FINLAND'S FOREIGN POLITICAL LANGUAGE OF THE 1990'S IN COMMUNICATING THE NATION'S SELF POSITIONS

A Text Analytic Approach to Selected Presidential Speeches in Between 1988 and 1998

Pia Rupponen

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Author
Rupponen, Pia Anneli

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine how the Finnish foreign political communication in between 1988 and 1998 – in the form of presidential speeches – conveyed images of Finland. The research represents an attempt to identify the linguistic formulations and discursive expressions which were employed to create Finland position in the 1990's. The task was undertaken using methodologies that are based on text and discourse analysis. The notion that 'language constructs reality' serves as an important premise in the study.

The motive idea is to examine the quality and the content of political statements and reflect on the results against the change in the circumstances around Finnish foreign policy. Discourse is here conceptualised as an 'abstract unity' in which the positions assumed through linguistic manners take expression. However, discourse is also understood as a form of discussion. These forms also communicated the positioning of Finland. Finland is seen as an actor represented through these positionings.

The material comprises altogether some 22 speeches delivered by presidents Koivisto and Ahtisaari. The criterion for the selection of the material necessitated that the speeches must

either address a foreign audience or are otherwise pertinent to Finland's international relations.

The results imply that the formulations and expressions of the positions assumed in the 1990's had changed from those of the 1980's. In the 1990's Finland's position was presented through the employment of more determined and assertive linguistic formulations. The results also show that in the 1990's Finland's self position was influenced by demands imposed on it by an increasing number of international actors. Furthermore, it becomes apparent that the conventional vocabulary of a security-centred state has been replaced by wording that emphasises the society and the role of culture in international co-operation.

1 INTRODUCTION

During the 1990's Finland has experienced major changes taking place in its neighbourhood. To mention a few, the Soviet Union collapsed, the Baltic States gained independence, Germany was unified. In terms of Finnish politics and social atmosphere, Finland also participated in the change by joining the European Union in 1995. World is not stable. The transition, called also as 'the fragmentation,' that has taken place in the 1990's has been widely acknowledged in the field of political research.[1] It has proven to be a major challenge for the researchers to identify the ways in which the fragmenting development of world politics affects the course of world politics and transnational relations. It may not be possible or even necessary to pursue such a study.

However, I found it interesting to raise the question of how the Finnish foreign politics might respond or react to these changes. Since the subject-matter would have been far too extensive and unmanageable, I chose to place the focus on political communication. To be more specific, the present thesis concentrates on the textual presentation of Finland from the viewpoint of linguistic positioning and expression of images of 'self'. The motive idea of the research can be crystallised as a task to examine the development of the quality and the content of political statements set forth through foreign political speeches against the background of social change.

The research question can be divided into two sub-questions: (1) What are the linguistic formulations and discursive expressions that were used to create Finland's position in the 1990's? (2) How have the 'linguistic images' changed over the chosen period of time?

My argument is not concerned about the degree to which these images correspond to the official foreign political dogma that determines, at any given time, the principles of Finland's foreign political relations or policy. Therefore, there is no

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[1] For instance Rosenau 1993; Forsberg, T. & Vaahtoranta, T. 1993. Johdatus Suomen ulkopolitiikkaan. Kylmästä sodasta uuteen maailmanjärjestykseen; Joenniemi, P. 1990. Ulkopolitiikka murroksessa. Helsinki: Wsoy.

mention, in the current thesis, about the official political lines and standpoints identifiable in the presidential speeches. Instead, the motive idea is based on the insight that language constructs reality, and the images drawn in the speeches rather convey the 'ideal' or 'desired' imagery instead of the actual reality. Jaakko Lehtonen explains that both public and private organisations aim to deliberately create stronger images of themselves. In part, this is due to the demands imposed by increasing international interaction and flow of information -- the winds of globalisation. But, he reasons that since there prevails a belief that images dictate thinking, we also believe that by moulding the images it would be possible to control our global environment.[2]

An obvious starting premise of this study is that "Finland", as an actor which embodies structures of meanings, exists as an abstract image. The abstract idea is clad in a tangible attire -- in a language that conveys meanings. Kyösti Pekonen, in his article, examines the represented image of Finland and Finland's way of acting in accordance with the traditional foreign political paradigm[3]. Pekonen predicted in 1993 that the fragmentation in world politics would contribute to a certain transition in the form of foreign political discourse. He argues that when traditional concepts which have dominated the foreign political manners change (sovereignty, independence, national realism etc.), the represented image of Finland will inevitably change as well. This presumption, articulated by Pekonen, can be regarded as the hypothesis of this study. In addition, relations between political actors and the traditional division of political tasks will also be challenged by changes but are not in focus in this thesis. Instead, this study focuses on the creation of textual representations of Finland.

I begin this study with investigating three principles which embody the ways in which we understand society. Subsequent to that, I will illustrate a few points that characterise the conditions of Finnish foreign policy and some premises that would

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[2] Lehtonen, J. 1993. Kulttuurien kohtaaminen. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopiston viestintätieteiden laitoksen julkaisuja 9. p15

[3] Pekonen, K. 1993. Suomen representoituminen ev-puhunnassa: ulkopolitiikan paradigmaattisuudesta talouden merkitystä korostavaan näkökulmaan. Joenniemi et al. 1993. Suomesta Eurosuomeen. Tampere: Rauhan- ja konfliktin tutkimuksen laitoksen julkaisuja, 53. 49- 60

mirror from a theoretical point of view the 'transformed' international (communication) situation, providing an account of the 'post-modern'. The fourth chapter discusses the conceptualisation of discourse and the functions of language which I consider important in order to draw some conclusions of the use of language in an international environment. In this work, language is examined from the perspective that language is capable of constructing identities i.e. language serves an 'identity function'.

In addition, I will define what do I mean by discourse and discursive positioning and will present Derrida's view on "deconstructuralism". This I feel is essential for understanding the methodological framework employed in the study. The chapter on social identity delves into the causes of self identifications. Finally, I will give some remarks on the political context in which foreign political discourse carries on.

2 LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY

A profound theoretical premise throughout this study is that language constructs reality, the ways of expression and our understanding. Therefore, I have considered it crucial to outline perspectives that characterise the relation of language and knowledge to the world and our understanding of what is reality. I talk about 'knowledge' since it is here considered as a substance manifested in language. The driving thought of this study is influenced by Peter Berger's and Thomas Luckmann's ideas on the social construction of reality. They present a proposition that knowledge about the world we live in is treated as 'reality'.[4] They argue that 'reality is within the realm of language. The present thesis identifies this argument as valid.

McCarthy divides two typical perspectives on knowledge.[5] Knowledge is either socially determined or knowledge creates the social. Depending on interests of the theorist, this division may assume different names, but the principle is the same. For instance Fairclough says that society can be considered either as a structure or as a practice/action. He continues the division by emphasising the dual nature of action: it can either produce or reproduce. This influences the nature of discursive knowledge. Perspectives of realism, constructivism and relationism are elaborated in the following paragraphs.

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[4] Berger, P. & Luckman, T. 1971 Social construction of reality. Harmondsworth: Penguin
[5] Mc Carthy, E. D. 1996. Knowledge as culture. London: Routledge.

2. 1 REALISM

When language reflects 'reality', the existence of knowledge is explained by conditions set by structural, social inevitabilities: classes, institutions, and relations within an area of material production. (Representatives of realism are for example Marx, Durkheim and Mannheim, although Mannheim's contribution indicates some exceptions that will be reviewed.) These factors also function as sources of development, resulting a certain causality between the reality and linguistic expressions. According to this approach, everything is explained by society's material nature. Therefore, knowledge is conceived as a part of culture, and culture is a result of how society is organised.[6]

The theory of socially determined knowledge divides the existence of knowledge into two processes. It is both socially produced and communicated. Communication is linked from individuals to groups, and original knowledge is mixed with facts and various evaluations. In this process knowledge forces itself into a social production of culture, following that knowledge may function as a means to adopt a culture. This account of reality implies that language would simply reflect the nature of the culture.[7]

However, this view carries some limitations. The social reality is not a manifestation of its own will, for it is produced and communicated. Reality is thus inevitably symbolic, because its existence depends on how and what kind of meanings people give to it. Hence, knowledge and reality cannot be considered as separate. They are interdependent.[8]

In a sense, the realist approach represents thinking that perceives society as a stable system. Since this study focuses on the problem of how discourses would construct something new, a realist stance will not be seriously considered. Current sociological approaches adhere strongly to the latter view mentioned i.e. knowledge/language creates reality and the social.

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[6] McCarthy 1996, 12-13
[7] McCarthy 1996, 14-17

2. 2 CONSTRUCTIVISM

Constructivists claim that 'reality' is not a fact on its own will. Instead, knowledge is taken as meanings which are created and communicated in the communication processes. Therefore, knowledge is explored within (symbolic) systems which reproduce social practices. One can imagine that individuals and institutions would be 'hanging in a net of meanings', which they have knitted themselves. Culture is a product of these nets of meanings and can be understood only by interpreting the multiple meanings that people build in their lives. In this study, discourses are considered and studied as systems of reproduction, that lay a foundation for meanings.[9]

As Berger and Luckmann also noted, this view advocates that reality is constructed in the dialectic of subjective-objective reality. In other words, it is a puzzle of 'my reality' and the reality of 'the others'. Roles, institutions and abstract worlds of meanings are the result of human action. Berger and Luckmann sum this up in the concept of 'typifications'. [10]They are generated through language in micro-social situations and are adopted in everyday practices in continuous usage. When typifications are shared by typical actors, they become institutions. And, it is this process that constitutes the objective social reality. Berger and Luckmann also conclude that an institution is a social form of knowledge, 'body of truth' that guides everyday life. [11]

In brief, constructivist ideas hold on to a principle according to which knowledge of everyday practices originates from individuals -- grass-roots. In contrast, ideas of realism imply that knowledge bears its origins in material inevitabilities. However, according to the principle of dialectics, advocated by Norman Fairclough, one acknowledges that knowledge is both a product of society and an important element in the transformation processes of society.

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[8] Mc Carthy 1996, 12-19
[9] McCarthy 1996, 17-19, 20
[10] Berger & Luckmann 1972, 72
[11] Ibid, 83

Regarding the dialectic nature of reality, McCarthy points out that knowledge cannot be separated from its historical background. As a consequence, culture has to be perceived as a sign-system in which social practices are communicated, reproduced, and expressed. McCarthy remarks that in this process, the elements constituting the basis of articulation are the social actors which thus build the very ground of cultural production.[12]

According to McCarthy, there is a certain level of politics embedded in the social construction of reality as well. This is because culture is no longer founded on shared values. Instead, cultural practices are affected by institutions and groups that compete in articulating social meanings. Therefore, discursive production can be evaluated from a point of view which focuses on the ideological origins of discourse -- on hegemonic practises of discourse. As mentioned earlier, this matter is not dealt with in the present study.

2. 3 RELATIONISM

Karl Mannheim's ideas stand between structuralism and realism and support the view of language of positions. Basically, relationism entails views which regard knowledge as only partially determined by the social configurations it emerges in. Knowledge has to be analysed in relation to its social context and the analysis has to be critical to its own production. [13]

Mannheim argues that knowledge is 'positionally' determined, meaning that knowledge "is formed by a subject occupying a distinct position in the 'historical stream', all parts of which — those occupied by us as well as those occupied by the object we examine are constantly in transition and motion." [14]Relationism claims that knowledge is by no means illusory, but real and effective, guiding the actual life. Norman Fairclough stresses that the relationship between discourse and social

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[12] McCarthy 1996, 23-26

[13] Dant, T. 1991. Knowledge, ideology and discourse. London: Routledge. 10-17

[14] Dant 1991, 16

structure should be seen as dialectical -- neither as socially determined, nor as constructive.[15]

2. 4 A SYSTEM OF PRACTICES AND POSITIONS

Norman Fairclough's idea of a system of discourse is taken further by illustrating a model of communication between societal reality which is built on realist and constructivist assumptions. This model has elements of 'practices' and 'positions'. Fairclough states that the of source of discourses are in social practices. Figure 1[16]

Figure 1

SOCIETY

Structure   Practice/action

Produce   Reproduce

COMMUNICATION

Practices

Positions

INTEREST
OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
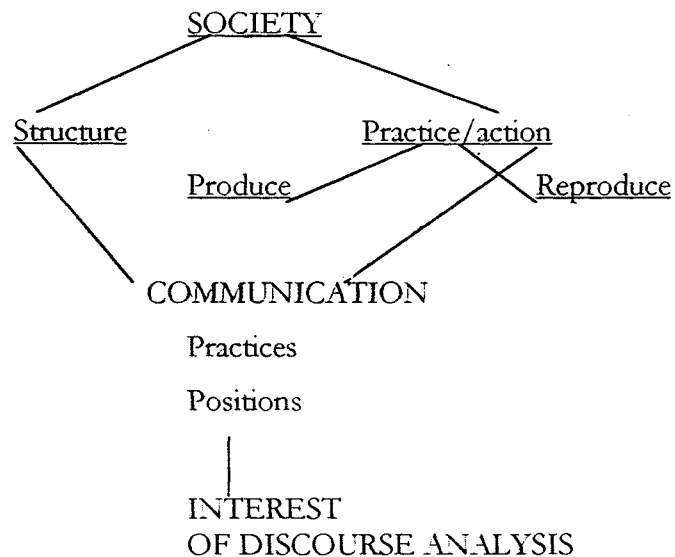
Fairclough highlights that, in any case, structure and action have to co-operate in order to "keep the society going on." Therefore, between structure and action lays existence of the 'practices' and 'positions' that form the "communicating system".

Let us assume that the 'positions' may be places, functions, rules, duties, rights occupied (filled, assumed, enacted) by individuals. It is possible that contradictory

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[15] Fairclough, N. 1992. Discourse and social change. Cambridge: Polity Press. 63-67

[16] As presented in a lecture at the University of Jyväskylä in the autumn 1998.

positions might create tensions between identities. Occupied positions may be for instance roles (e.g. membership) or agencies (gender, culture, groups). Practices, in turn, are simply activities which people undertake when they occupy certain position(s).

In this study, the foreign political discourse (as abstract) serves as the medium communication within which opinions are exchanged (speeches are delivered). The process of communication guarantees that new elements into the domain of structure as well as action are introduced and reproduced. Expressions of an agency are formulated in textual format which means that positions are taken in discourse.

3 REMARKS ON THE CONTEXT OF DISCOURSE

In a research approach as the one used in this study, it is essential that the material under analysis is being examined in light of a certain place and time to which the interpretation is being accommodated. Jokinen et al name this process of making the context visible as "marginal conditions of the cultural context".[17] In the present study, this means that I will briefly clarify the issues that would characterise the broad frames of the contextual change that has taken place in the conditions affecting Finnish foreign political climate. After all, conditions of foreign policy have to be taken into account in order to understand a wider framework of discursive practice and positions.

3. 1 THE FRAMES OF FINNISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 1990'S

Käkönen[18] concludes that Finland's foreign policy after the cold war is evaluated in relation to the problems in nearby regions, but also by more distant problems. As a reason for the new position being taken, he mentions that it is no longer possible to refer to the great power conflict and refrain from taking a stand. Because the Peace Treaty of Paris lost its meaning in terms of defence regulations in October 1990, the Finnish defence policy has faced changes and challenges as well. Most importantly, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, there emerged several new republics with which Finland has to develop political, economic and cultural relations. There are several new partners to solve problems with. The Nordic co-operation has also lost its former glory.

As a challenge for neighbourhood policies, Käkönen favours overcoming the impact of pure dividing factors. He explains that the traditional Nordic co-operation was based on similarities and common interest and values. In 1990's the case is not the same. Instead, new themes and areas of interest must come up. The fact that Finland does not seem to have a coherent neighbourhood policy is regarded by

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[17] Jokinen et al. 1993, 32-35
[18] Käkönen, J. 1993. Baltic republics in the changing Finnish foreign policy.
Joenniemi, P & Vaares, P. 1993. New actors on the international arena. Tampere: Tapri, 50. 150-159

Käkönen as a serious problem, because Finland has 'turbulent' societies as its immediate neighbours in the East and in the West.

3. 1. 2 MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Finland submitted the membership application for the EU in March 1992. In this application, Finland announced that it will ratify the treaty of Maastricht and the political goals determined in the treaty. Finland considered the EU as a central actor in the post-cold war Europe and stated that the reasons for applying for membership are primarily economic. Finland joined the EU in 1995 after a national referendum.[19]

The membership in the Union has been argued to have some impact on the context of Finnish foreign politics. I also find it interesting that research in the field of political science has paid attention to the transitory nature of nation-state which, in addition to the globalisation process, lies, behind the integration process of the European Union. Kauppi[20] points out that the problem in field of traditional social science is that the basic concepts and principles are very much bound by traditional thinking of nation-states, like for instance the concepts of 'state' or 'sovereignty'. He stresses a need for a 'new vocabulary' to outline the new 'reality'.

Käkönen argues that this is partly due to the membership in the EU. The membership in the EU follows that the scope of traditional foreign policy exercised by a sovereign state decreases. Secondly, at the same time, the foreign policy of a unified state will be decentralised. Within the framework of the EU, Käkönen claims that the foreign policy will increasingly become a part of domestic policy.[21] These assumptions might have contributed to Joenniemi's thinking who states that 'security talk' will become social, international and cultural in its nature when questions of sovereignty are being replaced by questions of identity.[22]

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[19] Salovaara, J. Et al. 1994. Suomi ja Euroopan unioni: Ulkopolitiikan haasteita 5: 1994. Helsinki: Ulkopoliittinen instituutti. p. 11

[20] Kauppi, N. 1997 Kohti post-absolutistista valtiota. Politiikka 39:1

[21] Käkönen 1993, 158

[22] Joenniemi, P. 1993. Euro- Suomi: rajalla, rajojen välissä vai rajaton. Joenniemi et al. 1993.

3. 2 THE CRISIS OF NARRATIVES

The thoughts of Jean Francois Lyotard not only address the change in the society, but they also introduce a theory of the 'post-modern international communication situation' which is applicable to other communication-related notions in this thesis.[23] The following chapter delves further into the conditions of political communication.

Lyotard argues that the conditions of knowledge have become 'post-modern' in the developed societies during the "crisis of narratives."[24] Lyotard identifies his examples with the metadiscourse of science. In this study his thoughts are discussed in terms of 'foreign political metadiscourse' that is claimed to be at the centre of change. The concept of metadiscourse embodies the idea of a discourse which is developed for legitimising ideas particular segments of society. Education or science, for instance, represent a few segments. In the current discussion we are concerned about the segment of politics and metadiscourse refers to the idea that Finland legitimises its position.

In the field of science, metadiscourse has traditionally opposed narratives. Nevertheless, when the metadiscourse deals with a 'great narrative', such as the philosophy of enlightenment according to which the actor operates by pursuing the ethic of universal justice, it is called modern. However, Lyotard argues that these traditional narratives do not work anymore and this causes the post-modern i.e. the fragmentation of narratives into 'language games'. He also questions what are the processes that would provide the basis for legitimisation in the future, when rating scales of what is true or reasonable are non-existent.

Lyotard regards knowledge as an asset in the post-modern society and accords prominence to knowledge that can be easily circulated and coded. He claims that this above-mentioned change in the nature of knowledge may compel states to re-evaluate their roles and relations to citizens who will find it more and more difficult to identify themselves with heroic goals and values provided by the national

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[23]Lyotard, J-F. 1985. Tieto postmodernissa yhteiskunnassa (La condition postmoderne) Tampere: Vastapaino
[24] Lyotard 1985, 7-22

leaders.[25] This follows that the nature of knowledge which is coded in has to be changed.

As mentioned earlier, Lyotard stresses that international society determines its relations more and more through 'language games' as the society changes into an atomic network of language games.[26] He points out that in an institutional framework (the presidency being the articulator of foreign politics), the utterances given in order to be legitimised confront always more limitations. These limitations function as filters for discursive power. However, according to Lyotard, these constraints are never permanent but rather the result of linguistic strategies. Limitations turn stable when there are no challenging factors in the society.[27]

3. 3 THE DYNAMIC MODERN AND COMMUNICATION

According to the theories of modernity, the importance of discourse is increasing because everyday life is lived to a greater extent through 'communication'. In this study, these perspectives are presented because I consider them as characteristic to our society. Anthony Giddens calls it the "mediation of experience".[28] In a political sense, this means that before the very eyes of citizens (foreign) politics is to a greater measure taking place and being formulated through political discourses -- through 'symbolic struggles', instead of being connected to the actual state-structure or to a 'real' political goal.

The extremely dynamic nature of the modern is constantly repeated in Giddens's thinking. Traditional ways of operation have become 'empty' and a new pattern is taking shape to substitute them. The modern institutions expand ever-increasingly due to globalisation and the change which is taking place in the conditions of action. They stretch their influence all the way to everyday practices. As a result, they expand even our social life. However, there are several interpretations, views and

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[25] Lyotard 1985 15, 28

[26] Lyotard 1985, 21

[27] Lyotard 1985, 33

[28] Giddens, A. 1991. Modernity and Self-identity. Cambridge: PolityPress. 23-27

standpoints about the same phenomenon. Consequently, people are living their lives within a multifaceted expansive process of abstract systems.[29]

Habermas[30] comments this issue by stating that the link between the system and the "lifeworld" is transforming. This implies that meanings of the world are first made on a structural level and only subsequently on an everyday level. Habermas's ideas suggest a pursuit of an "ideal speech situation" within the theory of communicative action. He purports to discover 'universal pragmatics'-- an attempt to describe the process by which people interact and build their identity through communicative action. He sees that all speech is oriented towards the idea of truth. Habermas conceptualises the context of discourse as the "lifeworld" which comprises culture, society and personality, and which is being reproduced by processes of cultural reproduction, social integration and sosialization.

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[29] Giddens 1991, 60

[30] Habermas, J. 1987. The Theory of Communicative Action, vol. 2: Lifeworld and System. Cambridge: Polity Press. , 130-133

4 CONCEPTUALISING DISCOURSE

Both in literature and in everyday language the concept of discourse is given multidimensional definitions. In this study discourse is understood through the insights provided by Jokinen et al[31] and Fairclough[32], who set forth a three dimensional definition of it. Jokinen stresses, as a starting point, that social reality is a field formed by the existence of various parallel or competing 'systems' which constitute the world, its processes and relations in various ways. According to them, discourse is "a system of unitary, regulation based meaning-relations which are built in social practices and which at the same time constitute social reality."[33] Pekonen's way to determine discourse is to call it as a unit of representations which are embedded in discussion types and styles --discourses.[34]

As was discussed earlier, the idea of discourse is firstly based on an assumption that knowledge creates grounds for the society, and when the views of knowledge must interact, it is enabled by language -- this process constructs reality.[35] Dant[36] recapitulates that all forms of cultural communication can be treated as discourse, for they involve human beings in an exchange of meanings. Text can be treated as a material form of discourse that ranges from single utterances to texts as entities. The main principle is that all parts are related to each other and thus constitute the discourse. In order to avoid confusions, I must point out that in this study 'discourse' is defined both as a noun, as a quantifiable form or subgenre of discussion and as an abstract entity.

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[31] Jokinen, A. et al. .1993. Diskurssianalyysin aakkoset. Tampere: Vastapaino.
[32] Fairclough, N. 1992. Discourse and social change. Cambridge: Polity Press.
[33] Jokinen et al. 1993 , 27
[34] Pekonen 1993, 51
[35] Jokinen, A. et al.1993.17
[36] Dant, T. 1991. Knowledge, ideology & discourse. London: Routledge. .2-8

4. 1 DECONSTRUCTURALISM

Discourse analysis is connected to semiotics, a link that cannot be left without elaboration. In a sense, discourse analytical thinking stems from semiotics. Indeed, parts of semiotic terminology appear once in a while in discourse analytical theories. I will now outline Jacques Derrida's thoughts on meaning, but it is, however, worth mentioning that they differ from traditional structural semiotics.

The concept of deconstructuralism and the metaphysics of presence, frequently employed by Jacques Derrida, cannot be evaded when delving into the theoretical aspect of discourse.[37] He points out that human thinking is too much dominated by ideas of presence and he criticises structuralism as seeing the social world merely as a structure of signifiers. Basically, when one reads or listens to something, one pays too much attention to the 'signifier', a semiotic term by de Saussure. Signifier means the material form of something in which the signified is being concretised. It may be a word or a picture like for instance the political term 'European co-operation'. Signified is the meaning which has been given to signifier. Often these signifieds are bound by cultural understanding. The term 'European co-operation' may imply various values and consequences dependent on the situation. To some it may signify a threat, to others it may mean opportunities.

In order to look behind the scene rather than looking at the present, at the structure of some system, one should remember the 'history of the centre', the origin, and the 'metaphysics of presence'. A system without a centre is a discourse without a philosophical signifier (for instance spirit of history) and thus short of an appropriate chronology of signification to make it meaningful.[38]

Derrida's critique on structuralism questions the presence with the help of 'deconstruction' -- an approach which delves inside the text by appraising its coherence and consistency. Henceforth, the text-analytic strategies to be discussed in the area of discourse analysis are also derived from Derrida's thinking.[39] Deconstruction attempts to question the logic of the text by identifying its essential

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[37] Derrida, J. 1978. Writing and difference. London: Routledge. , 279-281

[38] Ibid.

[39] Derrida, J. 1976. Of grammatology. London: John Hopkins university press. 26-27

components that make claims of presence. Derrida's method reveals the dependency on the essence of things which are absent in the text.

Concepts are 'deconstructed' by illustrating their dependency on a 'trace' -- on a 'clue' of what is not present. He thereby suggests to pay attention to the deficient parts of the texts and short of further elaboration. Writing as a process reveals the process of signification. It is a process in which meaning is organised according to reason, 'a logos'[40]. In Derrida's perspective, writing as a form of language is a means of bringing the mind of the author (the subject) and the reason closest to the sign.

4. 2 THE THREE DIMENSIONAL MODEL OF DISCOURSE

In this paragraph I will outline Norman Fairclough's insight on the abstract aspect of discourse. When Fairclough uses term 'discourse', he regards language as a form of social practice, not as an individual activity or a reflex of situational variables. This implies that discourse is a form in which people act upon the world and upon each other. It is also a mode of representation. More precisely, he defines discourse as a three dimensional framework of interplay between 'social practice', 'discursive practice' and 'text'.

According to Fairclough, social practice has various orientations in which discourse may be adopted – economic, political, cultural, ideological etc. In practical thinking, social practice is a framework within which people operate and act. For instance, culture constitutes such a framework.[41] Also political practices are to a large extent discursive in nature – having a strong interconnection with establishment, sustainment and the change of power relations. Discourse is an arena for power struggle and discursive practice may naturalise particular power relations and ideologies. Analysis on dimension of social practice would concentrate on ideology and hegemony.

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[40] Ibid. 66-69
[41] Fairclough 1992, 66

Discursive practice, on the other hand, is manifested in a linguistic form --in 'text'. The discursive practice draws attention to the to framework within which the text was produced and is interpreted. It specifies the functional 'purpose' and nature of text which may for example interaction, persuasion or teaching. It focuses on the question "how?". As Marcus elaborates in the following, the functional purpose of international language is a "phatic" one. In any case, these three are the main elements of Fairclough's account of the social theory of discourse.[42] To be even more specific, according to him, discourse is a "way of constructing social practice x or y from a position within social practice x, and bound to a trajectory project within social practice x".

Fairclough elaborates[43] that any interpretation set forth in an analysed material is to be considered as a 'discursive event' which may be:
1) a piece of text
2) an instance of discursive practice, or
3) an instance of social practice

Fairclough claims that there are strategies "embedded" in texts for the future that belong to a bigger field which is the social practice. Principles within a particular field of social practice form a configuration of discursive formations.[44] These 'guiding elements of discourse' are summarised in Fairclough's concept of the 'order of discourse' -- also called 'interdiscourse'.

The order of discourse signifies the relation of a particular discourse to law, education, social system/institution, etc. In other words, the order of discourse encapsulates the social structure of semiotics. Orders of discourse may transform. However, this takes place only via struggle when boundaries between settings and practices create a friction between the elements of order of discourse. By boundaries Fairclough means the requirements imposed by varying situations or institutional actions. The outcome of this 'struggle' is the re-articulation of these orders of discourse. According to Fairclough, traces of discursive change[45] can be

[42] Fairclough 1992, 71
[43] Fairclough 1992, 4-5
[44] Fairclough 1992, 68-70
[45] Fairclough 1992, 97-98

followed by looking for coexistence of contrasting elements in the text, mixtures of formal and informal language (markers of familiarity and authority). The orders of discourse change when the producer of text combines discursive conventions. By doing that, the producer 'dissembles' the existing order of discourse and creates new rules.

4. 3 FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE

The Fairclough's three dimensional model refers to three functions of language elucidated Halliday. He finds text as simultaneously representing reality, creating social relations and establishing identities[46]. He also points out that language provides means for acting and reflecting on the environment in a way that creates and transmits it for the next generations.

The first purpose of language is to build social identities -- subject positions for social subjects and types of self. This purpose is termed by Fairclough as an identity function. It incorporates ways in which social identities are set up in discourse. The second purpose is that of social relationships between people. Language incorporates a relational function, determining social relationships between discourse participants are formed and consulted. The third of purposes is the systems of knowledge and belief. This means that language has an ideological function manifested in the ways in which texts signify the world and its processes, entities and relations.

In Ron Scollon's work on culture[47] and discourse systems there is a definition of 'forms of discourse' which he regards as a major factor in intercultural communication. Other factors are ideology, socialisation and the face system. Nevertheless, his argumentation supports the view that language directly defines an aspect of culture and not only reflect culture. This follows that language serves various functions for various cultures. To some, the information and relationships are the primary reasons for using language. Others accord significance on

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[46] Halliday, M. A. K. 1978. Language as social semiotic: the interpretation of language and meaning. London: Edward Arnolds. 140-141
[47] Scollon, R & Scollon, S. 1995, 127-161

consultative and ratification practices. Language may also function as a promoter of group harmony and individual well-being. From the European perspective, he mentions that Europeans tend to use language more for division rather than unification. This also applies to Romance languages although it is believed that Romance languages would use more 'group unifying' expressions[48] than for example Scandinavians.

4. 4 POLITICAL LANGUAGE

The determination of 'political' (language, action and so forth) depends on the socio-political situation of the society. The definition of 'political' places special emphasis on the existence of implicit or explicit 'tensions' prevalent in the traditional political arena. Bourdieu names the struggle for symbolic power as a central feature in modern politics -- whose and with what kind of symbols the reality is determined at any given time. According to his insight, one purpose of the purposes of politics laden with tensions is to maintain a certain kind of discourse or to obtain a hegemonic position in a particular discourse in order to be able to determine the reality.[49] The process of constructing self images is to a great extent a struggle over expressions which would best characterise the state's condition and relations.

Pekonen pinpoints that when 'new politics' are being created, cultural factors have to be taken into consideration to a greater extent than earlier. To quote Pekonen,[50] "society does not have a culture, it is culture -- in order to understand or explain a transition towards new politics one must take into account 'cultural factors' more than before". This is particularly true today because the politics of today are to a greater extent a communicated event and thus also more tightly interwoven with culture than ever, Pekonen elucidates.[51]

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[48] Such as the frequent use of the pragmatic 'we' and national metaphors

[49] Bourdieu,P. 1991. Language and symbolic power. Cambridge. PolityPress: 181

[50] Pekonen, K. (1987).Symbols and politics as culture. Jyväskylän yliopisto:Valtio-opin laitoksen julkaisuja.53

[51] Pekonen 1987, 2-5)

4. 4. 1 THE LANGUAGE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

"International relations are to a large extent semiotic in nature", Marcus underscores as he outlines the situation of international communication.[52] According to Marcus, ambiguity and generality are basic presuppositions of diplomatic discussion making diplomatic life possible. He labels these aspects as the "imprecision" that occurs especially due to an asymmetry between semantic and pragmatic components. Semantic components embody a high degree of generality, whereas pragmatic components appear when "some very particular circumstances", such as aggression, are tested.

Repetition, in turn, is one of the basic feature of international discussion. It occurs in order to make sure that some principles and requirements remain unchanged.[53] I found Marcus's insights on 'debate' applicable also to international speech situations. In a debate situation the adversaries attempt to change each other's motives, values or cognitive images of reality. In international speeches, the goals of influencing motives or opinions are presented in rhetorical form or 'hidden' in some way. However, Marcus points out that the most important communicative function within diplomatic communication is the 'phatic' function,[54] because it enables one to maintain contact with all the partners, independent on their attitude and behaviour. Phatic function serves to "to establish, to prolong or to discontinue communication, to check whether the channel works." In a sense, this applies to foreign political speeches as well.

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[52] Marcus, S. 1984. Diplomatic communication. Vaina, L. & Hintikka, J. (1984 Cognitive constraints on communication. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing company. 28
[53] Marcus, 23
[54] Marcus, 19-22

5 DISCURSIVE FORMATION

5. 1 RULES FOR FORMATION

According to Foucault the "rules of formation" are essential to discursive formation.[55] Rules of formation are particular sets of statements which belong to discourse. More specifically, there are rules for the formation of 'objects', rules for the formation of 'enunciative modalities' and 'subject positions', rules for the formation of 'concepts' and rules for the formation of 'strategies'. These rules of formation are composed of different elements and the process of articulating these elements makes discourse a social practice. In this study, emphasis is born on clarifying enunciative modalities and subject positions.

'Enunciative modalities' are types of activity such as describing, forming hypotheses, regulations and so forth, but which have their own associated subject positions. Various statements position subjects in a sense where the social subject producing a statement is not 'an author' but rather a function of the statement itself. Enunciative modalities enable the author to pinpoint the object in an indirect way. The description of enunciative formulation can be done by determining "which position can and must be occupied by any individual (or an entity) if he is to be the subject (the statement)." Articulation of enunciative modalities is also open to historical change.[56]

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[55] Fairclough 1992, 39-63
[56] Fairclough, 1992 ,43

5. 2 SUBJECT POSITIONS

This study focuses on textually constructed images of Finland and the issue shall be partly addressed by looking for 'positioning' linguistic expressions. I refer to Bronwyn Davies's and Rom Harré's thoughts to determine what positioning means in their opinion.[57] Later I will elaborate the definitions of social identity, a matter that is inevitably a relevant one when discussing textual expressions of Finland's 'self image'.

According to Davies & Harré, people/groups are positioned through the use of certain discursive practices that create 'subjectivity'.[58] They describe discursive practice as "all the ways in which people actively produce social and psychological realities". Discourse is defined as an institutionalised use of language which is cultivated for instance on the political level. They point out that once a particular position has been taken up, "the world will be seen from that position and in terms of particular images and story-lines that are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned". Stories, or in this case speeches, are organised through various poles, such as events, characters and moral dilemmas. Story-lines may incorporate a particular interpretation of cultural stereotypes as well.

In short, Davies and Harré[59] use 'positioning' to manifest a discursive process "whereby selves are located in conversation as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines". Subject position as concept is close to the definition of 'role'.[60]

For example, one could assume that the basic discourse of official foreign politics entails the good, the bad and the co-operator, the middle-man. This follows that actors in the international field may assume subject positions. They will be engaged in discursive practice through which foreign politics is made true. Davies and Harré point out that positioning and subject positions locate participants according to

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[57] Davies, B. & Harré, R. 1990. Positioning: the discursive production of selves. Journal for the theory of social behaviour 20:1, 43-64
[58] Davies & Harré 1990, 43-46
[59] Ibid.48
[60] Roles especially in, Goffman, E. 1974. Frame analysis. New York: Harper and Row

those narrative forms with which they are familiar and connect these narratives to lived histories. [61]

5.3 FINLAND AS AN ACTOR

The question is, on one hand, what image does Finland portray of itself, but, on the other, how does Finland relate itself to other actors in the international field. 'Finland' is taken in this study as a subject, as a nation-state entity. No attention has been paid to the 'actual' writer because this study assumes the role of the writer as an implied one. In other words, the writer has been considered as speaking with the 'voice' of government in whose name the document is issued.[62] The President of Finland, backed by the government and the parliament, is a legitimised actor for representing and also responsible for creating (in manners of language) a unitary line for the whole nation and of national politics, when delivering official speeches.

Pekonen further expands on this definition further by outlining Finland as a "conceptual and ideological abstraction[63]." Finland is something which has to be imagined, and via this process of imagination Finland is put into words. Finland, "as a set of various vocabularies", is then located, as a single piece, into the collection multiple discourses. Pekonen stresses that, in order to make Finland 'exist' as a meaningful subject, there has to be a process in which Finland is represented. This enables us to make 'observations' of Finland, to converse about matters that deal with Finland or 'Finnish issues'. Discourses convey images of Finland and thus convey knowledge of Finland, but as mentioned earlier, they contribute to constructing the existential reality around us.

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[61] Davies & Harré. 52

[62] For discussion look: Scollon, R. & Scollon, S. (1995) Intercultural communication. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell. 90-91

[63] Pekonen, K. 1993. Suomen representoituminen EY-puhunnassa. 52

5. 4 INTERTEXTUALITY

This study presents the concept of 'intertextuality' because it does not only give significance to the 'voices' of various positions originating from other texts, but it also highlights the role of cultural variation in discourse. Culture's role in this approach is to represent an "archive", as Ron Scollon labels it, from which different voices originate from. The theory of intertextuality also establishes itself on an assumption of a broadened 'post-modern' communication network between states and cultures.

So, partially, the aspect of intercultural communication finds it way to discussion in connection to 'intertextuality'. Still and Worton[64] clarify intertextuality by stating that a text created by an actor is always "shot through with references, quotations and influences of every kind." Secondly, they point out that text is 'cross-fertilisation' of all the texts which the reader brings to it. Intertextual interpretation assumes that text is a combination of 'traces and tracing of otherness' and that the text is shaped by repetitive textual structures which may originate from other structures. Since the structures may be implicit or explicit, intertextuality may function as a trace or as a representation.

Frow mentions also[65] that "texts are made out of cultural and ideological norms, out of the conventions of genre, out of styles and idioms embedded, out of connotations, out of clichés , formulae or proverbs and out of other texts." Fairclough notes that intertextual relations have important implications in the constitution of subjects through texts. Intertextual relations are also present when changing discursive practices contribute to changes in social identity[66]

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[64] Still, J. & Worton. M. 1990. Intertextuality. Manchester: Manchester university press., 1-2
[65] Frow, J. 1990. Intertextuality and ontology. Still & Worton 1990, 45-46
[66] Fairclough 1992, 133-135

5. 5 SOCIAL IDENTITY

The definition of social identity is attempted here because I want to elaborate the aspect from which the expressions of positionings spring. The concept of identity is here determined as signifying these rights, duties and characters expected by the actor for herself, for others or by others for the actor. Social identity will be shortly elaborated by Henri Tajfel.[67]

According to Tajfel, social identity is a part of individuals' self concept and connected to their awareness of membership to certain social groups, and to the emotional and evaluative significance of that membership.[68] The present study, avoids intentionally, more complex definitions of the origins of identity, since importance is placed on the subjective significance of membership of aspects in political language. That is to say that illustrations of 'self', also called as 'self-images', are valid only in this social context. In any case, the matter of social identity supports the social identification processes as well which are intended to be read out in speeches.

According to Turner, social identification refers to the process of locating oneself or others within a system of social categorisations, and the sum of the social identifications will be described as 'social identity'.[69]

But after all, the most important point in this study is to realise what does 'communicating the self', a 'self-image', mean within the framework of this study. Turner[70] argues that when the cognitive structure of self-concept functions, it builds self-images. Consequently, social identity is a subsystem of the self-concept which is a hypothetical cognitive structure communicating under appropriate circumstances between the social environment and social behaviour.

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[67] Tajfel, H. (Ed.). 1982. Social identity and intergroup relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

[68] Tajfel 1982, 2-3

[69] Turner, J. C. ,Towards a cognitive redefinition of a social group. , Tajfel, 18-19

[70] Ibid. 17-18

6 DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

6. 1 ON RESERCH TASK AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The underlying reason of this study is the interest to know how Finnish foreign political communication conveys images of Finland. The research task is approached through the instruments provided by discourse analysis. Since I did not want take for granted that these images would reflect the real situation, I chose for a constructivist approach which focuses on the issue of how identities and self positions are created by language. I continued with focusing on more specific areas and thus the research question was crystallised in a sentence:

What are the linguistic formulations and discursive expressions that are used to create Finland's position in the 1990's?

The sub-question which logically follows the main question asks how have these linguistic images changed when compared to the cold war period? I will answer the research question in two parts. Firstly, the details of the analysis are in the section that provides grounds for deeper evaluation which will be carried out in the chapter of interpretations and conclusions. The motive idea of the research can be crystallised in the task to examine the development of the quality and the content of political statements given in foreign political speeches, while aware of the challenges of social changes.

6. 2 THE MATERIAL

The data consists of altogether 22 speeches of which Koivisto's speeches[1] make up 10 and Ahtisaari's[72] 12. The texts have been collected from a period of 10 years, from 1988 to 1998. The reason for choosing this particular period of time was partly due to the so called 'upheavals' that shook world politics in the beginning of the 1990's. No fair-minded observer can argue that nothing significant happened during that period in the world. In addition to the events in the former Soviet Union, in Germany and in Central Europe in general, Finland joined the European Union in 1995. The membership in the EU was considered relevant to the research task – to Finland's positioning in the linguistic sense.

The speeches under analysis were selected according to the criterion that they were presented abroad for an international audience or that they deal with a subject of Finland's relations or position. I must point out that President Koivisto's speeches are analysed here first of all to provide some comparisons but, they also illustrate the elements, styles and issues through which Finland constructed its relations and self position in the 1980's.

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[71] speeches in Koivisto, M. 1992. Foreign political standpoints. London: Aidan Ellis.

[72] All Ahtisaari's speeches available in http://www. tpk.fi/speeches

6. 3 METHOD

I have employed discourse analysis as the research method which I have adapted to meet the quality of the data. One could perhaps classify my attempt as a kind of 'text analysis'. Discourse analysis is used widely in the area of conversation analysis, but as for instance Alasuutari mentions[73], documents without interactional features can be analysed by discourse analytical methods. To a great degree, methodological ideas are derived from Norman Fairclough's insights on how to search and classify particular elements and discourses within texts that would construct and create pictures of self.

However, the difference, in contrast with Fairclough, is that he makes 'critical discourse analysis' by paying special attention to the nature of society from which the discourse originates.[74] Considering the limitations of this thesis, I have not been able to carry out the 'critical' part of analysis. In addition, Jokinen[75] et al have provided insight that is useful within the framework of this study. I believe that I have covered the premises of discourse analysis in the Chapter 4 which discuss on discourse in general. Hence, I shall not draw attention to that in this chapter.

The main structure of the analysis is divided into three parts. Firstly, I analysed carefully a single speech from president Koivisto and then from president Ahtisaari. To do that, I employed categories and classifications that were presented in the foregoing, Then, I asked a few more general questions based on the rest of the speeches and made divisions according to them. In any case, my pursuit was to find shared or dividing 'systems of meanings', keywords and key codes that would characterise the data. Obviously, the process necessitated thorough and multiple reading of speeches.

It must be admitted that in a qualitative research such as the discourse analysis, the researcher has to enjoy certain freedom and liberate himself from constraints in order to get a good perspective on the data for otherwise it would not succeed.

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[73] Alasuutari 1995, 11-25
[74] Fairclough 1992, 137- 166, 169- 199
[75] Jokinen et al. 1993

6. 3. 1 TEXT ANALYSIS

Fairclough suggests to note especially the following textual elements when attempting to find out the construction 'self' and positions in text.[76]

The Sentence Structure

What kind of standards of rationality are expected according to sentences. How the author has put the sentences together. Repetition as a strategy gives an image that everything said in sentence has a good reason.

Participants in the Text

Who are participating in the text? Whom the text is addressing? Who is talking and what? Who is 'we', 'they' etc. Who does the speaker represent?

Types of process codes in clauses

Relational verbs being, having, becoming, etc., express stable relations.

Action processes are clauses in which the agent acts upon a goal that can be taken as an impression of purposeful activity.

Mental processes that convey feeling are articulated by verbs such as 'think', 'feel', 'fear', 'hate,' etc.

Subjective or objective modality?

Is the clause in passive or active tense, is it non-directed or directed? Is there a specific reason for using certain formulations? Do directed clauses indicate increased burden of responsibility?

Nominalisation

Fairclough uses the term nominalisation in reference to a process in which activities (doing) become states and objects. Concrete matters are made abstract – a process whereby something local and temporary can be identified as essential. Through nominalisation the author hopes that something would be permament, an object, and gain more cultural significance. "We demand energy" becomes "our energy demand" etc.

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[76] Fairclough 1992, 137-166, 169-199, 226- 237

Wording, Word Meaning

What kind of a tone is attached to the words used. Which are the most frequent words used to express attitudes, opinions, feelings. Fairclough mentions for instance emotive and expressive words.

What is the nature of the statements? Does language commit itself to something? Does it predict future, pose questions etc. ?

What is the genre of language? Are there distinctive discourses apparent (as noun), or styles?

What models from other genres and discourse types are employed in order to constitute the subjectivity?

Grammar

How are clauses modalised?

What are the most frequent modal auxiliary verbs used? (To show how the author relates to a matter of concern. 'Must', 'may', 'should', 'will' = categorical expression, 'can' = show expert assertations)

Are there modal adverbs such as 'probably', 'possibly', 'obviously', 'definitely' etc.?

Are adverbials such as 'sometimes' and 'rarely' frequently used? Fairclough claims that they vest the sentence with greater authority.

Expressions such as "it is important", "is inevitable" and the use of technical vocabulary 'increase' the insider effect.

Politeness

Is it implied in text that the author wants to be understood, accepted? (positive face)

Is it implied that the author does not want anyone to impinge in his area?

Fairclough mentions that the use of certain conventions indicate social power relations.

Which politeness conventions can be identified in the speeches and to whom are they expressed?

The ethos expresses forms of social identity that the speaker signals -- occasionally through intertextual means. The ethos is a wider process of modelling

Jean Claude Deschamps's examples of forms of language, based originally on Basil Bernstein's studies, provide useful views for analysing and making conclusions of the data.[77] He says that the more same characteristics or interests a group of social actors have, the more frequently they use a shared domain of meanings -- a 'restricted code'. The code comprises high predictability of the syntactic elements that are used in speech. It presupposes, in contrast to an elaborated code, a boundary or a demarcation between those who cling to the code and those who do not. 'We' and 'others' or 'they'.

If the participating social agents differentiate from each other, the linguistic code is termed 'elaborated'. According to Bernstein, it is usually linked with an access to specialised social positions. The user of the elaborated code selects from a broad range of syntactic elements in order to reduce the probability of predictions. Yet, Deschamps concludes that elaborated code signifies existence of a boundary set between the 'me' and the 'others'. The more the 'I' pronoun is used (compared to other personal pronouns), the higher the class in question will be.

Dominated people (in speaking of themselves) define themselves as belonging into a collection, a 'plurality', but this plurality is not a collective subject but rather an object. In the case of the feeling of being dominated, the 'we' as a collection of 'I's , as a totality of subjects, needs a social situation which makes it possible to exert a certain degree of control upon the dominant practices or culture. The discourse of the powerless usually reflects their membership of a collective object, of an impersonal plurality.

6. 3. 2 PRAGMATICS

As regards the use of pronouns and modalities, this study has employed some notions of pragmatics as well.[8] 'We' as a pronoun incorporates the property of partitioning the referential domain into inclusive and exclusive groups. The referential domain of pronoun might separate the hearers from the speaker, or in another context it may make them into a single unit. Banks says that 'we' is most influential pronoun of power and solidarity of all pronouns.[79]

Frequent use of 'we' usually implies a warm solidarity between the speaker and the addressee. It is used in ambiguous contexts as a signal of membership. However, separation from the more powerful element is hidden under the added meaning of solidarity. The use of 'we' in place of 'you' is reminiscent of an asymmetrical speech that highly competent people use when addressing the less competent. A teacher may use "we will learn today how to ski" although he would be fully aware of the issues that are being learned.[80]

[77] Deschamps, J.C. , Relations of power between groups, in Tajfel, H. 1981. 95-97. And Dant, 155

[78] Wilson, J. 1990. Politically speaking, the pragmatic analysis of political language. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.

[79] Banks, S. , Power pronouns and the language of intercultural understanding. Ting-Toomey, F. & Korzenny, F. 1989. Language, communication and culture. London: Sage. 191

[80] Ibid.

7 RESULTS

7. 1 REMARKS ON ANALYSIS

In the research I attempt to approach the data by qualitative, text analytic means aiming at understanding and interpreting the material, there is always the uncertainty of how to carry out the classification. At first, I conducted the analysis by categorising with greater accuracy two speeches: president Koivisto at Tampere in 1988 and president Ahtisaari in 1994 at Pielavesi. This was done in order to get a closer look at the linguistic features that would sketch a picture of the construction of Finnish self position in the 80's and in the 90's and thus provide some material for comparison. Although the research task is focused in a sense to reflect also the effect of the membership upon the positioning process, I think that this particular speech in 1994 shows in a comprehensive way how and what has happened. In the third part in which both Koivisto's and Ahtisaari's texts are subject to analysis, more attention is accorded to Ahtisaari than to Koivisto in order to evaluate more specifically the possible effects brought by the membership.

In any case, the first two speeches were both delivered in Finland. Both speeches dealt with the issue of Finland's position. The political context of the speech situations in Ahtisaari's speeches had changed in a crucial way since Koivisto's ministry and it can be seen both in the substance and the style of the speeches. Ahtisaari's speech is longer than Koivisto's, but I do not consider the length as an obstacle to interpretation.

As already mentioned, the third part of the analysis focuses on the rest of the speeches from 1989 to 1998. I have collected samples of utterances that in my opinion best characterise the linguistic features and strategies through which Finland positions herself. In addition, I have striven to indicate how the claims set forth in the theoretical framework would correspond to the data. Some comparisons are made already in this chapter. However, the intention is to make the interpretations and conclusions in the final chapters. All the speeches are listed in Appendix 1.

7. 2 PRESIDENT KOIVISTO

The Meaning of Neutrality. Tampere, 10. 1. 1988

Making this analysis, I used Fairclough's and Jokinen's et al examples (given in Chapter 7) as a framework. I drew attention to the pragmatic aspects, such as the amount and nature of pronouns, keywords, modal adverbs and modal verbs. Categorisations were made according to the nature of the utterances and how and whom the text addresses. Distinctive stylistic features and discourse types (discourse as a noun, genre) deserved attention as well.

In this speech the Soviet Union and the Nordic Countries were mentioned clearly as a reference group. In general, past tense characterised the nature of clauses. There were altogether 21 verbs in past tense. Also, references to historical landmarks were several.

Types of process codes in clauses are distributed in relational processes and action processes. There were 22 clauses which had a verb expressing relation and 35 clauses indicating that agent acts upon a goal, an action process.

In Koivisto's speech, there appear three modal auxiliary verbs in the course of the text; 'will', 'would be' and 'would not'. Frequently occurring adverbs are 'usually', 'always', 'always', 'often', 'already', and 'often'.

The key words that dominate the vocabulary of the speech were:

*"good or friendly relations"*4
"neighbour/s"
"neutral/ity" 5
*"principle/s"*2

Finland, policy or opinion of Finland or 'we' (meaning Finland, Finns) were 15 times the subject in clauses and 13 times the object of action. Finland in singular form (as alone representing something or standing behind some opinion) was in most clauses positioned as an object in sentences.

"The image of Finland as neutral European nation gained wide acceptance."

"Finland has --- been considered a neutral country and promises have been made to protect her integrity."

" It would be even more valuable, if we were given..."

" --- he was attempting to stabilise Finland's external position..."

"When we take a position which is interpreted as negative by a friendly nation..."

When Finland is expressing its position or opinion in a direct way, it is done mostly (1) through the exclusion of expressions or by negative sentences (2) together with some other country or (3) by 'wish' or a 'hope'. However, there were only three direct suggestions of how to do something.

1)

" --- the starting point of our international co-operation cannot be..."

"We are not playing..."

"We do not present..."

"We are usually restrained..."

"We do not get involved..."

"We cannot always be of the same opinion --- neither can we always be silent"

"When we have taken a particular stand it is in order to adhere... rather than to intervene..."

"As we are opposed --- we are also against

2)

" We already have close historical connections with Sweden and the other Nordic countries..."

" We also belong with Sweden to the neutral and non-aligned nations"

"We are both members of EFTA, and work together..."

"We often hold identical views..."

"We have friendly relations with Norway --- we have of opinion..."

3)

"We wish to work for the reduction..."

"We have tried to avoid damaging ..."

"We hope that stability..."

"As a consequence of cultivating neighbourly harmony and attempting to maintain good relationships---"

Relations with other countries are expressed in sentences that are for most parts in past tense. Here I refer to sentences in which the name of the country is explicitly mentioned.

" --- our relations with the Soviet Union have developed in a natural and relaxed way."

"The development of the Soviet Union --- has brought the Soviet citizen closer to the Finns, and at the same time has also presented him in a better light."

"We have friendly relations with Norway. We have been of the opinion that at times we have been able to understand the difficulties of Norwegians than they have ours."

"Despite the fact that Denmark joined the European community, it has maintained its relations with other Nordic countries remarkably well."

"We have tried to avoid damaging what Norwegians consider important, when we have presented our own thoughts and pursued..."

Koivisto addresses in his talk first the people who doubt the nature of Finland's foreign political line (paragraphs 1-8). After that he talks to the 'superpowers' (9-13), and to the Soviet Union (14-17) and at last to the Nordic Countries (18-22).

The distinctive discourse types can be classified into three categories. Firstly, a 'good neighbourhood relations' discourse. The second one is the discourse of 'explanations', and thirdly, a discourse of 'assurances'. Here are some examples of assurances:

> " --- our international co-operation cannot be understood without considering our relations with the Soviet Union."

> "We are not playing with two decks of cards. We do not present our standpoints first in one way, then in another."

> " --- it was claimed that Finland's foreign policy had changed direction --- such calculations reveal very little about truth of the matter"

Typical utterance structure, the 'idea in between the lines', followed a certain formula which in my opinion at first explained how things used to be or how they usually are regarding Finland's relations. Then, it is followed by clearly articulated assurances that are to convince the audience how matters are going to remain in a stable condition. In general, language was reserved and cautious, and avoided commitments and future predictions.

> " The basis of Finland's security and the starting point of our international co-operation cannot be understood without considering our relations with Soviet Union ---- We do not present our standpoint..."

> "I defined the core of Finland's foreign policy --- it was claimed that ... --- such calculations reveal very little about the truth of the matter."

> "When Urho Kekkonen strongly emphasised... --- I have continued in the style..."

"As a consequence of cultivating neighbourly harmony and attempting to maintain... --- We do not get involved in disagreements..."

"When we take a position which is interpreted as negative by a friendly nation, we stress our adherence to principles. --- Finland has more generally and more consistently been considered as neutral country."

"We have friendly relations with Norway. -- We have tried to avoid damaging what Norwegians consider important."

7. 3 PRESIDENT AHTISAARI

Finland's International Position in the 1990's . Pielavesi, 3. 9. 1994

Ahtisaari delivered the speech before Finland joined the European Union. I chose this speech because it characterises well the increased amount of issues that are dealt with in the speeches of the 1990's. Also the style is different from that of Koivisto's time in general. This speech also functions as a point of comparison to speeches following the positive results of the referendum.

Finland's reference groups appeared to be the European Union, 'the international community', 'Northern Europe', 'the Baltic Region', 'Russia', 'Southern Europe', and 'the Mediterranean'.

Keywords that occurred most frequently in reference to the substance in Ahtisaari's vocabulary:

> *"foreign and security policy"* 8
>
> *"Society"* 7
>
> *"Transition"* 5
>
> *"Today, now"*
>
> *"co-operation"* , to *"co-operate"* 9

Types of process codes in clauses were divided in the following way: 36 verbs indicated relational processes, 66 verbs action processes. 'Being' was used in reference to new, unknown issues that were 'waiting' around the corner but which Finland was looking forward to see.

> *"The current transition of the international community is dramatic and inescapable."*
>
> *"It is encouraging to witness..."*
>
> *"We are now at the door..."*
>
> *"We are now seeking our place..."*
>
> *"European integration is a challenge..."*

As a contrast to Koivisto's speech, modal auxiliary verbs appeared more frequently. Altogether there were 10 'must' /'has'/'have to' ,19 'will', one 'should' and one 'may'. There occurred once 'need' and twice 'want'.

> "*This will best ensure a national consensus. In time, we will be able to evaluate this practice. I believe, it will function well.*"

Ahtisaari voiced one hope, but does it in a non-direct way.

> "*It is to be hoped, that parliament will make…*"

Finland as an entity, value or an opinion was articulated by Finland in 41 sentences as a subject.

> "*We acknowledge that foreign policy…*"
>
> "*— our international position certainly called for reassessment.*"
>
> "*In a European perspective, it is encouraging to witness…*"
>
> "*We are now at the door to new opportunities..*"
>
> "*How can we ensure…?*"
>
> "*Finland must pursue…*"
>
> "*Our foreign and security policy must aim to strengthen…*"
>
> "*It should be emphasised, that…*"
>
> "*We also did all we could…*"
>
> "*Finland's security position is good.*"
>
> "*We face no…*"
>
> "*We must…*"
>
> "*We want to participate…*"
>
> "*Finns are fully aware…*"

Finland was positioned as an object in 10 sentences.

> "Membership in the European Union will not change Finland's standing..."
>
> "European integration is a challenge to the whole Finnish society..."
>
> "... Finland's interest will be best served..."
>
> "... it would be Finland's task..."
>
> "Finland and the other Nordic countries are expected to make a strong contribution..."
>
> "Better links than ever will now open to us..."
>
> "I shall do everything to ensure that the Finnish nation continues to be..."

Typical structure began with stating that something may change. It was then followed by a clause that refers to how things have been before. However, finally there appeared a statement which somehow referred to 'future opportunities' or to 'transition' that was beneficial to Finland.

> "The means open to Finnish foreign policy may change----, as before we acknowledge that foreign policy is a whole made up of geography, history and experience--- experience and international transition have encouraged us to co-operate more closely..."

> "All reforms require careful consideration--- we are unanimous about the need to strengthen Parliament's position--- ,yet we also agreed that we need unequivocal procedures..."

> "The current transition of the international community is dramatic and inescapable. The Europe of nation states is emerging from an order that divided it into two. Today, boundaries run more within societies than between countries, particularly as economic integration proceeds in Europe. --- In a European perspective it is encouraging to witness the stable progress in economic and political integration. ---- We are now at the door to new opportunities --- we are now seeking our place in that process."

Ahtisaari focused his message first to the audience in general (1- 3), then he explained the economic difficulties that Finland had been going through and evaluated the European Union through the eyes of Finns. Hence, he directed his words to the citizens of Finland (4-18). In paragraphs 19-21 he talked both to Northern Europe and to Russia and in paragraphs 22-26 he appeared to talk to the EU and the Finns.

Ahtisaari attached emotive elements by using an almost Biblical expression, when he referred to the difficulties that the membership in the EU might bring along for someone else but not for Finland.

> *"Let us show understanding, especially for those whom Union membership signifies difficulties of adjustment in short term."*

A distinctive element in the speech was an even fashionable statement which referred to liberal, individual values in the society as well. In reference to the word 'directive', one could notice a discursive transformation that had taken place. Word 'directive' originates from official EU language, but it was used in a humorous, human context.

> *"--- there are no directives prescribing how we should proceed, we only have own will and our abilities"*

There were also rhetorical questions, posed for the citizen and for the European Union.

> *"How we can ensure that it will be a Europe of citizens, not of bureaucracies, that emerges- and that our voice is heard clearly at the highest level...?"*

7. 4 CHARACTERISING SPEECHES FROM 1989-1998

In the third part of the analysis I shall concentrate on linguistic expressions related to the international community and other countries. I have divided this chapter into three parts. The first part elucidates positioning expressions which are linked to existence of international community. The second part shows how positions are created in reference to changing social environment and in the final part, the discourse types are characterised.

My analysis is made by looking and classifying discourse types which made reference to Finland's standpoint, attitudes toward herself or other countries. Attention is also devoted to the question of to whom the speeches were addressed to and the body/person that the speech represents. It is not my intention to get number the pronouns or certain words but instead my purpose is to determine what is the 'essence' which at best characterises the speech under analysis. My attempt is to identify the themes that would best convey the 'spirit' of the speech. I have also listed metaphors and keywords.

7. 4. 1 THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

In 1989 the international community was 'the West' of which Finland was not a part. Most of the time, Koivisto took a position between East and West.

> " The Soviet Union's readiness to accede to verification, a prerequisite for confidence building measures, initially caused considerable astonishment in **the West**, almost if **they** had not actually believed... " Koivisto, 27.11.1989

> "This new policy of openness on the part of the Soviet Union has led to some sectors of the West to having difficulty...--- During the past few decades, I have occasionally found myself in discussions with Western representatives" Koivisto, 27.11.1989

> "Contrary to what is, as I understand it, generally thought in the West..." Koivisto, 27.11. 1989.

In the beginning of the 1990's Finland gave advice both for the East and the West.

" --- *that is why economic ties must also be increased between East and West in Europe.*" Koivisto, 1.1. 1990

In 1990 Koivisto addressed the Third World directly, but under the European 'banner'. He talked to Europe and to the 'divided' Europe. In addition he mentioned the Baltic peoples. These kind of features were not characteristic to the earlier statements.

" *Europe has sent many different kinds of stimuli to the Third world; ideological wars waged there have reflected antagonism in Europe. European countries too have been willing to arms the parties involved in Third world conflicts. A united Europe can send messages of accord and understanding.*" Koivisto 1.1.1990

"*We have to strengthen common structures in Europe. To continue the process, we need to rely on the principles and experiences that made possible our gains so far. But in order to meet the challenges ahead, we shall have to develop our co-operation further. Even during the unnatural division of Europe, the authors of the Helsinki principles respected European diversity...* " Koivisto, 9.5.1990

" *We are following with great concern and sympathy the efforts of the Baltic peoples...* " Koivisto, 9.5. 1990

In the late 1990's, the language was rather reserved and there were no direct promises (made for instance to the Baltic Countries). No demands for an 'international community' were made.

"*... We must not , however, expect immediate results. Such conversion is not an easy task, nor it is possible without new investment.*" Koivisto, 9.10.1990

"*It is to be hoped, that the international arms trade can be effectively checked*" 9.10.1990

"We hope that outstanding problems can be solved in negotiations with Soviet government." Koivisto, 9.10.1990

" On the basis of our own experience, we Finns have emphasised the need for a small country to have its friends nearby and to live in peace with its neighbours." Koivisto, 9.10.1990

In 1991, Koivisto stressed that Finland wants to maintain harmony with others but distant from international matters and found international politics somewhat difficult.

"Since we also want to live in harmony with others, it follows as a consequence that our international behaviour is not aggressive and that we strive to stay out of conflict as far as it is within our power to do so." Koivisto 22.9.1991

"One should observe that the most important are for co-operation, the foreign policy debate, has proved to be the most problematic – from our point of view." Koivisto, 22.9. 1991

In 1991, while in Estonia, Koivisto told how Finland was perceived by others. He then seemed to stand on the Eastern side and found difficulties in the Nordic co-operation. Additionally, he viewed Finns as 'typical Lutherans'.

" I have always been told that the course that Finland has been followed has been greatly valued." Koivisto 6.9.1991

"We are conscious that we are continually being criticised by West." Koivisto 6.9.1991

" At times we have special difficulties in finding a common line with the Nordic countries. To a great extent, this is because in our opinion they are very quick to take a stand and more emotional than we are. Of course this can be for the best, but at times it is not right for us. One could say that in a sense we are very typical Lutherans, that we always have a bad conscience" Koivisto, 6.9.1991

In the 1992 new year's address, Koivisto shared his hopes, assured Finland's standpoint and explained Finland's image in the eye's of the world.

" It is our hope that reforms, both completed and in progress, will lead quickly to increased production..." Koivisto, 1.1.1992

"We have taken great pains to assure the success of this initiative" Koivisto, 1.1.1992

"Finland has had a good name in the world thanks to our determination to remain independent and maintain our own culture, and because we have always conscientiously sought to live up to our world. We cannot afford to endanger this image." Koivisto 1.1.1992

In 1994, Ahtisaari, in turn, seemed to talk on behalf of the developed countries, then on behalf of Europe and for Europe. Increased amount of issues and actors in the international arena is reflected in his speeches.

"The functions of state have multiplied, however, and it is increasingly difficult to allocate many of them to nay of three divisions --- Government also has to compete more and more with other 'estates." Ahtisaari3. 9.1994

"The values upon which Europe's civic societies are founded are no longer rigid, in either the religious or the political sense." Ahtisaari 3. 9.1994

"In a European perspective it is encouraging to witness the stable progress in economic and political integration." Ahtisaari, 3. 9. 1994

" Now that we are joining European union, Finland and Germany will become close partners in the new Europe." Ahtisaari, 23.11. 1994

" We expect a great deal from the Union, but we know we can in turn make major contribution to achieving its common goals." Ahtisaari, 23.11. 1994

Differences between cultures and minorities found their way into Ahtisaari's speeches and vocabulary in the following ways.

> "The many differences between the union's member countries is a source of great richness, not an obstacle to development." Ahtisaari, 23. 11. 1994

> " ideological confrontations has been replaced by ethnic strife, border, disputes and ecological concerns." Ahtisaari, 21.2. 1995

Finland being a new member of the European Union, Ahtisaari committed Finland into a close co-operation. Finland was positioned in Europe, an equal member participating in common undertakings. Ahtisaari also made extensive account about the existence of a global community.

> "A new Europe has emerged: a continent of deepening co-operation instead of military confrontation. Our task is to manage this change and create an area of co-operation stretching from the Atlantic to Vladivostok."" Ahtisaari, 21.2.1995

> "On the global level East- Asian economies are on the rise changing conditions for economic competition worldwide." Ahtisaari, 21.2. 1995

> " The international community has been undergoing historic change for at least a decade. --- As a whole, international community is in transition. " Ahtisaari, 21.2. 1995

> " The geographic multidimensionality and the global cultural and economic presence of the Union constitute a viable basis for further development of the role of the union in international affairs." Ahtisaari, 21.2.1995

> "Europe has always been a place where different cultures and peoples meet, a home of creative mind and open debate. The diversity and multiplicity of expressions that we encounter in Europe has always been a cause for pride." Ahtisaari, 24.1.1996

In 1997, while in Strasbourg, Ahtisaari's speech included many references to human rights and ethnic minorities.

"We all share the view that the European court of human rights has been the centrepiece in developing human rights and their defence." Ahtisaari, 11.10.1997

" I share the view that the importance of the questions of minorities cannot be overrated." Ahtisaari, 11.10.1997

"Europe is a place where different linguistic and ethnic groups meet and mingle." Ahtisaari, 11.10.1997

In 1997, while in Kremlin, Ahtisaari's statements seemed to reflect the stance of the EU. Ahtisaari's definition of 'uncomplicated relations' was especially striking, considering the state of 'ethnic disputes' in the European region.

" ... I am pleased and satisfied that relations between our countries have become so uncomplicated, so **European.** *"* Ahtisaari, 27.11.1997

"Enlargement of the European union will further expand the interface between the EU and the Russia. Europe needs Russia and Russia needs Europe." Ahtisaari, 27.11.1997

"The EU is Russia's biggest trading partner..." Ahtisaari, 27.11.1997

" ... Russia will be also using euro as the most important invoicing currency in her foreign trade. A new currency will be born." Ahtisaari, 27.11.1997

In 1998, in Kiev, Ahtisaari speaking to the Ukrainians, referred to Germany's and France's pioneering in respect of European co-operation. He talked about globalisation too. Ahtisaari represented the EU when he mentioned the enlargement process, but used 'it' to name the European Union. Occasionally his sentences indicated a position that was double- sided -- not only was he representing the EU, he also challenged the EU. In addition, the speech included utterances in which Ahtisaari gave comments to countries which were about to join the EU.

" So that Germany and France would never again drift into enmity with each other, they placed.. " Ahtisaari, 1.4. 1998

"The new Europe of which Ukraine is a member ... ---- We Finns are delighted that Ukraine is participating in European integration." Ahtisaari, 1.4.1998

"Ukraine's situation in European integration will strengthen ...--- The opportunities for co-operation and interaction that this ' offers should not be underrated." Ahtisaari, 1.4.1998

"The Union is developing closer economic co-operation between its member states. At the same time, however, it wants also to expand this co-operation in the direction..." Ahtisaari, 1.4. 1998

"At the same time , more economic challenges began to come from outside Europe as the global economy internationalised." Ahtisaari, 1.4.1998

"Enlargement of the European union is an important part of the shaping of our continent's future. However, it must be possible to participate in integration in several different ways and on various levels. Full membership is not the only mode." Ahtisaari, 1.4.1998

The following examples clearly illustrates Ahtisaari's tendency to broaden Finland's own perspective to be European and worldwide in his speech in St. Petersburg.

" Finland's historic experience crystallises into natural interaction and trade with Russia. That is also the core of thinking that we call Finland's European vocation." Ahtisaari, 8.10.1998

" Finland and the international community support the unity of Russia..." Ahtisaari, 8.10.1998

"Not even a country the size of Russia can nowadays remain independent of developments in Asia or Europe. Globalisation is neither blessing nor a curse..." Ahtisaari, 8.10.1998

Finland is being positioned in a positive and emotive humane manner that directly touches people's everyday life and hardships. In this utterance Ahtisaari seems even to imagine himself as speaking in the capacity of governors and mayors.

> *"When the governors of the Murmansk and Kaliningrad regions or the mayors of Viborg or Svetogorsk turn to their Finnish neighbours, they are calling co-operation partners, that they know well and whom they have learnt over the years to trust. The reason for the call is obvious: the burden of responsibility is a heavy one and the governors and mayors want to make sure that they will be able to guarantee supplies for the most vulnerable segments of their population during the coming winter."* Ahtisaari, 8.10.1998

Vocabulary

A distinctive feature in terms of the wording and the vocabulary of the speeches delivered after Finland joined the EU, is the frequent use of the following expressions. A few months after joining the EU, on February 21,1995, in Paris, Ahtisaari used very frequently the words 'co-operation' and 'interaction'.

"today" or "now"	*"society"*
"transition"	*"international*
"co-operation" or to co-operate	*"Partner/s, partnership"*
"international community"	*"A new Europe"*
"change"	*"tension"*
"opportunity"	*"challenge"*

7. 4. 2 FINLAND AND CHANGE

Changes which began to take place in the early 1990's were deemed to be under control or could be prevented and Finland reacted in her positionings to the changes in a somewhat moderate way. Comparisons can be made to the 1990's when change was seen as a source of opportunities, although change appeared within the context of change manageability.

"When something very unexpected happens, one is prepared for more unexpected events... " Koivisto 27.11.1989

" I am of the opinion that the general configuration that has prevailed in Europe for decades is not changing particularly rapidly. There are too many interest at risk to allow radical changes, and measures for containing these changes already exist." Koivisto 27.11.1989.

"Change liberates, but it also brings uncertainty and tensions." Koivisto 9.5.1990

"We are active in peacekeeping, but naturally it is mainly Europe that Finland's interests lie" Koivisto, 20.11.1990

"Finland lies on the edge of Europe, relatively far from its heartland. Yet we are familiar with the diversity of Europe and with the dynamics of its continuous change." Koivisto, 20.11.1990

"Obviously for some time to come we will find ourselves in a situation where we do not know at what speed new structures will take shape. Now, a new very important and possibly even dangerous phenomenon may be perceived." Koivisto 22.9.1991

In 1994 change brought along "rivers of liberty"

" The German pulled down the Berlin wall and let the rivers of liberty run free" Ahtisaari, 23.11. 1994

"This has impaired the ability of the international community to manage the overall change." Ahtisaari, 21.1. 1995

" Now our task is to manage the change." Ahtisaari, 18.10.1995

"We need a long term perspective, a strategy for positive change." Ahtisaari, 18.10.1995

" The management of change is not possible without imagination and creativity. It is not easy to rid of old patterns of Cold war thinking. Yet we have an excellent opportunity not to only to witness historical events, but to make history. Let us not miss it." Ahtisaari, 18.10. 1995

" This is a challenge which all of us should welcome, not as burden, but as an opportunity." Ahtisaari, 11.10.1997

" Kaleidoscope of minorities is a richness not a threat, and should be a cause of pride for all of us." Ahtisaari, 11.10.1997

"This applies also to countries that are outside the present EU. No one is excluded , but instead opportunities for co-operation are open to all European countries." Ahtisaari , 1.4. 1998

"Now, we stand on the threshold of a millennium with historic opportunities before us." Ahtisaari. 1.4.1998

7. 4. 3 DISCOURSE TYPES

In the 1990's, it was typical of Ahtisaari's texts to employ a more authoritative tone as illustrated by Finland's 'wants', 'needs', 'demands', 'pushes', 'goals'. This can also be seen in the frequent usage of modal adverbs and modal auxiliary verbs. Ahtisaari often expresses Finland's standpoints through emotive expressions.

> "But though we need such optimism, I am afraid that there is still a long way to go before we can feel sure that peace here does not rest on empty promises..."
> Ahtisaari, 23. 11.1994

> " The collapse of the totalitarian regimes in Finland has brought along both hope and agony." Ahtisaari, 21.2. 1995

Some marketing, consuming and even advertising terms appeared in the speeches from mid 1990's.

> "We believe that we will continue to generate security in future too, and not to consume it." Ahtisaari, 23.11. 1994

> " The European Union is not a finished product" Ahtisaari, 18.10.1995

It was also typical for Ahtisaari to use fashionable sounding expressions.

> " We are now working closely together in the European Project." Ahtisaari, 21.2.1995

Finland (and Europe) was confronted in 1995 by the abstract feeling of uncertainty.

> " Today's Europe is not threatened by enemies.-- Our worst enemy is uncertainty."
> Ahtisaari, 18.10.1995

However, in the midst of this uncertainty, Ahtisaari's speeches depicted Finland as a 'visionary' with dreams and hopes for the future. (In a statement, Ahtisaari referred

to Snellman, "who had a vision of a world community where also the voice of small states would be heard.")

> " *Europe need ideals. Our continent should be based on civic societies transcending national borders and reaching beyond the boundaries of the European union.* "
> Ahtisaari, 14.5. 1996

> " *We should gradually create a genuine partnership between various actors.* "
> *Ahtisaari*, 2.12. 1996

While presenting EU's policies in his speeches, Ahtisaari positioned Finland also as a critic and a challenger.

> " *A feature of the internal EU discourse that has sometimes bothered me, is the artificial dichotomy that has been created between small and big states. The small member states have never opposed to strengthening the EU's foreign policy role as such.* " Ahtisaari, 29.1.1997

> "*But are we also prepared to give the council the necessary financial means to fulfil these tasks in our common quest for a juster, more inclusive and more caring Europe?*" Ahtisaari, 11.10.1997

In 1998 Finland used a metaphor 'window' in reference to herself.

> "*... Today the window that Pushkin referred to is Finland.*" Ahtisaari, 8.10.1998

8 INTERPRETATIONS AND CONLUSIONS

This chapter deals with the results which are put into a more interpretative perspective and conclusions are drawn in order to meet theoretical standing points as well. This chapter is divided into three paragraphs which deal with the formulations of linguistic and discursive expressions of Finland's self position -- grammar, themes and discourses (as type of discourse). Conclusions have also been made about the nature of discursive practice.

8. 1 LINGUISTIC FORMULATIONS

At first, when I observed how clauses are modalised, there was an apparent tendency towards using direct and stronger verbs to determine Finland's position. Comparisons between Koivisto and Ahtisaari demonstrate the issue. In 1988, Finland was articulated to be the object of action 13 times and was 15 times the subject in clauses, whereas six years later in Ahtisaari's speech, Finland had the position of an object 10 times and 41 times the position of a subject. Ahtisaari's speech was longer that Koivisto's but the relation between those figures appears to be rather evident -- active determination of one's own position has increased. In terms of enunciative[81] modality (Foucault), I would conclude that in the 1980's Finland did not make statements or demands which could not be fulfilled by herself.

An increased amount of modal auxiliary verbs in sentences signal that in the 1990's, the image of Finland has been constructed by the use of an assertive and determined tone. Ahtisaari employed frequently the words 'must' and 'will', suggesting that Finland possesses a rather categorical attitude towards the issues concerned. An image created by Finland in the 1980's, was a moderate one with Finland making wishes rather than demands. This could imply an extremely cautious attitude and avoidance of any comments which would indicate some sort of commitment. I found it interesting that this attitude toward change created positions in an extensive way. In terms of grammar and other expressions, Finland was constructed in the

1980's by statements which "avoided and was prepared for risks". (Koivisto, 27/11/1989, 22/9/1991) In the 1990's, change brought 'opportunities' and 'challenges'. (Ahtisaari, 1.4.1998)

Conclusion drawn from Koivisto's speech may even indicate that Finland positions herself as a group under domination, because Finland's standpoints are backed by some other country's similar view.[82] Koivisto's speech and numerous negation utterances also suggest that Finland's role was then to be a 'defender', not an inventor. This might have been the case in the 1980's, although Ahtisaari's statements stem also from a position which belonged to a plural entity -- the European Union. However, in Ahtisaari's speeches, Finland was positioned into a collection as a subject, not as an object. This might be the difference.

According to Fairclough, some interpretations of the amount of action verbs and relational verbs can be made. In 1988, there were 22 clauses expressing relation and 35 clauses in which actor acts upon a goal. In 1994, there were 36 relation clauses and 66 action clauses. Amounts cannot be compared as such, but some observations of relational proportion of amounts can be done. There appears to be a direction which implies that Finland finds herself more often as an agent acting upon a goal. That, in turn, would indicate increased ability to take responsibility of matters. One could make an assumption that if Finland had positioned herself in the 1980's, as a 'mediator' or 'reconciliator', the case would be that in the 1990's, Finland is positioned more as 'care-taker' than as a 'cool' and neutral middle man.

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[81] Enunciative modalities are incorporated in action such as describing, regulating etc.
[82] Dominated people view themselves as belonging into a plurality. This plurality is mostly an object. (Deschamps 1981,in Tajfel 95-97)

8. 2 THEMES

Experiences, traditions and events in the past characterise Finland's attitudes towards the world and relations to other countries in the 80's. If the past tense is typical for Koivisto in defining Finland's position, then one can say that Ahtisaari's expressions are filled with references to the future. According to Fairclough, questions as stylistic marker implies that strategies are embedded in the text for the sake of the future, in the field of 'social practice'. The commitments made in linguistic manners do indicate how committed the text is towards the apparent course of future.

In addition, I would interpret that the meanings communicated in terms of commitments gave a sign of how the others have positioned the actor too. Based on these results, I would argue that Finland has attracted wider recognition in the 1990's, because Finland she has positioned herself higher as before. In a sense, the confidence to communicate her self position in a determined manner is a result from improved self assurance and independence. Koivisto, on his behalf, built a position and constructed the Finnish self-image in the 1991 by drawing on cultural stereotype: classifying Finns as typical Lutherans, who always have a bad conscience.

It appears that in the 1990's Finland has positioned herself as part of a wider reference group to which not only the Nordic Countries belong to but also states "from Atlantic to Vladivostok" (Ahtisaari, 21.2.1995) Expertise on issues of globalisation is also displayed as a sign of increased global position that Finland has given to herself. "Not even a country the size of Russia can nowadays remain independent of developments in Asia or Europe. Globalisation is neither a blessing nor a curse." (Ahtisaari, 8.10.1998) This follows that it seems it has become easier for Finland to commit herself to issues concerning minorities and ethnic groups. "Kaleidoscope of minorities is a richness not a threat and should be a cause of pride for all of us." (Ahtisaari, 11.10.1997) Security-centred talk had become cultural in nature.

I do not argue that Finland was not a multisided actor already in the 1980's, but at least the results demonstrate that this process of articulating the positions has to be done in the 1990's to a greater extent on a public level through public statements.

The nature of the public statements corresponds to the phenomenon which Giddens calls as "mediated action".

According to Lyotard, the increased amount of issues displayed in speeches contribute to the existence of language games. Increased intercultural contacts must be controlled which manifests itself in speeches, both implicitly and explicitly. Finland as an actor can be thus seen as standing at a junction of various positions and cultures in an atomic society. Lyotard's point concerning communication is that the self is located at a junction of communication flows in a 'network of relations'.[83] In a post-modern world, one has to use language games in order to legitimise one's position. This has to be done by nations as well.

I do not know whether the 'lighter' style of foreign political speeches is a result from responding to the challenges set by 'post-modern' conditions. In any case, it seems that due to stylistic features that appeal to ordinary citizens, such as Ahtisaari's statements of familiar and emotive nature, invite the citizens to identify themselves with the nation and thus legitimise it.

To some extent the mixture of styles signals that Finland is searching for new values and a new order of discourse upon which to base the argumentation in the future. Käkönen talked about dividing factors (page 10), the lack of common values and interests especially in the Baltic Region. In a sense, one could interpret that new values are sought by emphasising that "...kaleidoscope of minorities...should be a cause of pride for all of us." (Ahtisaari, 11.10.1997) On the other hand, the issue that concerns all the countries is the economic question and the management of change which is constantly repeated in Ahtisaari's speeches.

The result from playing 'language games' is that the actor may displace himself and find a new location for oneself because transformed rules of the language game may have exerted influence on the actor. This means that the actor might position himself at one moment to stand for one's neighbour, but when another policy takes over, the actor may need to determine his position by adopting a contrary practice. For instance, in the 1980's Koivisto used to refer to 'principles'. "When we take a

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[83] Lyotard 1985, 29

position which is interpreted as negative by a friendly nation, we stress our adherence to principles." (Koivisto, 10.1.1988). Ahtisaari, in turn, defended the nation's right to determine her practices according to more flexible rules. "We are now seeking our place...", "...there are no directives prescribing how we should proceed, we have only our own will and our abilities" (Ahtisaari, 3.9.1994)

8. 3 DISCOURSE

It is likely that some sort of adjustment, perhaps even transformation, has taken place in the order of discourse. (Fairclough) I establish this argument upon results that, in my view, indicate an increased amount of discourse types emerging in the speeches given in the 1990's. Typical discourse types in the 1990's include 'marketing' (23/11/1994, 18/10/1995) and 'managing' discourse (18/10/1995), 'dreamer' discourse and vague 'emotive' discourse (8/10/1998). I think that especially the 'management' discourse characterises adequately the increased tendency to position Finland in a place of an actor that can and will 'manage the change'. These kind of expressions easily create an image of a country that wants to be perceived as reliable. On the other hand, the repetition of the imagery of reliable management of change may impart a picture of a nation in need of help.

I think that these results have contributed to the statement that speeches have constructed "a knitted net of meanings" on which Finland is hanging, as McCarthy would illustrate the point. There are new actors entering the arena of international interactions. As the globalisation proceeds, new areas demand rights for themselves. Also, the European Union has advocated a development towards 'a Europe of areas'.

The results indicate that Finland has confronted an increased need to take a stand and locate herself in positions that meet the demands imposed by the transfiguring situation. I think that the results demonstrate how Finland has employed a 'transfigured' vocabulary which is based on expressions from the social life (emotive discourse) and the domain of cultures (global discourse, minorities). The usage of this vocabulary implies that images of Finland are being created and, compared to the earlier images, also reproduced.

9 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine and evaluate how the Finnish foreign political communication conveys images of Finland by creating positions of Finland through linguistic and discursive means. The broader framework was to connect these linguistic forms of expression to changes that have taken place in the Finnish foreign political communication. Also, I wanted to show how the foreign political discourse in general has gone through changes. At first, the concept of discourse in its abstract sense proved to assume various angles, but I think it was meaningful to explain it as broadly as possible in order to realise the difference between the abstract and more concrete discourse that are incorporated in styles and themes.

My purpose was to set forth concrete examples and arguments which illustrate these points elucidated in the theoretical section. I also emphasised what has happened to the whole practice of foreign political discourse -- that it has adapted to meet the requirements set by changing social conditions. I also raised and interpreted the issues which address the research question -- the linguistic expressions and discursive formulations that are used to create Finland's position in speeches. The motive idea was that, through these linguistic means, Finland also creates its image which, in turn, moulds the ideas of Finland and the Finns.

It was long ago when the politicians began to consciously formulate and forge national image and public picture. I think it is also important for a nation to pay attention to the imagery it creates. Linguistic and discourse analyses are ways to find out what kind of profound meanings underlie the words whose formulation sometimes conveys more than the concrete commonsensical meaning of a sentence. Discourse analysis as a method is not the easiest one in terms of reporting the results and drawing conclusions based on the data. As was mentioned, interpretations have to be made in order to make conclusions. Obviously, the approach of the subject-matter largely depends on the researcher. I feel that I was able to interpret and explain the results in a way which manages to show the direction of Finnish foreign political communication in the 1990's.

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11 APPENDIX

Appendix 1

LIST OF SPEECHES

President Koivisto [84]

1988
10.1.1988
Tampere
THE MEANING OF NEUTRALITY

1989
27.11.1989
Paasikivi society
THE CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE

1990
1.1.1990
New year's address
THE POLICY OF CONSTRAINT

9.5.1990
Parliamentary assembly of the council of Europe
THE CHANGE IN EUROPE

9.10.1990
Canadian club of Canada luncheon
NEW CHALLENGES FACING THE UN

20.11.1990
Paris, CSCE summit
FROM DUALITY TO INTERGRATION

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[84] Koivisto, M. (1992). Foreign policy standpoints 1982-1992. Oxon: Aidan Ellis.

1991
8.5.1991
Washington
FINLAND AND TOMORROW'S EUROPE

6.9.1991
Estonia
FINLAND AND ESTONIA

22.9.1991
UusiSuomi
NEUTRALITY OR NON-ALIGNMENT

1992
1.1.1992
New year's address
FINLAND AND THE NEW EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE

President Ahtisaari[85]

1994
3.9.1994
Pielavesi
FINLAND'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION IN THE 90'S

23.11.1994
Berlin
FINLAND, THE EUROPEAN UNION AND INTERNATIONAL CHANGE

1995
21.2.1995
Paris
FINLAND IN THE NEW EUROPE

18.10.1995
London
TOWARD A POSITIVE INTERRELATIONSHIP...

1996
24.1.1996
Strasbourg, council of Europe

14.5.1996
Dublin Ireland
SMALL STATES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

2.12.1996
Lisbon, Institute for European affairs, summit of the organisation for security and co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

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[85] All speeches of Ahtisaari at http://www.tpk.fi/puheet

1997
29.1.1997
Roma
THE GLOBAL ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

11.10.1997
Strasbourg, Council of Europe (No title)

27.11.1997
Kremlin, Moscow
EUROPE NEEDS RUSSIA AND RUSSIA NEEDS EUROPE

1998
1.4.1998
Kyiv
IF COUNTRIES HAVE COMMON INTERESTS, THEY CHOOSE CO-OPERATION INSTEAD COMPETITION

8.10.1998
St. Petersburg (No title)

Appendix 2

SPEECH GIVEN BY PRESIDENT MAUNO KOIVISTO AT TAMPERE ON JANUARY 10, 1988 THE MEANING OF NEUTRALITY

1)The basis of Finland's security and the starting point of our international co-operation cannot be understood without considering our relations with the Soviet Union, based on the treaty of friendship , co-operation and mutual assistance , as well as our intimate affinity with the other Nordic countries.

2) We are not playing with two decks of cards. We do not present our standpoint first in one way and then on another. Four years ago, in Washington DC, I defined the core of Finland's foreign policy briefly as follows:

3)"Finland's foreign policy, above all, is based on good and trusting relations with its neighbours. In accordance with our policy of neutrality, we want to maintain good relations with all the countries of the world.

4)"Finland's contribution to world affairs is naturally small. But through determination and within our limitations, we wish to work for the reduction of international conflicts and to promote peaceful solutions."

5)A short time after this statement was made, it was claimed that Finland's foreign policy had changed direction, that neutrality was being emphasised less than during President Kekkonen's time. A computer analysis , in which the number of times certain words appeared , was used as basis for this argument. Such calculations reveal very little about the truth of the matter.

6) when Urho Kekkonen strongly emphasised Finland's neutrality, this bore reference to a time when he was attempting to stabilise Finland's external position while experiencing great domestic policy problems.

7) Later, during the 1970's, there came a time when he moderated the use of the word neutrality and, for a short period, he completely refrained from using it. After a while, though, he returned "neutrality" to his vocabulary.

8) This variation in the use of word, though, had no influence on the content of the policy. On the contrary, for the first time during those particular years, thanks to the CSCE, the image of Finland gained wide acceptance.

9) I have continued in the style established by Kekkonen during the second half of this presidential term.

10) As a consequence of cultivating neighbourly harmony and attempting to maintain good relations with other countries we are usually restrained when taking a stand regarding the affairs of other nations. We do not get involved in disagreements between the superpowers as we base our position on our own security interests and our own principles.

11) We cannot always be of the same opinion all the foreign powers, neither can we always be silent when conflicting views are expressed. The UN often keeps track of positions taken and the alternatives are few. When we have taken a particular stand it is in order to adhere to a principle rather than to intervene between the superpowers. An example of this was the question of the use of nuclear weapons. As we are opposed to the use of all nuclear weapons we are also against their being used for a first strike.

12)When we take a position which is interpreted as negative by a friendly nation, we stress our adherence to principles. As a result of the CSCE, Finland has more generally and more consistently been considered as a neutral country, as promises have been made to protect her integrity in the eventuality of

international crises. Such assurances are extremely valuable and we bear them in mind.

13) It would be even more valuable if we were to be given even more security guarantees that military crises would not occur in our immediate surroundings.

14) the key question for our security has been and still is , our relation with the Soviet Union. these have developed in a natural and relaxed way.

15) Before I was elected, the possibility of my developing personal relations with the Soviet leadership similar to those of Urho Kekkonen was raised -- even I posed this question.

16) During the past six years I have visited the Soviet Union a total of twelve times. Three of these trips have been funerals, the frequency of which speaks for itself as to the problems facing the leadership of the Soviet Union.

17) The development of the Soviet Union towards a more open society has brought the Soviet Union closer to the Finns and at the same time, has also presented him in a better light.

18) We also have close historical connections with Sweden and the Other Nordic countries, which have become even stronger due to the past political and economic development of the past decades.

19) Besides, through Nordic co-operation , we also belong with Sweden to the neutral and non aligned nations within the CSCE. We are both members of EFTA and work together to strengthen this importance. We often hold identical views on the expansion of security in the Nordic region, especially regarding a nuclear free zone and the building of confidence.

20) We have friendly relations with Norway. We have been of the opinion that at times we have been more able to understand the difficulties of the Norwegians than they have ours. If they hold a conflicting opinion, then it is understandable. We have tried to avoid damaging what Norwegians consider important when we have presented our own thoughts and pursued our own security interests.

21) Despite the fact that Denmark joined the European community, it has maintained its relations with the other Nordic countries remarkably well. Iceland and Finland are located at opposite ends of the Nordic region; but we are close to each other in many ways.

22) We hope that stability and mutual trust will also continue to characterise relations in the Nordic region. The fruitful discussion which has been going on and is continuing regarding a nuclear free zone in the Nordic region is an excellent sign that confidence is increasing.

Appendix 3

SPEECH GIVEN BY PRESIDENT MARTTI AHTISAARI AT THE URHO
KEKKONEN SEMINAR IN PIELAVESI ON SEPTEMBER 3, 1994
FINLAND'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION IN THE '90S

1)As President of the Republic and an influential figure in Finnish society, Dr. Urho Kekkonen concentrated his powers on promoting Finland's international standing and peace in Europe. Within our policy of neutrality, these objectives worked together as a coherent entity. It gives me great pleasure to be able to speak at this prestigious seminar, dedicated to the memory and statesmanship of Finland's long-time President.

2)The means open to Finnish foreign policy may change, but its objectives remain much the same. As before, we acknowledge that foreign policy is a whole made up of geography, history and experience. Geography does not change, and history has taught us caution, but experience and international transition have encouraged us to co-operate more closely with other nations.

3)In a radio address almost exactly half a century ago, on 25 September 1944, Dr Kekkonen said: "The Finnish nation stands at the beginning of the new political path determined for it. Broad, ready-built roads are closed to us; we must construct a new national course through marshland and mountains. Fortunately we are a pioneering nation, whose physical endurance and mental perseverance help it to carry through whatever difficulties the future may have in store for it." Following the war, our international position certainly called for reassessment. President J.K.Paasikivi and Prime Minister Urho Kekkonen were realistic enough to understand that we had come to a crucial turning point in Finnish policy. They mutually supported each other in pursuing the aims of a new foreign policy, often in opposition to public opinion and facing widespread resistance in Parliament.

4)The international position of every nation ultimately and essentially rests on its political and economic vitality. In the past few years, we have lived through the deepest recession in our post-war history. Unemployment has divided society and if continued, threatens to isolate us from the international co-operation.

5)The current transition of the international community is dramatic and inescapable. The Europe of nation states is emerging from an order that divided it in two. Today, boundaries run more within societies than between countries, particularly as economic integration proceeds in Europe.

6)The values upon which Europe's civic societies are founded are no longer rigid, in either the religious or the political sense. Old political ideologies are facing new challenges. In a European perspective, it is encouraging to witness the stable progress in economic and political integration. As the Frenchman Jean Monnet underlined in the 1940s, integration offers a course of peaceful interaction towards a Europe free from war. We are now at the door to new opportunities in that process. It is a process affecting the whole of Europe. We are now seeking our own place in that process.

7)European integration is a challenge to the whole of Finnish society, and to our democratic institutions. How can we ensure that it will be a Europe of citizens, not of bureaucracies, that emerges - and that our voice is heard clearly at the highest level of decision-making when the time comes?

8)It seems to me that Finland's interests will be best served within the European Union if Parliament, the President of the Republic and the Government

work together in mutual understanding, respecting the spirit and letter of our constitution, which has withstood many serious trials.

9)All reforms require careful consideration. We are unanimous about the need to strengthen Parliament's position in national preparations for decision-making within the European Union. Yet we also agreed that we need unequivocal procedures for decision-making on foreign and security policy

10)Ever since the time of Montesquieu, the division of government into three estates has given the basic functions of state in most Western democracies consistency. These functions are usually divided into legislation, jurisdiction, and administration. These functions are carried out by legislative bodies chosen by public election; Parliament and the President of the Republic; an independent judiciary; and an administrative system overseen by a Government answerable to Parliament.

11)Since the earliest years of our independence, this principle has been - and continues to be - the generally accepted, undisputed basis for article 2 of our Form of Government. It has also been applied in practice without any major problems.

12)The functions of state have multiplied, however, and it is increasingly difficult to allocate many of them to any of the three divisions I just mentioned. Government also has to compete more and more with other "estates" - the best known being the mass media, interest organisations, and freer money and capital markets.

13)Chancellor Kauko Sipponen wrote recently that European integration is the most recent addition to the official and unofficial forces at work in society. We could see this already during the EEA negotiations, but the real test will come when we have to evaluate EU membership in terms of our constitution.

14)Membership of the European Union will not change Finland's standing as an independent sovereign state. At the Edinburgh summit in 1992, the EU Member States emphasised - acknowledging that integration had been forced through too quickly and without sufficient backing from citizens - that the Union involves independent states having freely decided to exercise in common some of their competencies.

15)Independent states have thus joined the Union and have retained their independence. They have also retained their constitutions and forms of government, and their societies have evolved each in its own way. In terms of successfully embarking upon the eventual Finnish membership of the EU, and the years of later adjustment that will be necessary, the most important thing is to be able to reach a national understanding about our policy objectives in the Union.

16)This summer, there has been debate about who should represent Finland at EU summit meetings, i.e. in the European Council. The European Council is the Union's supreme political body, providing the Union with the necessary impetus for its development and defining the general political guidelines. According to the Maastricht Treaty, the European Council defines the general guidelines of the common foreign and security policy. In addition, The European Council discusses the development of the Economic and Monetary Union and the common economic policy of the Member States. The heads of state or government of the Member States and the President of the Commission meet in the European Council. As a rule, summit meetings are held only twice a year. EU summit meetings deal with issues which, in terms of the Finnish practice fall within the competence of both the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister. This speaks for Finland being represented at summit meetings by both the President and the Prime Minister, as chairman of the Council of State, each according to his competence. This will