

Hanna Honkamäkilä

Reorienting Finnish higher education to the West Promoting American Studies -related humanities courses by Fulbright exchange grantees at the University of Oulu in 1961–1965

Introduction

The United States Educational Foundation maneuvered systematically English language teachers to the University of Oulu with Fulbright grants in 1961–1972, demonstrating the importance of anchoring Finland’s cultural orientation to the West. Strengthening the English language and American culture was one major policy goal of the United States’ diplomacy in Finland. On the other hand, Finland was very receptive to Anglo-American influences. Finland wanted to join the triumphal of the Western countries, especially the United States, in the fields of economy, science and education.

The Second World War brought a big change to the international status of independent Finland and its orientation in foreign policy. After the war, maintaining good relations with the Soviet Union was seen as a priority; Finland had to sign the Agreement of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union in 1948. However, Finland did not want to become too integrated into the Soviet Union’s sphere of influence. To avoid this, the interest of the Finnish government was to build better relationships with another superpower, the United States. The Finns decided to balance between East and West, but lean on West whenever possible.

After the Second World War, the United States sought to integrate Western Europe into its own power circle. Research and education cooperation became one of the United States’ policy instruments. Finland wanted to increase knowledge and competences in science and technology and modernise its economy, and the United States was willing to increase its support and influence in Finland, but found political means and media propaganda difficult to use. Choosing tools of public diplomacy,¹ and especially educational and scientific co-operation, was partly due to Finland’s

¹ I use concept of public diplomacy in the meaning what Gilles Scott-Smith has formed. It is “the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend values of those being represented.” Gilles Scott-Smith, “The Ties that Bind: Dutch-American Relations, US Public Diplomacy and the Promotion of American Studies since the Second World War”. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 2, 2007, 286.



situation and partly due to the wider political context.² Cultural and academic hegemony supported the economic, political and military superiority of the United States in the world. According to Gilles Scott-Smith strengthening the legitimacy of US cultural power can be seen as a normative process³, and that is also the case with the University of Oulu.

Finnish-American educational co-operation was based on two separate laws or sets of laws. First was the Fulbright Act or Public Law (P.L.) 584. The Fulbright Program originates from this law passed in 1946 in the United States Congress.⁴ The Fulbright Act was incorporated in 1948 into the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act (P.L. 402, which is also known as the Smith-Mundt Act). It legalised peace time propaganda in combating communism and changed the framework of Senator J. William Fulbright's original idea.⁵ Finland entered into an executive agreement to conduct academic exchanges within the Fulbright Program in 1952. The Fulbright bill authorised grants for American students and professors in international exchange between the US and Finland. In 1961, the Kennedy administration consolidated the international educational and cultural exchange under P.L.256, known also as the Fulbright-Hays Act.⁶ In the Fulbright-Hays Act promoting of American studies was explicitly written in the law text.⁷

The second law regulating the Finnish-American educational exchange is generally known as ASLA. In 1949, the Congress of the United States decided to convert rest of the Finnish war debt originally from 1919 to a separate program. Public Law 265 is "An Educational Exchange Program to be financed out of Payments to the United States on Finland's Debt". This was later named in Finnish "Amerikan Suomen Lainan Apurahat, ASLA" (Grant from America's Loan to Finland). ASLA funds provided grants for Finnish students and academics for educational exchange in the United States, and it was a special case designed for Finland.

Together, the Fulbright and ASLA, increased the exchange of persons between Finland and the United States considerably. The entity was called the ASLA-Fulbright Program, and that is still bears that name today. In relative terms, it constituted a

² Marek Fields, *Reinforcing Finland's Attachment to the West: British and American Propaganda and Cultural Diplomacy in Finland, 1944–1962*. Dissertation, Helsinki 2015, 295.

³ Scott-Smith 2007, 284.

⁴ William R. Copeland, "Forty Years of Academic and Professional Exchange". *Finland and the United States – Diplomatic Relations through Seventy Years*. Edited by Robert Rinehart. Institute for Study of Diplomacy, Washington (D.C.) 1993, 79.

⁵ Richard Nelson and Foad Izadi, "Ethics and Social Issues in Public Diplomacy". *Routledge Handbook on Public Diplomacy*". Edited by Nancy Snow & Philip M. Taylor. Routledge, New York 2009, 335.

⁶ Nancy Snow, "Rethinking Public Diplomacy". *Routledge Handbook on Public Diplomacy*. Edited by Nancy Snow & Philip M. Taylor. Routledge, New York 2009, footnote 10, 11.

⁷ Scott-Smith 2007, 289.

greater share of activity than most other countries in the Fulbright program.⁸ For example, in the Netherlands from 1949 to 1986, the total number of Dutch Fulbright scholars was 1 999.⁹ The number of Finnish exchange students was at its height during the 1950s and 1960s compared to later years. From 1950 to 1963, number of Finnish ASLA grantees, was about 1 700.¹⁰ In the 1950's and 1960's the ASLA-Fulbright Program became the most important form of activity in the Embassy of the United States and affected to the Embassy's workload in Finland. More importantly, it increased the American's influence throughout Finnish society.¹¹

The aim of this paper is to examine what was the influence of exchange activities by exploring the impact of the program in Finland. My case study is the University of Oulu, founded in 1958. At the time, it was the world's northernmost seat of learning. As it was founded in the hottest years of the Cold War, interaction between the University of Oulu and US representatives reflects how tools of public diplomacy spread the Cold War, not only to research and education but also to wider society. A good example of this is the American Days, held in 1962 in Oulu. This article concentrates on exploring the Americans who came to the University of Oulu as Fulbright grantees in the early years of the university between 1961 and 1965.¹² Four out of five came to teach English, and the wife of the fifth grantee taught English in 1965–1966 in the newly founded main subject English philology. In this paper, I also describe how American culture and achievements in technology were presented to people in the Oulu region. My analysis explains how Americans promoted teaching their language and culture at the University of Oulu. The objective behind this was a willingness to include American Studies –related humanities courses to the university's curriculum and to increase cultural influence that way.

⁸ *ASLA Directory, ASLA Grantees 1950–1963*. Published by the ASLA Alumni Association. Loviisan Uusi Kirjapaino Oy, Helsinki 1965, preface; Fields 2015, 300; Copeland 1993, 81.

⁹ Gilles Scott-Smith, "The Fulbright in the Netherlands: An Example of Science Diplomacy". *Cold War Science and Transatlantic Circulation of Knowledge*. Edited by Jeroen van Dongen. Brill, Leiden 2015, 188.

¹⁰ *ASLA Directory, ASLA Grantees 1950–1963*, 1965 in Preface.

¹¹ Fields 2015, 200. By 1964, 48 countries had joined the Fulbright program. In *The Fulbright Program – the History*, Walter Johnson and Francis J. Colligan estimate that more than 30 000 citizens of other countries have participated between 1948 and 1962 in exchange in the United States. Walter Johnson and Francis J. Colligan, *The Fulbright Program – the History*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1965, 3–4. In the *ASLA directory, ASLA grantees 1950–1963*, the preface gives the estimation that 1 700 Finns have had an opportunity to study in the US through this program; between 1948–1963, approximately 5,7 % of grantees have been Finnish. This is proportionally high number bearing in mind that the population of Finland was low compared to countries like India, Philippines and Japan which participated in the program also.

¹² When I refer to the year 1961, it means the academic year of the program, 1961–1962, which follows the timeline of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland (USEF).

My main source of information are American grantees' own reports about their educational exchange experiences before leaving the host country as required by the Department of State. These reports consisted of three parts: preparations for the exchange experience, the exchange experience in the host country and the educational exchange with the host institution. The third part was made available for future grantees for the purpose of pre-departure orientation. In instructions printed on the Final report template Department of State explained it would use reports for the improvement of the program operations and evaluating program results.¹³ Another important source is the University of Oulu's archive. Regarding the American Days in 1962, I have mainly used information from local newspapers.

Fulbright program's objectives in Finland

The objective of the Fulbright educational exchange program was to increase mutual understanding between people of the United States and people of other countries. In the Fulbright legislation, the aim to strengthen educational and cultural ties, which brought the United States together with other nations and promoted international cooperation for educational and cultural advancements, is also mentioned.¹⁴ One of the Fulbright program's global objectives was to promote English language instruction overseas and professionalise it.¹⁵ Worldwide in 1960, 27% of American grantees were English teachers or school administrators.¹⁶

Specific objectives of the Finnish Fulbright Program were first "to assist Finnish universities to develop self-sustaining American Studies –related humanities courses, particularly in the fields of history, social sciences, literature, economics and the arts."¹⁷ In the document, the original wording is "political sciences", but "political" has been crossed over and word "social" has been written above by hand. The original idea of teaching American political science was maybe too much for Finnish universities at the time. Americans had resources to promote American studies, and as Gilles Scott-Smith points out in the case of the Netherlands, this dominant narrative "always needed to filter down through local interest".¹⁸ The objective in Finland was to be reached by "facilitating the exchange of American scholars and lectures and by providing opportunities for Finnish graduate students and research scholars to

¹³ Final Reports of American grantees in alphabetical order, Files 154–163, Suomen ja Yhdysvaltain opetusalan vaihtotoimikunta (Finnish–U.S. Educational Exchange Commission) hereafter FUSEEC, The National Archives of Finland hereafter FNA.

¹⁴ Johnson and Colligan 1965, viii, foreword by J. William Fulbright.

¹⁵ Johnson and Colligan 1965, 10.

¹⁶ Johnson and Colligan 1965, 215.

¹⁷ Diaper journal "History of...", undated document, File 9, FUSEEC, FNA.

¹⁸ Scott-Smith 2007, 285.

pursue advanced studies in the United States”. The Fulbright program’s funds were for Americans, but Finnish ASLA-grantees were usually awarded transportation to the United States. Fulbright and ASLA funds intertwined due to the fact that they were administered by the US Embassy.

The second specific objective was “to provide American scholars and lectures to Finnish universities to improve advanced level courses in science and technology” and, respectively, “to provide opportunities for Finnish graduate students and research scholars to pursue advanced scientific and technological studies in the United States”.¹⁹ I will now concentrate only on how the American studies was promoted at the University of Oulu. Science and technology educational co-operation is not covered in this article.

Annual program planning of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland

The Board of Foreign Scholarships (BFS) was a body created in the United States in the Fulbright Act.²⁰ The BFS co-ordinated and supervised program and it favoured project thinking in annual programs. United States Educational Foundation in Finland (USEF) coordinated Fulbright program in Finland.²¹ USEF and its Secretary-General Sven-Erik Sjögren did not support narrowly defined projects and considered them unsuitable in the beginning, but later, USEF changed its mind.²² The Board of Foreign Scholarship defined a project as a “planned activity designed to accomplish a particular program objective”.²³ In their book *The Fulbright Program – A History*, Walter Johnson and Francis J. Colligan discussed country programs and their projects and used teaching of English as a foreign language and “encouragement of American Studies in universities” as an example.²⁴ This was maybe because teaching English was the most global and general project funded by the Fulbright program. Half of the university lecturers, who participated to Fulbright program in the early years, taught English or American history.²⁵ Rooting American studies and English

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Johnson and Colligan 1965, 21–22.

²¹ About founding USEF in Finland, See Hanna Honkamäkilä, “Interest in Deepening U.S. – Finnish Scientific Co-operation 1947–1952”. *Faravid* 40/2015, 205, http://pro.tsv.fi/pshy/julkaisut/Faravid_40-2015.html, read September 20, 2019.

²² Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland, Program Year 1953. File 17, FUSEEC, FNA; Elisabeth Stubb, *Idealistiska målsättningar med rationell nytta Förenta staterna och Finlands utrikespolitiska kulturkontakter I form av ASLA- och Fulbrightprogrammet*. Pro gradu thesis, University of Helsinki, 2004, 52.

²³ Johnson and Colligan 1965, 47.

²⁴ Johnson and Colligan 1965, 46.

²⁵ Johnson and Colligan 1965, 215.

language instruction in the Fulbright partner countries was an important part of program execution.

To draft the annual plan, USEF sent a letter of inquiry for Finnish universities, who then proposed American lectures annually based on that inquiry. This was important because the program was supposed to reflect the needs of the country.²⁶ For example, for academic year 1961–1962, universities were asked to send their requests by the end of 1959.²⁷ Universities in Finland could request specific fields of study, specific specialisations within a field or a new opening. The United States Educational Foundation decided whether these would be included in the program based on university requests. Co-ordinating university requests and projects in the annual planning was USEF's main job. The English Language and Literature project was a permanent project in USEF's annual programs in Finland. For example, in USEF's Annual program proposal for academic year 1961–1962, the purpose of the English Language and Literature project was to strengthen the teaching staff of the English Department of the University of Helsinki and the School of Education in Jyväskylä.²⁸ University of Oulu was not mentioned in the Annual Program proposal, although the first Fulbright English teacher arrived to Oulu in 1961.

Marek Fields, who has written an extensive study entitled *British and American Propaganda and Cultural Diplomacy in Finland 1944–1962*, stated that increasing language teaching was “the most significant development”²⁹ and “developing and expanding American Studies as a discipline remained as the number one priority” in Finland in 1958–1960.³⁰ Fields does not elaborate on this further in his study. In an information paper, which USEF sent to the University of Oulu in 1964 and asked it to be circulated to the rectors of the Finnish universities in the Rector's meeting in Oulu, American lecturers were seen as important in alleviating the scarcity of the lecturers in Finnish higher education institutions. The aim was to open new research fields and bring new research methods.³¹

When an educational institution in Finland wished to receive a Fulbright lecturer, the institution had to be approved by the Board of Foreign Scholarship. From 1961 on, the Fulbright Program provided funding for the Americans to come to the University of Oulu. The Board of Foreign Scholarship approved the University of

²⁶ Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland, Program Year 1954. File 17, FUSEEC, FNA.

²⁷ University requests, File 113, FUSEEC, FNA.

²⁸ Annual Program Proposal of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland for Program Year 1961, File 15, FUSEEC, FNA.

²⁹ Fields 2015, 296.

³⁰ Fields 2015, 301.

³¹ Letter from USEF's Secretary-General Kauko Lehti to the Rector Paavo Söyrinki on April 22, 1964, Oulun yliopiston rehtorien arkisto, File Ea:1 Saapuneet kirjeet 1959–1966 (Arrived letters), Archive of the University of Oulu (hereafter AUO).

Oulu on May 22, 1961.³² For the next forty years, University of Oulu received one Fulbright grantee almost every year. In the beginning, emphasis was in English language. Between 1961 and 1972, 10 out of the first 14 exchange scholars from the United States at the University of Oulu were teachers or lecturers of English language and literature.³³ Between 1961 and 1972, four non-language lecturers in Oulu represented geology, physics and geography.

The American Program in Finland consisted of four categories: lecturing program, research scholar program, teacher program and graduate student program. In the Fulbright teacher program, the majority of teacher grantees taught English. The first four Fulbright grantees in Oulu in 1961–1964, Arnold Solkov, George Quinnell, John Watanen Jr. and Elaine Jalonen represented the teacher category. They all taught English language and literature. After them, there were two more representatives of teacher category: Daniel J. Casey taught English in 1966–1967 and James W. Bowers in 1969–1970.³⁴ Other American literature and language teachers represented the lecturer category, which meant they represented more demanding lecturing staff. I will continue to concentrate on my closer analysis of first years, 1961–1965, when emphasis on the Fulbright program of the University of Oulu was increasing English teaching to students. The situation changed in autumn 1965, when English Philology began as a major subject.

First Fulbright grantees experienced severe difficulties at the University of Oulu

The University of Oulu was founded in 1958, and the first students enrolled in autumn 1959. In the early years, the only two faculties were the Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Engineering. The Teacher Training College had begun in 1953 and was affiliated with the University of Oulu in 1959. The first medical students started in 1960 with courses in the natural sciences. In the Faculty of Philosophy only mathematical and natural sciences were represented until 1965, when the first humanities subjects began.³⁵ The University of Oulu was the second state university founded after the University of Helsinki, and USEF juxtaposed the University of

³² Annual Program Proposal for Academic Year 1962–1963, File 15, FUSEEC, FNA.

³³ Statistical information concerning Fulbright grantees at the University of Oulu was provided for me by the Finnish Fulbright Center.

³⁴ Daniel J. Casey renewed his Fulbright grant for another year in Finland, lecturing in English at the University of Helsinki in 1967–1968. The Final Reports of Daniel J. Casey, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

³⁵ Matti Salo, "Yliopiston kokonaisuus". Matti Salo and Matti Lackman, *Oulun yliopiston historia 1958–1993* (The History of the University of Oulu 1958–1993), University of Oulu 1998, 88–96.

Oulu to the University of Helsinki.³⁶ The University of Oulu had to start from scratch with nothing more than faith to the cause and a spirit of eagerness. In 1959, when the first students enrolled, curricula had to be developed, facilities existed in available spaces scattered around the city, and professors needed to be recruited and move from the southern Finland.³⁷

The first Fulbright grantee in Oulu was Master of Arts Arnold A. Solkov. His home organisation was Santa Rosa High School in California. It could have been difficult to find someone to come to a newly founded university in northern Finland, but the University of Oulu was actually able to choose between two possible candidates. In the beginning of May 1961, the Faculty of Philosophy was informed that the Fulbright sponsored English teacher for following academic year would be either Mr Arnold Solkov or Mr Antonio Collegos.³⁸ Solkov was not notified of his acceptance to the position before May 31, 1961, which created difficulties for him with his obligations before he left home.³⁹ Solkov was a 33-year-old Master of Arts, married with one child aged 2 years. His wife and child came to Finland with him.⁴⁰ In Program Year 1961, a total of 29 American Fulbright grantees came to Finland. They were the ninth group in Finland in a row. The grantees included 12 lecturers, 7 graduate students, 6 research scholars and 4 teachers. Two English teachers taught at the universities, Arnold Solkov in Oulu and Robert W. Morrison at the University of Helsinki. Two others, Dean B. Bowles and Donald J. McAllister, taught English at the secondary schools in Finland.⁴¹ The teacher program continued for the next four years with similar numbers of grantees and positions.⁴²

Americans who participated in the exchange supported one other. They normally contacted each other and exchanged information concerning the institution and practical issues too. As Arnold Solkov was the first one in Oulu, he did not have the luxury of having a predecessor, and he felt it was a shortcoming. In fact, there was no

³⁶ “The University (of Oulu) enjoys the same privileges as to self-government as the other state universities in Finland, notably the University of Helsinki, founded 1640.” Annual Program Proposal of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland for the program year 1962, File 15, FUSEEC, FNA.

³⁷ Matti Lackman, “Yliopiston perustaminen”. Matti Salo and Matti Lackman, *Oulun yliopiston historia 1958–1993* (The History of the University of Oulu 1958–1993), Oulun yliopisto 1998, 30.

³⁸ Oulun yliopiston Filosofisen tiedekunnan kokouspöytäkirja (Minutes of the Faculty of Philosophy) May 9, 1961, AUO. Collegos’ name is misspelled and should be Antonio S. Gallegos. A copy of his grant application is archived to the Archive of the University of Oulu in File E1:3, while Arnold Solkov’s was returned to USEF.

³⁹ Final Report of Arnold Solkov, File 161, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁴⁰ File 167, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁴¹ Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland Program Year 1961, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁴² Annual Reports of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland Program Year 1961, 1962, 1963 and 1964, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA.

need for a Fulbright English teacher to compensate for the lack of teachers. Solkov reported that English teacher at the university needed all classes to qualify her position as lecturer, which is why Solkov had only 3-4 voluntary English discussion groups at the university.⁴³ The situation of the emerging university city resulted in the small size of the academic community. The lack of contacts in the university community was a big disappointment Solkov. He felt that, “because of the limited intellectual community, I was less able to discuss with my Finnish friends what I had observed.” He wished he had been given a clearer orientation about his stay in Oulu. “I also feel that lack of specific program in Oulu contributed to the feeling of abandonment and isolation.” His connection to the University of Oulu was “tenuous at best”.⁴⁴

Solkov required better arrangements for the program in Oulu so that the following grantees and the academic community would benefit more from the exchange. He wrote that “the university is a new one and not having a department of humanities yet”. It looks like the absence of the Department of Humanities was a sort of excuse that other grantees also referred to later on. Solkov also urged officials responsible for the exchange to define what teaching American literature and language encompassed. “If the grantee is told in more detail what is expected of him, he can be better prepared. The nature of his classes, the level of students, the nature of books used – all these would help the grantee in planning his year.”⁴⁵ The University of Oulu tried to improve the situation and decided to organise a local orientation for the next grantee,⁴⁶ an idea that was well received by USEF.⁴⁷ Solkov gave a lengthy interview to the local newspaper, *Kaleva*, on January 21, 1962, in which he did not mention the University of Oulu at all. He talked only about secondary schools.⁴⁸

A small orientation was planned for the second grantee, Master of Arts George W. Quinnell, who worked as a German Instructor at a small college in Defiance, Ohio. He had been in a Fulbright exchange in 1959 in Austria as a student learning German linguistics.⁴⁹ His field at the University of Oulu, however, was American Language and Literature. At the time of the exchange, Quinnell was 32-years old, married and had one child aged 10 years. His wife and son came to Finland, too.⁵⁰ The History of

⁴³ Final Report of Arnold Solkov, File 161, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁴⁴ Final Report of Arnold Solkov, File 161, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁴⁵ Final Report of Arnold Solkov, File 161, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁴⁶ Letter from Deputy Secretary Esko Koura from the University of Oulu to Kauko Lehti (USEF), June 4, 1962, Yksityisille ja yhteisöille lähetetyt kirjeet (Letters for private people and corporate bodies), Da 4:4 1.1.–30.6.1962, AUO.

⁴⁷ Letter from USEF's Secretary General Kauko Lehti to the University of Oulu's Secretary Aleks. Kotkansalo, March 21, 1962. Attached to the letter is a copy of the Application of George W. Quinnell. Ulkomailta saapuneet kirjeet (Letters from abroad), Ei:4, AUO.

⁴⁸ Newspaper *Kaleva*, January 21, 1962.

⁴⁹ Letter from USEF to the University of Oulu's Deputy Secretary Esko Koura, June 6, 1962, Ulkomailta saapuneet kirjeet (Letters from abroad), Ei:4, AUO.

⁵⁰ File 167, FUSEEC, FNA.

the University of Oulu 1958 – 1993 mentions Quinnell as the first Fulbright grantee in Oulu, which is not correct.⁵¹ This is may be due to a brief article published in *Kaleva* on September 4, 1962, which begins by stating that the first Fulbright grantee had arrived to Oulu.⁵²

Quinnell's description of teaching at the University of Oulu during the 1962–1963 academic year is similar to Solkov's. He highlighted the difficulties faced by the University of Oulu in the beginning. The following description from his Final Report was also quoted in the Annual Report of USEF in 1962: "The teaching of English was very difficult because languages have no part in the program of study at Oulu. Since students were kept busy all day, English classes were forced to meet at night, when the students were already tired. Attendance was purely voluntary, and it is understandable that it was very low. Visual aids and other materials were practically non-existent."⁵³ This was due to the lack of teaching facilities. Quinnell counted six to seven students who had benefitted from his classes. The three adult groups had benefitted more from the teaching and social interaction. The attitude of students and professors towards Quinnell was good according to his own judgement, but he thinks old-fashioned teaching methods like teaching grammar in Finnish schools contributed to the poor competence of those students who participated in his classes. He reported that future grantees to Finland should be trained in teaching of English as a foreign language, and he urged that this be a requirement for future grantees to Finland, as it is "already a requirement for some people, especially those who go to Southeast Asia."⁵⁴

Regarding pre-orientation, Quinnell stressed the importance of learning Finnish. He did not think the Finnish language was difficult, only different. This was also his advice to future grantees and their wives. If they learnt Finnish, "all other problems will solve themselves".⁵⁵ German was an earlier academic language in Finland, and it remained as the number one foreign language in Finnish schools long after the World War II. Quinnell was a German teacher by profession. I wonder whether it was accidental or an attempt at solving a problem that Finnish people in Oulu did not speak English. USEF had already recognised this language question at the beginning of the Fulbright program. The Annual Report for the 1953 academic year stated

⁵¹ Salo 1998, 161. The History of the University of Oulu in 1958–1993 has a brief overview of the university's internationalisation. The Fulbright exchange is referred to only in the picture of George W. Quinnell and his family. Both Fulbright and Quinnell are misspelled.

⁵² Newspaper *Kaleva* September 4, 1962.

⁵³ Final Report of George Quinnell, File 160, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁵⁴ Final Report of George Quinnell, File 160, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

that the reason for language difficulties might be older staff “brought up in German traditions”.⁵⁶

Language problems, in some cases, were very difficult and the Board of Foreign Scholarship gave special attention to first- or second-generation Americans who were originally from that country. This was felt as discrimination, and it was rejected as a rule.⁵⁷ However, after Solkov and Quinnell, the following two Fulbright grantees at the University of Oulu were, John Watanen and Elaine Jalonen, both descendants of Finnish migrants who spoke Finnish. John Watanen’s home university was Bowling Green State University in Ohio. He was an English language and literature teacher at the University of Oulu from September 1963 until June 1964. After his year in Oulu, Watanen received a renewal and taught in 1964–1965 at the University of Helsinki.⁵⁸ Master of Social Work Elaine Ruth Jalonen came to Oulu for the 1964–1965 academic year to teach English. She was from Ironwood, Michigan and her home institution in the United States was Lapham School in Madison in Wisconsin where she worked as an elementary teacher.⁵⁹ This region was the most important area of Finnish settlement in the United States and Canada by the number of emigrants.⁶⁰

Watanen compiled an information sheet that could benefit future Fulbright grantees in Oulu. As Watanen was the first American of Finnish origin to come to Oulu, I wonder whether he was instructed to do so. Watanen’s teaching experiences in Oulu were similar to Quinnell’s. Classes met after regular hours, and attendance was low and often sporadic. Watanen thought, that the most important thing for the future grantees was to learn Finnish, which he suggested should be taught to grantees before they leave the United States. Watanen received a renewal for his grant and stayed another year in Finland.⁶¹ Based on Elaine Jalonen’s final report, her knowledge of the Finnish language did not improve her situation. Her assignment at the University of Oulu was to teach voluntary conversation classes in English. Only one class was obligatory, and it was for a group of prospective commercial teachers at the University Teacher Training College. She felt that, since the university had only scientific faculties besides the Teacher Training College, language learning was naturally of secondary importance. A heavy emphasis on lecture and an absence of discussion made for rather passive students, and thus, difficult conversation classes.⁶²

⁵⁶ Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland Program Year 1953, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA. Bengt Broms, Secretary-General of the Finnish Committee on Study and Training in the United States referred to this same issue of German traditions in his autobiography Bengt Broms, *Elämäni sivusta sisältä sitoutumatta*. WSOY, Helsinki 1986, 155, 189.

⁵⁷ Johnson and Colligan 1965, 212.

⁵⁸ Final Report of John Watanen, File 162, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁵⁹ Final Report of Elaine Jalonen, File 157, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁶⁰ Keijo Virtanen, *Settlement or Return: Finnish Emigrants (1860–1930) in the International Overseas Return Migration Movement*. Dissertation 1979, Table 34, 147.

⁶¹ Final Report of John Watanen, File 162, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁶² Final Report of Elaine Jalonen, File 157, FUSEEC, FNA.

Contacts in the host institution were also difficult. Miss Jalonen complained that she had university classes in over 20 places in town, so it was “difficult to feel” the host institution as a whole. She felt that the host institution appeared to be inadequately prepared for her assignment. The secretary who was responsible for organising her program was new and unfamiliar with the United States. Jalonen also questioned the assignment to the University of Oulu because it seemed the university did not need English teaching. Therefore, the director of the US Educational Foundation “immediately discussed this with university personnel and encouraged me to further my secondary school contacts by writing a letter to the school, offering my services.”⁶³ This matter was also taken up in USEF’s Board of Directors’ meeting before Christmas 1964. They saw that the “university did not utilise to a satisfactory degree the services of the Fulbright teacher”.⁶⁴ Elaine Jalonen contacted secondary schools in Oulu, and during the spring term, she had “quite busy schedule, although mostly outside the University.”⁶⁵ One can imagine that these challenges were all still prevailing five years after founding of the University. The establishment of the University of Oulu, because of this, was later considered an example of how not to begin a new university.⁶⁶ Elaine Jalonen was aware of the situation. Commenting on the difficulties she faced, she reported that things will not be better “...before University ‘ages’ and develops a Humanities faculty”.⁶⁷

USEF encouraged English teachers to participate actively in community activities during their educational exchange period. Quinnell reported that he had several evening adult groups, which he found valuable. He felt the freedom of expression was greater in these than in the more formal classroom situations.⁶⁸ Solkov worked hard to spread knowledge and understanding of American culture and way of life. Solkov had a study circle where he taught English and told about the United States. He also toured in the secondary schools in Oulu doing the same thing. He felt that Finns were eager to learn English and listen about America, and he reported that Finns displayed great awareness of American life.⁶⁹ After his academic year ended, Watanen conducted a two-week summer session in conversational English, which was his assignment at the University of Oulu.⁷⁰ To summarise, it seems to me that

⁶³ Final Report of Elaine Jalonen, FUSEEC, File 157, FNA.

⁶⁴ Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland Program Year 1964, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Seikko Eskola, “Tiedepolitiikka ja korkeakoulut”. *Suomen tieteen historia, osa 4*. WSOY, Helsinki 2002, 233.

⁶⁷ Final Report of Elaine Jalonen, File 157, FUSEEC, FNA. This statement was also quoted in the Annual Report of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland Program Year 1964, File 17, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁶⁸ Final Report of George Quinnell, File 160, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁶⁹ Final Report of Arnold Solkov, File 161, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁷⁰ Final Report of John Watanen, File 162, FUSEEC, FNA.

Fulbrighters' activities in the secondary schools were of greater importance than teaching at the university. Despite their criticism of the teaching arrangements and number of classes, USEF continued the program.

1962 as a special year in the relationship between the Americans and the Oulu region

The beginning of the Fulbright exchange with the University of Oulu in 1961 drew the attention of the US representatives in Finland to the City of Oulu, too. The following year, 1962, was especially intensive in the interplay between the people of the Oulu region and representatives of the American Embassy. American culture, economy and technological achievements were widely promoted in Oulu in 1962. Finnish-American Society had organised annual American Days since 1946. The 17th American Days was organised in Oulu in June 1962, and this was the first time the event was held there.⁷¹

The Chair of the USEF's Board, CEO Ilmari Voionmaa, and USEF's Secretary-General Kauko Lehti decided to visit the University of Oulu a few months before the American Days, and they invited representatives of the university and the first Fulbright grantee to Oulu, Arnold Solkov, to a joint dinner at the restaurant Tervahovi on April 27, 1962.⁷² In his Final Report, Arnold Solkov explained, "one of my occupations in Oulu involved working with the Finnish-American Society."⁷³ The interaction between non-governmental sectors was typical for the American government. They channelled support for the Finnish-American Society's local group by dedicating some of the Fulbrighters' time to the Society. Lehti and Voionmaa probably wanted to hear on the spot how the English lecturing program had hit the ground in Oulu and to check on how preparations for American Days were proceeding.

The Finnish-American Society organised exhibitions, prominent Americans and artistic performances from the United States for the American Days in close cooperation with the United States' Department of State.⁷⁴ Bengt Broms, former executive director of the Finnish-American Society, wrote in his memoirs that some of the American guests and exhibitions of the Finnish-American Society were funded by the American Scandinavian Foundation, some by the United States Information

⁷¹ Minna Lehtipuu, *Suomi-Amerikka Yhdistysten Liitto 1943–2003 – Pulavuosista Internet-kauteen*, juhlatilite, 2003, 12.

⁷² Letter from USEF to the University of Oulu April 12, 1962, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saa-puneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:4, AUO.

⁷³ Final Report of Arnold Solkov, File 161, FUSEEC, FNA.

⁷⁴ Fields 2015, 296. See also Antti Aalto, *Esiripun edessä – Suomalais-amerikkalainen yhdistys osana Yhdysvaltain kulttuuriohjelmaa Suomessa 1950–1959*, pro gradu thesis, University of Helsinki 2011.

Service, which operated as part of the American Embassy, and others by the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁷⁵ The United States' Embassy participated closely with the organisation of American Days in Oulu on June 9–10, 1962 with the Finnish-American Society. Organising American Days, for the Embassy, was a suitable way to focus interest on the University of Oulu. The Embassy diplomatically called the event Finnish-American Days in a letter to the University of Oulu. In the letter, Public Affairs Officer William S. Peterson thanked the University of Oulu for the information the university had provided at the request of the Embassy.⁷⁶ Peterson explained that he had also sent this information to the headquarters in Washington and to the State of Minnesota, which was the state to be particularly recognized during the American Days in Oulu.⁷⁷

The state of Minnesota was chosen as the focus in Oulu because it was populated by Americans of Finnish descent. Many of these immigrants had their roots in the Oulu region. Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman was supposed to be the main guest in Oulu, but he was not able to attend. Freeman was born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and he served as the Governor of Minnesota before his appointment to the Secretary of Agriculture in President Kennedy's government. In his absence, his wife, Mrs. Jane C. Shields Freeman, opened the American Days as well as the exhibition of economics, history and culture of the State of Minnesota.⁷⁸ To represent its technological progress and leadership, the United States had produced a scale model of the spacecraft that carried the first American astronaut, John Glenn, into Earth's orbit in February 1962. The scale model attracted a lot of interest among the exhibition guests.⁷⁹

The opening ceremony of the American Days and exhibition was in the University of Oulu's Teacher Training College's hall, which was newly completed and was the first own building to be built specifically for the university. Mrs. Shields Freeman donated exhibition material to the Teacher Training College's rector Aatto Kaljunen. Mrs. Shields Freeman read her husband's speech in the opening ceremony. In his speech, Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, referred to President Urho Kekkonen's recent visit to the United States and his discussion with President Kennedy, and said, according to the newspaper *Raahen Seutu*, "we will scrupulously

⁷⁵ Broms 1986, 180.

⁷⁶ Assistant Secretary Esko Koura sent three pages of text to Mr. William Peterson, entitled, "Oulu, the Northernmost University Town of the World". It was written by Librarian Mr. Rae Murhu and translated by Lecturer of English language Mrs. Helvi Hakulinen-Sipilä, April 3, 1962, Yksityisille ja yhteisöille lähetetyt kirjeet (Letters for private people and corporate bodies), Da 4:4 1.1.–30.6.1962, AUO.

⁷⁷ Letter from Public Affairs Officer William S. Peterson to Assistant Secretary of the University of Oulu Esko Koura on April 4, 1962, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:4, AUO.

⁷⁸ Newspaper *Liitto*, June 10, 1962.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

respect the course chosen by Finland”.⁸⁰ This message was meant from the President of the United States to the people of the Oulu region. *Raahen Seutu* interpreted this as a message of respecting Finland’s neutrality; it reported that more than 30 employees, along with the US Ambassador to Finland Bernard Guffer, participated in American Days in Oulu.⁸¹ The number of Americans in attendance was so large that it must have given a real sense of the United States of America’s presence in Oulu at the time when the number of English-speaking foreigners was undoubtedly small.

Before the open-air festivities on Hupisaari island, Ambassador Bernard Guffer and Mrs Shields Freeman paid a visit of respect to war graves in Oulu Cemetery. They lowered the wreath with the text “Respecting defenders of freedom, from the American people”. After that, the Finnish Garrison band played the American National Anthem.⁸² Talking about the “importance of freedom” was America’s way of giving a message of support to the Finnish people. This choreography revealed Finland’s situation by exemplary. It would have been impossible to talk eloquently about what was interpreted as affirming the neutral position of Finland’s foreign policy and after that play the Russian national anthem at the war graves if visitors would have been from the Soviet Union.

The American military band opened the festivities on Hupisaari island. At the open-air celebration, the Mayor of Oulu Arvo Heino read a greeting letter from the Governor of the Minnesota, Elmer L. Andersen. The Finnish Minister of Agriculture Verner Korsbäck and Second Vice-Chair of the Parliament of Finland, Jussi Saukkonen were among the invited guests.⁸³ High representatives from the Finnish side signalled the importance of organising American Days in Oulu.

Campaign to gain good will from the Oulu region continues through 1962

The Americans attempted to maintain the positive influence that the American Days had on the city of Oulu. As in any marketing or public relations campaign, repetition increases the effectiveness of the message. A month and a half after the American Days, in July 1962, the United States paid special attention to Oulu. The chairman of the Student Union of the University of Oulu, Jouko Mäkelä, was awarded an ASLA specialist grant to visit the United States.⁸⁴ In 1961 and 1962, he had written

⁸⁰ “Amerikan päivät ja Minnesota-näyttelyn avaus Oulussa”. Newspaper *Raahen Seutu*, June 11, 1962.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² “Amerikan päivät Minnesotan merkeissä alkoivat Oulussa”. Newspaper *Liitto*, June 10, 1962.

⁸³ “Amerikan päivät Minnesotan merkeissä alkoivat Oulussa”. Newspaper *Liitto*, June 10, 1962. Jussi Saukkonen was born in Oulu. He was chair of conservative party kokoomus at the time. Jussi Saukkonen served as a chair of the Finnish-American Society in 1968–1982.

⁸⁴ ASLA directory, ASLA grantees 1950–1963, 1965, 99.

two articles to the *Kaltio* magazine about the higher education policy and promoted beginning the humanities program at the University of Oulu.⁸⁵ Mäkelä was an important person in that respect, that he represented the student union on many occasions. It was good that he had personal experience from the United States when developing the university's curriculum in a favourable direction regarding American studies. Specialist grants were for visits of 2–3 months to the United States. The program was normally organised by the sponsor. Mäkelä was routed to visit Minneapolis in July, when the world's first communication satellite, Telstar 1, was launched. The Mayor of City of Minneapolis, Arthur Naftalin, called from 6 000km away, to the City of Oulu, to Deputy Mayor Pentti Huttunen on July 26, 1962 with the help of Telstar. In Minneapolis, Jouko Mäkelä helped Mayor Naftalin to get contact. In its story, the newspaper *Kaleva* published, that a chair of the Finnish-American Society in Oulu, engineer Keijo Tiusanen, helped connect with Minneapolis from Oulu City Hall.⁸⁶ On the same evening, a total of 23 phone calls were made from the United States to Europe. A space call to Oulu was a part of the big centrally coordinated public diplomacy event, which aimed to demonstrate the United States' leadership in information technology to local citizens around Europe. It was orchestrated globally by the lead of the Department of State and it was co-organised with the ASLA specialist exchange scheme arranged by the American Embassy and USEF.

In October 1962, Secretary General Kauko Lehti from USEF sent Rector Pentti Kaitera four copies of lists of Fulbright lecturers and research scholars in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark in 1962–1963. The idea was that the University of Oulu could invite any one of the listed grantees to visit the university simply by contacting USEF.⁸⁷ Organizing visits of American Fulbright grantees to neighbouring countries or within a country was a normal procedure of the program. This was to gain the maximum benefit of possible new contacts between American and European lecturers and researchers. However, money allocated to this type of activity was scarce, and offering a possibility of this type clearly gave a special favour to the University of Oulu. It seems that this generous offer did not result in any requests from the University of Oulu. However, the Technical University of Helsinki invited

⁸⁵ Matti Salo, *Pohjoinen Alma Mater. Oulun yliopisto osana korkeakoululaitosta ja yhteiskuntaa perustamisvaiheista vuoteen 2000* (Alma Mater of the North. Role of the University of Oulu in higher education and in society). Dissertation. Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys, Rovaniemi 2003, 165–166. Jouko Mäkelä was later member of the Finnish Parliament representing Social democratic party <https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/kansanedustajat/Sivut/910098.aspx>, read on September 14, 2019.

⁸⁶ “Tarinoita menneisyydestä - Avaruuspuhelu USA:sta Ouluun avasi maailman” (Tales from the past - Space call from the United States to Oulu opened up the world). Newspaper *Kaleva*, July 28, 2019.

⁸⁷ Letter from the United States Educational Foundation in Finland to Pentti Kaitera, the Rector of the University of Oulu, October 4, 1962, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:4, AUO.

traffic mathematician Frank Haight to Finland in March 1963 and he visited the University of Oulu after USEF's suggestion as well.⁸⁸

In the same year, the Foreign Service of the United States of America sent a request to the University of Oulu to participate in a study on how much of Finnish higher education included issues of American culture, history, social, economic or geographical circumstances in their curricula. Information was required for three different and quite simple topics. 1) Do the university's curricula contain lectures concerning the United States 2) do the university's degrees require courses concerning the United States, and 3) how many of the university's course books are American?⁸⁹ Both faculties of the University of Oulu replied conscientiously. In the Faculty of Technology, American methodologies and research results were part of the curriculum. The Department of Architecture had American periodicals, and the Department of Construction Engineering and Department of Industrial Engineering both had American course books. Especially in the industrial engineering, a majority of the course books were American. The Faculty of Philosophy had tabled their answers. In the Departments of Geography and Department of Geology, North American geography was part of the curriculum. In chemistry, zoology, geology and geography, one-third of course books were American. Approximately 60% of course books were American in physics and 50% in mathematics. Librarian Urho Mäkirinta had noted that half the course books in botany were American.⁹⁰

A year after the American Days were held in Oulu, the University of Minnesota did its share to increase cultural relations between Oulu and the Minnesota. Provost R. W. Darland sent a letter on behalf of Mr. Gust A. Gustafson to the University of Oulu. Mr. Gustafson had volunteered on the university's campus in Duluth to seek information and contacts in Finland "which might further our common interests". The University of Minnesota was interested in developing closer ties in education, but also in arts, crafts and design, and those in positions of leadership were in international trade.⁹¹ A few days after Mr. Darland's first letter came another letter, this time from the Head of the Lake Chapter Finlandia Foundation situated in Duluth in Minnesota. Foundation President Edward W. Peterson introduced a Committee of the Head of the Lake Chapter Finlandia Foundation. President Peterson wanted to introduce

⁸⁸ Letters from USEF Executive Secretary Kauko Lehti to the University of Oulu February 6 and 19, 1963, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:5, AUO.

⁸⁹ Letter from the Foreign Service of the United States of America to Niilo Söyrinki the Rector of the University of Oulu, December 3, 1962, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:4, AUO.

⁹⁰ Letter of Deputy Secretary Esko Koura to the United States Information Service in Helsinki on December 19, 1962, Yksityisille ja yhteisöille lähetetyt kirjeet (Letters for private people and corporate bodies), Da 4:5 1.7.–31.12.1962, AUO.

⁹¹ Letter of Provost R. W. Darland to Whom it may concern at the University of Oulu on May 31, 1963, Oulun yliopiston rehtorien arkisto, Ea:1 Saapuneet kirjeet 1959–1966 (Letters to the Rector of the University of Oulu), AUO.

two members of the Committee, namely Mr. Gust A. Gustafson and Consul Alex Kyyhkynen, who were both interested in cultural exchange with Finnish schools and institutions at the university level.⁹² There appear to be no letters back to Minnesota from the University of Oulu's archive.

Mismatch of interests between the University of Oulu and the United States Educational Foundation

Professors recruited to the University of Oulu, came from Finnish universities situated in southern Finland. It seems they were aware of the possible available funds of the ASLA and Fulbright programs. The University of Oulu's plans to join the Fulbright program can be traced to the first operational year of the University. The United States sponsored American scientific books for educational institutes in Finland. The University of Oulu received a quota to order books already in the autumn 1959. The temporary administrative collegium authorised the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy Niilo Söyrinki to take care of the book order and, at the same time resolve the need for Fulbright grantees at the University of Oulu for 1960. His contact concerning the book order was Cultural Attaché Herbert T. Schuelke at the American Embassy.⁹³

Contacting the Embassy resulted in a visit from the Ambassador of the United States Edson O. Sessions, who visited Oulu and the university at the beginning of 1960.⁹⁴ After his visit, the university received a letter saying that \$ 3 000 had been allocated to the Department of English to buy American books in the fields of American literature, criticism, English language teaching, American history, sociology, economics, and so on.⁹⁵ In April 1960, Herbert T. Schuelke sent a new letter stating that, "since the Department of English at the University of Oulu has not yet been established, it is suggested that you use this allocation for American technical and scientific fields of your institution as was done last year".⁹⁶ It is difficult to think, that ambassador Sessions was not aware of that the Department of English at

⁹² Letter of President Edward W. Peterson, Head of the Lakes Chapter Finlandia Foundation to Rector of the University of Oulu in June 3, 1963, Oulun yliopiston rehtorien arkisto, Ea:1 Saapuneet kirjeet 1959–1966 (Letters to the Rector of the University of Oulu), AUO.

⁹³ Oulun yliopiston va. hallintokollegion pöytäkirja no 11/1959, August 14, 1959, Oulun yliopiston va. hallintokollegion pöytäkirjat 1959–1962 (Minutes of the temporary administrative collegium of the University of Oulu 1959–1962), File Cb:1, AUO.

⁹⁴ Letter from American Embassy First Secretary R. E. Gamble to Professor Pentti Kaitera February 5, 1960, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:2, AUO.

⁹⁵ Letter from American Embassy Cultural Attaché Herbert T. Schuelke to Acting Rector Pentti Kaitera March 9, 1960, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:2, AUO.

⁹⁶ Letter from American Embassy Cultural Attaché Herbert T. Schuelke to Acting Rector Pentti Kaitera April 13, 1960, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:2, AUO.

the University of Oulu had not yet been established after his visit to the university. It looks like Americans were pushing the establishment of the Department of English.

Because of the annual planning cycle and the administrative complexity of the program, it was not possible to appoint a Fulbright grantee in 1959 for the next academic year, 1960–1961, but it was possible to appoint one for 1961–1962, which was then in the planning phase in the US Educational Foundation. It seems that, in 1960, USEF began to plan for an English teacher at the University of Oulu for academic year 1961–1962. In April 1961, Secretary-General of USEF Sven-Erik Sjögren recommended an English teacher for the University of Oulu for 1961–1962 based on a decision of the USEF's Board of directors. In his letter, he referred to having discussed the matter with acting Rector Pentti Kaitera.⁹⁷

At the beginning of 1961, USEF inquired whether the University of Oulu would be willing to have a Fulbright lecturer for the next academic year 1962–1963. In the letter to the university, USEF explained that the aim of the Fulbright program was to place American professors in the fields that the universities themselves estimated to be of importance and where American lectureship was most useful.⁹⁸ The temporary administrative collegium of the university listed four alternative fields, which were 1) water supply and sewerage, 2) traffic planning, 3) heredity and 4) theoretical physics.⁹⁹ After this, on February 20, 1961, the university's Secretary Aleks. Kotkansalo wrote to USEF, stating, "If it is possible to have a Fulbright lecturer already for next autumn, university wishes to have English teacher. For Academic year 1962–63 university wishes representatives from following fields".¹⁰⁰ Then he repeated the list of fields decided on by the temporary administrative collegium of the university, with one new field with priority number 5) English Language. Kotkansalo referred in February 1961 to the first grantee Arnold Solkov, who arrived in September 1961, and in September 1962, he was prepared for the grantee to be an English language teacher too. It seems that a virtue was made out of necessity.

In November 1961, Secretary Aleks. Kotkansalo wrote to USEF concerning the Fulbright lecturer request for the year 1963–1964. The university requested a

⁹⁷ Letter from USEF to Rector of the University of Oulu, April 28, 1961, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:3, AUO.

⁹⁸ Letter from USEF to Rector Pentti Kaitera January 17, 1961, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:3, AUO.

⁹⁹ Oulun yliopiston va. hallintokollegion pöytäkirja No 2/1961, January 25, 1961, Oulun yliopiston va. hallintokollegion pöytäkirjat 1959–1962 (Minutes of the temporary administrative collegium of the University of Oulu), File Cb:1, AUO.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Secretary Aleks. Kotkansalo to Secretary General Sven-Erik Sjögren of USEF February 20, 1961, Yksityisille ja yhteisöille lähetetyt kirjeet (Letters for private people and corporate bodies), Da:3 1961, AUO.

grantee from the fields of mathematics or physics.¹⁰¹ In December 1961, Kotkansalo wrote a second letter to USEF, saying, “If it is not possible to get a Fulbright scholar in mathematics or physics for the academic year 1963–1964, a representative for the following fields suits us as well: water supply and sewerage, traffic planning, theoretical physics and heredity.”¹⁰²

Concerning the grantee for academic year 1962–1963, the University of Oulu’s English lecturer Helvi Hakulinen-Sipilä exchanged letters with USEF about this subject, and Secretary Aleks. Kotkansalo discussed of the matter with Public Affairs Officer, Mr. George Peterson from the American Embassy at the beginning of 1962.¹⁰³ Apparently, these discussions resulted in having another English teacher for the University of Oulu. USEF’s Board of Directors chose Mr. George W. Quinnell as a Fulbright teacher grantee for the University of Oulu.¹⁰⁴

This same pattern was repeated in 1963–1964. For academic year 1963–1964, the university requested primarily a mathematician (differential geometry or functional analysis) or a physicist (spectroscopy)¹⁰⁵ and received English teacher John Watanen. USEF agreed on this matter with Rector Söyrinki in spring 1963. In the letter, USEF formulated this as a continuation of Mr. Solkov’s and Mr. Quinnell’s teaching programs.¹⁰⁶ For academic year 1964–1965, per faculties’ requests, The University of Oulu primarily requested a theoretical physicist or traffic engineer, and on reservation list, there was a biologist, chemist or process engineer.¹⁰⁷ The Fulbright position in physics for the University of Oulu was accepted for the USEF’s Annual Program. USEF advised the university to encourage American physicists they knew to apply. Theoretical physics Ph.D. Charles O. Ahonen saw the announcement of this position in the November issue of *Physics Today*, and he felt he qualified for the positions in

¹⁰¹ Letter from Secretary Aleks. Kotkansalo to Secretary General Sven-Erik Sjögren of USEF November 30, 1961, Yksityisille ja yhteisöille lähetetyt kirjeet (Letters for private people and corporate bodies), Da:3 1961, AUO.

¹⁰² Letter from secretary Aleks. Kotkansalo to Secretary General Sven-Erik Sjögren of USEF December 14, 1961, Yksityisille ja yhteisöille lähetetyt kirjeet (Letters for private people and corporate bodies), Da:3 1961, AUO.

¹⁰³ Letter from USEF to Rector Pentti Kaitera March 21, 1962, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:4, AUO.

¹⁰⁴ Oulun yliopiston va. hallintokollegion pöytäkirja No 8/1962, March 23, 1961, Oulun yliopiston va. hallintokollegion pöytäkirjat 1959–1962 (Minutes of the temporary administrative collegium of the University of Oulu), Cb:1, AUO.

¹⁰⁵ Oulun yliopiston va. hallintokollegion pöytäkirja No 24/1961, November 24, 1961, Oulun yliopiston va. hallintokollegion pöytäkirjat 1959–1962 (Minutes of the temporary administrative collegium of the University of Oulu), Cb:1, AUO.

¹⁰⁶ Letter from USEF to the University of Oulu May 15, 1963, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:5, AUO.

¹⁰⁷ Oulun yliopiston va. hallintokollegion pöytäkirja No 31/1962, December 14, 1962, Oulun yliopiston va. hallintokollegion pöytäkirjat 1959–1962 (Minutes of the temporary administrative collegium of the University of Oulu), Cb:1, AUO.

all respects. In the letter to the University of Oulu, Executive Secretary Kauko Lehti regretted, that if the university accepted Dr. Ahonen, USEF was “unable to secure the services of an English teacher for the University of Oulu” for the next year.¹⁰⁸ The University had not requested an English teacher, but maybe USEF had prepared itself to continue the Fulbright teacher grant in English in Oulu. Executive Secretary Sven-Erik Sjögren explained in January 1965 that USEF was able to finance Ahonen’s grant only by discontinuing the Fulbright teacher grant in English.¹⁰⁹

Charles O. Ahonen was awarded a Fulbright grant, but he postponed his exchange in Finland by a year. USEF was able to organise Elaine Jalonen as a compensation to the University of Oulu as late as in June 1964. USEF used the following wording “we recommend as a usual practise English teacher”.¹¹⁰ Elaine Jalonen stated in her Final Report that next year’s grantee was a physics professor, and his wife had the possibility of continuing some of her English groups.¹¹¹ English language teaching did not match with the University of Oulu’s requests for American lecturers, and there was a clear mismatch with the interests of USEF and the university.

Education of Humanities began at the University of Oulu by majors of English, Swedish and Literature

The University of Oulu introduced English philology as a main subject in autumn 1965 under the supervision of the University of Helsinki and Professor Ole Reuter. Charles O. Ahonen came as a Fulbright lecturer to the University of Oulu for the academic year 1965–1966¹¹² and Elizabeth Ahonen was employed at the University of Oulu in the newly founded Department of English Philology during her husband’s exchange period.¹¹³ The beginning of humanities education was part of the University of Oulu’s plans from the founding of the university. The main motivation was the

¹⁰⁸ Letter from USEF Executive Secretary Kauko Lehti to the University of Oulu February 12, 1964, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:6, AUO. Lehti send another letter concerning Dr. Ahonen on February 24, 1964 where he repeated that if Dr. Ahonen is accepted, there will not be any English teacher for the University of Oulu. Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:6, AUO.

¹⁰⁹ Letter from USEF Executive Secretary Sven-Erik Sjögren to the University of Oulu January 11, 1965, Ulkomainen kirjeenvaihto (saapuneet) (Letters from abroad), Ei:6, AUO.

¹¹⁰ Letter from USEF to Rector of the University of Oulu April 2, 1964, Ulkomailta saapuneet kirjeet (Letters from abroad), Ei:6, AUO.

¹¹¹ Elaine Jalonen’s Final Report, File 155, FUSEEC, FNA.

¹¹² Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1965–31.8.1966, Oulu 1968, 11; Oulun yliopiston hallintokollegion pöytäkirja No 11/1965, May 28, 1965, Oulun yliopiston hallintokollegion pöytäkirjat (Minutes of the administrative collegium of the University of Oulu), Cb:2, AUO.

¹¹³ Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1965–31.8.1966, Oulu 1968, 45.

lack of competent teachers in the northern Finland.¹¹⁴ The beginning of English philology as a main subject at the University meant the possibility of educating competent English teachers for the schools of northern Finland and it was prioritised, for example, over competent teachers of history.

Humanities became part of the Faculty of Philosophy, which was orientated before this to the natural sciences. Proposing new chairs to be founded at the University of Oulu was a competition between different fields of science and technology. Proposals had to be negotiated with the Ministries of Education and Finance and all already-existing fields needed more resources. The University of Oulu first proposed in 1962 the founding of chairs for humanities in the budget for 1963. The priority then was Finnish language, history and literature. After that, the plan was to begin sociology, didactics, psychology, philosophy and then the languages of English, German and Swedish.¹¹⁵ The first three professorships were established in the humanities in 1965. They were English philology, literature and Nordic philology.¹¹⁶ The original idea of founding literature as a major subject at the same time as English philology and Nordic philology was to provide synergies between these three subjects.

In 1964, the Faculty of Philosophy proposed three new majors: history, English philology and Swedish philology.¹¹⁷ There is no clear explanation as to why the University of Oulu suggested for the Ministry of Education to prioritise English and Swedish; a priority in 1962 was the so called national sciences, meaning Finnish language, history and literature. At least it showed a willingness from the Finnish side to educate students of the northern Finland to learn western languages and cultures and to increase mutual understanding with them. If professorships of Finnish language and Finnish history had been established in Oulu, it would have been more difficult to promote subjects of American interest there and the Americans wanted to advance American studies. However, the following year, German philology, history and Finnish language were founded as majors, and they began in autumn 1966.¹¹⁸

In September 1965, the Administrative Collegium of the University of Oulu discussed a proposal to establish a Russian language lectureship. This initiative was

¹¹⁴ Salo 2003, 163, 169.

¹¹⁵ Lyhennysote Oulun yliopiston talousarvioesityksestä vuodelle 1963 Tuomo Larulle (Summary of budget proposal for fiscal year 1963 for Tuomo Laru) September 6, 1962, Yksityisille ja yhteisöille lähetetyt kirjeet (Letters for private people and corporate bodies), Da 4:5 1.7.–31.12.1962, AUO. Tuomo Laru was Executive Secretary of the Oulu Society for Higher Education. For more about activities of Society concerning education of humanities, see Samu Sarviaho *Kipinästä tuli syttyä, lohkarista yliopisto. Oulun Yliopistoseura 1919–2019*. Oulun yliopistoseura 2019, 52–58. Salo 2003, 166.

¹¹⁶ Salo 2003, 168–169.

¹¹⁷ Oulun yliopiston Filosofisen tiedekunnan pöytäkirja, liite 5 (Minutes of the Faculty of Philosophy, March 3, 1964), AUO.

¹¹⁸ Oulun yliopiston toimintakertomus (University of Oulu Annual Report) 1.9.1966–31.8.1967, Oulu 1969, 52–54.

from the Cultural exchange committee between Finland and the Soviet Union. The committee would provide a lecturer if the University of Oulu would allocate money for it. The university wrote, for the record, that money to allocate for this purpose did not exist.¹¹⁹ This type of initiative probably affected to the university's willingness to begin English, Swedish and German majors.

The decision to begin education of languages as major subjects in the humanities was probably related to the development of the Finnish education system. The Parliamentary Committee regarding comprehensive school reform published its partial report in September 1965. The importance of economic development, as well as scientific and technological development were emphasised. The committee also discussed the importance of increasing language learning. This was justified by the growth in international cooperation. The importance of language skills was connected to enhancing of the economic growth.¹²⁰ Since 1965, English philology was a major at the University of Oulu, and University of Oulu began to train English teachers. At the same time, Nordic philology, meaning mainly the Swedish language, began in Oulu. The government of Finland decided to establish Swedish as a mandatory subject in the Finnish comprehensive school in 1968. This decision was part of the great school reform in Finland and reflected the discussion on Finland's position in the Cold War world order. After extensive debate in the Parliament and in public, cultural and foreign policy resolved the matter benefitting Swedish as a compulsory in schools. The foreign languages taught in the Finnish comprehensive school were a matter of foreign policy orientation.¹²¹ "The Swedish language justified Finland's position as a member of the Nordic countries and the West with Western values."¹²²

The US Embassy followed the development at the University of Oulu closely. It sent a letter to the University of Oulu at the end of the 1965, explaining that it conducted a survey concerning "the place of American studies in the Finnish university curriculum". In this survey, American studies were defined as those studies in the humanities and social sciences. Survey questions were the following: 1) weekly number of courses offered in American studies 2) accessibility of library resources in areas relating to American studies 3) the role of visiting Fulbright lecturers 4) a source of financial support for American studies 5) the size of the university staff teaching American studies including the names and titles of these persons 6) the number of students enrolled in American studies and 7) the number

¹¹⁹ Oulun yliopiston hallintokollegion pöytäkirja No 13/1965, September 15, 1965, Oulun yliopiston hallintokollegion pöytäkirjat (Minutes of the administrative collegium of the University of Oulu), Cb:2, AUO.

¹²⁰ Janne Väistö, *Toinen kotimainen toisen tasavallan Suomessa: Ruotsin kieli pakolliseksi aineeksi peruskouluun vuonna 1968*. Dissertation. Åbo Akademi University Press 2017, 95–96.

¹²¹ Väistö 2017, 259–262.

¹²² Väistö 2017, 306.

of dissertations, theses or books written in American studies.¹²³ The sender of the letter, Vice Consul Theodore L. Smith also wished to meet with the representative of the University of Oulu. In the inquiry, there is an attached Finnish translation of it and some preliminary hand written remarks of the university's answer. I do not have results of this inquiry from the University of Oulu nor from any other Finnish universities. This type of inspection can be seen from the University of Oulu's point of view as normal international interaction or diplomatic patronage, which furthered the interests of the United States. I see it as was a way of opening discussion of the importance of American studies with the university. Vice Consul Theodore L. Smith visited the university later that December. He had sent his letter of thanks to the Rector Koiso-Kanttila on December 27.¹²⁴

Conclusion

Fostering American Studies -related humanities courses in the university's curriculum was part of the American foreign policy and public diplomacy objectives in the 1960s. Knowledge of the American people and their culture benefitted the global economic and political interests of the United States. It also increased the mutual understanding, but primarily, educational exchange programs promoted the globalisation of education by American terms and standards. In the 1960s Finland, it also affected to the transition from German to English as the primary academic and foreign language. One important thing was reaching Finnish people living next to the Soviet Union with the American messages of freedom, technological progress and capitalism. Promoting understanding of American values was an alternative to the roaring propaganda of the problems of socialism and communism.

Americans put a lot of effort into having English language and literature on the University of Oulu's syllabus. The United States global position at the top in science was advantageous in this regard. Activities of the United States Educational Foundation in Finland still leave many questions open. Fulbright grantees reported organisational difficulties and problems in adjustment. Students were few, and the university itself did not pay much attention. But the more problems there were, the more enthusiastic the USEF was. In a way, USEF provided solutions to the challenges it had created itself. It emphasised that the Fulbright program was based on the needs of Finnish universities. Annual university requests contributed to the completion of

¹²³ A letter from Vice Consul Theodore L. Smith of the Embassy of the United States to Mr. Kaarlo Käihäri of the University of Oulu December 1, 1965, Ulkomailta saapuneet kirjeet (Letters from abroad), Ei:7, AUO.

¹²⁴ A letter from Vice Consul Theodore L. Smith of the Foreign Service of the United States of America to Rector Erkki Koiso-Kanttila of the University of Oulu December 27, 1965, Ulkomailta saapuneet kirjeet (Letters from abroad), Ei:7, AUO.

Fulbright program proposals, and American lectures alleviated a shortage of lecturers in the Finnish Universities according to USEF. Nevertheless, according to USEF, one need had to be alleviated in particular; increasing the teaching of English and creating American studies courses. The foundation offered an English teacher, when the University of Oulu requested a physicist, traffic engineer or mathematician.

Americans wanted to reach as wide an audience as possible, and the American Days provided a suitable context for this. Dismounting among local people provided a good source of information and it gave the possibility of feeling the atmosphere “on the ground”. The Department of State requested that Fulbright grantees report their experiences in the exchange country and exchange institution. Representatives of the American Embassy and USEF visited the University of Oulu frequently and the American Embassy conducted at least two surveys concerning American-related studies. The first was in 1962 after American Days in Oulu and the other was at the end of 1965, when English philology began as a main subject. In 1962, the survey was very simple, but it was more complex in 1965. The level and depth of these two surveys seemed to be adapted to the current situation at the University of Oulu, which is why I do not believe they were nationwide surveys. I think they aimed to push things forward in a direction that was expected and hoped for. It was also a possibility to control how much things were going ahead in the desired way.

Promoting American books opened markets for them too. Organising American Days allowed Americans to push for the inclusion of American-related studies into the university curricula. When the Americans criticised the old teaching methods in Oulu, they explicitly or inexplicitly confirmed the assumption that old pedagogical practices had to be reformed. It gave the motivation to act. It was their task to bring the latest ideas. The University of Oulu was situated in the peripheral northern Finland, where the so-called backwoods communism gained supporters. It was probably a target area for Americans to keep Finnish people informed about the life and people of the United States of America.

The United States Educational Foundation and the American Embassy promoted English teachers and books for the University of Oulu. Maybe they sponsored English teachers because the original requests of the University of Oulu were difficult to fulfil. From the beginning of the university, the American Embassy expressed their wish of establishing a Department of English. American Fulbright English language and literature teachers associated themselves with the humanities. Americans wanted to root English language and culture studies as part of the university’s curricula. In Finland and at the University of Oulu, they clearly succeeded. When the education of humanities began at the University of Oulu in 1965, one of the first three professorships was in English philology. One can also ask whether the activity of the Embassy affected to the willingness to begin humanities at the University of Oulu. Adopting English as a primary foreign language bound Finland to the West and to the trans-Atlantic post–World War II power.