
- 18 Manninen & Salokangas, 2009: 150–157
- 19 Malmberg and Koivisto, 2001: 60–61; Kantola, 2001: 146
- 20 Heinonen & Pantzar, 2001: 13; Manninen & Salokangas, 2009: 499–521, 557–594.
- 21 Mainio, 2018: 104–111; Fields, Reinforcing Finland's Attachment to the West, 111
- 22 Fields, 2015: 170
- 23 Fields, 2015: 143–145, 237, 239, 262
- 24 Mainio, 2018: 196–204, 327–335
- 25 Mainio, 2018: 143–148
- 26 See e.g. Jakobson 2001: 300–334
- 27 Mainio, 2018: 256–264
- 28 Vesikansa, 2021: 302
- 29 See Uskali, 2003; Mainio, 2018: 293–303
- 30 Mainio, 2018: 171; Fields, 2015: 111–112, 143–149
- 31 Mainio, 2018: 297–303
- 32 See e.g. Dahl, 2015; Fonn, 2015
- 33 Nordenstreng, 2020

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