Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

Articles

Studia Iuridica Lublinensia vol. XXIX, 5, 2020
DOI: 10.17951/sil.2020.29.5.265-281

Viktoriya Serzhanova
University of Rzeszów, Poland
ORCID: 0000-0002-8824-7192
viktoria@ur.edu.pl

The Genesis and Evolution of the Finland's Parliament *Eduskunta*

Geneza i ewolucja parlamentu finlandzkiego Eduskunty

SUMMARY

The hereby paper undertakes the analysis of the genesis and evolution of the Finland's Parliament *Eduskunta* from the moment of its establishment till nowadays, including the characteristics of its present constitutional position, being a result of its development during the centuries, with paying special attention to the current normative state and made on the basis of the hitherto constitutional practice. The article aims at deriving the origin and presenting the development of this organ in Finland, which in consequence leads to reliable conclusions in the field of determining its current constitutional position in the system of the supreme state authorities of Finland. The subject of the paper particularly focuses mostly on the analysis of the beginnings of *Eduskunta*'s formation and Finnish parliamentarianism, as well as its further evolution during different periods of its history, i.e. the time when Finland was included into the Kingdom of Sweden, the period when it was incorporated into the Russian Imperium and after it gained independence in 1917. The work also concentrates on the analysis of *Eduskunta*'s current constitutional position, its composition, internal structure, functions and competences presented on the basis of the exegesis of the provisions of the binding Basic Law of 1999 and the Parliament's Rules of Procedure. The constitutional principles referring to the Parliament also seem to be of particular significance in this context, for they contribute to a more precise definition of *Eduskunta*'s constitutional position, as well as to pointing out its originality and dissimilarity regarding parliaments of other contemporary democratic states.

Keywords: *Eduskunta*; genesis and evolution; the Basic Law; internal structure; functions; competences; constitutional position

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

INTRODUCTION

The Parliament of Finland is called *Eduskunta* in Finnish and *Riksdag* in Swedish, which means "State Assembly". Finnish parliamentarianism originates and has its roots deep in the tradition of Nordic parliamentarianism, in particular Swedish. Finland, which belongs to the legal culture of the Nordic world, is classified – next to Sweden – to the so-called East-Nordic culture[1]. Thus, the beginnings of Finnish parliamentarianism date back to the period of the Swedish parliamentarianism, and its development followed the emergence of parliamentary rule in Sweden, as Finland was associated with it for over 500 years[2].

At that time, not only the initiation, but also the greatest flourishing and forming of parliamentary traditions took place. However, strictly comprehended genesis of the Parliament of independent Finland *Eduskunta* paradoxically comes from the last decade of Russian rule on its territories, because after many years of being "frozen", at the end of this period, its functioning was restored under the first Act on Parliament in 1906[3]. It was on its basis that a unicameral, 200-seat Parliament *Eduskunta* was established, which essentially remained in this shape also after Finland gained its independence in 1917 and has continued in it till today. For

[1] Among the works about the Nordic legal culture, it is worth referring primarily to the Nordic doctrine which is rather rich, in publications both in Nordic languages and in English. See, e.g., J. Husa, *Nordic Reflections on Constitutional Law: A Comparative Nordic Perspective*, Frankfurt am Main 2002, passim. In the Polish language literature more extendedly and deeply this problematics is analysed by: V. Serzhanova, *Suomen perustuslaki. Ustawa zasadnicza Finlandii*, Rzeszów 2017, p. 7 ff.; eadem, *Ewolucja konstytucji państw nordyckich*, [in:] *Państwo i prawo w dobie globalizacji*, ed. S. Sagan, Rzeszów 2011, p. 270. Cf. eadem, *Tryb uchwalania oraz reforma Konstytucji Republiki Islandii*, [in:] *W kręgu zagadnień konstytucjonalizmu oraz współczesnego państwa*, ed. V. Serzhanova, Rzeszów 2015, p. 31; eadem, *Naczelne zasady ustroju politycznego w Konstytucji Republiki Finlandii*, [in:] *Zagadnienia prawa konstytucyjnego. Polskie i zagraniczne rozwiązania ustrojowe. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Dariuszowi Góreckiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, eds. K. Skotnicki, K. Składowski, A. Michalak, Łódź 2016, pp. 363–377.

[2] More extendedly about the political history of Sweden, see R.N. Bain, *Scandinavia: A Political History of Denmark, Norway and Sweden from 1513 to 1900*, Cambridge 1905 (reprint 2006), passim; I. Andersson, *Dzieje Szwecji*, Warszawa 1967, passim; I. Andersson, J. Weibull, *Swedish History in Brief*, Stokholm 1981, passim; A. Kersten, *Historia Szwecji*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1973, passim. About forming the legal system and constitutional institutions in Sweden, see L.B. Orfield, *The Growth of Scandinavian Law*, Philadelphia 1953, p. 227 ff. About the political history of Finland, see Y. Blömstedt, *A Historical Background of the Finnish Legal System*, [in:] *Finnish Legal System*, Helsinki 1966, passim; T. Cieślak, *Historia Finlandii*, Wrocław 1983, passim; idem, *Zarys historii najnowszej krajów skandynawskich*, Warszawa 1978, passim. Among the newer works, see B. Szordykowska, *Historia Finlandii*, Warszawa 2011, passim.

[3] Act of 20 July of 1906 on Parliament in Finnish is available in electronic collection of legal acts of Finland at www.finlex.fi [access: 19.12.2020]. About the functioning of the Grand Duchy of Finland within the Russian Empire, its status and the period of "frozen constitutionalism", see V. Serzhanova, *Relacje między parlamentem a rządem Finlandii*, Rzeszów 2007, p. 22 ff.

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

over 80 years of independent Finland, the constitutional position of *Eduskunta* was determined by the semi-presidential system of government.

The implementation of the constitutional reform in Finland resulted in the transformation of many political and constitutional institutions. It is worth noting here that the traditions formed so far have been skillfully combined with the requirements of modern times. As a consequence, the parliamentary model operating there with a clear pro-presidential slope, sometimes called the semi-presidential system, has been largely rationalized and modified to some extent. This conviction is proved by the analysis of two main themes: constitutional law and political ones. The system of relations between the three supreme state authorities: Parliament, Head of State and Government was shaped much differently than at the beginning of the functioning of Finland as an independent state a hundred years ago. Investigating these relationships under the current Constitution, and especially their ongoing evolution, remains an extremely fascinating area of issues for the researcher of constitutional and political issues[4].

The aim of this study is to prove the influence that the genesis of the Finnish parliamentarianism had on the modern constitutional position of *Eduskunta*, which originated from assemblies in lands belonging to today's Finland since the convocation of the first local assemblies through the evolution of parliamentary institutions and mechanisms derived from historical traditions initiated in Sweden as a result of several centuries of common history with Finland. The examination of the legal and constitutional premises and the practice of the Finnish Parliaments' functioning over the centuries, including *Eduskunta* in its modern shape, by conducting their legal analysis undoubtedly contributes to understanding the essence and mechanisms on which its current organization and operation is based. Thus, it allows the constitutional position of *Eduskunta* in the current system of parliamentary governance to be determined and to understand the reasons why it is just that and not different. The subject of the study includes, in particular, a deduction of the genesis of Finnish parliamentarianism, the legal analysis of *Eduskunta*'s constitutional position in the initial assumptions of its functioning in the conditions of independence in the system of semi-presidential governments, and furtherly the modification of this position in the context of changing the formula of government and its ongoing evolution in the direction of the parliamentary-cabinet model.

[4] More specifically, see eadem, *Zmiana formy rządu w najnowszej konstytucji Finlandii*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego. Prawo" 2011, no. 71, pp. 181–195.

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENTARIANISM IN THE FINNISH LANDS

The beginnings of the shaping of the Finnish Parliament dates back to the period when Finland was under the absolute power of the Swedish monarchy. The archetype of the representative assemblies in the Finnish lands were local assemblies that were gathering in the late Middle Ages already. A little later, the assemblies became the seed for the idea of a four-state representative assembly (Sw. *Riksdag*), consisting of representatives of the clergy, nobility, burghers and peasants[5].

The first attempt to convene a fuller assembly was carried out by King Magnus II Eriksson in Kalmar in 1359, but it did not take place in the planned composition. The idea of the four-state *Riksdag* was realized only 76 years later, when in January 1435 the representation of four states of the Kingdom of Sweden was convened, which also included representatives of the Principality of Finland. This led to a gradual reduction of the role of local assemblies, however, in Finland they were convened until the end of the 16th century[6].

The year 1616 is significant for Finland's parliamentarianism, when King Gustav II Adolf (1611–1632) ruling at that time in Sweden convened the Finnish states for a separate meeting. Representatives of the nobility, clergy, burghers and peasants took part in the deliberations[7]. It is worth emphasizing here that the participation of representatives of the peasant state in the Parliament was a phenomenon if not unique, then extremely rare in seventeenth-century Europe[8].

In 1617, the first act on the scope of the Parliament's activity – the *Riksdag* Act – was adopted, which initiated the era of parliamentary institutions based on written law in Finland. This act stated that

> […] four states (i.e. nobility, clergy, burghers and peasants) constituted a Parliament in which each state was concentrated in its own separate representative body. Only such conclusions were

[5] The situation of peasants in Finland, as well as in the whole Scandinavia, was different from the other parts of Europe, because they were free people, both in the sense of personal freedom and possessing the rights for land property. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that in case of war they formed the main part of the military forces, therefore they had weapon and knew war craft. This to some extent explains the role of peasants in the social structure and their later participation – beside the nobility, clergy and burghers – in the Parliament's activities.

[6] M. Grzybowski, *Eduskunta. Parlament Finlandii*, Warszawa 2001, p. 5; A. Kersten, *op. cit.*, p. 110 ff.; *Konstytucja Finlandii*, ed. and transl. J. Osiński, Warszawa 1997, p. 6.

[7] N. Herlitz in the work *Elements of Nordic Public Law* (Stockholm 1969, p. 53) presents some interesting deliberations on the four-state *Riksdag*, its composition and role in political life. About the four-state assembly see also K. Baranowski, *Republika Finlandii*, Warszawa 1978, p. 97.

[8] More extendedly, see A. Gwiżdż, *Uwagi wstępne do konstytucji Finlandii*, [in:] *Konstytucje Finlandii, Włoch, Niemieckiej Republiki Federalnej, Francji*, eds. A. Burda, M. Rybicki, Wrocław 1971, p. 9.

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

considered accepted, which were adopted by all the states. Applications rejected, even by one of the states, could not be presented to the King for approval[9].

In 1623, the Electoral Law was adopted, which clearly favored the nobility and established indirect elections for the representatives of the middle class and peasantry.

Enormous significance for the emerging parliamentary system of the Kingdom of Sweden, including the Grand Duchy of Finland[10], was adopting in June 1634 by the *Riksdag* in Nyköping a Constitutional Act on the Kingdom Form of Government (Sw. *Regeringsform*)[11]. It determined, among others, competences of the *Riksdag* and constituted the archetype of subsequent constitutional regulations at the supreme level, as it was the first written act of a constitutional nature, which in a compact form contained norms regarding regency, organization of the Kingdom Council, administration, courts, the Parliament *Riksdag*, and moreover, it also served to fight the absolutism of subsequent monarchs[12]. It guaranteed the *Riksdag* assembly of states influence on decision making in creating law, taxes and the succession to the throne[13]. On 21 February 1719 the *Riksdag*, convened for the election of the monarch, adopted a new Act on the Form of Government, together with an Act of Royal Obligations and an Election Act, which in the following 1720 was replaced by a more developed version[14].

---

[9] Riksdag Act 1617, quoted after L. Wasilewski, *Finlandja*, Kraków 1925, p. 22. The consistent implementation of equality of states within the parliament was emphasized by the researcher of Finnish problems L. Wasilewski. He also drew attention to an interesting detail regarding the social composition of the parliament: "Well, the Finnish element was represented only within the peasant state and the consequences of this were reflected throughout the entire national life" (L. Wasilewski, *op. cit.*, p. 22).

[10] Finland gained the status of the Grand Duchy in 1584 and kept it till declaring independence in 1918. Cf. M. Grzybowski, *Systemy polityczne współczesnej Skandynawii*, Warszawa 1989, p. 12.

[11] K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[12] It played a significant part in the Swedish and Finnish political and constitutional history in the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries and created the foundations for modern constitutional institutions. In more detail, see V. Serzhanova, *Relacje między parlamentem…*, p. 19; V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, D. Wapińska, *Akty ustrojowe i konstytucje historyczne w Szwecji i Finlandii*, [in:] *Ustrój polityczny państwa. Polska, Europa, świat*, eds. S. Sulowski, J. Szymanek, Warszawa 2013, p. 433; K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[13] M. Grzybowski, *Eduskunta…*, p. 6.

[14] This happened as a result of the initiation of political and constitutional changes in Sweden and Finland, leading to the transformation of the absolute monarchy into a constitutional one, which brought an end to the Swedish powerful position, caused by the military disasters of King Charles XII (1697–1718). Another Act on the Form of Government, adopted by the *Riksdag* in May 1720, in addition to a significant limitation of the royal power, created the constitutional foundations for Sweden, and consequently also Finland. At the same time, the coronation of the new monarch – King Frederick (1720–1751) took place, which initiated the so-called "era of freedom" (Sw. *Frihetstiden*) – the most glorious half-century in the history of this country. See M. Roberts, *The Age of Liberty: Sweden*

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

In essence, the above constitutional acts were based on the progressive social and political ideas of the early Enlightenment, in particular the theories of J. Locke[15]. The people represented by the *Riksdag* were recognized as the sole source of state power and could express obedience to the monarchy[16]. The new Act significantly narrowed the King's ability to influence the Kingdom Council. The Council's responsibility before the *Riksdag* was established, which also had an impact on its personal composition. The selection of new members was made by the monarch and the Council in office. Therefore, the Kingdom Council began to assume the character of a government, and its relations with the parliament indicate the beginning of the parliamentarianism forming[17]. The amendments to the Act on the Form of Government resulted in the introduction of a new *Riksdag* Act (Sw. *Riksdagsordning*)[18].

As a result of the coup d'État by King Gustav III (1771–1792), the "era of freedom" came to an end. He restored an enlightened absolute monarchy in Sweden, which hampered the development of parliamentarianism. At the initiative of the monarch, the binding Act on the Form of Government of 1720 was amended, by formally adopting a new Act on the *Riksdag* on 21 August 1772[19]. Although the resolution was specifically enforced, the new Act paradoxically was inspired by the Enlightenment ideas and Montesquieu's theories, and was also based on earlier Swedish constitutional traditions. Nevertheless, he established the monarch as the highest pillar of the state power, which was only accountable to God and homeland. He had the sole right to convene the *Riksdag* when there was a need to

1719–1772, Cambridge 2002, passim; idem, *Sverige under frihetstiden: 1719–1772*, Inbunden 2003, passim. In more detail, see V. Serzhanova, *Relacje między parlamentem…*, p. 21; V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, D. Wapińska, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

[15] G. Heckscher, *The Swedish Constitution 1809–1959*, Stockholm 1961, p. 13 ff.

[16] The King's right to decide on war and peace required consultation with the Kingdom Council. However, the King and the Council could not make decisions about the state of war or peace without the consent of the Parliament. The King had two votes in the Council, but nevertheless he had to submit to the majority. The 1720 Act formally restored the monarch's election, although in a significantly limited form. The Kingdom Council itself was evolving into a government. The College of the Chancellery (Sw. *Kanslikolegium*), which was the highest administrative body, was also subject to the Council. More on this V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, D. Wapińska, *op. cit.*, pp. 433–434.

[17] G. Heckscher, *op. cit.*, p. 249 ff. More extendedly the Act on the Form of Government of 1720 has been discussed in V. Serzhanova, *Relacje między parlamentem…*, pp. 20–21.

[18] Together with the Electoral Law adopted in 1723 (Sw. *Vallagen*) and the Act on Freedom of the Press (Sw. *Tryckfrihetsförordningen*) adopted in 1766 they constituted the Constitution of the then Sweden. This constitutional tradition, consisting in a multitude of the supreme force acts, has remained in Sweden till today, and in Finland it was applied after it gained independence from Russia in 1917 and was cultivated until adopting of the currently binding Constitution of 1999. More specific, see V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, D. Wapińska, *op. cit.*, pp. 433–434.

[19] L.M. Surhone, M.T. Timpledon, S.F. Marseken, *Swedish Constitution of 1772*, Beau-Bassin (Mauritius) 2010, passim.

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

pass taxes, laws and declare war. The King was the head of the civil service. The *Riksdag* still retained full control over the State Bank (Sw. *Riksbank*). The King also minimized the role of the Secret Council, which became only the monarch's advisory body on peace, arms and alliances, as well as visits abroad. In this case, the Council could veto the King's decisions if all its members were unanimous. In addition, the new Act derogated all other constitutional acts adopted after 1680. This was of significant importance, among others for the *Riksdag*, as it ceased its active activities, and political parties were also banned. The Constitutional Act of 1772 also repealed the liberal Act on Freedom of the Press of 1766, which was replaced by the Act of 1774. In 1789, despite the lack of support from the *Riksdag*, the King implemented a new Act on Unity and Security (Sw. *Förenings – och säkerhetsakten*), which supplemented the Act on the Form of Government. This act significantly strengthened the position of the monarch. As a consequence, the *Riksdag* lost its right of legislative initiative and retained only the right to enact taxes. The King determined the number of members of the Royal Council and could dismiss them, which in practice meant its liquidation. The Act abolished many previous nobility privileges[20].

The fate of Finland followed different paths than Sweden after the former was absorbed by the Russian Empire. The annexation of Finland was made on 18 March 1808[21]. Nevertheless, the incorporation of Finland as a Grand Duchy with an autonomous status, connected with Russia by a personal union, did not mean that the Basic Laws of 1772 and 1789 ceased to be in force, as they were formally preserved[22]. This situation remained until 1917[23]. Despite this, the development of political institutions in Finland was halted and the Parliament was not convened for the next half-century. After the so-called era of the "frozen constitutionalism" the decision to convene the next Parliament was not taken by Tsar Alexander II (1855–1881) until 18 September 1863. In 1864, preparations for constitutional reforms began. Unfortunately, they were not successful, because they were limited only to changes concerning the parliament, which were introduced by adopting the Act on Parliament of 20 July 1906[24].

Initially, the constitutional committee, working on the draft constitution, intended to create a bicameral legislature. However, this intention was rejected and replaced by the idea of establishing a unicameral parliament – the 200-seat *Eduskunta*. This

[20] More specific, see V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, D. Wapińska, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

[21] Deeply and thoroughly the moment of Finland's transition to Tsarist Russia and its subsequent fate, as well as its political and legal consequences are analyzed by V. Serzhanova (*Relacje między parlamentem…*, p. 22 ff.).

[22] T. Cieślak, *Historia…*, p. 128. Cf. B. Szordykowska, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

[23] O. Jussila, S. Hentilä, J. Nevakivi, *Historia polityczna Finlandii 1809–1999*, Kraków 2001, p. 18.

[24] More extendedly, see V. Serzhanova, *Relacje między parlamentem…*, p. 26 ff.; V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, D. Wapińska, *op. cit.*, p. 439 ff.

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

unambiguously ended the period of assemblies of four states, which survived not only the five-hundred-year rule of the Swedish monarchy, but also almost the entire, over a century-long period of Russian domination. One kind of historical paradox could be the fact that it happened at the end of the rule of Russia in the Finnish lands[25].

The 1906 Act[26] was undoubtedly one of the most democratic constitutional laws of its time. It was also in force in independent Finland, because it was derogated only in 1928, when another law constituting the Constitution of Finland was adopted – the Act on the Parliament[27]. At the same time, the Electoral Law was adopted with this Act. *Eduskunta*'s term of office at the time lasted 3 years, and ordinary sessions were held every year. The elections were to be secret and based on the principles of equality, universality and proportionality[28]. All citizens after the age of 24 had active voting rights. Property censuses were abolished and the granting of electoral rights to women was a sensation against the background of modern regulations. It was not only formal, since in the first election women won 19 seats. Amendments to the Electoral Law increased the number of people entitled to vote tenfold – up to 1.3 million. Such democratic regulations forced the reorganization of political life, establishing the need to create modern mass parties with clear programs[29].

EDUSKUNTA'S DEVELOPMENT AFTER GAINING INDEPENDENCE BY FINLAND

Finland's declaration of independence on 6 December 1917 meant that the reformed in 1906, 200-member unicameral *Eduskunta* became the highest legislative, but also executive body. This condition was unfavorable for the state system and,

[25] M. Grzybowski, *Systemy polityczne…*, p. 22.

[26] More extendedly about it, see N. Andrén, *Five Roads to Parliamentary Democracy*, [in:] *Nordic Democracy: Ideas, Issues and Institutions in Politics, Economy, Education, Social and Cultural Affairs of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden*, eds. E. Allardt, N. Andrén, E.J. Friis, G.Th. Gíslason, S.S. Nilson, H. Valen, F. Wendt, F. Wisti, Copenhagen 1981, p. 47; *Konstytucja Finlandii z 1999 roku*, transl. J. Osiński, Warszawa 2003, p. 13.

[27] Act of 21 June 1919 on the Form of Government no. 94/1919 and Act of 13 January 1928 on the Parliament no. 7/1928 in translation by J. Osiński.

[28] About the principle of proportional representation in the Parliament adopted in 1906, see N. Herlitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–57.

[29] Finland was the second country after New Zealand and the first in Europe to grant active and passive voting rights to women. The further evolution of the electoral system and electoral law in Finland is analyzed more specifically by V. Serzhanova (*Wybory do parlamentu finlandzkiego Eduskunty*, [in:] *Aktuálne problémy volebného práva a volebného súdnictva v Slovenskej republike – II ústavné dni*, eds. L. Orosz, T. Majerčák, Košice 201, p. 143 ff.). Cf. M. Grzybowski, *Systemy…*, p. 22; idem, *Systemy konstytucyjne państw skandynawskich*, Warszawa 2010, p. 49, 53 ff.; *Konstytucja Finlandii z 1999 roku…*, p. 13, 16; K. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

moreover, it was not provided for in the Act on the Form of the Government of 1772, which at least formally was to be the legal basis for the inevitable system reform. Its conduct was postponed due to the war that lasted from January to May 1918[30].

On 21 June 1919, *Eduskunta* passed a fundamental act for the Finnish constitutional system, the Act on the Form of Government, traditionally named *Suomen hallitusmuoto* (Fin.) / *Regeringsform för Finland* (Sw.) no. 94/1919[31], which entered into force on 19 July 1919. It was in force for over 80 years, shaping and determining the political system of Finland during this period, including the constitutional position of *Eduskunta*[32].

The Constitution proclaimed Finland a sovereign republic and adopted the basic principles of constitutionalism. The 1919 Act on the Form of Government provided that the supreme power belonged to the nation that was represented in the Parliament by its representatives. Thus, the Basic Law established two constitutional principles at the same time: the sovereignty (supremacy) of the nation and the representative form of exercising the supreme power. The 1919 Act made the Parliament of Finland *Eduskunta* the depositary of the nation's sovereignty (and this on the basis of exclusiveness in the system of the state authorities)[33]. It was significant, however, that the Parliament had no exclusive right to exercise legislative power, as it exercised it jointly with the President of the Republic[34]. In addition, a little later, the system of constitutional acts, which then constituted the Constitution of Finland, was joined by the Act on Parliament adopted on 13 Janu-

[30] N. Herlitz, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[31] Dissected by N. Herlitz (*ibidem*, pp. 29, 34 ff.).

[32] It is worth reaching for a comment in which the assessment of the new Constitution was made by C.G. Mannerheim (*Wspomnienia*, Gdynia 1996, pp. 141–142). Equally interesting digressions related to this Act can be found in: A. Gwiżdż, *Finlandia*, [in:] *Konstytucje Finlandii…*, p. 20.

[33] About the principles of the 1919 Finnish Constitution, see E. Allardt, J.J. Wiatr, *Political Systems*, [in:] *Social Structure and Change, Finland and Poland: Comparative Perspective*, eds. E. Allardt, W. Wesołowski, Warszawa 1978, p. 55 ff.

[34] This thesis is proved by the fact that the President possessed an extremely important competence in the field of norm-making activities (apart from traditional powers in legislative proceedings, such as the right of legislative initiative and suspending veto), which was the so-called right to decree, i.e. a possibility of issuing decrees, which are normative acts of a statutory rank. According to the Finnish tradition, originating from the Swedish and Russian era, the subject of regulation by decree could only be issues regulated in an administrative way by the executive. Pursuant to § 28 of the 1919 Constitution, these provisions were of an executive nature to the laws regulating matters in the field of state property management as well as the organization and functioning of public administration bodies and institutions. In view of the exclusivity of the parliament in adopting laws, the content of presidential decrees could not contain provisions amending acts. About the parliament towards the executive, see A. Antoszewski, R. Herbut, *Systemy polityczne współczesnego świata*, Gdańsk 2001, p. 258 ff. The authors make an interesting and extensive typology of parliaments because of their strength in performing their decision-making function.

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

ary 1928 no. 7/1928 (Fin. *Valtiopäiväjärjestys*, Sw. *Riksdagsordning*)[35]. Together with the Act on the Form of Government, it formed the basis for the organization and functioning of *Eduskunta* until the entry into force of the currently binding Constitution of 1999.

The representation system in the parliamentary elections was based on democratic solutions. The Parliament was elected for a three-year term in universal, direct, equal and proportional elections, and all the citizens after the age of 24 had active voting rights. The basis of the relationship between *Eduskunta* and the Council of State were the rules specific to parliamentary systems. The Constitution *expresis verbis* made the functioning of the government dependent on its trust in the parliamentary majority. The possibility of denying trust was, however, partly limited by the President's right to dissolve *Eduskunta*.

In the context of determining the position of *Eduskunta* in the then constitutional system of Finland, it is worth emphasizing that the Basic Law established a strong position of the President of the Republic[36]. He had very broad competences, hence the Finnish form of government while the 1919 Constitution was in force was widely classified as semi-presidential[37]. In consequence, the President became

[35] In addition to the Act on the Form of Government of 1919 and the *Eduskunta* Act of 1928, the Finnish Constitution consisted of: Act of 25 November 1922 on the Court of State no. 273/1922 (Fin. *Laki valtakunnanoikeudesta*, Sw. *Lag om riksrätten*), Act of 25 November 1922 on the Right of the Parliament to Examine the Lawfulness of the Official Activities of Members of the Council of State, Chancellor of Justice and Parliamentary Ombudsman no. 274/1922 (Fin. *Laki eduskunnan oikeudesta tarkastaa valtioneuvosten jäsenten ja oikeuskanslerin virkatointen lainmukaisuutta*, Sw. *Lag angående rätt falt justitiekanslerns ämbetsåtgärder*), colloquially known as the Act on Ministerial Responsibility, and the Act on the Self-Government of the Åland Islands – originally from 1951, and later – the one of 16 August 1991 currently in force no. 1144/1991 (Fin. *Ahvenanmaan itsehallintolaki*, Sw. *Självstyrelselag för Åland*). In Finnish and Swedish all are available in the electronic collection of legal acts at www.finlex.fi [access: 19.12.2020].

[36] M. Grzybowski, *Systemy polityczne…*, p. 34. About the concept of parliamentary government with a strong President's position in the 1919 Finnish Constitution, see S. Lindman, *The "Dualistic" Conception of Parliamentary Government in the Finnish Constitution*, [in:] *Democracy in Finland: Studies in Politics and Government*, Helsinki 1960, p. 47.

[37] The scope of formal and real power of the Head of State and his position, which developed in very difficult conditions at that time, became the product of Finland's historical process, influenced by constitutional experience, historical tradition, political party system, current internal and foreign policy, stability or weakness of parliamentary cabinets, and way of filling the Head of State position. The adoption of a form of government in Finland that exposed the position of the Head of State during that period was an expression of the need for a strong leader or the concept of the need to unite around strong presidents – so characteristic of countries without stable political traditions or separate statehood. This is competently discussed by: M. Grzybowski, *Finlandia. Zarys systemu ustrojowego*, Kraków 2007, p. 50; J. Nousiainen, *The Finnish System of Government: From a Mixed Constitution to Parliamentarism*, [in:] *The Constitution of Finland*, Vammala 2001, p. 148; K. Ciemniewski, *Zasady ustroju politycznego Finlandii*, Bydgoszcz 1971, p. 131 ff. More extendedly about it, see V. Serzhanova, *Suomen perustuslaki…*, pp. 20–21; V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, D. Wapińska,

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

the main pillar of the Republic's power. The legitimacy of such a constitutional position was reinforced by the principle of universal, though two-stage, election of the Head of State[38].

It should also be added that the constitutional provisions did not contain institutional and legal solutions regarding the examination of the constitutionality of laws, decrees or other normative acts. The legal sovereignty of the Parliament did not allow a possibility of adjudicating on the constitutionality of laws by any other body. Only *Eduskunta* could make an appropriate change, and until then even an unconstitutional provision of an act had to be applied.

This state of affairs remained unchanged until a comprehensive constitutional reform started in the 1990s[39], as a result of which on 11 June 1999 *Eduskunta* adopted the Basic Law of Finland no. 731/1999 (Fin. *Suomen perustuslaki*, Sw. *Finlands grundlag*)[40]. It changed the constitutional position of the Parliament to some extent, especially in the context of the political form that was taking shape at that stage, as the relationship between the Parliament, the Government and the Head of State were established on quite different principles, unknown to Finland until then.

EDUSKUNTA UNDER THE CURRENT BASIC LAW

The current Basic Law of Finland has retained the existing hitherto regulations regarding the composition and organization of *Eduskunta*. In its current wording, the Constitution devotes quite extensive fragments of its text to the Parliament.

---

op. cit., p. 443; V. Serzhanova, D. Wapińska, *Ewolucja konstytucjonalizmu w Finlandii*, [in:] *Aktualne problemy reform konstytucyjnych*, ed. S. Bożyk, Białystok 2013, p. 422. It is also worth reaching for: *Prezydent w państwach współczesnych*, ed. J. Osiński, Warszawa 2000, p. 45.

[38] In-depth considerations on the position of the Head of State in the then political system of Finland can be found in V. Serzhanova, *Suomen perustuslaki…*, pp. 75–83. Cf. eadem, *Zmiana formy rządu…*, p. 188 ff.; eadem, *Zmiany pozycji ustrojowej prezydenta Finlandii*, [in:] *Instytucja prezydenta. Zagadnienia teorii i praktyki na tle doświadczeń polskich oraz wybranych państw obcych*, eds. T. Mołdawa, J. Szymanek, Warszawa 2010, p. 172 ff.; V. Serzhanova, D. Wapińska, *op. cit.*, pp. 421 ff.

[39] In 1954, the parliamentary term was extended to four years. In addition, both the composition, internal organization, constitutional position and powers of the Parliament, as well as the system and principles of the Electoral Law for *Eduskunta*, originating from its beginnings have not changed significantly and largely during the period of more than a century of evolution and retain the shape given to them by the constitutional law – Act on the Parliament of 20 July 1906. Cf. M. Grzybowski, *Eduskunta…*, p. 14.

[40] The newest translation of the text of the Basic Law of Finland of 11 June 1999, in force since 1 March 2000, into Polish, which takes into account the latest amendments from 2011, was made by V. Serzhanova (*Suomen perustuslaki…*, p. 143 ff.). It seems that the most accurate analysis of the Constitution and the political system of Finland can be found in the latest study of J. Husa (*The Constitution of Finland: A Contextual Analaysis*, Oxford–Portland 2011, passim).

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

Provisions directly regulating the constitutional position, as well as the organization and competences of *Eduskunta* are found mainly in chapters: 1. "The Fundamental Provisions" (containing the basic principles of the constitutional system, including those relating to the position of the Parliament), 3. "*Eduskunta* and Deputies", 4. "Functioning of *Eduskunta*" and 6. "Legislation". In addition, the rules of the electoral system are contained in chapters: 2 "Basic Rights and Freedoms" (§ 14) and 3 (§§ 25–27) of the Constitution, and the regulations that make its provisions more specific – in the Election Law in force since 8 October 1998 (no. 714/1998)[41]. Equally important for *Eduskunta*'s activity are the standards contained in its Rules of Procedure of 17 December 1999 no. 40[42].

Therefore, *Eduskunta* consists of 200 deputies elected for a four-year term based on the five-adjective electoral system, according to the principles of universality, directness, secrecy, equality and proportionality[43].

Among the fundamental constitutional principles determining the constitutional position of *Eduskunta* are the following: the sovereignty of nation and the representative form of exercising power, the separation of powers as well as parliamentarianism (parliamentary-cabinet form of government). *Eduskunta*'s role in the state constitutional system is also strengthened by the principle establishing the rule of democracy and law, exercised by the nation in a way of indirect representation in parliament[44].

Eduskunta performs three basic functions: legislative, controlling and creative. The adoption of laws remains, of course, the most important function and the Finnish Parliament exercises it on an exclusive basis, as it is the main creator of law and no other state authority is entitled to create legal acts of a statutory rank. There is also the function of reviewing and approving the budget, and although it is *de facto* part of the exercising of the legislative function, some authors give it a certain autonomy[45].

---

[41] Election Law no. 714/1998 (with amendments, the latest from 2004 – Law 218/2004), which entered into force on 8 October 1998, is available in Finnish, Swedish and English in the electronic collection of the Finnish legal acts at www.finlex.fi [access: 19.12.2020]. In detail it was discussed by V. Serzhanova (*Wybory do parlamentu…*, p. 144 ff.). Cf. I. Saraviita, *The Constitution of Finland*, Helsinki 2004, p. 94 ff.; M. Grzybowski, *Finlandia…*, p. 67 ff.; idem, *Systemy konstytucyjne…*, pp. 53–57.

[42] Rules of Procedure of *Eduskunta*'s of 17 December 1999 no. 40 is available in Finnish, Swedish and English in the electronic collection of the Finnish legal acts at www.finlex.fi [access: 19.12.2020].

[43] This issue is thoroughly analyzed by V. Serzhanova, *Suomen perustuslaki…*, p. 59 ff.; eadem, *Wybory do parlamentu…*, p. 145 ff.

[44] The fundamental principles of the constitutional system in the Finnish Basic Law are thoroughly examined by V. Serzhanova (*Naczelne zasady ustroju politycznego…*, p. 363 ff.).

[45] Cf. M. Grzybowski, *Finlandia…*, p. 76. In his approach the author treats the functions of the parliament more specifically, also highlighting a number of others.

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

The function of controlling the actions of the government and its subordinate administration is performed using the direct and indirect instruments which the Constitution has equipped the Parliament with. The most important of them include: discharge, vote of confidence, vote of non-confidence, interpellations, questions, problem debates, government statements, government reports, Prime Minister's announcements, activities of the parliamentary committees and Ombudsmen, etc.[46]

The creative function, consisting in the election of external, independent state authorities, is also largely associated with the exercising of the parliamentary controlling function. Although *Eduskunta* is not a body formally appointing the Council of State, however, the creative function should include, first and foremost, the part it plays in the procedure of the government formation. *Eduskunta* also appoints budget supervisory authorities, among which, apart from the internal parliamentary body – the Audit Committee, an important part is played by the independent, albeit related to it – State Audit Office (Fin. *Valtiontalouden tarkastusvirasto*). Finland's attribute and peculiarity, as well as of other Nordic countries, is the tradition of appointing, derived from the Nordic tradition, non-judicial human rights protection authorities. For this purpose, the Finnish Parliament appoints the Ombudsman of *Eduskunta*. As a part of the creative and controlling function at the same time, the Parliament also elects its proxies to oversee the activities of the Bank of Finland. In addition, it also elects the composition of judges of the Court of State.

Eduskunta, like other parliaments of contemporary democratic states, has a degree of its internal autonomy, which is expressed, among others, in the right to establish its own bodies[47]. The Finnish Parliament has a fairly complex internal structure, but it is not particularly original because it has bodies generally known to the parliaments of other modern democratic states. The exceptions can only be: the Presidents' Council (Fin. *Puhemiesneuvosto*) and two parliamentary committees – the Grand Committee (Fin. *Suuri valiokunta*) and the Committee for the Future (Fin. *Tulevaisuusvaliokunta*), characteristic only of the Finnish tradition and rather unheard of in other parliaments[48]. The Presidents' Council consists of the Chairman of *Eduskunta*, two vice-chairmen and the chairmen of parliamentary

[46] More specifically, direct and indirect parliamentary controlling instruments over the parliament have been examined by V. Serzhanova (*Relacje między parlamentem…*, pp. 165–194). Cf. eadem, *Suomen perustuslaki…*, pp. 94–96, 111–114, 122–126.

[47] The issues of organization and internal structure of *Eduskunta* are thoroughly analyzed in eadem, *Relacje między parlamentem…*, p. 100 ff.; eadem, *Suomen perustuslaki…*, p. 64 ff. Cf. V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, *Organizacja wewnętrzna Eduskunty*, [in:] *Ustroje, doktryny, instytucje polityczne. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora zw. dra hab. Mariana Grzybowskiego*, ed. J. Czajowski, Kraków 2007, pp. 319–334; M. Grzybowski, *Eduskunta…*, p. 21; idem, *Finlandia…*, p. 77 ff.

[48] *Eduskunta*'s committees are discussed in detail in V. Serzhanova, *Komisje Eduskunty*, „Ius et Administratio. Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Prawa Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego" 2004, no. 2, pp. 195–213; eadem, *Relacje między parlamentem…*, p. 100 ff.; eadem, *Suomen perustuslaki…*, pp. 67–71. Cf. V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, *op. cit.*, p. 320 ff.

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

committees. The existence of this type of body, uniting the persons managing the work of *Eduskunta* with the chairmen of permanent parliamentary committees, is the specificity of the Finnish Parliament[49]. Among the standing committees, it is also worth distinguishing the Committee on Constitutional Law because of the role it plays in controlling constitutionality of law[50].

CONCLUSION

The genesis and evolution of Finnish parliamentarianism, as well as the current constitutional position of *Eduskunta*, are largely determined by Finland's belonging to the East-Nordic legal culture. The long-standing domination of neighboring Sweden and the specific position of Finland within the Kingdom contributed to the fact that the Finns originally adopted and tried to consolidate the joint achievements of the Swedes and, more broadly, neighboring Nordic countries. In particular, patterns of achieving political compromises have become close to them. This protected Finland from many sharp political and social conflicts.

Originating from Swedish roots, Finnish parliamentarianism survived Russian domination to develop native institutions after independence in 1917. It is a paradox and a characteristic feature that Finland's subordination to Russia for more than a century enabled it to cultivate and even develop its own parliament. The unicameral structure of *Eduskunta* with the original institution of the Grand Committee, preserved by the basic laws after independence, has survived to modern times.

At present, both the internal organization and the procedure do not differ fundamentally from parliamentary standards in other contemporary democratic states. In particular, they are close to the traditions of Nordic parliamentarianism. Two institutions should be considered original in the design of *Eduskunta*: the Grand Committee and the Committee for the Future, while regarding the competences, the part played by the Committee on Constitutional Law deserves special attention.

A thorough analysis of the evolution of *Eduskunta*, especially in the period since the entry into force of the current Basic Law, shows that a completely new chapter in the formation of the Finnish system can be clearly observed, which requires and builds different "game rules" in relations between the Parliament and the Government, with the President in the background, who is increasingly moved away from deciding on the current affairs of the state, and his position is more and

[49] *Konstytucja Finlandii z 1999 roku…*, p. 31.

[50] More extendedly, see V. Serzhanova, *Suomen perustuslaki…*, pp. 71–72; eadem, *Kontrola konstytucyjności prawa w Finlandii*, [in:] *Aktualne problemy konstytucji. Księga Jubileuszowa z okazji 40-lecia pracy naukowej Profesora Bogusława Banaszaka*, eds. H. Babiuch, P. Kapusta, J. Michalska, Legnica 2017, pp. 802–816.

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

more confidently occupied by the State Council acting under the leadership of the Prime Minister and by *Eduskunta*.

The reasons for moving away from parliamentary pro-presidential governments and choosing the evolution of the political system towards the parliamentary and cabinet system in Finland should be seen primarily in historical conditions related to adopting Swedish political and legal culture models. It is worth emphasizing the development of not only formal and procedural norms, but above all a tradition of reaching compromises during parliamentary work. There is no rule here with the use of parliamentary obstruction. The struggle between the parties continues during election campaigns to turn into a search for compromise in *Eduskunta* then. Perhaps it is from here, and not from the competences formally broadly defined by the Constitution, that parliament's high prestige in Finnish society results. This is manifested in a significant turnout during parliamentary elections. It reaches about 80% of those entitled to vote. Public opinion polls also confirm the high rank of *Eduskunta*. Hence, it plays a part of the main actor on the Finnish political scene.

REFERENCES

Literature

Allardt E., Wiatr J.J., *Political Systems*, [in:] *Social Structure and Change, Finland and Poland: Comparative Perspective*, eds. E. Allardt, W. Wesołowski, Warszawa 1978.

Andersson I., *Dzieje Szwecji*, Warszawa 1967.

Andersson I., Weibull J., *Swedish History in Brief*, Stockholm 1981.

Andrén N., *Five Roads to Parliamentary Democracy*, [in:] *Nordic Democracy: Ideas, Issues and Institutions in Politics, Economy, Education, Social and Cultural Affairs of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden*, eds. E. Allardt, N. Andrén, E.J. Friis, G.Th. Gíslason, S.S. Nilson, H. Valen, F. Wendt, F. Wisti, Copenhagen 1981.

Antoszewski A., Herbut R., *Systemy polityczne współczesnego świata*, Gdańsk 2001.

Bain R.N., *Scandinavia: A Political History of Denmark, Norway and Sweden from 1513 to 1900*, Cambridge 1905 (reprint 2006).

Baranowski K., *Republika Finlandii*, Warszawa 1978.

Blömstedt Y., *A Historical Background of the Finnish Legal System*, [in:] *Finnish Legal System*, Helsinki 1966.

Ciemniewski K., *Zasady ustroju politycznego Finlandii*, Bydgoszcz 1971.

Cieślak T., *Historia Finlandii*, Wrocław 1983.

Cieślak T., *Zarys historii najnowszej krajów skandynawskich*, Warszawa 1978.

Grzybowski M., *Eduskunta. Parlament Finlandii*, Warszawa 2001.

Grzybowski M., *Finlandia. Zarys systemu ustrojowego*, Kraków 2007.

Grzybowski M., *Systemy konstytucyjne państw skandynawskich*, Warszawa 2010.

Grzybowski M., *Systemy polityczne współczesnej Skandynawii*, Warszawa 1989.

Gwiżdż A., *Finlandia*, [in:] *Konstytucje Finlandii, Włoch, Niemieckiej Republiki Federalnej, Francji*, eds. A. Burda, M. Rybicki, Wrocław 1971.

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

Gwiżdż A., *Uwagi wstępne do konstytucji Finlandii*, [in:] *Konstytucje Finlandii, Włoch, Niemieckiej Republiki Federalnej, Francji*, eds. A. Burda, M. Rybicki, Wrocław 1971.
Heckscher G., *The Swedish Constitution 1809–1959*, Stockholm 1961.
Herlitz N., *Elements of Nordic Public Law*, Stockholm 1969.
Husa J., *Nordic Reflections on Constitutional Law: A Comparative Nordic Perspective*, Frankfurt am Main 2002.
Husa J., *The Constitution of Finland: A Contextual Analaysis*, Oxford–Portland 2011.
Jussila O., Hentilä S., Nevakivi J., *Historia polityczna Finlandii 1809–1999*, Kraków 2001.
Kersten A., *Historia Szwecji*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1973.
Konstytucja Finlandii, ed. and transl. J. Osiński, Warszawa 1997.
Konstytucja Finlandii z 1999 roku, transl. J. Osiński, Warszawa 2003.
Lindman S., *The "Dualistic" Conception of Parliamentary Government in the Finnish Constitution*, [in:] *Democracy in Finland: Studies in Politics and Government*, Helsinki 1960.
Mannerheim C.G., *Wspomnienia*, Gdynia 1996.
Nousiainen J., *The Finnish System of Government: From a Mixed Constitution to Parliamentarism*, [in:] *The Constitution of Finland*, Vammala 2001.
Orfield L.B., *The Growth of Scandinavian Law*, Philadelphia 1953.
Prezydent w państwach współczesnych, ed. J. Osiński, Warszawa 2000.
Roberts M., *Sverige under frihetstiden: 1719–1772*, Inbunden 2003.
Roberts M., *The Age of Liberty: Sweden 1719–1772*, Cambridge 2002.
Saraviita I., *The Constitution of Finland*, Helsinki 2004.
Serzhanova V., *Ewolucja konstytucji państw nordyckich*, [in:] *Państwo i prawo w dobie globalizacji*, ed. S. Sagan, Rzeszów 2011.
Serzhanova V., *Komisje Eduskunty*, „Ius et Administratio. Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Prawa Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego" 2004, no. 2.
Serzhanova V., *Kontrola konstytucyjności prawa w Finlandii*, [in:] *Aktualne problemy konstytucji. Księga Jubileuszowa z okazji 40-lecia pracy naukowej Profesora Bogusława Banaszaka*, eds. H. Babiuch, P. Kapusta, J. Michalska, Legnica 2017.
Serzhanova V., *Naczelne zasady ustroju politycznego w Konstytucji Republiki Finlandii*, [in:] *Zagadnienia prawa konstytucyjnego. Polskie i zagraniczne rozwiązania ustrojowe. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Dariuszowi Góreckiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, eds. K. Skotnicki, K. Składowski, A. Michalak, Łódź 2016.
Serzhanova V., *Relacje między parlamentem a rządem Finlandii*, Rzeszów 2007.
Serzhanova V., *Suomen perustuslaki. Ustawa zasadnicza Finlandii*, Rzeszów 2017.
Serzhanova V., *Tryb uchwalania oraz reforma Konstytucji Republiki Islandii*, [in:] *W kręgu zagadnień konstytucjonalizmu oraz współczesnego państwa*, ed. V. Serzhanova, Rzeszów 2015.
Serzhanova V., *Wybory do parlamentu finlandzkiego Eduskunty*, [in:] *Aktuálne problémy volebného práva a volebného súdnictva v Slovenskej republike – II ústavné dni*, eds. L. Orosz, T. Majerčák, Košice 2014.
Serzhanova V., *Zmiana formy rządu w najnowszej konstytucji Finlandii*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego. Prawo" 2011, no. 71.
Serzhanova V., *Zmiany pozycji ustrojowej prezydenta Finlandii*, [in:] *Instytucja prezydenta. Zagadnienia teorii i praktyki na tle doświadczeń polskich oraz wybranych państw obcych*, eds. T. Mołdawa, J. Szymanek, Warszawa 2010.
Serzhanova V., Sagan S., *Organizacja wewnętrzna Eduskunty*, [in:] *Ustroje, doktryny, instytucje polityczne. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora zw. dra hab. Mariana Grzybowskiego*, ed. J. Czajowski, Kraków 2007.

Pobrane z czasopisma Studia Iuridica Lublinensia **http://studiaiuridica.umcs.pl**
Data: 18/11/2026 04:59:31

Serzhanova V., Sagan S., Wapińska D., *Akty ustrojowe i konstytucje historyczne w Szwecji i Finlandii*, [in:] *Ustrój polityczny państwa. Polska, Europa, świat*, eds. S. Sulowski, J. Szymanek, Warszawa 2013.
Serzhanova V., Wapińska D., *Ewolucja konstytucjonalizmu w Finlandii*, [in:] *Aktualne problemy reform konstytucyjnych*, ed. S. Bożyk, Białystok 2013.
Surhone L.M., Timpledon M.T., Marseken S.F., *Swedish Constitution of 1772*, Beau-Bassin (Mauritius) 2010.
Szordykowska B., *Historia Finlandii*, Warszawa 2011.
Wasilewski L., *Finlandja*, Kraków 1925.

Legal acts

Act of 20 July 1906 on Parliament.
Act of 21 June 1919 on the Form of Government no. 94/1919.
Act of 25 November 1922 on the Court of State no. 273/1922.
Act of 25 November 1922 on the Right of the Parliament to Examine the Lawfulness of the Official Activities of Members of the Council of State, Chancellor of Justice and Parliamentary Ombudsman no. 274/1922.
Act of 13 January 1928 on the Parliament no. 7/1928.
Act of 16 August 1991 on the Self-Government of the Åland Islands no. 1144/1991.
Basic Law of Finland of 11 June 1999.
Election Law of 8 October 1998 no. 714/1998.
Rules of Procedure of Eduskunta's of 17 December 1999 no. 40.

STRESZCZENIE

W niniejszym opracowaniu przeprowadzono analizę genezy i ewolucji parlamentu finlandzkiego – *Eduskunty*: od chwili jego ustanowienia do czasów współczesnych, w tym – na podstawie dotychczasowej praktyki ustrojowej – dokonano charakterystyki obecnej pozycji ustrojowej tego parlamentu, będącej wynikiem jego rozwoju na przestrzeni wieków, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem aktualnego stanu normatywnego. Artykuł ma na celu ustalenie źródeł powstania oraz przedstawienie rozwoju tego organu w Finlandii, co w konsekwencji prowadzi do wiarygodnych wniosków w zakresie określenia jego obecnej pozycji ustrojowej w systemie naczelnych organów państwowych Finlandii. Przedmiot pracy koncentruje się przede wszystkim na analizie początków *Eduskunty* i parlamentaryzmu fińskiego, a także dalszej ewolucji *Eduskunty* w różnych okresach, tj. w czasach, gdy Finlandia była włączona do Królestwa Szwecji, funkcjonowała w obrębie Imperium Rosyjskiego oraz po uzyskaniu przez nią niepodległości w 1917 r. Opracowanie koncentruje się też na analizie obecnej pozycji ustrojowej *Eduskunty*, jej składu, organizacji wewnętrznej, funkcjach oraz kompetencjach przedstawionych na podstawie egzegezy postanowień obowiązującej ustawy zasadniczej z 1999 r. oraz regulaminu parlamentu. Zasady konstytucyjne odnoszące się do parlamentu również wydają się mieć w tym kontekście szczególne znaczenie, ponieważ przyczyniają się one do dokładniejszego zdeterminowania pozycji ustrojowej *Eduskunty*, a także wskazują na jej oryginalność i odmienność w stosunku do parlamentów innych współczesnych państw demokratycznych.

Słowa kluczowe: *Eduskunta*; geneza i ewolucja; ustawa zasadnicza; organizacja wewnętrzna; funkcje; kompetencje; pozycja ustrojowa