

5. Fallen Angels, Fallen Nation?

Representations of Patriotic Women and Images of a Nation in Finland's Post-War Memory

This chapter focuses on Finland after the Second World War, and reveals how personal, public and official memories of the war were – and still are – intertwined in complex, often conflicting (re)negotiations and how these memories inform personal and collective identities.¹

The following discussion draws on the idea that the past is a contested and unstable field because interpretations of the past and identity politics are intimately interwoven and, simultaneously, power relations influence knowledge production. Furthermore, knowledge of the past includes various treatments and, thus, is not limited to interpretations produced in academic historiography.

During the post-war decades, the Finns had to cope with the legacy of three wars that the nation had recently fought as part of the European theatre of war: the Winter War (1939–1940) and the Continuation War (1941–1944) against the USSR; and the Lapland War (1944–1945) against Germany, formerly the ally in 1941–1944. Differing in duration and intensity, these wars were experienced in distinctive ways.² On the official state-level, the memory of the wars had to be silenced so that foreign relations with the USSR, the former enemy, could be established on a new positive basis. In contrast to the official silence, the experiences and interpretations of the period 1939–1945 were thus only articulated in private circles but in some ways memories were also dealt with in the public sphere. In both the private and public realms, evacuees from the lost areas, orphans, widows and war invalids were living reminders of the wars.³ The loss of family members and homes was mourned privately and also dealt with in literature. For instance, the traumas of the Finnish Karelian evacuees – altogether over 400,000 people – who were resettled after their home regions were annexed to the USSR, were dealt with in fiction, documentary literature and memoirs even if the loss of the area could not be officially discussed as a political issue.⁴

Public war-related commemoration focused on the sacrifices, especially of Finland's fallen soldiers. Still today, the commemoration of fallen soldiers is integrated into some national celebrations.⁵ Within the male culture of war remembrance, in particular, emphasis was laid on action: individual and collective deeds were recounted and retold. For instance, one widely read magazine, published between 1956–1986, was called *A People at War*

– *Told by the Men* (*Kansa taisteli – miehet kertovat*). In contrast to this public treatment of male experiences, women's memories were bypassed and their wartime work met with silence. It took until the late twentieth century to redress the balance.⁶

In this chapter, the focus is on the politics of public memory⁷ regarding the Second World War in Finland. My particular interest centres on how images of the war have shifted since the 1950s, and upon the processes of inclusion, exclusion, marginalisation and reappraisal. Special attention is paid to gender and how it operates in memory production and related national identity politics. In terms of national identity, the Second World War was and still is of great significance for Finns. In fact, the years after the collapse of the USSR ushered in a new nationalistic wave of war commemoration.⁸ In this respect, Finland's memory culture shows some similarities with elsewhere in Eastern Europe, even though dependence upon the USSR was never quite as total. In a similar way to Eastern Europe, the end of the Cold War opened up a space for some suppressed and marginalised national and personal memories.⁹ The Finnish memory culture of the Second World War was – and to some degree still is – characterised by its national orientation, which presupposes a homogeneous experience of war among Finns and the specificity of Finland's history.¹⁰ This national orientation excludes the globalisation of war memory and of the Holocaust, for example, which is only marginally remembered. One essential element in Finland's war memory is the tenacious interpretation that in 1941–1944 Finland cooperated with Germany in such a way that the country had nothing to do with German warfare on any other fronts.¹¹

Due to my focus on public memory here, personal remembrance and the processes of passing on war memories to the next generation in private are not examined. Instead, the field of popular war history – where war memories are recounted in novels, films, popular history books, and memoirs with representations of wartime experience – is scrutinised. My study starts in the early 1950s when the concept of Finnishness had to be renegotiated after the defeat of the armed forces and the loss of human lives and material resources. The debate was strongly influenced by the novel 'The Unknown Soldier' (*Tuntematon sotilas*) by Väinö Linna, published in 1954. After discussing this novel, I will briefly analyse the discourse surrounding war that took place in the 1960s and 1970s when the political and cultural climate became more radical. This legacy reverberates in the film *Tuntematon sotilas*, which is based on Linna's novel and was made in 1985. This chapter then concludes with an examination of the film *Lupaus* (Promise) from 2005.

These three examples of popular history capture the crucial features of the connection between war and national identity in post-war Finland. In addition, they allow an examination over a time period of fifty years. These examples are also suited for an analysis of how the nation is (re) imagined through gender. In the mid-1980s, Joan Scott astutely pointed to gender as being constitutive in power relations.¹² In Finland, as in other belligerent countries, the Second World War disturbed traditional gender orders, and after the men's homecoming, gendered power relations had to

be renegotiated. The impact of war on gender equality is ambiguous. On the one hand, male identity was reconstructed at the expense of women when, for example, men were favoured in the labor market. On the other, even if women in many cases were faced with a backlash, they could draw on the empowering experiences of coping when they were at war and thus the discrimination did not necessarily damage their new self-reliance.¹³

The reconstruction of the nation and national identity after the war can also be analysed from a gendered perspective without focusing on women's factual agency. Instead, emphasis can be laid on symbolic representations. Concerning Finland, Johanna Valenius points out the constitutive element of gender in nineteenth-century national imagery: the purity and innocence of the emerging post-war Finnish nation, still within the Russian sphere of influence, is embodied by the Finnish maiden.¹⁴ Drawing on this discourse, I will analyse how the Finnish nation was imagined and the national identity reconstructed in representations of war in the post-war decades and how gender operates in these treatments. Emphasis will, in particular, be laid upon representations of the Lottas, members of a patriotic, paramilitary women's organisation called the *Lotta Svärd*, in the above mentioned popular history treatments (the novel and the film *Tuntematon sotilas* and the film *Lupaus*).

According to my interpretation, the Lottas represent the central elements of Finland's war memory and the various shifts in national imagery that took place over a period of fifty years. The film *Lupaus* deals with the history of the *Lotta Svärd*, whereas it is argued that the Lottas play a marginal role in the novel *Tuntematon sotilas* and the film based on it. I argue, however, that the Lotta figure in the novel and its respective film nevertheless hold a strong symbolic position.

Contextualisation

In order to clarify my interpretation, this chapter is introduced with a contextualisation that outlines the history of Finland in the twentieth century, intertwined with the history of the *Lotta Svärd*. Although Finnish narratives of the Second World War were influenced by tensions growing out of political life after 1944, they were rooted in the pre-war political culture. The 1918 civil war and its legacy affected Finnish society well into the post-war period. Finland, as an autonomous part of the Russian Empire since 1809, gained independence in December 1917. Soon after this, political and social tensions escalated, resulting in a civil war fought between the socialist Red Guard and the bourgeois White Guard from January to May 1918. The Reds were defeated and, as a result of the war, Finland was politically and socially torn apart by a deep clash between the victors and the defeated.¹⁵

The *Lotta Svärd* was founded in 1921 to safeguard Finland's newly won independence by women who had supported the White Guard during the Civil War. The female paramilitary *Lotta Svärd* and the male military Civil Guard, which the Lottas supported, continued the legacy of the White Guard. Thus, the patriotism of the Lottas was politically biased and class-

bound even though the organisation formally stood beyond party politics. Anti-socialism, combined with Russophobia and anti-Soviet sentiments, was rooted in the Lotta ideology and in the Lottas' world view. Their social background varied from agrarian to bourgeois but they were united by their commitment to the values of so-called White Finland – 'home, religion, and fatherland'.¹⁶

The Lotta ideology was not only formed by class but also by gender. The *Lotta Svärd* propagated a gendered notion of women's citizenship, defined by its leader Fanni Luukkonen as being a 'social mother's love'. One of its essential elements was moral strength, as embodying the purity of the nation was seen as the specific responsibility of all Lottas. The conception of moral strength was closely linked to Christianity. In addition to practical, strictly unarmed work for the Civil Guard, the Lottas were to strive, in a Lutheran spirit, towards their own moral strength and the moral improvement of their male counterparts.¹⁷

During the Second World War the *Lotta Svärd* grew so rapidly that in 1944 it had over 200,000 members out of a population of less than 4 million people. Although conscription was not extended to women, they were obliged to carry out work for the nation's defence; and the *Lotta Svärd* organised an important part of this work. Lottas worked voluntarily and unarmed near the battlefields and on the home front caring for both soldiers and civilians. During the Continuation War (1941–1944) the solidarity among Finns experienced during the Winter War (1939–1940) gradually broke down, and this led to political radicalisation in post-war Finland. During the late 1940s, the Communist Party enjoyed significant popularity among voters. In the 1930s, it had been banned because of the perceived threat it presented to Finland's independence. In 1944, however, it was legalised again as part of the armistice agreement.¹⁸ According to this peace agreement, the Finnish government was also forced to dissolve and forbid a number of organisations that were declared by the Soviets as anti-Soviet. Among these organisations was the *Lotta Svärd*. It was thus dissolved in November 1944.

In the following, the history of post-war Finland is told from two different, conflicting perspectives. These two perspectives are associated with different interpretations of the war and thus create a different image of the same nation. These interpretations of the war will then be discussed in more detail later on. The first nationally loaded narrative of 1944 and post-war Finland seems today, after the collapse of the USSR and the end of the Cold War, to be the 'natural' one. In September 1944, exhausted after three years of war against the USSR, Finns had to meet with the bitter reality that they must surrender. Following the massive offensive of the Red Army in June 1944, the Finnish government was forced to sign an armistice agreement that entailed heavy obligations. However, Finland was not occupied and could sustain its political system based on western democratic values.

One of the obligations of the armistice agreement was for Finland to flush out its former German ally stationed in the north, which led to a new war, the Lapland War, that finally ended in April 1945. In October 1944, the Allied Control Commission, dominated by the Soviets, came to Finland

in order to supervise the fulfilment of the agreement. Finland was not occupied by the USSR, but its independence was conceived by wide circles of the population as fragile. The efforts of the Finnish communists to seize power were also strengthened by the Soviet influence.¹⁹

Public opinion of the Lottas, whose wartime work was valued, was that they were victims of political circumstance. Although the dissolution of the organisation was heartbreaking for many Lottas, it was accepted because the decision was seen as forced. And yet the post-war representations in literature were generally insulting, especially in two novels: Väinö Linna's *The Unknown Soldier* (*Tuntematon sotilas*), 1954, and Paavo Rintala's *The Commando Lieutenant* (*Sissiluutnantti*), 1963. The previous conception of the Lottas' moral strength and sexual purity was turned upside down in these works, and the dominant public image of the Lottas actually became one of sexually loose women. Meanwhile the communist newspapers depicted a hard-core group of the *Lotta Svärd* as fascists and thus unpatriotic.²⁰

But *Tuntematon sotilas* conveys not only the hardships that the nation had to cope with, but also the successes in the face of hardship: Finland was not occupied and thus the outcome of the war was a kind of victory, called a defensive victory. In addition, the nation looked forward, rebuilt the country, and created a welfare state. The narrative also underlines the success of the resettlement of the Finnish Karelian evacuees and in doing so, excludes the othering that these people often experienced. In the 1960s and 1970s we should bear in mind that Finnish society was shaken by a left-wing cultural turn. Peculiarly, the baby boomers channelled their revolt into demands for a rapprochement with Moscow. This realignment, defined abroad as 'Finlandization', poisoned Finnish political culture in many ways, one of which was the continual defamation of the *Lotta Svärd* during these years. It was only after the collapse of the USSR that the years of 1939–1944 could be framed in any other way.²¹

Tuntematon sotilas thus takes a left-wing perspective. It sustained its credibility until the collapse of communism even though it never replaced the former narrative as the dominant one. Finland, which fought as an ally with the Third Reich and thus on the wrong side, was defeated, but this implied a new beginning for the nation that had been misled by its right-wing leadership. The dissolution of the *Lotta Svärd* was welcomed because the organisation was a reminder of the fascist legacy of the pre-war decades. The peace agreement suggested the promise of a more democratic and socially just future, since the Communist Party, which had been forbidden in the 1930s, was tolerated once more. In addition, the outcome of the war forced Finland to adopt a new course vis-à-vis the USSR. The new foreign policy promoted a mutual understanding and political as well as economic cooperation and thus prepared the way for a positive rethinking of the former enemy in Finland. The Allied Control Commission was a guarantee of this new era.

From this left-wing narrative's perspective, the 1990s memory culture of war was seen in a different way: the collapse of the USSR ushered in a new wave of patriotism which resonated with the militarism and anti-Soviet sentiments of the 1920s and 1930s.

Representations of Nation and Gender in Tuntematon sotilas

As a result of the patriotic turn of the 1990s, representations of the *Lotta Svärd* increased substantially. During the last twenty-five years, personal testimonies of the Lottas have been collected and published as authentic accounts of women's experiences in wartime. This activity was fuelled by women historians' interest in the agency and experiences of women, which was now extended to wartime. In this chapter, contrary to the trend of recent years, the personal memories of the Lottas related to their war efforts is not discussed. Neither do I address their strategies of coping with a post-war life in politically new circumstances. This is not because I deny the importance of giving voice to the Lottas themselves or, to use another metaphor, of making them visible; on the contrary, but I call for a critical analysis of their testimonies and how they are used in the national imagery in post-Cold War Finland. In this chapter, I discuss the contested Lotta image in the novel *Tuntematon sotilas* (1954) by Väinö Linna. In post-war Finland, this novel is the point of reference for much heated debate on the *Lotta Svärd* and simultaneously on the nation at war.

Some time later he passed a solitary Lotta standing beside the road. Raili Kotilainen had not found a husband on the campaign, but she had made up for this by taking an extraordinary number of lovers. It seemed years since the day the adjutant had taken a snapshot of her beside a captured Russian trench mortar in the early days of the war. Then Raili had still been a glowing maiden, but like everybody else she had been worn out by war.²²

This description, beside some others within the work by Väinö Linna (1920–1992), which included critical comments about officers and Finland's political establishment of the pre-war and war period, caused a scandal and ignited a literary war in the mid-1950s. Linna's novel chronicles the experiences of a fictional machine gun company in the Continuation War. The debate was also fuelled by Linna's way of depicting ordinary Finnish soldiers. They did not fit into the traditional nineteenth-century nationalistic ideal of humbleness. Neither did they resemble the valiant fighters in most other contemporary books. They were insubordinate towards their superiors, sometimes scared and unheroic, sometimes outright cowardly. Linna's critics were also upset by the colourful language used by the soldiers. Almost the full range of swear words was to be found in the pages of the book.

Even if the novel by Linna is fictional, it was based on actual experiences and persons, for example, on the author's wartime acquaintances. The Lotta figure can thus be seen coherently as one reflection of reality. Raili Kotilainen, the only Lotta introduced by name in the novel, presents the opposite of the ideal Lotta (the decent middle class or farming woman), who was to embody the purity of the Finnish nation. During the war, in particular, the ideals painted by the *Lotta Svärd* leadership did not always correspond with the actual reality and they had to concede that some of their number 'lapsed' in their morals.²³ And neither did those Lottas who defended their collective honour in the mid-1950s deny this, but instead,

together with their male supporters, they argued for a fairer description that would value their practical work above all else.

The ideology and everyday work of the *Lotta Svärd* was strongly based on collective strength. Thus, many of the Lottas felt they had collectively been let down and betrayed by Linna's depiction. However, I argue that this representation and the debate surrounding it did not only deal with Lottas' moral or sexual behaviour. If they had, the debate would not have been carried out with such intensity. To understand the explosive meaning of the representation, it needs to be analysed from the perspective of national (and, thus, political) symbolism. Raili, who had once been a 'glowing maiden', but who at the end of the war is 'like everybody else [...] worn out', is an allegory of the Finland of the 1920s, 1930s, and wartime. This Finland came under political and cultural attack after the war; and the change in political climate left room for alternative visions of Finnishness. For example, those defeated in the Civil War were gradually given a voice again and gained access to the public memory. Väinö Linna can thus be viewed as being a contributor to this context of cultural renegotiation.²⁴

Gendered representations of body and sexuality are inscribed with varying, often conflicting political meanings. For example, in pre-revolutionary France the campaign against Marie Antoinette took on sexualised tones. According to Lynn Hunt's reading, these sexualised images served political purposes. The sexual decline of a leading woman symbolised the decadence of the political order.²⁵ In addition, Elizabeth Heinemann suggests that in West Germany, after the war, the moral degradation of the nation was articulated by the image of a German woman 'fraternizer' selling herself to an American soldier for cigarettes or stockings.²⁶ In the national imagery, there are also several counterbalances to these allegories of decadence, however. For example, Guido Vitiello points out the female allegories of moral renewal in post-war West German films.²⁷

In my reading of the novel *Tuntematon sotilas*, Raili's body and sexuality have been instrumentalised for political purposes. The Lotta can be seen, in one respect, as an embodiment of the 'Old Regime' with the politics and values of White Finland, and in another, as an allegory for the whole nation. The Lottas saw themselves ideologically as the moral fibre of White Finland – the victorious side of the civil war – and they were politically active in the 1920s and 1930s in disseminating the ideology of White Finland. The Lotta as a morally fallen woman thus symbolises the political and moral degradation of the political hegemony that had existed before the war. The political order of the 'Old Regime' was symbolically humiliated and its bankruptcy demonstratively displayed. The political figure of a morally fallen Lotta had already been disseminated back in the 1920s in the communist press, but because the Left was marginalised at this time the image never penetrated any further into the public sphere.²⁸

From the perspective of the whole nation, the figure of Raili Kotilainen can also be seen as representing the maiden of Finland (*Suomen neito*) which was how the country had been portrayed in the public imagination since the nineteenth century. However, this time the innocence and purity of the maiden were clearly lost, as she had taken 'an extraordinary number

of lovers' Linna was clearly also describing 'everybody else', i.e., the whole nation as being 'worn out by war', but although the image of an exhausted nation might seem to imply a sense of victimhood, this was not Linna's aim. Instead, he called for a politically responsible leadership, rather than the previous one that had been intoxicated with the fantasy of a Greater Finland incorporating Eastern Karelia. The war had been a needless waste of energy and human life.

The general interpretation of Finland as being a victim of the great powers was, however, largely accepted in the post-war period. In the public imagination, the trials of 1945–1946 and the sentences pronounced against the leading politicians for taking Finland to war in 1941 were seen as unjust. The accused were clearly victims of a political performance contrived by the Soviets and their Finnish communist cronies – indeed this was the interpretation supported by the historian Arvi Korhonen. In 1948, he internationally introduced his thesis of wartime Finland being a piece of 'driftwood' between the superpowers. He later based his thesis on finer details, where the aim was conspicuously to absolve the wartime political leadership of any responsibility with regard to the decisions made concerning, for example, cooperation with the Third Reich. This German-Finnish cooperation was defined during the war and afterwards, by Korhonen among others, from the perspective of national interests and as being somehow separate from the European theatre of war.²⁹ In this narrative, Finland, the small nation, was the victim of Soviet aggression and cooperation with Germany (as 'brothers in arms') was the only way to survive. This narrative of political inevitability excludes any questions being asked, for example, about whether an ideological acceptance of nazism was also part of this cooperation.

From the novel it seems that Linna's ordinary soldiers were critical of their leaders' dealings with the Germans. For Linna, it was a fiction that Finland was fighting a separate war.³⁰ In his novel, the way these soldiers are depicted criticise the commonly accepted interpretation that the outcome of war was, after all, a 'defensive victory' for Finland. One of them, for example, when the fight was over, 'buried his face in his hands and for a long time stared at the ground without moving. [...] His eyes grew wet with tears, and his shoulders began to twitch. Then he shook with the bitter violent weeping of a grown man. Between sobs he murmured over and over, gritting his teeth: "We heard...they told us... Finland is dead... and snow... hides her grave..."³¹

Linna's description of the chaotically retreating Finnish army noticeably contradicts the defensive victory narrative, and the fallen figure of Raili Kotilainen adds to this contradiction. In the following description of the Finnish defeat, the author throws light once more on the class antagonism that characterised Finnish society after the civil war of 1918 and surfaced again after the Second World War. The ordinary soldiers' attitude towards the Lotta woman is one of contempt, whereas the officer sympathises with her.

Now her bicycle had broken down, and she was feeling tired and sorry for herself. The passing men did not bother to disguise their contempt, and she was forced to endure their scurrilous shouts. Then, seeing Korpela, she decided to beg for his aid feeling that a man as old as he might show some fatherly sympathy. With an attempt at a smile she approached him.

– Please, I can't ride this and I'm so tired. Won't you take me on your cart?

A Lotta in the front lines! Her effect on Korpela was that of a rag to a bull.

– I've never yet carted dung on Sunday. And sure as hell I'm not going to start now.

As luck would have it, Lammio overheard his words. Bidding the girl climb on the next cart, he screamed at the Landsturm man.

– Private Korpela!

– I hear you.

– What did you tell that girl just now?

– I said what I said. I've got enough of a load, without carting whores.

– Look out, Korpela! You'll go too far. One more word and it'll go badly for you.

– Don't worry that head of yours, you goddamned popinjay.³²

Väinö Linna's novel *Tuntematon sotilas* is paradoxical because it immediately became a bestseller, perhaps irrespective of its political message. Indeed, over time it has now become a classic of Finnish literature. For example, Arvi Korhonen, who authoritatively contributed to the aforementioned view of an innocent Finland at war, which Väinö Linna refuted, actually cherished Linna's novel. For him, it was simply a realistic description of ordinary soldiers. Besides Korhonen, there were other readers from the cultural and political establishment who also did not take too seriously Linna's – or his characters' – criticism of their leaders. Instead they focused on Linna's descriptions, which in the language of ordinary soldiers, gave a true account of their experiences. One explanation for the novel's enormous popularity might be that it was read as an exhibition of male companionship and heroism – even if the figures were not exactly full-blooded heroes.³³

Although Finland was not occupied, which would have radically altered the ideal of Finnish masculinity, neither did the outcome of the war exactly proclaim any ability on the part of Finnish soldiers to protect their women and children. In addition, the extension of women's activities during the war in Finland was met with some ambivalence by the men. In post-war Finland, there were no explicit campaigns to move women back from their workplaces to the home, but their new-found agency and increased competence perhaps called for at least some symbolic treatment. 'A Lotta in the front line!' in the above description points out the challenge, and possibly even threat, that women (represented by the Lottas) posed for male identity, as traditionally one would consider the front-line in a war to be the most masculine of preserves.³⁴

Sexualising Raili draws attention from her work contribution as a Lotta. There are examples of similar cultural mechanisms through which women's wartime agency was marginalised elsewhere in the world. In the post-war USSR, the scandalisation of former Red Army women soldiers meant their contributions were concealed. Meanwhile, in post-war Norway, the important work women had carried out in the resistance movement was

marginalised by pointing out the 'private' nature of this work. In many cases, women acted inside or from within their homes, and by 'domesticating' women in this way, both sexually and in other respects, the gender order was, at least symbolically, reestablished.³⁵

Critical Views of Finland's Wars

Tuntematon sotilas was filmed for the first time in 1955. This film, directed by Edvin Laine, was a great success and has over time turned into a much-loved classic. Still today, it belongs to the regular TV programs shown on Finland's Independence Day, 6 December. In this film, the morally fallen Lotta figure does not appear. Väinö Linna accepted her removal at the director's bidding. This detail shows how the film adjusted the novel's original critical tone so that it could fit with a more nationalistic interpretation. Instead, the film lays more emphasis on the small nation's gallant struggle against its powerful neighbour, which is strengthened by Jean Sibelius' *Finlandia* being played throughout.³⁶

The film and its warm reception reveals how nationalistic interpretations were gaining ground in the 1950s. At the same time the communist threat, which had caused political tremors in the late 1940s, seemed to be receding. As part of this development, the wartime leaders were restored to their former positions of honour. For example, in 1956 Risto Ryti, the wartime president who in 1946 had been sentenced to ten years imprisonment but was released in 1949 due to his weak physical condition, was awarded the title of Doctor *Honoris Causa*. In addition, the students of the University of Helsinki started a cult of Marshal Mannerheim, the wartime commander of the Finnish army.³⁷

The end of the 1960s, however, ushered in a radical political change, with the Left gaining control of the government after two decades in opposition. In the course of this radicalisation, the war was critically reviewed, and this urge to rewrite history was shared by the president at that time – Urho Kekkonen. From the communist point of view, the war was interpreted as a fascist crusade with Finland being held responsible for the deterioration of Finnish-Soviet relations towards the end of the 1930s, which then justified the Soviet attacks. In the course of the 1980s, this communist interpretation became less prevalent, although even in the mid-1980s there was a heated debate about a statue commemorating the *Lotta Svärd* erected in Lappeenranta, a town near the Soviet border, in 1985. Because of Soviet concerns, it was not possible to put the statue – of a young Lotta about to leave home for an uncertain future in the service of her nation – in the capital. The Finnish communists rejected the statue because, from their point of view, it symbolised the association with Nazi Germany and the White heritage of Finland's past and, thus, posed a threat to the carefully nurtured Finnish-Soviet relations since the end of the war.³⁸

But it was not just the Left who wanted to reinterpret the past, as from the 1960s onwards pacifist voices also challenged the nationalistic memory of war. From the pacifist point of view, war was part of the degradation

of humanity. Paavo Rintala's *The Commando Lieutenant* (*Sissiluutnantti*), published in 1963, expressed this perspective by going beyond the factual historical context. In this novel, which also provoked a heated debate, the debasement of human nature is particularly evoked by a young Lotta who has frenzied sex with the male protagonist, a commando lieutenant; and to his dismay, she is sexually hyperactive, even aggressive. Rintala's critics read his novel in the national context related to the years 1939–1944 and for them it was sacrilegious.³⁹

These more radical interpretations of the war by the younger generation, whether left-wing or pacifist, seemed to ignore the personal hardships that their parents had evidently gone through, along with their struggle to receive health care and other forms of compensation after the war, and it embittered veterans. Indeed, this turned into a reaction when the second film version of *Tuntematon sotilas* came out in 1985, directed by Rauni Molberg. This version echoed Linna's intentions more faithfully than the one from 1955. First of all, the actors were younger and could thus more credibly embody the experience of a young generation depicted in the novel. Secondly, the critical tone of Linna reverberated throughout the film. Raili Kotilainen featured in this film and, once again, her portrayal caused a reaction. In one sequence, for example she washes an officer's back while naked herself; and when, at the end of the war, the chaotically retreating Finnish army are shown, Raili is there begging for a ride as in the novel. She, a fallen angel, very vividly embodies a fallen nation.⁴⁰

Pure Lottas and the Neo-patriotic Interpretations of Finland at War

As a whole, the 1985 film galvanised the veteran organisations into becoming more active, and this activism, together with the decline of the USSR resulted in a decision by the government to establish a national veterans' day to be held every 27 April. With the eventual collapse of the USSR, the discourse regarding how the war should be remembered intensified, but representations had already begun to multiply after the mid-1980s, as the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Winter War (1939) approached.

By the 1990s the nationalistic tone was no longer hidden. Increasingly, the imagery was becoming dominated by the elements that, in the 1940s, Väinö Linna had originally targeted. Finland was, in spite of its defeat in the Continuation War, seen as the defensive winner because the country had avoided occupation. The Winter War especially was depicted as a fight between David and Goliath. This nationalistic turn allowed little space for criticisms that would conflict with this image of a pure nation fighting for its very existence against the demands of its giant neighbour.

In the discourse of the 1990s, veterans were openly honoured as heroes.⁴¹ Compared to previous decades, more attention was also paid to women's wartime work and experiences. This can be seen as the welcome result of an upsurge in women's history since the 1980s.⁴² As a result, the Lottas were cast favourably in the limelight of the nation's memories. The 1990s discourse was characterised by the argument that people were forced to be silent about

the war for many decades after. This interpretation, however, only partially corresponds to the reality. As already pointed out, it was only the official memory related to the Second World that had to be adjusted, according to the *Realpolitik*, and the result was official silence, even though the public discourse regarding the Winter and Continuation War very much thrived, as can be seen from the successful sale of many books on the war period, mostly written from a male perspective.⁴³

Most indicative of this nationalist turn was in 1991, when a celebration to commemorate the *Lotta Svärd* was organised at Finlandia House in Helsinki. This event was honoured by the highest representatives of the state, and a homage was paid to the Lottas' wartime efforts by the then prime minister, Esko Aho. It was the first time since 1944 that the Lottas received an official acknowledgement for their contribution, as after its dissolution, the *Lotta Svärd* had disappeared from the official national narrative. In the 1990s, other groups that had also been excluded from the official national narrative due to the war were also honoured – such as the politicians who, in 1946, were held responsible for wrongly taking Finland to war in 1941.

Since the early 1990s, as a result of this official attention, public representations of the *Lotta Svärd* have increased substantially. The focus of these depictions is on the Lottas' wartime work near the battlefields, with less attention paid to their work on the home front. The history is recounted via memoirs, novels, theatre plays, documentary and fictional films, radio programs, and popular history books. Many of these representations, created by the Lottas themselves or like-minded writers, are based on personal testimonies that are seen as true reflections of the past and 'how it really was'.

The image in these non-academic representations is overwhelmingly positive, often idealised, in tone; the Lottas are depicted as hard-working, morally decent, and non-political women.⁴⁴ These representations should be seen primarily as a counter-narrative to the earlier negative ones that focused on the Lottas' political or moral decadency. Positive counter-images were also created during the period from the 1950s until the 1980s but they never became dominant. From the point of view of former Lottas, these new representations are of importance since they reevaluate their work. To a certain extent, we can empathise with the Lottas' urge to revise the dominant, negative public image of the post-war decades; but we also have to recognise how the new dominant image draws on pre-war representations to such an extent that the ideals of the 1920s and 1930s reverberate to this day, excluding the multivocality of Lotta experiences and faults that are human but do not suit political ends.⁴⁵ Indeed, there are critical voices among former Lottas who do not identify themselves with the idealistic new narrative.

The film *Lupaus* from 2005, directed by Ilkka Vanne, is an excellent example of this old image of the Lotta revisited. It depicts the history of the *Lotta Svärd* from the perspective of individual experiences. The protagonists, sisters Anna and Mona, come from a well-off middle-class family. Following in her sister's footsteps, Mona joins the *Lotta Svärd* during the Winter War. The film depicts the sisters' fates through the Winter and Continuation War and ends after Finland, in 1956, was given back the Porkkala area that

the USSR took in 1944. From the point of view of the Lottas' work, the film gives a true account of the various tasks they were responsible for. In general, they mended soldiers' clothing, assisted at military hospitals and catered for soldiers in canteens. They were also responsible for office work and communication services and they reported aircraft sightings. One of the most demanding tasks was to prepare fallen soldiers to be sent back home from the battlefields. In addition, Lottas cared for civilians such as invalids, orphans and refugees. Apart from the communication services, the reporting of aircraft sightings and the preparing of fallen soldiers, the film highlights two relatively unknown areas of Lotta work: they also worked as horse keepers and managing the operation of searchlights. For the latter task they were trained to use guns, which otherwise was strictly forbidden.

Thus, Mona and Anna and their colleagues are decent and hard-working women who fulfill the demands imposed on every single member of the *Lotta Svärd*. *Lupaus* can be seen as a half-documentary film that depicts the Lottas' work. By doing this, it responds to the post-war representations that sullied their valuable contribution. The film is based on a play *Rakas Lotta* (Dear Lotta) by playwright Inkeri Kilpinen. It debuted in 1989 and, thus, contributed to the new patriotic wave. Her outspoken aim was to reevaluate the work the Lottas carried out during the years of war. However, the play and the film can also be seen from a more broad-ranging national perspective of self-evaluation. In this reading, the rehabilitated fallen angels represent a rehabilitated nation and thus fulfil the need among a great many Finns to have a positive national self-image.

The film *Lupaus* is one example of how women are becoming more active and visible as producers of popular history, particularly women's history.⁴⁶ The script for the film was written by a female team and the film was financed by a foundation with the aim to preserve the legacy of the *Lotta Svärd* and to promote women's social activism. The most well-known treatments in previous decades, particularly the controversial ones, were all produced by men. On the other hand, Lottas were also supported in these controversies by men, like the director of the film *Tuntematon sotilas*, Edvin Laine. I would argue that the controversies were more based on a generational and class-related conflict than a gendered one. Young women in the 1960s and 1970s often did not identify with their mothers' generation and their patriotic experiences.⁴⁷

In my reading of the film, Anna and Mona embody two essential elements of the dominant Finnish narrative about the Second World War. This narrative was created during or immediately after the war and was never excluded from the collective memory even if it was challenged, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1990s, this narrative became dominant again in public representations. Firstly, Finland is seen as a victim in the theatre of war, and secondly, the outcome of the war is seen as a defensive victory. The third element of the dominant narrative is the interpretation that Finland was fighting independently of Germany in the Continuation War.⁴⁸

The theme of victimhood⁴⁹ is especially embodied by the Lotta called Anna. During the Winter War, she is responsible for reporting aircraft sightings. On shift, close to the front, she is captured by Soviet soldiers.

She, the innocent victim of outward circumstances, is missed by her family and fiancé. Miraculously, however, she is released and gets married in the summer of 1940. When the Continuation War breaks out, she joins the communication services, but when she realises she is pregnant, she returns home. She is unable to talk about her experience in captivity during the Winter War but finally, when she miscarries, it becomes clear that she must have been raped then too. This interpretation is strengthened by our knowledge of the sexual atrocities of the Red Army soldiers in Eastern Europe and Germany in 1944 and 1945. After somewhat recovering, Anna signs up for a course to manage searchlight operations. Whilst on shift, on the very last day of the war, she is killed by a Soviet spy.

Through Anna, the narrative of Finland as a victim that fights alone against the aggressor is retold. This narrative draws, among other representations, upon the writings of Arvi Korhonen, who in the post-war decades defended Finland's wartime decision-makers. According to him, Finland was thrown into the theatre of war against its own wishes. This interpretation is underlined when the Winter and Continuation Wars are both integrated into the narrative. On the one hand, from the perspective of reevaluating the Lottas' work, it is well-grounded that both wars are depicted because after the Winter War the range of work they did was indeed much greater. On the other hand, Finland's victimhood was less clear during the Continuation War. In 1939, Finland was attacked by the USSR after the negotiations failed concerning the territorial demands of the latter that were 'to guarantee the security of Leningrad'. It is clearly easier for many to see that Finland was being threatened at this point than to agree with the discourse from the 1960s and 1970s which argued that Finland was the aggressor.⁵⁰

However, contrary to the Winter War, the Continuation War was not merely defensive. After crossing what, before 1939, had been the original border between Finland and the USSR, Finnish troops turned into occupiers.⁵¹ The ensuing occupation of Eastern Karelia from 1941–1944, and especially the internment camps for those who were not Finnic, meant that Finland was clearly no longer the innocent victim; unless one counted this as legitimate retaliation – hence the significance of the Winter War in the patriotic narrative. The explanation was that extending Finland's territory would provide safe borders against the 'eternal enemy'. Interestingly today, however, the occupation of Eastern Karelia has conveniently faded from the patriotic narrative.⁵² In a similar vein, the aforementioned Lapland War is a sensitive topic and is, perhaps not surprisingly, excluded from the story of Anna and Mona.

In the film's narrative, Mona and her sister Anna clearly do not embody any of the negative sides of Finland's wars, only the pure qualities that the *Lotta Svärd* encouraged in all their members.⁵³ The raping of Soviet Karelian women, the plundering of the cultural heritage of Eastern Karelia, or the active racism that occurred in the occupied areas is not brought up here.⁵⁴ Instead, the theme of defensive victory is embodied by Mona. During both wars, she works as a horse keeper, where she eventually meets her husband-to-be. These scenes, in which her moral strength and sexual purity are underlined, the film presents the *Lotta Svärd* ideals as a wartime reality. And

at the end of the film, together with her daughter and husband, Mona is able to return to her childhood home in Porkkala, which was returned to Finland in 1956. She then gives her daughter the necklace she got from her sister – symbolic of passing on the national heritage of a free country from one generation to another, as women are often portrayed as the cultivators of national heritage in such narratives. The defensive victory of her return home is then finally underlined by the fluttering Finnish flag at the end of the film.

The concept of a defensive victory that was developed soon after the Continuation War – which Väinö Linna in his *Tuntematon sotilas* so clearly rejected – is based on the fact that in the summer of 1944 Finnish troops managed to stop the Soviet offensive from penetrating any further than the border conceded in 1940. This was psychologically important as after the wars the nation was in need of a new self-confidence and the concept of victory, albeit a defensive one, helped. In the 1990s, in line with the new patriotic wave, the reassurance of a defensive victory dominated the public discourse, and the collapse of the USSR added to this.⁵⁵

To reposition the nation among the ‘winners’ like this also made it possible for Finns to finally distance themselves from their former wartime ally, Germany. In reality, Finland was both economically and militarily dependent on German help in the Continuation War, and without it the Red Army would probably not have been stopped in 1944. The post-war distance was necessary for at least two reasons. It is psychologically understandable that after the horrors of the Nazi regime became internationally known, the Finns rejected having anything to do with the tragedy. Despite cooperating with the Third Reich, Finland did not practice anti-Semitism, but there were Jews among the Soviet prisoners-of-war who were delivered to the Germans. In addition, eight Jewish refugees from Central Europe were delivered.⁵⁶ Politically, in order to have peaceful relations with the USSR after the war, the Finnish leadership had to bury or marginalise any memory of cooperating with the Third Reich. Although it was not totally excluded from the public’s memory, the Finnish wars were framed in national terms that were separate from the German wars on other fronts. This interpretation was being used already during the Continuation War and it continues to reverberate to this day.⁵⁷ Indeed, in *Lupaus* this is expressed when Anna and Mona’s father notes after the outbreak of the Continuation War that Germany is going to help Finland regain the areas that it had lost in 1940. By linking the cooperation with Germany simply to the losses incurred after the Winter War it can be seen in the pure and simple terms of the nation’s good. Otherwise, the memory of Germany is excluded from the film. In reality, the *Lotta Svärd* cooperated quite fully with German women’s organisations and some Lottas were even enthusiastic about Hitler’s Germany. In Finland, several Lottas worked for the German troops, which were stationed mostly in Lapland.

Conclusion

Since the 1950s, the years 1939–1945 have not only been studied within the field of Finnish academic historiography, but also abundantly recounted in the country's popular history. In this chapter I have demonstrated how, in some of these treatments of Finland's cultural memory, the figure of a Lotta holds a strong symbolic position. Through this figure, conflicting interpretations of Finland's pre-war and wartime policies are expressed. In the original novel of *Tuntematton sotilas* (1954) and vividly so in the film version of it from 1985, the Lotta figure is used to convey a sense of national bankruptcy, because the conventional pre-war and wartime image of her being the morally strong symbol of a pure nation was turned upside down in these works – a fallen angel representing a fallen nation.

By the 1990s, after the collapse of the USSR, there was a new wave of patriotism and the fallen angel was resurrected. The rehabilitated figure of the Lotta also became inscribed with political meanings, whereby Finland was seen once more as being a victim of great powers that had to be played off against one another. Not only was the country between the rock of Nazi Germany and a Soviet hard place, but the war of 1941–1944 was seen as a national one, separate from other German interests.

During recent years, the memories associated with the Second World War in Finland, especially in historiography, but also to some extent popular history have changed. The globalisation of war memories calls for a deconstruction of the various national meta-narratives and opens up space for more complex narratives and transnational encounters. In Finnish memory culture there is the legacy from the radical period of the 1960s and 1970s, which, to a certain extent, can be revitalised. However, this discourse seems to have been biased in terms of gender sensitivity. Also the Holocaust has been largely excluded from Finland's history in spite of the alliance with Nazi Germany.

My discussion of how Lottas are represented in post-war Finland shows how, as figures, they were instrumental in serving different political purposes, and how these portrayals reveal national biases. These ageing ladies clearly deserve to tell their own stories, and I suggest we truly give them the space to share the *variety* of their experiences, as this might well be the key to finally deconstructing the national orientation of Finnish memory culture related to the Second World War.

NOTES

- 1 Comp. with R. N. Lebow, 'The Memory of Politics in Postwar Europe', in R. N. Lebow, W. Kansteiner and C. Fogu (eds), *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 28–39. Claudia Lenz, for instance, discusses these complex and conflicting processes with attention to gender in her article on the Norwegian memory culture related to the German occupation of 1940–1945. C. Lenz, 'Unbequeme Gedächtnis-Stützen: Künstlerische Interventionen in das Field der Erinnerungskultur in Norwegen', in H. Schmid and J. Krzymianowska (eds), *Politische Erinnerung: Geschichte und kollektive Identität* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2007), 223–242.
- 2 For an overview of the subject, see O. Vehviläinen, *Finland in the Second World War: Between Germany and Russia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); T. Kinnunen and V. Kivimäki (eds), *Finland in World War II. History, Memory, Interpretations* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
- 3 Out of a Finnish population of 3.7 million in 1939, over 90,000 soldiers fell; 94,000 were disabled for life; 55,000 children were orphaned, and 30,000 women widowed.
- 4 For example, J. Loipponen, *Telling Absence: War Widows, Loss and Memory* (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2009); O. Fingerroos, 'Karelia Issue: The Politics and Memory of Karelia in Finland', in Kinnunen and Kivimäki (eds), *Finland in World War II*, 490–508.
- 5 P. Raivo, 'This Is Where They Fought: Finnish War Landscapes as a National Heritage', in T. G. Ashplant, G. Dawson and M. Roper (eds), *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* (New Brunswick, NJ: Routledge, 2004), 145–164.
- 6 T. Kinnunen and M. Jokisipilä, 'Shifting Images of "Our Wars": Finnish Memory Culture of World War II', in Kinnunen and Kivimäki (eds), *Finland in World War II*, 435–482.
- 7 I use the concept of public memory in order to describe the arena of published representations of the past, such as novels, films, and drama. Private (individual) and public (collective) memories are interrelated, but public memory encompasses representations that are in some form published and 'achieve centrality within the public domain'. See T. G. Ashplant, G. Dawson and M. Dawson, 'The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration: Contexts, Structures and Dynamics', in Ashplant, Dawson and Roper (eds), *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, 12. In this chapter, I focus on the field of public memory and historical culture. Hence the oral tradition (for example among family members) is excluded. In the German discourse, these different forms of memories are, for instance, subdivided into the categories *kommunikatives Gedächtnis* and *kulturelles Gedächtnis*. A. Assman, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit: Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), 21–61.
- 8 For an introduction to Finnish memory culture related to the Second World War, see H. Rautkallio, 'Politik und Volk – die zwei Seiten Finnlands', in M. Flacke (ed.), *Mythen der Nationen: 1945 Arena der Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2004), 203–226, and especially Kinnunen and Jokisipilä, *Finland in World War II*, 435–482. For a more general account of Finnish historical culture and interpretations related to central events for Finland in the twentieth century, see S. Ahonen, *Historiaton sukupolvi? Historian vastaanotto ja historiallisen identiteetin rakentuminen 1990-luvun nuorison keskuudessa* (Helsinki: SHS, 1998); P. Torsti, *Suomalaiset ja historia* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2012).
- 9 E. François, 'Die Erinnerung an den Zweiten Weltkrieg zwischen Nationalisierung und Universalisierung', in Flacke (ed.), *Mythen der Nationen*, 23–24.
- 10 The national orientation has characterised not only popular history but, until recently, also most of scientific studies. An introduction into Finnish historiography

- on Finland and the Second World War, see V. Kivimäki, 'Three Wars and Their Epitaphs: The Finnish History and Scholarship of World War II', in Kinnunen and Kivimäki (eds), *Finland in World War II*, 1–46.
- 11 Compare with e.g., François, 'Erinnerung an den Zweiten Weltkrieg', 19–22. Concerning the memory of the Holocaust in Finland, see e.g., A. Holmila, 'Varities of Silence: Collective Memory of the Holocaust in Finland', in Kinnunen and Kivimäki (eds), *Finland in World War II*, 519–560; S. Muir and H. Worthen (eds), *Finlands Holocaust: Silences of History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
 - 12 J. W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', in J. W. Scott (ed.), *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986/1999), 28–50.
 - 13 For an introduction to this complex subject, see P. Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 2–8.
 - 14 J. Valenius, *Undressing the Maid: Gender, Sexuality and the Body in the Construction of the Finnish Nation* (Helsinki: SKS, 2004). See also M. Urponen, 'Kansainvälisiä mutta siveellisiä? "Hymyilyjä olympiavieraillemme, mutta ei liian läheltä"', in T. Pulkkinen and A. Sorainen (eds), *Siveellisyydestä seksuaalisuuteen. Poliittisen käsitteen historia* (Helsinki: SKS, 2011), 278–299.
 - 15 A. Heimo and U.-M. Peltonen, 'Memories and Histories, Public and Private: After the Finnish Civil War', in K. Hodgkin and S. Radstone (eds), *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory* (London: Routledge, 2003), 42–56. For a general introduction to the Finnish political history, see D. Kirby, *A Concise History of Finland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); O. Jussila, S. Hentilä and J. Nevakivi, *From Grand Duchy to Modern State: A Political History of Finland since 1809* (London: Hurst, 1995).
 - 16 K. Sulamaa, *Lotta Svärd – uskonto ja isänmaa* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1999); A. Latva-Äijö, *Lotta Svärdin synty: Järjestö, armeija, naisuus 1918–1928* (Helsinki: Otava, 2004).
 - 17 Sulamaa, *Lotta Svärd*.
 - 18 On 19 September 1944 the terms of the armistice were agreed. The peace treaty came into force in September 1947.
 - 19 Kirby, *Concise History of Finland*, 235–242.
 - 20 T. Kinnunen, 'Gender and Politics: Patriotic Women in Finnish Public Memory after 1944', in S. Paetschek and S. Schraut (eds), *The Gender of Memory: Cultures of Remembrance in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2008), 190–195.
 - 21 For example, V. Vares, 'Kuitenkin me voitimme! Uuspatrioottiset tulkinnot talvi- ja jatkosodasta suomalaisissa populaäriesityksissä', in M. Jokisipilä (ed.), *Sodan totuudet: Yksi suomalainen vastaa 5.7 ryssää* (Helsinki: Ajatus, 2007), 184–185.
 - 22 V. Linna, *The Unknown Soldier* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1954/2008; English trans. 1957), 282.
 - 23 P. Olsson, *Myytti ja kokemus: Lotta Svärd sodassa* (Helsinki: Otava, 2005), 135–146.
 - 24 In his trilogy, *Here Under the Northern Star* (*Täällä Pohjantähden alla*, 1959, 1960, 1962) Linna paints a picture of the history of Finland from the 1880s until the post-war period. He rewrote national history by including in it those defeated in the 1918 Civil War.
 - 25 L. Hunt, 'The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution', in L. Hunt (ed.), *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 108–130.
 - 26 E. Heinemann, 'The Hour of the Woman: Memories of Germany's "Crisis Years" and West German National Identity', in *American Historical Review* 101, no. 2 (1996), 354–395.

- 27 G. Vitiello, 'Deutschland, bleiche Mutter: Allegories of Germany in Post-Nazi Cinema', in Paletschek and Schraut (eds), *Gender of Memory*, 147–157.
- 28 T. Kinnunen, *Kiitetyt ja parjatut: Lotat sotien jälkeen* (Helsinki: Otava, 2006), 150–154.
- 29 T. Soikkanen, 'Objekti vai subjekti: Taistelu jatkosodan synnystä', in Jokisipilä (ed.), *Sodan totuudet*, 102–112.
- 30 Y. Varpio, *Väinö Linnan elämä* (Helsinki: Otava, 2006), 315–316.
- 31 Linna, *Unknown Soldier*, 310.
- 32 Linna, *Unknown Soldier*, 282.
- 33 Varpio, *Väinö Linnan elämä*, 333.
- 34 Kinnunen, *Kiitetyt ja parjatut*, 154–157. In reality, women were not on the front line.
- 35 For example, S. O. Rose, 'Women's Rights, Women's Obligations: Contradictions of Citizenship in World War II Britain', *European Review of History* 7, no. 2 (2000), 277–289; M. Liljeström, 'Kokemukset ja kontekstit historiankirjoituksessa', in M. Liljeström (ed.), *Feministinen tietäminen: Keskustelua metodologiasta* (Tampere: Vastapaino, 2004), 162–164; C. Lenz, 'Flintenweiber? Patriotische Mütter! Geschlechtergrenzgänge in den Repräsentationen des Widerstandes am Beispiel der deutschen Besatzung Norwegens 1940–1945', in G. Boukrif, C. Bruns and K. Heinsohn (eds), *Geschlechtergeschichte des Politischen: Entwürfe von Geschlecht und Gemeinschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Münster: LIT, 2002), 175–205.
- 36 *Finlandia* was composed by Sibelius during the russification period in the early twentieth century, and thus it conveys a strong symbolic meaning related to Finland's independence.
- 37 M. Turtola, *Risto Ryti: Elämä isänmaan puolesta* (Helsinki: Otava, 1994), 14; L. Kolbe, *Sivistyneistön rooli: Helsingin Yliopiston ylioppilaskunta 1944–1959* (Helsinki: Otava, 1993), 167–168.
- 38 Kinnunen, *Kiitetyt ja parjatut*, 162–166.
- 39 Kinnunen, *Kiitetyt ja parjatut*, 153–154.
- 40 Cf. Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, who underline the symbolic meaning attached to women and their bodies in national and ethnical discourses: a pure woman embodies a pure nation or a pure ethnic group. Consequently, a morally fallen woman signifies a corrupt nation or ethnic group. F. Anthias and N. Yuval-Davis, 'Introduction', in N. Yuval-Davis and F. Anthias (eds), *Woman – Nation – State* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989).
- 41 Ahonen, *Historiaton sukupolvi?*, 73–89.
- 42 For an introduction to women and gender in Finnish historiography, see M. Kaarninen and T. Kinnunen, 'Hardly women at all? Finnish historiography revisited', *Storia della Storiografia* 46 (2004), 152–170.
- 43 For example, Kinnunen and Jokisipilä, 'Shifting Images of "Our Wars"', 442–446.
- 44 Also in academic historiography the *Lotta Svärd* was dealt with, but in these treatments the focus was more strongly on the 1920s and 1930s.
- 45 P. Olsson, 'To Toil and to Survive: Wartime Memories of Finnish Women', *Human Affairs: A Postdisciplinary Journal for Humanities and Social Sciences* 12, no. 2 (2002), 127–138.
- 46 The work of the director Taru Mäkelä is one example of this trend. In 1995 a documentary film on the *Lotta Svärd* (*Lotat*) was shown and it was followed in 1999 by a fictional film on wartime nurses (*Pikkusisar*).
- 47 On the generational conflict of post Second World War Finland, see M. Tuominen, 'Me ollaan kaikki sotilaitten lapsia': *Sukupolvihegemonian kriisi* (Helsinki: Otava, 1991)
- 48 For an analysis of the film *Lupaus*, see T. Kinnunen, 'Muista menneiden sukupolvien työ. Lupaus-elokuva lottahistorian kuvauksena', in T. Kinnunen and V. Kivimäki

- (eds), *Ihminen sodassa. Suomalaisten kokemuksia talvi- ja jatkosodasta* (Helsinki: Minerva, 2006), 313–328.
- 49 The theme of victimhood has been characteristic of many national master narratives related to the Second World War. See e.g., H. Uhl, 'Vom Opfermythos zur Mitantwortungsthese: Die Transformationen des österreichischen Gedächtnisses', in Flacke (ed.), *Mythen der Nationen*, 481–508.
- 50 Soikkanen, 'Objekti vai subjekti', in Jokisipilä (ed.), *Sodan totuudet*, 105–114.
- 51 Kirby, *Concise History of Finland*, 224–226.
- 52 O. Silvennoinen, 'Kumpujen yöhön eli kuinka historiallinen muisti vääristyi', in J. Kirves and S. Näre (eds), *Luvattu maa: Suur-Suomen unelma ja unohdus* (Helsinki: Johnny Kniga, 2014).
- 53 The narrative of purity has been characteristic of many national master narratives related to the Second World War. In Eastern Europe, the more sinister side, especially the treatment of Jews, have only recently penetrated the public sphere. See e.g., K. Ruchniewicz, 'Polen: Abschied von der Martyrologie', in Schmid and Krzymianowska (eds), *Politische Erinnerung*, 207–210. Involvement in the Holocaust has been a difficult issue also in Western Europe – see e.g., H. Rouso, 'Vom nationalen Vergessen zur kollektiven Wiedergutmachung', in Flacke (ed.), *Mythen der Nationen*, 242–243.
- 54 Negative aspects of Finnish warfare have been dealt with in research, but the knowledge only gradually penetrates the larger field of historical culture, and thus the knowledge of non-academic citizens. One example of the treatments of these aspects is an article by Ville Kivimäki, in which he discusses the sexual violence of Finnish soldiers against Soviet women soldiers. V. Kivimäki, 'Ryvetetty enkeli: Suomalaissotilaiden neuvostoliittolaisiin naissotilaisiin kohdistama seksuaalinen väkivalta ja sodan sukupuolittunut mielenmaisema', *Naistutkimus / Kvinnoforskning* 20, no. 3 (2007), 19–33. See also the work of Oula Silvennoinen, e.g., 'Limits of Intentionality: Soviet Prisoners-of-War and Civilian Internees in Finnish Custody', in Kinnunen and Kivimäki (eds), *Finland in World War II*, 355–394.
- 55 Ahonen, *Historiaton sukupolvi?*, 74–79.
- 56 Rautkallio, 'Politik und Volk', 214–218; O. Silvennoinen, *Salaiset aseveljet: Suomen ja Saksan turvallisuusyhteistyö 1933–1944* (Helsinki: Otava, 2008).
- 57 M. Jokisipilä, 'Kappas vaan, saksalaisia! Keskustelu Suomen jatkosodan 1941–1944 luonteesta', in Jokisipilä (ed.), *Sodan totuudet*, 153–181.

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