

How aware was the Finnish press about the persecution of Jews during the years 1938-1942, and what was its approach to the Jewish Question in Finland?

Studying the writings of the newspapers *Ajan Suunta*, *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*

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ABSTRACT

Before and during the Second World War there was a severe racial Aryan doctrine being conducted in Hitler's Germany that led to the genocide of the Jewish people. Finland was having rather close connections with Germany, and this is a study about the extent of the information that the Finnish press had over the Jewish matters, and what were its opinions about the Finnish policy with the Jews.

The three different newspapers from different political views are studied from the beginning of the year 1938 until the end of 1942. All newspapers show interest and some sort of awareness over the Jewish issues and many major maltreatment of Jews and laws that restricted their life are mentioned. *Ajan Suunta* has clearly adapted opinions and ideals not only from the Italian Fascist, but also from the National Socialists in Germany. Its approach to Jews is very negative, even anti-Semitic. *Helsingin Sanomat* is not under direct party-control and as a large newspaper it's considered to have rather neutral opinions of the persecution of Jews abroad, but it does not show any opinion about the situation of Finnish Jews or Jewish refugees coming to Finland. *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* on the other hand is a leftist newspaper stressing humanity and democracy. Its articles are pro-Jewish, dramatising the events and sympathising for the sufferings of Jews.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Hitlerin Saksassa harjoitettiin ennen toista maailmansotaa ja sen aikana rassistista arjalaista oppia, joka johti juutalaisten kansanmurhaan. Suomella oli tuohon aikaan suhteellisen läheiset suhteet Saksan kanssa, ja tämän tutkielman tarkoitus on pohtia sitä tiedon määrää, joka Suomen lehdistöllä oli juutalaisiin liittyvistä asioista ja lehdistön mielipiteitä Suomen juutalaispolitiikasta.

Tutkimukseen kuuluu kolme eri sanomalehteä eri poliittisista näkökulmista, joita tutkittiin vuoden 1938 alusta vuoden 1942 loppuun. Kaikki sanomalehdet osoittavan jonkinlaista kiinnostusta ja jonkin tason tietoisuutta juutalaisten tilanteesta ja monet suuret juutalaisten oikeuksien rikkomiset ja heidän elämäänsä rajoittavat lait mainitaan. *Ajan Suunta* on selkeästi omaksunut mielipiteitä ja ihanteita, ei ainoastaan Italian fasisteilta, vaan myös Saksan kansallissosialisteilta. Sen näkökanta juutalaisia kohtaan on erittäin negatiivinen, jopa antisemitistinen. *Helsingin Sanomat* ei työskentele suoraan minkään puolueen palveluksessa, ja suurena sanomalehtenä sen mielipiteitä ulkomaalaisista juutalaisvainoista pidetään suhteellisen neutraalina, mutta se ei esitä lainkaan mielipidettään Suomen juutalaisten asemasta tai juutalaispakolaisten Suomeen tulosta. Sitä vastoin *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* on vasemmistolainen sanomalehti joka korostaa humaaniutta ja demokratiaa. Sen artikkelit ovat juutalaismielisiä, dramatisoivat tapahtumia ja osoittavat myötätuntoa juutalaisten kärsimyksiä kohtaan.

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INTRODUCTION

This research aims at determining how much did the Finnish press know and write about the persecution of Jews and what were the attitudes of the studied newspapers, *Ajan Suunta*, *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, towards the Jewish people, concentrating on the situation in Finland. The use of expression 'persecution of Jews' refers to the maltreatment of the Jewish people that resulted into pogroms and attempts of extermination under the Nazi rule in the Third Reich. The concept of 'the Jewish Question' was widely used approximately during the time of Second World War to imply the problems and procedures caused to the country by its Jewish population. The expression has an anti-Semitic tone.

The years from 1938 to 1942 were selected due to the various political changes in Finland and in the Jewish position in Nazi Germany. During these years Jews suffer in various ways; new laws restrict their life, they are ordered into ghettos, and mass murders in the concentration camps are put into action. Finland starts as being namely a neutral country, then is being forced to go to war against the Soviet Union (the Winter War), that had signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact with Germany, and later becomes allies with Germany and starts a war against the Soviet Union, receiving German help (the Continuation War).

The newspapers in question are selected from different political views to provide as wide perspective as possible. *Ajan Suunta* represents extreme right wing, published by an extreme right party, *Isänmaallinen Kansanliike*, *Helsingin Sanomat* is rather neutral, perhaps a bit liberal, and the most leftist, since all communistic publications were prohibited, the opinions of the Finnish Social Democratic Party is expressed through *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*. Using newspapers as primary sources give you a view of the common topics of attention in the society, but you must remember to take into consideration the possible biases and fill the information with material from other sources as well. There has been some studies made that touch on this topic, but as such the phenomenon of the reactions of the press towards Jewish matters in Finland is not that widely studied.

1. HOW AWARE WAS THE PRESS ABOUT THE TREATMENT OF THE JEWS

Since the National Socialist Party came to power in Germany, there were various laws being passed to remove the rights of Jews and to limit their daily life. Many these kinds of laws were enacted also during the studied time, mainly in 1938 and early 1939. These are rather well found in all the newspapers, the stories are many times very plain and without a few exceptions include little, if any, description and political statements.¹

The Anschluss, the German annexation of Austria, began in mid-March 1938 and the discrimination of Jews was very harsh in Austria too. This is surprisingly well covered in *Helsingin Sanomat* that even places very heavy criticism on Austria². Also *Helsingin Sanomat*, as well as *Ajan Suunta* inform in detail about the shooting of the German ambassador von Rath by a Jewish student, Herschel Grynszpan.³ This event made the Nazis revenge at a pogrom one night that later became known as Kristallnacht, the Night of Broken Glass. The happenings of this night were so large-scale that they could not have been neglected anywhere, and it was widely written in the Finnish press and the anxiety of Jews was acknowledged in sympathising stories⁴: *A terrible rage to destroy Jewish property has been in power in the entire country. Synagogues are being burnt and houses and stores destroyed.*⁵ And after the Kristallnacht the Finnish press, and especially *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* starts to write vast, frequently published articles about the conditions of Jews all over Eastern Europe, and under the Nazi-rule⁶. Many of these stories seem to reflect pretty much the information we have available at the moment.

Throughout the year 1939 Jewish issues are very popular in the press, although some severe procedures are not mentioned. Then there is a sudden stop in the writings after October, when the press censorship is adapted. According to the state's publicity institution, the institution must stop the distribution of information that could harm the Finnish foreign policy and to prevent the publishing of the horrifying German news from extra-German sources⁷. The German approach to Jews was therefore a strictly controlled topic which explains the sudden missing of the articles. Late summer 1940 the rules for writing about foreign relations got even stricter when Germany was planning her Operation Barbarossa where Finland also played a part.⁸ The close connections with Germany show when *Suomen Sosiaalidemokraatti*'s stories about Jews get rarer with time, only a

¹ SSd N:o 160, 16.6.1938, p.7, HS N:o 181, 10.7.1938, p.13, AS N:o 206, 4.8.1938, p.7, HS N:o 319, 25.11.1938, p.5 AS N:o 24, 26.1.1939, p.7, SSd N:o 46, 16.2.1939, p.2,

² HS N:o 149, 5.6.1938, p.21, HS N:o 162, 19.6.1938, p. 9,

³ AS N:o 302, 8.11.1938, p.6, AS N:o 303, 9.11.1938, p.1, HS N:o 302, 8.11.1938, p.5, 11

⁴ HS N:o 305, 11.11.1938, p.5, 14, HS N:o 306, 12.11.1938, p.5,11, SSd N:o 307, 12.11.1938, p.1

⁵ SSd N:o 306, 11.11.1938, p.1

⁶ SSd N:o 310, 15.11.1938, p.1, 2, SSd N:o 311, 16.11.1938, p.1,5, SSd N:o 329, 4.12.1938, p.1,12, HS N:o 312, 18.11.1938, p.5,6, HS N:o 326, 2.12.1938, p.13,23

⁷ Smolar 2003, p.236

⁸ Tommila 1984, p.25,26, Jokipii 1990, p.4

few in 1940, 1942 and not a single one in 1941. Here the results of press censorship can be most clearly seen, at the time of progress in the Continuation War. It is still possible that *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* felt more tolerant towards Germany due to the sense of security that the co-operation brought in the war, without contributing to the ideology, and decided not to write some of its anti-German stories itself⁹.

Helsingin Sanomat writes something neutral about Jews throughout the studied time, but the amount of stories decreases significantly, whereas *Ajan Suunta* has quite many anti-Jewish stories also in year 1941, which tells about the good relations between Germany and Finland. In general, the acknowledgement for global persecution of Jews is pretty well covered in all papers, but about the maltreatment of Finnish Jews there is little, if any, mention, due to the press censorship and lack of information.

2. WHAT WAS THE APPROACH OF THE PRESS TO THE JEWISH QUESTION IN FINLAND

2.1 *Ajan Suunta*

In this extreme right wing newspaper, controlled by the Isänmaallinen Kansanliike - party, many news stories tell about different kinds of crimes, where the criminals supposed Jewish identity is highlighted, and Jews associated with criminality.¹⁰ Some of the articles sound really absurd, and a modern reader has serious doubts about the truthfulness of them, especially when they are not mentioned in the other two papers: *Jewish great-criminals, a rabbi is sneaking heroin by hiding the poison between the covers of Talmud!*¹¹ Also Jews are being compared and related to the Soviet Union and bolshevism, as well as being warmongers¹². *Ajan Suunta* certainly has a negative attitude against Jews; it could even be described as hatred.

Ajan Suunta seldom used Reuter as a source for its stories, for it said that Reuter was controlled by Jews, but preferred German news agencies¹³. Certain Nazi-newspapers, like *Der Stürmer* and *Angriff*, are even directly quoted and there can also be many similarities detected from the ways of dealing topics and figures of speech of *Ajan Suunta* and some Nazi propaganda devices. For example Sweden and its free press are judged for their criticism, like Germany judges the English and the Americans. Jews are referred as parasites and removing them from the country is called

⁹ Perko 1971, p. 224,225

¹⁰ AS N:o25, 27.1.1939, p. 1, AS N:o 339, 25.12.1938, p.1, AS N:o 218, 16.9.1939, p.5

¹¹ AS n:o196, 25.7.1938, p. 4

¹² AS n:o342, 29.12.1938, p.7, AS N:o 51, 22.2.1939, p.7, AS N:o 215, 18.9.1941, p.5

¹³ Perko 1971, p. 19

cleansing¹⁴. This proves that *Ajan Suunta* is merely repeating ideals and figures of speech of the Nazis:

- - Sweden has not taken any "visitors" but their newspapers still scold Finland! It must be demanded that the country will be made free from these parasites. - - it is known from experience that that human species only wants to make "Geschäft". We are predicting that our officials will have sweaty duties in cleansing the country.¹⁵

The German word 'Geschäft' means business and this expression for "the Jewish arrogant bourgeoisie" is therefore clearly adapted from the Germans. In addition, the paper claims that the only reason for the western or communist countries to be against the Nazi-Germany and her ideology can be that actually the Jews are insincerely ruling those countries: *The Jews are trying to rule the world through England, USA and the Soviet Union.*¹⁶ This is very clear Nazis propaganda.¹⁷

Ajan Suunta also uses several times the concept of the Jewish Question itself and even gives direct proposals to solve it¹⁸. The Jewish Question is seen as a problem of democratic countries: *Or is there supposedly intention to get for us too – like "the western democracies" - our own Jewish Question?*¹⁹ So *Ajan Suunta* actually sees democracy as a negative thing, again conforming to and repeating the Nazi ideology.

The paper has a very negative perspective to the Austrian boat, Ariadne, bringing Jewish refugees to Finland. When the boat comes for another time, the paper is pleased with the officials' decision to not let them land in Finland²⁰. By making the Jewish Question in Finland a refugee problem, *Ajan Suunta* gets more support for its negative approach to the refugees: *The Jews have been capable in inventing many kinds of ways to stay in the country permanently. - - We would like to know if it is enough to appeal to a prolongation in time. Should you not put back the ones who have not received a new permission after the old one has ended?*²¹ The paper suggests even sending the refugees back to Austria, while certainly being aware that their conditions there would not be pleasant. Making their problem of the Jews being in the country a refugee problem is only anti-Semitism in disguise, since these amounts of Jews that did come to Finland were really small and there had also been other groups coming to Finland, like considerably large amounts of eastern refugees during the Thirties²², but the paper does not specifically attack on them.

¹⁴ Welch 1995, p.80, Freeman 1997, p.151, 152

¹⁵ AS n:o231, 29.8.1938, p. 1

¹⁶ AS N:o 97, 29.4.1942, p.1

¹⁷ Freeman 1997, p.157

¹⁸ AS N:o 74, 31.3.1941, p.1, AS N:o306, 12.11.1938, p.1

¹⁹ AS N:o40, 11.2.1939, p. 4

²⁰ AS n:o222, 20.8.1938, p. 1

²¹ AS n:o302, 8.11.1938, p.1

²² Rautkallio 1985, p.49

In a column called 'Finland and the tribe of Judea', *Ajan Suunta* makes direct and harsh statements about the refugee question:

*The only right perspective to take for this [Jewish emigrants coming to Finland] is naturally the principle of self-protection. The attempts to make this into some sort of a humanity-thing fall to pieces when you see how much money the refugees arrived here have on their use.*²³

This quote includes many of the typical features of the newspaper; it sees the Jews as dangerous, something the Finns should protect themselves from, and first give the concept of humanity a negative sound, something that the 'Western democracies' are trying to do, and next say that it actually is not a question of humanity at all, since the Jews have their position so well that there is no need to feel compassion for them.

When the deportations of eight Jewish refugees from Finland to Nazi-Germany take place, the paper does not clearly deal with the issue. Its story is very short and misleading, telling that Jewish criminals couldn't get an asylum from Finland and that is why there has been foreign criticism²⁴. It just criticizes Suomen Sosialidemokraatti for its negative attitude towards the deportations, and seems to think that there would not be any need for an official report of the foreign ministry: *The report is a result of the fuss that the Jewish press of Sweden, and as its echo e.g. the radio propaganda of England, has caused -- The appearance of Suomen Sosialidemokraatti is shocking.*²⁵ This view implies that *Ajan Suunta* sees the deportations being such a natural thing that they need not to be justified, and is actually supporting the removal of Jews that stay in Finland, at least the ones with criminal background, to the Nazi government.

The German influence can be seen in the existence of *Ajan Suunta*, a paper with some clear Nazi-orientated views²⁶, although some sources just state that Isänmaallinen Kansanliike is a fascist organization²⁷. But it's important to remember that the paper was tried to be banned, there was a pause in publishing from 31.12.1939 until 19.7.1940 due to the trials, so Finns had negative response to its writings. In the end, it was allowed to continue, but its readership was low after the early 1930's. It seems that national socialist and fascist ideology it carried out never, in the long run, got really powerful in Finland²⁸.

²³ AS N:o40, 11.2.1939, p. 5

²⁴ AS N:o 292, 17.12.1942, p.3

²⁵ AS N:o 287, 11.12.1942, p.

²⁶ Smolar 2003, p.105, Sana 2004, p.73

²⁷ Rautkallio 1985, p.26,

²⁸ Tommila 3 1984, p.112-114

2.2 *Helsingin Sanomat*

Helsingin Sanomat did no longer have a specific party under which it works, and therefore it's considered to be a quite neutral newspaper for its time. The hard news it publishes is many times presented with no detectable biases: *Austrian Jews have arrived in Finland. In "Ariadne" there were 55 emigrants on Friday. Temporary residence permit has been granted; new arrivals will not be accepted.*²⁹ The story is very much similar to the official opinion of the Finnish government, which felt that there were already many Eastern refugees in Finland, and that there is no such thing as a useful refugee. According to the minister of internal affairs of that time, Urho Kekkonen, the government's policy was to stop all the refugees trying to get to Finland, not Jewish refugees in particular.³⁰

Still the paper shows very clearly its approach to the racial and religious segregations, in this case in a column about the falsity of the Aryan racial doctrine adapted from London Times.³¹ Just the fact that it is quoting an English newspaper tells about the paper's directing towards the democratic and Western viewpoint, not the Nazi-philosophy. For it has chosen this column, it is likely that the paper agrees with it, and dares to say that the entire Aryan racial doctrine is false. Also its perspective to the Night of Broken Glass, for example, is extremely judging and it very much dooms the measures used by the Germans: *[The Kristallnacht] Cannot be compared with anything that has happened before in the history of civilized countries since the Middle Ages.*³²

Helsingin Sanomat has very little writing about the position of Finnish Jews, most likely due to the censorship. Also during the summers of 1940 and 1941 it was much quieter about any Jewish-related stories. *Ajan Suunta* was allowed to publish its pro-Nazi stories about Jewish matters in Finland, but because Germany was an important ally for Finland, the government was afraid to harm the foreign policy with Germany, and therefore either the press did not write about that kind of things or they were removed by the censorship. What is interesting is that after year 1941 also *Helsingin Sanomat* presents a few stories that highlight the Judaism of some criminals and tell about some crimes committed by Jews³³. This could be seen as the paper conforming to the pro-German atmosphere in Finland and therefore also the Nazi-German ideals.

Helsingin Sanomat talks about the deportation of seven, in reality eight, Jewish refugees made

²⁹ HS N:o216, 14.8.1938, p.9

³⁰ Jakobson 1999, p.119

³¹ HS N:o258, 25.9.1938, p.8, 16

³² HS N:o305, 11.11.1938, p.5, 14

³³ HS N:o 37, 8.2.1941, p.11, HS N:o 329, 3.12.1941, p.8, HS N:o 268, 5.10.1942, p.5

by the state police, Valpo, but gives no hints of the papers own opinions of the matter.³⁴ It simply states the public announcement of the Finnish foreign ministry³⁵. So when it comes to foreign powers Helsingin Sanomat is very eager to doom any anti-Semitist actions made, but for Finnish questions it is more careful and only repeating the official opinions of the government. It could even be said that the wish of Helsingin Sanomat to become the leading, uniting newspaper in Finland would have caused it to precede a cautious, neutral perspective in politics. It never took part in the political debates between other newspapers, when Ajan Suunta and Suomen Sosialidemokraatti quarrelled even in their regular news stories.³⁶ But of course it would have also been difficult to express genuine thoughts in the atmosphere in power in Finland those days, due to censorship and the political pressure not to interfere with the Finnish foreign relations.

2.3 Suomen Sosialidemokraatti

As a representative of the political perspectives of the left-wing in Finland, *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* has a very sympathetic approach to Jewish people. Many articles are displayed about their issues at home and abroad. The paper also shares a common view with *Helsingin Sanomat* about the inaccuracy of the Aryan doctrine in one of its columns: *Race and culture. Is there a difference between a German and a Jew? There is no such thing as "the Aryan race" - - There has never been any connection noticed between race and culture.*³⁷ It is logical that the leftist party disagrees with the ideology of the extreme right-wing fascist government of Germany, but still these kinds of ideas were sharply expressed: *In each corner of the world are the refugees waiting for the Third Reich to collapse.*³⁸ The opinion is only more politically correctly expressed, that the refugees would want the Nazi regime to end, but in fact releasing this kind of a story gives a rather clear image about the paper's own negative thoughts about the Third Reich.

When the Austrian boat Ariadne brings Jewish refugees to Finland, the paper has very long and extensive writings about the incident. The articles are very biased and making the situation extremely dramatic:

--yesterday evening there was no nutrition left on the boat and they insisted promising that they would not stay permanently in Finland. From some of the refugees we tried to enquire how it is in Austria, but the answer is always as short: "In Austria we have no possibilities. We cannot live

³⁴ Sana 2004, p. 185

³⁵ HS N:o334, 11.12.1942, p.5

³⁶ Perko 1971, p.19,35,36,43,44

³⁷ SSd N.o238, 4.9.1938, p. 13

³⁸ SSd N:o217, 14.8.1938, p. 1

there".³⁹

The paper even had its own representative sent to the location to find out about their conditions and finds it unfair that the government even has to consider letting the refugees to board in Finland, and let the people wait in the boat in misery. The extremely poor conditions of Jews in Austria are underlined in the stories that follow, and there are even implicit, individual descriptions of the horrors experienced by different individuals.

Also some prejudice and discrimination that Jews in Finland had to encounter, that was not reported on the other two papers studied, is found in *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti: Jewish persecution in a tennis club. Westend Tennis Station Klubb has expelled its Jewish members because of their origin. This unique case in the Finnish sports life has gather attention also in Sweden.*⁴⁰ The judgement of the Swedish free press, which *Ajan Suunta* protested against, is used by *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* to make Finns feel ashamed, that this kind of behaviour is doomed in normal democratic countries and therefore should not be put up with in Finland either. Also this tells about the extent of German influence and the treatment of Jews in Finland, although this case is said to be unique.

The workers and leftists in Finland in general are described to be on the side of the Jewish people. They even ponder upon the possibilities of the Finnish Jewish Question in their own meetings amongst themselves and show concern about the Jewish conditions:

*Great democratic states have a responsibility to solve the question so, that the Jews can have their own country to their free control. - - When joining these objections [against the persecution of Jews in Germany], the local organization representatives of Helsinki know that they are interpreting the moods of Finnish workers and other vast democratic circles.*⁴¹

What is remarkable is the opinion that Jews should have their own country; this is most likely an allusion to Palestine. And this should be done with the aid of the great, democratic, powers in order to solve the Jewish Question. So *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, at least to some extent, has one solution for it, while *Ajan Suunta* gives hints about its preferable solutions and *Helsingin Sanomat* makes no clear statements about it, actually it does not much mention the entire concept. Also this article widens the pro-Jewish attitude of the workers in Helsinki to the whole country and actually claims that anyone who considers being a democratic person should be of the same opinion. But

³⁹ SSd N:o216, 13.8.1938, p. 1

⁴⁰ SSd N:o148, 4.6.1939, p.1

⁴¹ SSd N:o321, 26.11.1938, p.1, 10

further research proves that the Social Democrats actually did not want to have too many refugees, not to raise the unemployment rate or create other problems, the Jewish Question⁴². Also there was a petition made by free worker's unions to stop granting residential permits for Jews, so not all the workers were as fond of helping Jews as the articles in *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* might argue⁴³.

The papers opinions of the whole Jewish Question in Finland, the way it has been treated by the end of the year 1942, can be seen from an editorial that followed the discussion about the deportations that took place in 6.11.1942:

*Was it necessary? Has anyway the attitude towards this refugee-group, that has followed since the summer of 1941, been correct and really necessary for the country's best interest?-- these things have been too much taken care as "police action" and not as political questions. - - those four could rather have been kept in some of our prisons to suffer their penalties, because there was no other country in our knowledge that would have been willing to accept them.*⁴⁴

Suomen Sosialidemokraatti questions the entire Jewish policy of the country. It claims that police officials, in this case Valpo, which took care of the deportations, did not even understand that it was a political question, that their officials were not qualified enough to handle the case. Actually the paper says that this kind of policy, which the coalition with Germany in a separate war has caused the Finnish government to pursue, has not necessarily been of the best interest of Finland, that a more humane perspective could have been better. All in all the paper really feels that the Jewish refugees should not have been deported from Finland.

⁴² Rautkallio 1985, p.47, 50, Sana 2004, p.34

⁴³ Rautkallio 1985, p.42, Torvinen 1989, p.121, Smolar 2003, p.114

⁴⁴ SSd N:o336, 11.12.1942, p. 3

CONCLUSION

The Finnish coalition with the Nazi-Germany has later been tried to justify by the Finnish people by stressing that Finland fought a separate war with the USSR, outside the Second World War and that the officials and people in Finland simply did not know what kind of a persecution was going on under the Nazi-rule. But according to these newspapers it's safe to say that at least the Finnish press did have rather widespread information about the extent of the persecution and was very aware of it. And about the amount of cover page stories it can be deduced that the articles concerning Jewish issues also interested the people, who therefore also knew about it.

But there were different kinds of newspapers in Finland with different approaches to the Jewish Question. *Ajan Suunta* shows clear admiration to and adaptation of the national socialist ideology of Hitler's Germany. It was an anti-Semitic paper that wanted to stop the accepting of Jewish refugees and showed negative attitude towards Jewish people in general.

In Finland it was the left-wing who was clearly in the side of the Jews and making it an issue in public as well as in the government. This can also be deduced from *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, with the most sympathizing approach and resistance against the country's negative Jewish policies.

Helsingin Sanomat has more variation; it presents some news about Jewish criminals but mainly is concerned about the treatment of the Jews in foreign countries. Anyhow, it does not reveal any real opinions about the Jewish matters in Finland and Finnish policies. The paper either didn't have a real opinion, it didn't dare to make it, or those opinions were censored.

The views of *Helsingin Sanomat*, and especially *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, that criticize German policies during the time when Germany still was in power are really brave and show that some sort of a freedom of speech did exist in Finland those days, even though there was a press censorship. Also the public reaction on the deportations can be seen as one of the reasons for why there were not any further deportations of Jews by Valpo, although there is some evidence that the deportations were likely to continue⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ Jakobson 1999, p. 376

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