

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT

Table I
Overview of empirical material

Case companies, governmental organizations, or other relevant actors and sources	Archives, database, interviews, etc.	Total pages: 11,126
Contextual information		
General information about the context, the industry, and statistics.	National Biography of Finland (https://kansallisbiografia.fi/english/) International Trade Statistics, Finnish Customs, 1952-2020 Statistical Year Book, Statistics Finland, 1952-2020 Lloyd's Register of Shipping (LRS), Shipbuilding Returns, 1950-2000 The Finnish Mercantile Marine Database (http://kauppalaiva.nba.fi/) SEA Europe – European Shipyards' and Maritime Equipment Association, annual reports, https://www.seaeurope.eu/	
Media sources	<i>Helsingin Sanomat (HS)</i> (Leading Daily Newspaper) Digital Archive (www.hs.fi) <i>Suomen Kuvalehti (SK)</i> (Leading weekly magazine) Digital Archive (www.suomenkuvalehti.fi) <i>Yleisradio</i> (Finnish Public Broad Casting System), Digital archive (www.elavaarkisto.fi) <i>Navigators</i> , (Finnish Maritime monthly magazine), 1955-1990 <i>Kauppaläitiikka</i> (Foreign Trade Policy, Monthly Magazine published by FORMIN), 1980-1995	
First-hand accounts		
15 semi-structured interviews conducted by one of the authors, recorded and transcribed	- 4 interviews with shipbuilding directors and managers - 4 interviews with shipbuilding R&D experts and managers - 3 interviews with shipbuilding marketing and sales managers - 4 interviews with civil servants and public officials specialized in the foreign trade administration	Total 387
Retrospective memoirs	Collection of memoirs of former business leaders and civil servants (e.g., Landtman, 2011; Holopainen, 2007)	
Shipbuilding industry		
Wärtsilä & Wärtsilä Marine WM (founded in a merger of Wärtsilä's and Valmet's shipbuilding operations 1987. Went bankrupt 1989)	<i>Wärtsilä corporation collection</i> - Annual reports 1944-1989 <i>Wärtsilä Marine collection (WM) in Central Archives for Finnish Business Records (ELKA) in Mikkeli</i>	Total 2302 210

	- Russian sales representative Lars Jakobson's files 1987-1988	433
	- Correspondence 1987-1989	17
	- Marketing 1987-1988	34
	- Miscellaneous 1985-1989	68
	<i>Collection of Wärtsilä Director Wilhelm Wahlforss, National Archives, (NA)</i>	
	- Correspondence, 1940-1962	273
	- Shipyards, 1940-1962	76
	- Soviet trade. 1952-1962	159
	<i>Private collection of shipyard director Christian Landtman, Åbo Akademi Archives (ÅAA)</i>	
	- Correspondence, 1956-1989	348
	- Wärtsilä and WM Board meetings and annual reports, 1965-1989	684
Valmet (state-owned multi-branch conglomerate founded 1946 in a merger of state-owned metal workshops)	<i>Valmet Headquarters collection (VKH), in ELKA, Mikkeli</i>	<i>Total 438</i>
	- Strategy documents 1977-1988	75
	- Memos and correspondence, 1988-1989	218
	- Rationalization documents 1982-1984	20
	- Annual reports 1985-1989	21
	<i>Valmet Helsinki Shipyard collection (VHT) in ELKA, Mikkeli</i>	
	- Board of Directors protocols 1985-1990	56
	- Memorandums, etc. 1985	6
	- Bilateral trade 1981-1986	33
Rauma-Repola (a metal-engineering conglomerate founded in a merger 1952)	<i>Rauma-Repola collection (RR) in UPMA, Valkeakoski</i>	<i>Total 832</i>
	- Board meetings 1974-1991	470
	- USSR trade 1976-1993	176
	- USSR shipbuilding statistics 1961-1985	92
	- Marketing department 1978-1985	14
	- Shipyard committee documents	80
Hollming (family-owned shipyard and metal shop founded in 1922)	<i>Hollming collection (H) in UPMA, Valkeakoski</i>	<i>Total 478</i>
	- Moscow office protocols, travel reports, memorandums 1989-1991	91
	- Marketing department documents and memos	191
	- Marketing East-West studies and memos	196

Finnish Shipyard Associations (Telakkayhdistys, 1948-1960; STTY 1974-1987)	<i>STTY collection in ELKA, Mikkeli</i>	<i>Total 606</i>
	- Board meetings 1975-1986	205
	- Organization meetings 1977-1987	32
	- Correspondence 1985-1987	100
	- Newspapers 1987	24
	- Finnish-Soviet Economic Commissions 1975-1987	57
	- Statistical documents 1970-1986	10
	<i>Telakkayhdistys collection in NA, Helsinki</i>	
	- Protocols 1948-1960	149
Governmental organizations		
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (FORMIN) Department of Trade Politics (KPO)	<i>Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, Helsinki</i>	<i>Total 1501</i>
	- Shipbuilding industry signum 51-4. 1982-1987	237
	- Trade between Finland and the USSR, signum 43.41, 1988-1991	1016
	- Trade between Finland and the USSR, signum 58, 1952-1981	248
Bank of Finland, Department of Easter Trade	<i>Bank of Finland Archives, (SPA), Helsinki</i>	<i>Total 776</i>
	- Easter Trade Department, 1950-1992	776
President Urho Kekkonen (1956-1982)	<i>President Urho Kekkonen Archive, Orimattila</i>	<i>Total 285</i>
	- Correspondence, 1950-1980	59
	- Speeches and writings, 1950-1980	84
	- Visits and travels, 1950-1980	142
President Mauno Koivisto (President of Finland (1982- 1994)	<i>President Koivisto's personal collection in Finnish National Archives (NA), Helsinki</i>	<i>Total 532</i>
	- Foreign affairs 1987-1990	244
	- Economic policy 1986-1989	288
Parliamentary Documents	<i>Digital collection of Parliamentary Documents, 2000-2020 (https://avoindata.eduskunta.fi/#/fi/vaski)</i>	<i>Total 709</i>
	<i>Library of the Finnish Parliament, Helsinki</i>	
	- Protocols, written questions, statements, etc, 1950-2000.	470
	- Working group reports, and expert statements to the committees, 2000-2015.	160
	<i>Legislation and international treaties</i>	
	- Collection of International Treaties (Säännöskokoelman sopimussarja SopS)	24
	- Collection of Acts and Degrees (Säännöskokoelma SädK)	55
Governmental committees and working groups	<i>Working group reports, 1950-2020</i>	<i>Total 2758</i>
	Working groups and committee reports, Published or Ministry of Trade and Industry collection, National Archives, NA, Helsinki	1784

Working groups and committee reports, Published or Ministry of Finance collection, National Archives, NA, Helsinki	157
Other reports	489

PRIMARY SOURCES LIST

TABLE II

Reference	Description	Usefulness
[1] PM for the board meeting of Wärtsilä, Jun 6, 1977, ChrL 177, ÅAA	Memorandum for the Board meeting.	Insight into the strategy meeting and discussion within the Wärtsilä Board of Directors.
[2] “Merkipäivä Wärtsilän telakalle” [Celebrations at the Wärtsilä shipyard], <i>Helsingin Sanomat (HS)</i> November 28, 1954	Leading Finnish daily report on Soviet delegation visiting Wärtsilä shipyard.	Detailed description of the participants and speeches given during the day.
[3] Landtman, Christian. <i>Minnen från mina år vid Wärtsilä</i> . Helsinki: Self-published, 2011.	Memoirs of the long-term shipbuilding director at the Helsinki shipyard based on his extensive personal archives.	Insight from private, confidential, and informal interactions not recorded in the company archives.
[4] Teollisuusneuvottelukunnan mietintö teollistumisen edellytyksistä ja toimenpiteistä sen edistämiseksi, [Industrial advisory board committee report about the preconditions and measures needed for advancing industrialisation] Ministry of Trade and Industry Committee reports 4:1959.	Final report of a governmental working group to outline Finnish industrial policy.	An influential working group appointed by the government summarises the aims and strategies for industrial development in post-reconstruction Finland.
[5] Vientitakuutoimikunnan mietintö [Committee report of export guarantee committee], Ministry of Trade and Industry committee reports 7:1962).	Final report of the governmental working group on export financing in Finland.	This report provides insight into the results of the influential working group appointed by the Ministry of Trade and Industry, which examined the need for Finnish state-subsidized export financing and outlined policy recommendations.
[6] Zilliacus, B. 1984. <i>Wilhelm Wahlforss: Benedict Zilliacus Kertoo Wärtsilän Voimamiehestä</i> . Helsinki: Wärtsilä.	Biography of Wärtsilä’s long-time director.	This biography provides insight into the personal relations of a central company director.
[7] The Shipbuilder and Marine Engine-BUILDER. 1960. Vol 67.	Leading professional journal.	This gives insight about the reputation of Wärtsilä shipyard among the international shipbuilding experts.

[8]	Långhjelm to License Office, Jul 5 1955. ELKA, Wärtsilä Hietalahti, f. 50	A letter from Wärtsilä Deputy Director Bertel Långhjelm to Licence Office.	This reflects the critical importance of the icebreaker order.
[9]	Urho Kekkonen, <i>Onko maallamme malttia vaurastua?</i> [Does our country have the patience to prosper?]. Otava, Helsinki 1952.	Urho Kekkonen's, then Prime Minister but running for President, book on his industrial policy strategy.	Publication gives us insight into the industrial policy thinking of the central political decision-maker in the 1950s.
[10]	Kekkonen's speech, May 23, 1951 at the Soviet Union Institute. Published in Kekkonen, Urho: Viidesti pääministeri. - Helsingissä : Otava 2000. Ed. Ari Uino	Prime Minister's public speech.	The public speech gives us insight into Kekkonen's industrial policy, especially in relations to the Soviet trade.
[11]	Urho Kekkonen "Suotuisaa kehitystä idänkaupassamme," <i>Talouselämä</i> 1952, published in Kekkonen, Urho: Viidesti pääministeri. Helsinki : Otava 2000. Ed. Ari Uino	Article in the Finnish business magazine.	Published article gives us insight into Prime Minister's economic policy, especially in relation to the Soviet trade.
[12]	Veljenpoika (Urho Kekkonen), "Jäänsärkijälakko ja demokratia," <i>Uusi Kuvalehti</i> 20.3.1953	Column in a magazine, Prime Minister using pseudonym "Veljenpoika."	Published article in a magazine provides us insight into Prime Minister's political view on icebreaker strikes.
[13]	Veljenpoika (Urho Kekkonen), "Mitä on Suomen metalliteollisuus?" <i>Uusi Kuvalehti</i> : 9, 1955	Column in a magazine, Prime Minister using pseudonym "Veljenpoika."	Published article gives us insight into Prime Minister's industrial policy, especially in relations to metal manufacturing industry
[14]	Post memorandum on Soviet ship trade, Oct 22, 1985, SPA 256	Internal report of Bank of Finland Eastern Trade Department on the Soviet ship trade.	It articulates explicitly the established understanding of the political aspects related to the Finnish ship exports to the Soviet Union, including the fact that the problems in ship trade could be taken on the Soviet side as a symptom of diplomatic problems.
[15]	K-takuukomitean mietintö, [Cost-guarantee committee report], Ministry of Trade and Industry 28:1976.	Final report of the governmental working group on cost guarantees.	An influential working group appointed by the Ministry of Trade and Industry examined the effect and alternatives of an industrial policy instrument, cost guarantees, that had had a major impact on the profitability of the Finnish shipbuilding. The working group results were used as a basis for governmental decision-making.
[16]	Bertel Långhjelm, "Kauppalaivaston uusiminen-rahoitusongelma" [Modernization	Wärtsilä's Deputy Director's lengthy article in Finnish professional magazine	Insight into Wärtsilä's view on Finnish industrial policy.

	of Merchant marines – financial problem] <i>Navigators</i> 1/1956: 30-35		
[17]	Neste Company Annual report, 1973	Annual report of the state-owned oil company.	Insight into how the Finnish-Soviet oil politics was seen as a part of industrial policy supporting the Finnish shipbuilding industry.
[18]	“Telakat ja varustamot informoivat eduskunnan valtionvarainkuntaa” [Shipyards and ship owners inform the Finance Committee of the Parliament], <i>Navigators</i> 1/1980, pp.36-37.	Finnish maritime monthly news.	The article describes the participants and program of the industrial policy workshop organized by the maritime cluster for Members of the Parliament.
[19]	“Varustamoiden ja telakoiden elinkeinopoliittiset tavoitteet” [The industrial policy aims of the shipping companies and shipyards], <i>Navigators</i> 2/1980. pp. 6-19.	Finnish maritime monthly section.	The maritime professional magazine publishes the most important content, including lectures and speeches, held by industrial representatives for the members of the Parliamentary Finance Committee.
[20]	“Katsaus maamme laivanrakennusteollisuuteen” [Review on the current events in the Finnish shipbuilding industry], <i>Navigators</i> 9/79. Pp.5-13	Finnish maritime monthly section.	The maritime professional magazine describes the major newbuilt ships completed in Finland, including <i>M/S Turella</i> , and discusses the role of modern cruise ships for the competitiveness of the Finnish shipbuilding industry.
[21]	Memorandum Wärtsilä Board of Directors Feb 6, 1978, ChrL 228, ÅAA.	Wärtsilä Board of Directors meeting protocol.	Insights into the discussions among the directors of the leading ship exporting company, Wärtsilä.
[22]	PM Nov 2, 1977, ChrL 178, ÅAA	Wärtsilä Board of Directors meeting records.	This report provides insight into the information exchange between the governmental shipyard committee and Wärtsilä Board of Directors and discusses the planned state instruments to support shipbuilding.
[23]	WTT strategy meeting, September 9, 1979, ChrL 228, ÅAA	Strategy meeting protocol at the Wärtsilä Turku shipyard.	Insights into the strategy discussion among the directors of the leading ship exporting company, Wärtsilä.
[24]	Report of the Finnish shipyard committee, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Helsinki 1984	Published, final report of the shipyard committee.	The committee report gives us insight into the industrial policy cooperation between industrial, governmental and labor market actors.

[25]	“Nousu viivästyy telakoilla” [Up cycle delayed at the shipyards], <i>Navigators</i> 6/79. Pp 8-10	Interview of the chair of the STTY and director of Wärtsilä’s shipbuilding operations, Christian Landtman.	A key shipbuilding director describes in the interview the industrial policy needs and the impact of governmental working groups on shipbuilding.
[26]	<i>Navigators</i> 1982	Special issue of the Finnish Maritime monthly.	The special issue, published in English and shared with foreign customers and stakeholders, was part of the industrial communication strategy toward foreign competitors and countries.
[27]	Blomqvist to Sutherland 29.9.1987. 51.4, UMA	Finnish EC Ambassador Leif Blomqvist sending a letter to the EC Commissioner for Competition Peter Sutherland on Finnish stance on shipbuilding subsidies.	Insight into personal correspondence where the Finnish diplomat shares the viewpoint of the Finnish shipbuilding industry with the EC commissioner in an attempt to shape EC decision-making on competition policy.
[28]	Memorandum on state aid for shipyards, Nov 26, 1987, 51.4, UMA	Ministry of Foreign Ministry Department of Trade Politics memorandum.	Insight into the understanding of the foreign trade policy administration about the situation in Finnish shipbuilding support. The memorandum served as a foundation for political and diplomatic decision-making because it was also shared with the ministry and relevant Finnish embassies.
[29]	Telegram on Sorsa’s visit to Brussels 15.12.1988, 37.51, UMA	Meeting minutes between Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Kalevi Sorsa and EC Commissioner for External Relations and Trade, Willy de Clercq, and the enclosed Finnish negotiation proposal.	Insight into the discussions between Finnish and EC political decision-makers on the EC industrial policy affecting Finland and the summary of the Finnish bargaining strategy as a part of the European group against the Asian countries.
[30]	Paavo Okko; Pasi Malinen, Jouko Toivonen & Patrik Nygrén. <i>Telakkatuki ja tarjouskilpailut</i> [Shipyard subsidies and bidding competition]. Ministry of Trade and Industry reports, 3/1997	Final report of the research project on shipyard subsidies commissioned by the Ministry of Trade and Industry and conducted by researchers at the Turku Business School.	Report to the government on the shipyard subsidies used as a foundation for decision-making.
[31]	Penttilä to STTY 22.10.1982, STTY 2, ELKA	Sulo Penttilä, the chair of the Finnish Metal Workers Union (<i>Metallityöväenliitto</i>), addressed the Finnish Shipyard Association STTY.	Communication between the labor market organizations regarding the Finnish shipyard competitiveness abroad.
[32]	Calculations on subsidies in ship financing 18.10.1983; PM 3/1983 Shipyard committee 13.10.1983. UPMA, RR/JS 327	Post memorandums, material to or from Shipyard committee.	Calculations of subsidies in Finnish shipbuilding provides us quantitative understanding of the financial support.

[33]	Telakkatukityöryhmän muistio, [Committee report of the Working group for shipyard subsidy], Ministry of Finance 27/1989.	Report of the governmental working group on shipyard subsidies.	Influential working group appointed by the Ministry of Finance to examine shipyard subsidies and make policy recommendations.
[34]	“Meyer Turku to Receive \$85M Recapitalization Loan Approved by EU,” <i>Marine Executive</i> , 2022, Dec 19	Audited circular on maritime business aiming to provide information for decision-makers within maritime industries.	Information about the European Commission’s decision to approve the financial support package to a Finnish shipyard.
[35]	“Hallituksen vaikea telakkavalinta” [Difficult shipyard decision at the government], HS, Jan. 13, 2013	The leading Finnish daily newspaper’s analysis of the governmental decision-making on shipbuilding policy.	Insight into the public discussion and points of view regarding the governmental decision-making on shipyard ownership.