NORTHERN DIMENSION: as a Strategy for a Small Nation State
Finland to Survive.

BA-thesis

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Appendix
1. Introduction

The concept of the policy of the Northern Dimension is quite new. It was Finland’s first political move in EU in 1997 and it was accepted already as Union policy in 1998. But, the idea behind it is older - it is a continuation of the regional development process in the Baltic Sea area\(^1\) and in the North of Europe\(^2\). The Northern Dimension could be seen to have born from the Finnish need to secure the stability and continuity in the Baltic Sea and foresee the consequences of the expanding EU (see fe. Heininen 1999b). It is an innovative attempt to success through a political dimension. To be able to survive in contemporary world the importance of knowledge and use it innovative way (see fe. Jauhiainen 2000). Innovation is a way to survive for a small state in the globalized world.

The changed situation in the international world order of bipolarity and great power politics has affected also the European order as well as the theoretical understandings of the small state (see fe. Höll 1983, Vital 1971) that have make the older understandings unfit the purposes of the discussion of the Northern Dimension policy. It is in itself a new phenomena that does not fit any existing theoretical frameworks. The small-state theories are useless, because the size of the state will not have importance in contemporary Europe of ”new regionalism” (see Hettne 1997): the state in itself as an actor has been challenged by the other actors in the international world (such as international corporations and organizations). On the other hand Northern Dimension is not an organization, but a policy that was introduced and promoted by a small state Finland.

\(^1\) Finland, Sweden, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Poland, Germany and Denmark.
\(^2\) The states of Baltic Sea region with Norway and Iceland.
This thesis’ focus is on the small-nation state’s way of surviving in today’s international world by using the Northern Dimension as a strategy. What are the attitudes, challenges, possibilities and problems Northern Dimension can offer to Finland and maybe to the other Northern small nation-states? The small state is understood here as the starting point, as an experience from the past to the strategy-choice made in introducing, developing and promoting the Northern Dimension.

Northerness is not Finnish invention and the attention of this thesis will be in the concept that Finnish policy-makers\(^3\) have given to it when it was first introduced and what it has been until the end of the year 2000 for Finland. It has to be noticed that the political linings in Finland has not changed during this time\(^4\) and it will not play an important role in the development of these linings. The Northern Dimension is believed to be concentrating on the common European interests in the Northern Europe. The main ideas of the Dimension are peace and stability through cooperation. How is Northern Dimension used not only to Finland’s own interest, but also to interest of the region of North? What is the Finland’s role in this? It is my understanding that Finland’s interests coincide with the interests of the North as whole.

Finland offers here an interesting viewpoint because of its geographical location in North, but also because it is located in the border of two civilizations of the West and Eastern orthodoxy (see Huntington 1996). It has been part of East\(^5\) and is now again part of the West\(^6\). The maintaining cardinal point here is still North. As true is that Russia is the neighbor in the East. This all has taught Finland a special way to deal with the different situations in which it has been left with few choices, but not given a possibility to make the ones of its own. Now it has introduced Northern Dimension and for the first time Finland is trying to create its own behavior in the international field through it.

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\(^3\) Mostly the president Martti Ahtisaari and the prime minister Paavo Lipponen. This is because the Finnish constitution has given the executive power in foreign relations to the president and in the new constitution 2000 in EU matters to the prime minister.

\(^4\) For the whole time 1997 to 2000 the prime minister of Finland has been Paavo Lipponen and the president was Martti Ahtisaari. The concentration in this thesis will be on these two and their stressings on the policy of Northern Dimension.

\(^5\) Under Russian rule in 1809-1917.

\(^6\) Before Russian rule was part of Swedish empire.
The quick disappearance of the Soviet Union forced to react on the new situation fast. The traditional habits were useless and the new situation was needed to be studied carefully. Finland was now given more choices than ever before. First reaction was that of applying the membership of EU and becoming a member of it in 1995. The next steps were taken carefully in order to create confidence between the member states, which was to become an activity in the Union policy-making by the end of the 1990’s. In order to understand the contemporary situation in Finland the start of the thesis will be in an historical introduction of the strategies chosen in the past. It is of course important to define the understanding of the small state in the contemporary Europe and it will be found out if the size of the state really matters anymore? The definitions to strategy and survival will also be given as well as a brief definition of the nation-state.
2. Finland in International World

Finland’s possibilities to act in the international field has been characterized by a great dependency on the others and events in the international field. It is a feature that has been regarded as normal for a small state at the time of the great power politics in the international relations (Majander 1999: 85), as it was in the time of the bipolarity and Cold War of the great powers USSR and USA.

The situation changed for Finland (and for the other small states) after the collapse of the USSR and with the end of the Cold War. Finland’s dependency on the big Eastern neighbor diminished, mostly due to the situation that Russia was left in. Russia had to build up a democracy and economy that has remained quite weak and confused. It has not given Russia the possibility to be actively involved in the activities abroad. The situation in Russia has been referred as "Cold Peace", what means that Russia is no longer a self-existing great power, but still there are some tensions in the relations with USA and Europe, especially in the framework of NATO (Tunander 1997: 38).

The collapse of USSR and the weakness of Russia opened up a new possibility for Finland to act. It applied for the EU-membership that it was using as a tool in order to return to West. One of the basic arguments in the beginning of the 1990’s for the EU-membership was that of security reasons. But it also gave Finland a possibility to make decisions independently. The country had to start by re-defining its foreign policies and foreign political strategies of surviving in the international world. For Finnish security policy EU became the central tool. The basic "mission" for Finland has been to guarantee that EU shares and understands the views of the Northern region (Forsberg and Ojanen 2000: 115).
The "mission" for Finland is then to guarantee its security and existence through the stability in the Northern region by extending "the zone of stability" and creating "a community based on solidarity" (ibid: 115-116). The region to be created and guaranteed is that of the Baltic Sea region and Northern area as whole. With special importance are the relations between the EU and Russia and the enlargement of EU that includes the neighboring region of the three Baltic states Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The tool for that is EU and the strategy for doing it is then Northern Dimension.

Before getting deeper into the definitions of the European order and the different actors in it or to the small state theory or to the survival of a state, it is important to understand the situation in which Finland is now in, and also to understand why Finland might be acting the way it is doing through a historical perspective. The world consist of lots of actors, of which Finland alone is like a tiny and quite useless grain to the happenings in the international field as such, but that the actions taken arise from the Finland’s point of view and so are with importance. Before it all it will be important to understand what is meant by a strategy.

2.1. Strategy and Survival

A strategy is easily understood as something military by nature, like a tactic to defend one’s country. Strategy may be seen as a product of a dialogue between policy and military power, in which strategy will be useless without any given policy (Gray 1999: 169). It is seen needed in preventing different conflict-situations that mainly and traditionally military by nature and are threatening the state from outside.

But in the contemporary world the problems that the state has to face are not only military by nature, which is especially true in the case of Northern Europe. The Finnish prime minister Paavo Lipponen stresses (2000a): "The possible threats for the [Baltic Sea] region are not of military nature, but relate to … soft-security problems." These soft-security problems are criminality, drugs, health and environmental risks. EU is not that capable of preventing the military conflict, but to deal with these "soft or civilian approach to security" (Forsberg and Ojanen 2000: 117). EU offers in that case the framework in which
to act. The problems may arise and the situation in the Northern Europe may of course change, that is why the hard (military) security aspects are needed also in future.

To take care of the soft-security problems is not possible to take care in one state’s territory, but has to be managed in wider regional level. This means that the strategy may not only be defined through the military dimension, but the political dimension is also needed. The strategy is done through a dialogue between the policy and the military power, but still the strategy is more an operation or a tactic that stands outside from the policy (Gray 1999: 169). The states are needed to cooperate over the borders in order to prevent the spread of the soft security problems.

In this thesis strategy is understood as the policy of the survival of a small state in the international world. It is the usage of the means and possibilities given to it by the current European order and a tool for the state to survive in it. "Threats to a state does not just ‘exist’ somewhere ‘out there’, they are socially constructed as part of political discourse” (Neumann 1997: 148). Then the survival is to reach the wanted end, but this depends a lot on the other actors’ behavioral (Lake and Powell 1999: 6-7). This is also called as the strategic-choice approach. It sees strategic nature of politics in international relations. It assumes that actors are purposive in nature, not rational and that they rank order the possible outcomes of different actions in a consistent manner and choose the strategy that best meets their subjectively defined goals (ibid: 6-7).

Strategic-choice approach considers international politics as interaction of different actors, in which any actor is not determined by one actor only (Lonsdale 1999: 155). These interactions are broken in two elements: to actors and to their environment. The central interest lies in the actors possible actions, information available, preferences and beliefs (Lake and Powell 1999: 13). Strategic-choice approach claims that theories are not "necessarily statements about or accurate descriptions of the ‘real world’” (ibid: 14). The state is still superior to any international interaction. Actor’s intentions can not always sufficiently explain the outcome of the strategy, but to concentrate on the strategic action itself (ibid: 17). The approach breaks down the traditional distinction between the levels of analysis, security studies and international political economy to reveal new distinctions wishing to go forward in international relations field (ibid: 29).
Preferring to this approach I will claim that Finland is using Northern Dimension as a strategy to survive in the international field. It would have survived with some other strategy too, but in this case importance is on that Finland is regarded as an active actor in the shaping of the EU now and for future and the initiative of Northern Dimension supports it. The actors of the field are states included in the dimension and the environment for them is the Northern Europe, the Baltic Sea and the EU. The state, Finland is important in this picture as the one to choose and form the strategy of the Northern Dimension, in which it has shown active interest.

### 2.2. Strategies Finland has chosen

For Finland the most important task since the independence declaration till the end of the Cold War (1917-1991), was to continue as an independent state and the possible strategies for survival were to guarantee the sovereignty of the state. These strategies have been for Finland different during the times and has always been dictated by the international world order. It has not been left with many choices of survival, but it has had to be clever enough to find the best possible one for its purposes to be able to survive. The one that Finland has always had to consider specifically is Russia. Next the historical survival-game is discussed.

#### 2.2.1. From Independence to Winter War

The time between the World War I and II (1917-1939) was mostly for Finland a time of building up the whole society. There was hardly any political culture or institutions, not to mention any foreign politics or relationships abroad. It was not an easy task to start to build up Finnish society and to root country’s position to the international map, because of the domestical problems: the Finnish civil war had torn the country in two and the political fight that was fought over the political system to be chosen.

The civil war was fought between the ideologies of communism and democracy, between the leftist "Red Guards” and the rightist "White Guards”. These matters were not only
domestic: the Red Guards were supported by Soviets, while the White Guards were in friendly relations with Germany. The White Guards won the civil war and got the power in Finland in 1918. The German orientated elite was left in power.

This was also seen in the next domestic problem, which was the question of political system. Finland had choices of becoming either a monarchy or a republic. In the independence declaration it was a republic. But after the victory of the White Guards in the civil war in May 1918 the discussion over the political system was on again. Now it was decided in 9th Oct. 1918 that Finland should become a monarchy. Finland even had a king from Germany that gave the crown up after the loss of Germany in WW I in December 1918.

As described, there existed a domestic competition between various political groupings that created instability and drove the energy from foreign political issues to domestic ones. Building up the foreign policy was not to be done in a concentrated way. Of course the international politics was not in the stand still at the time Finland was trying to create its own state. The neighboring countries Sweden and the USSR had their own foreign political problems with Finland. Sweden claimed for Ahvenanmaa (Åland) and the Peace Treaty of Tartu in 1920 created some hard feelings with USSR about East-Karelia, because the understandings of the autonomy of the East-Karelia was seen differently in Finland than in USSR (fe. Hentilä 1996: 125-129). The problem with Ahvenanmaa was solved by the League of Nations, while the question with East-Karelia was not discussed even though Finland tried to. The problem was vanished when Finns left East-Karelia and came to Finland.

Problems with USSR forced Finland to think about foreign political strategies. The League of Nations did not seem that attractive and effective as it should have been, so other alliances were thought about. The idea of the border states was considered at the first half of 1920’s. It meant that the European states that border USSR (Baltic states, Finland and Poland) were to form an ally. It was discussed deeply in Finland, but finally rejected in

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7 Finland is a bilingual country with Finnish and Swedish as the languages, that is why it has a name in both languages. The language in Ahvenanmaa is Swedish though.
1927. Finland considered it to be too fragile and that especially Poland created some mistrust to its success.

In the end, the only strategy that was left was non-alignment. It has also been called "a spectacle isolation" (Hentilä 1996: 129). It meant that Finland was alone till 1930’s when the idea of Nordic cooperation was born and also accepted in Finland in 1935. But Finland did not join the Nordic Council until 1955.

In 1930’s before World War II Europe was controlled by the same contradictory countries that were contradictory also inside Finland already in the year 1917 onwards: the USSR and Germany, both of them that were located in the Baltic Sea rim. Finland was to fit in a geopolitically important, and also dangerous picture. The USSR was afraid that Germany might use the territory of Finland to attack Leningrad, the USSR’s only access to Baltic Sea and Europe. All the countries in Central Europe were trying to find their place in between these two countries. For Finland it was all decided by Molotov-Ribbentropp pact’s secret additional protocol. Among to it Finland was agreed to belong to the sphere of influence of the USSR. It’s destiny had been decided.

2.2.2. Winter War settles First Strategy

This background led first to Winter War in 1939-1940 and then to Continuation War in 1941-1944, in which Finland was forced to fight for its independence. The war-time ended with peace agreement of Paris in 1947. Finland could stay independent with a huge price of paying war reparations to USSR. At the same time Finland had to build up a new foreign policy that was to keep Finland out of further conflicts. It was a beginning of a period, when Finland was forced to create a way, a strategy to, literally, survive as an independent state. Until then, Finland had been floating just trying to find its place in the international field.

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8 In Finnish "loistava eristäytyminen". Translations from Finnish done by the author.
9 Finland has been the only country in the world to pay the whole sum of war reparations in time. It was done by the year of 1952.
The strategy had to and was able to make Finland "not to turn back to West while bowing to East" (Heininen 1999a: 23). It was formed by president Paasikivi and followed and completed by president Kekkonen. This strategy was a foreign policy towards East that would not forget the relations with West as well. Finland declared to be neutral state and became known as a state that was bridging East and West. Its actions were channeled to peaceful cooperation through international organizations, mostly United Nations.

The strategy that kept the country balancing between East and West is called the "Paasikivi-Kekkonen line" and later this period has been named as "Finlandization", which lasted till the presidency of Koivisto in 1980’s. The term was given by the West German Defense Minister, Franz-Josef Strauss in order to degrade Finland’s independent status (Tillotson 1996: 247). It is not been in used by Finns, but it is referring to the way that the politics was run in Finland at the time of the president Urho K. Kekkonen. "He was not, in the full meaning of the word, a friend of USSR, but respected Eastern superpower so much that was ready to listen and understand its leaders." (Nevakivi 1996: 245) It is been criticized that this respect went too far and let USSR to interfere Finland’s domestic politics. It has been argued that it went so far in the third period of the president Kekkonen’s time (1968-1984) that no dividing line between Finland’s foreign and domestic policies could not be drawn (Arter 1999: 288). As to whatever the politicians in Finland did, it kept the country independent and made it survive the period of Cold War.

2.3. Back to Europe

The collapse of the Soviet system put the international field into a totally new situation. The bipolar world of communists and democrats disappeared, and what was most important to Finland, USSR "shrank" to be Russia. The "big brother" was gone and lots of countries was let free, of which most in the Baltic Sea rim. Also Finland was free and could act according to its own will. Russia stayed still as big and influential country that can not be left unobserved especially by Finland.

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10 In Finnish Paasikivi-Kekkonen linja.
11 Finlandization has become a wider concept of a more or less dominant posture of a social group, a nation-state or any kind of social unit in all fields of life or certain part of it. It may be seen as a strategy of an adaptive politics (see Mouritzen 1988).
The situation surprised the Finnish political elite and they were not prepared (Heininen 1999a: 23). All of the sudden the old and traditional foreign political strategy was not effective, because the most important part of it USSR was gone. As seen, during the Cold War Finland was able to survive in between two worlds and take the best advantage possible by declaring neutrality. The established model of the practices of neutrality was now useless and had to be replaced. Finland’s move was to apply for the EU membership. So, Finland became a member of the Union in 1995 and was back in Europe and became a part of the European international map. The time of Finlandization was over and now was time for Europeanization (Nevakivi 1996: 321).

2.4. In Europe

Finland is still trying to find its place in the international field. Heininen has listed starting points (1999b: 131-198) that Finland has to face in international field: the location in North, its global, security and the EU-policy, the international and cultural significance of the North as whole, the nature of North, the natural resources and the scientifical studies that should be done to be able to the care of the North.

These challenges are identical for the whole region of North, not only to Finland. The global and the security policy has changed and created new challenges to Finland and to Northern Europe as whole. One of the biggest challenges will be the enlargement of EU in North. It is creating new situations and matters that has to be dealt with before and after the enlargement. It may create instability to the region, but also soft-security problems that can not be faced on the state level only, but with the cross-border cooperation.

The location of Finland and North as whole has been peripheral in the framework of the world and Europe. The position of Finland in this framework has been changing over the times. It has been a country that has once in the history left Europe and joined East, and

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12 Fe. The Social Democratic Party was divided in 1957, because USSR did not approve the leader of the party that was Väinö Tanner.
13 Here I refer to all possible factors that are discussed more detailed later in the thesis. These are the differences between the qualities of life between fe. Nordic and Baltic states etc.
14 Was part of Swedish empire till 1809, when became part of Russia.
later on returned back to Europe\textsuperscript{15}. In this light it may better be understood why Finland has had to perform better than average to prove that they really are a true European country.

During the time of independence Finland seems to have identified itself to belonging West, but still has felt itself to be peripheral in it. Joining the EU was an attempt to move Finland closer to Central Europe (Korhonen 1997: 255), closer to the center or core. Northern Dimension may be seen as an attempt to stress the importance of North as whole. It is also an attempt of not bringing North closer to Central Europe, but also other way around, to introduce North as not something peripheral, but functional and important. The time of excusing the Northerness, at least to Finns, seems to be over. For the first time in the modern age, North could be influential enough to have a say in the matters at least in European level. It again helps North to gain the self-esteem that helps it to promote itself as it is, not trying to fuse itself with the Central Europe that could be seen in emphasizing the issues of the North. The issues of North are of importance and among the Northern Dimension should be regarded as one also in EU. Finland has four expectations from EU that it is expecting it to take into consideration (Forsberg and Ojanen 2000: 117-119). First of all EU should pay attention to the soft-security issues in the region, secondly to help Finland move away from the Russian sphere of interest by creating relations between EU and Russia, thirdly while EU has a positive image in Russia it should be maintained and finally EU should be cautious in developing its hard security role.

For Finland the main security emphasis has always been to have an overall stability in the Northern Europe. When Finland joined the EU, it started the path carefully. Applying the membership was mostly done because of economic and security purposes. It gave the country a guarantee of belonging to West and staying there. During the first years in EU Finland was mostly listening and learning how the things were done. This created confidence with the other member states and helped later to introduce the policy of Northern Dimension (Heininen 1999a: 32). Northern Dimension was Finland’s first political move in EU. This move was driven by the understanding of the changing situation in Europe and EU. It was a move to bring North in EU politics that was born from the

\textsuperscript{15} Finland was part of East in 1809-1917, when it was under Russian rule. It has not been regarded as purely Asiatic country, even though there has been explaining that the Finno-Ugrians (which Finns are) are related to fe. Mongolians.
understandings of the Southern policy of the Southern Dimension around the Mediterranean rim (see Forsberg and Ojanen 2000, Lipponen in Tartu 2000).

All in all, Finland has been more active in EU politics than the Nordic neighbor Sweden. It is interesting that it also has been more successful fe. in the terms of technological innovations (Nokia vs. Ericsson). Maybe it is because of the different attitude Finland is offering in the comparison with the old empire or its because Sweden has always been part of Europe and West and has never have to prove anything to anybody. It also has had the time to build up its policies that has not been the case with Finland. Or maybe it is of the experience it has lived through in the past. It has an experience of wiggling in the net and still surviving, because for survival one just have to find the way. It is a path that the other small states in the North, the Baltic states, could be following later on, but for this it has a lot to do with the choices of their strategies.
3. Contemporary European World Order

3.1. Smallness in Europe

The discussion over the small states was actual in the time of the bipolar world of great power politics, where the world was divided into superpowers and to the rest of the world. The rest of the world had to be categorized somehow and a good measure was the size of the state. The world order was turned upside-down with the collapse of USSR, because the determining “superother”, the enemy was gone. It was the end of ideological bipolarity, but it was also an end to the direct importance of the state’s size, especially in Europe. Also the importance of the state as an actor has diminished and it the importance of state has diminished, so should have the size of it even more!

The world was left unstable with different centers and actors, where it is even more important to be “bigger”, so the conception of big is still valid. The world is consisting of different regions that consists of sub-regions. The main actor in this framework is not a single state, and the size of the state does not matter even though a small state has been left with more and better chances of survival and developing. It does not have to ally with some other state to survive or it does not have to depend on the decisions made by one or two superstates, but on the community of the states where it may itself be part of.

In the thesis the main assumption is that the size of the state does not matter, what matters is the ability of the state to cooperate. For the further strategies of the state the experience of the small state is important\(^\text{16}\), because it is a history of great importance. The case of the Nordic states has shown that small size of the state can able to develop a special kind of attitude in the domestic politics that also affects the foreign relations. The small size of the state has permitted to create cooperative and compromising politics, because the relations between (small) elite class of politicians and administrators becomes personalized (Arter 1999: 4).

\(^{16}\) Here I am referring to the different attitude fe. towards the others and knowledge.
"A new Europe has emerged: a continent of deepening cooperation” (Ahtisaari 1995) what is a :”continent of cooperation --- there are no large or small countries in this Europe, just countries able to cooperate and those unable to do so.” (Ahtisaari 1994b) Finland has been a small state since 1917 and shares knowledge and attitude that helps it to survive also in today’s European world order.

3.2. Small State Finland

Finland is a small state with a bit more than 5.2 million inhabitants and 333 000 km² of land. Nature is rough and covered with forests and lakes, and in the winter times with snow. The state is not equally inhabited and mostly covered with people are the areas in the south and west. It is a bilingual country with Finnish majority and Swedish minority. The majority of Finns belong to the Finno-Ugrian language family, which means that the only language related nations in Europe are those of Estonia and Hungary. Both of the countries that has also had the problem of being regarded as belonging to West, because of the Finno-Ugrian relations. Also the minority of Swedish speaking population is too small to tie the country with the prestigious Indo-European language family.

The language of Finland is an important factor in the national feeling of the Finns. It is a language that nobody else speaks, which creates a sense of proudness for them, but also a feeling of being worse than the others. Usually it is because of the understanding that Finno-Ugrians are from East of the mountain of Ural in Russia. But also linguistics of Finno-Ugrian languages have come out with the new theory that mainly explains that the Indo-Europeans in the area of the core of EU has originally been inhabited by the Finno-Ugrians about 7500 years ago (see fe. Wiik 1995). Of course this theory has been developed and supported by the Finnish and Estonian (and Hungarian) linguistics, but it shows the attitude in which the representatives of these small nations are coming out of their caves towards Europe that is more equal. It shows the attitude that Finns are not feeling any less of themselves than the other Europeans. That they have gained the self-esteem even to claim that the Indo-Europeans now living in the Germany are really Finno-

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17 This theory claims that the Finno-Ugrians lived in the area of North-Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, England, Sweden and Norway. The Indo-Europeans moved to these areas and the Finno-Ugrians changed their languages. More of this theory see Wiik 1995, Künnap 1998.
Ugrians that "have learned an Indo-European language just with a bad accent" (Künnap 2001).

Because Finland has never had the chance to speak a similar language with the others it has had to learn others languages in order to survive with them. In the research made by Eurobarometri (see Suomen Kuvalehti 23.3.2001) it was found out that Finns have better language skills than an average European. At least 68% of the Finnish population knows at least one foreign language\textsuperscript{18}. Of the general Europeans 47% knows only their own mother-language and in some ways 40% of Europeans know English. The basic foreign language for Finns is English, and 62% of them knows it at least in some ways and 14% of them have an excellent English language skill. Swedish is spoken by 52% and German by 24% and French is spoken by 7% of the population. The languages are learnt in the school already from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} grade on.

A small state is not able to isolate itself from the rest of the world. It is dependent on others and to be able to deal with them one has to be able to communicate with them. By learning other language one learns other attitudes too, because with language one must learn also the culture (see fe. Oksaar 1999). This has taught them that knowledge and awareness is important, and that knowledge feeds the need for further learning. It is not possible for a small state not to care for the matters outside its borders. And more aware the citizens are, better it is for the country.

\textbf{3.3. ”New Europe”}

\textsuperscript{18} The Swedish as mother language speaking population was not counted.
Because my thesis is concentrating on the matters in Northern Europe, I will concentrate on the bigger concept of Europe which Northern Europe is directly part of. Europe may be seen as the more hierarchical structure of regions (see Jauhiainen 2000) or networks (see Tunander 1997), which are integrating it, but at the same time fragmenting the whole Europe. Europe is under globalization, but at the same time become localized. This creates the phenomenon of glocalization.

As mentioned, the end of the Cold War changed a lot in the world, also in Europe. For the purpose of Finland and Northern Europe a new setting of the conceptions was available. Earlier the issues in international relations and especially geopolitics were dictated by the ideologies and their opposite settings. In the new Europe the ideologies have been replaced by the geographical concepts. It seems that geography is the only stable thing in international relations. Now it has given new political factors for use, like region and regionality (Heininen 1999b: 31). These are important in order to understand the process of Northern Dimension that was introduced by Finland and that is why it is important to define these concepts.

In Europe the bipolar setting of the international world, the example of the division between Free World and Evil Empire or Friend and Foe, has changed. This is especially true in Europe, which has changed to be a hierarchical Cosmos versus Chaos (Tunander 1997: 32). In it Europe is seen as core or cosmos that is circulated by more or less chaotic states and regions. European Union is the center of the cosmos and it is circled by more or less integrated member states, which again are circled by states wanting to join the Union. The outermost circle consists of the states less able to adapt to the standards of EU and further from cosmos, more chaotic it gets. The chaotic areas are not to be ignored by the core, but to taken into consideration. In the region of the Baltic Sea and the North the most chaotic area is Russia, while the Baltic states and Poland also belong to chaos and the Nordic states are part of cosmos. The presence of chaos and cosmos is strong in the area of Northern Dimension. Chaos creates instability in the region that has to be considered by the

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20 The Swedish as mother language speaking population was not counted.
20 These concepts are discussed later in the chapter.
cosmos too. In here, EU has made Northern Dimension for its policy in order to prevent the problems with chaos, trying to integrate it with the cosmos.

A new European order is characterized also with the parallelization with medieval networks (Tunander 1997: 31). During the Cold War there was the wall that has been replaced by network. New European order is dominated by an urban identity, which is opposed to the nation-state. The centers of the old medieval banks and religious orders were in the European city-states, nowadays the centers of the new hierarchies (international corporations, banks, lobby groups etc.) are in the European metropolis. Attempts to meet this challenge of the centralization to the metropolitan cities in Europe has led to transfer of authority to supranational bodies as EU or to regional bodies (Tunander 1997: 32). In this new European order the armed military conflicts, especially in the North are unlikely and the military focus has been replaced by the want of European states to the access of the political/economical center. This tendency has become apparent particularly in the periphery of EU (ibid: 33). Northern Dimension could be seen as an effort to less the peripheriality of North in Europe. It is an effort to control Chaos and integrate it into Cosmos.

The importance of nation-state has diminished in the new European order. A new concept of actor is needed, that is the concept of region. "The Europe of Regions" (see Wæver and Joenniemi 1992 or Jauhiainen 2000) has become the issue of the contemporary European order. European political space was left empty after the collapse of the Soviet system and has opened with the enlargement of EU. It has loosened up the state framework in Europe (Wæver and Joenniemi 1992: 16) and left it open for new conceptions, such as region, space and regionality, concepts taken from geography.

The division to globalization-localization-glocalisation is needed for the purposes of the North and in the region-building process of Northern Dimension. The disappearance of the bipolar world led to fragmented Europe that made the regional balances increasingly important (Hassner 1997: 55). This process has been typical also for the Baltic Sea region and to Northern Europe. Next it is needed to understand these concepts as their used in this thesis.
3.4. Globalization

Globalization is a multidimensional concept. It is a process of social integration that has been referred as the enlargement of modernity and Westernization over the globe (Clarke 1997: 23). In the economic terms it means especially multinational corporations, new technology (especially info-technology) and free-trade in all over the world (Hjerppe 2000: 360). It is also politically determined, which becomes autonomous process that is following its own agenda (Clarke 1997: 26).

For a small state globalization is a necessity and actually a great possibility that helps the small ones to participate in the division of labor and guarantees the possibilities for export and to the development of technology (Hjerppe 2000: 363). In this participation the size of the state is not important, because the importance of the state as a determined unit has an importance among the other actors such as multinational corporations and organizations. It is in the stability of the economy, in new technology, innovations and know-how. Globalization creates problems to those that are not able to keep up with the on going progress. Those who will not have the education and technical possibilities to participate in the globalized world become displaced. The solution suggested has been to connect the global, European and national level in decentralized way (Tiihonen 2001: 23).

3.4.1. Small State in Globalized World

In the globalized world the smallness maybe even advantage, at least in Finland’s example. The qualifications needed to survive as a small state in the late great power politics may also now be seen as benefit. The reality of dependency on outside world and acting among it were the ones with importance. Especially true this was for a small state that was isolated from the others also with the language barrier among the peripheral geographical location, not to mention the dependency on the Eastern neighbor that did not give a possibility for being too active or participative in the international matters. Still this small state had to learn the ways of marketing itself to international world in spite of the given barriers, because these barriers were to be broken, and the strategies given for survival was not many, but had to be found.
In the Winter War\textsuperscript{21} Finland stood against USSR with the Finnish "will-power" \textsuperscript{22} and broke the barrier of a power that was regarded as unwinnable. In the political strategy thinking will-power means that if the goals have been set, they have to be met, even if there was no way out to be seen it just has to be found. Now Finland is facing Europe. For the first time it has a possibility to be more influential in international matters than ever. Willpower has taught Finns that the happiness is not coming with the next train, but it needs patience and hard work. It is something that has to be built up nice and easy in order to make it work.

Finns have been brought up with the knowledge of being a citizen of a small state. They realize that for a state in order to be successful are various things needed. A small state needs every citizen and that they have to be given equal opportunities in participating in the society in all ways. It is a basic feature of welfare state and basic understanding in all Nordic states (that are also small states). It means in practice that those who are not able to take care of themselves had to be taken care of. Everybody is willing to do that, because one never knows, when needs the help itself. This principle is important also for the next important thing, that is knowledge. A small state can not be ignorant in the things happening outside their country\textsuperscript{23}. Every citizen should be given a possibility to learn and they should be encouraged to do that. It is important, because the will of learning creates different kind of attitude in people, a will for further progress.

This all comes from the understanding of the reality, that a small state market is too small for economic success. But it also comes from the knowledge of having a population able to be innovative and progressive. This attitude has created innovations and progress especially in the area of info-technology for this small state. With no less important is the language skill potential in which Finland has been driven to through the language that stands outside the Indo-European language family. This innovative and progressive attitude has been forwarded to the politics too. This is to be seen in the way Finland has acted in the

\textsuperscript{21} Winter War was fought from November 1939 to March 1940 in order for USSR to conquer Finland.
\textsuperscript{22} In Finnish it is called sisu.
\textsuperscript{23} Eesti Telefon had a commercial on TV in which they asked people in different cities, what they know about Estonia. In NYC a woman first started to think and asked even a friend for a help and finally they answered "Who cares?".
reforming European Union and also in introducing the policy of Northern Dimension. It has been eagerly taking part in the fore-front of the reformers of EU. It does not want to be left out in the periphery again. To guarantee that it is taking actively part in building up the Union, only through that is has a possibility to customize EU. The Union is not existing only for the member states, but is also looking like them. It is customized for the country, by the country (see Ojanen 1999a).

3.5. Localization

At the same time, while the world is globalizing the local matters become important for the people living next to them. This has created the other side of the coin towards globalization that is called here localization, which is actually a simultaneous theme. While globalization is seen happening mainly in international economics, localization is seen in security policy, in which ”the state has no longer monopolized human loyalties” (Clark 1997: 17). This refers to the links of the localization with the concept of regionalization and through that to regionality, region and space. It is also closely related to the notion of fragmentation.

The relationship between globalization, fragmentation and regionalization is very complex. Fragmentation may be expressed with autarchy, unilateralism, disintegration, heterogeneity and separation, while globalization is a social integration. Regionalism24 is definitely not an alternative to globalization, but rather a step closer to it (Clark 1997: 30). Because of this complex understanding a new concept has been offered that will cover the problematic areas, this is the notion of glocalization, which is a general concept for this thesis. But in order to understand the meaning of that concept we have to take a look at the general geographical concepts of regionalism. The conception has changed its meaning in the 1990’s as new regionalism (see Hettne 1997), which is seen here as the birth of the concept of glocalization.

3.5.1. Space and Region

24 Regionalism is going to be discussed more detailed later in the thesis.
Before digging more closely into the regionalism the basic concepts of region and space has to be understood, these are the most fundamental concepts of it (Jauhiainen 2000: 1-8). Also the meaning of these geographical concepts have changed more political.

Space is continually shaped and produced by the action’s of the people. Space is seen as materiality, when it exists through economic needs, when it ”plays an important role in the identity creation” (ibid: 4), as social action, when the social actions have created the environment and as contextually, when ”the regions are social constructions and their meaning differ from time to time” (ibid: 5), as political, when it is being dissolved and re-constituted. As Renwick argues (Renwick 1996: 166), in contemporary world concept of space has faced the pressures of ”balkanization” and the nation-state is starting to loose its meaning in the discussion of spatiality. The geography and politics become intertwined.

Space is not something that is dependent on territory and the general trends like information technology, capital transactions and decision-making bodies avoid space (Tunander 1997: 33). Space is not defined by strict borderlines of nation-states, but different identities. These identities can be national, cultural or regional and they also conflict with each other. This belongs to the area of the new factors in the new process of regionality, the process of differentiation that in its own part is driving the idea of Europe’s spatial fragmentation (Heininen 1999b: 32).

Regions have become part of ”high politics” in the international relations. Earlier when the nation-state had a stable function in the international relations, a region was mostly a concept of regionalpolitik which means that the center, usually a state is controlling the regional politics in order to take care of the weaker regions. Region may be also in state to state level or be a combination of these two, a trans-border-region (Wæver and Joenniemi 1992: 13-14).

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25 The discussion of borders is done later on in the part of regionality. It is an important part of the region-building process and the future of the European picture.
26 Region is seen now as a political factor rather than geographical. Discussed more detailed later in the thesis.
27 Fragmentation is generally understood as the opposite to integration or globalization (see Wæver and Joenniemi 1992 or Clark 1997).
28 Wæver and Joenniemi (1992: 13-14) use this terminology to refer the regional politics of Sweden.
3.5.2. Regionality

Also the concept of regionality has gained a new meaning in the 1990’s. It used to be totally geographical concept, but has got more and more political dimension. This is partly due to EU. In contemporary Europe it is understood to influence both international relations and national politics by helping to organize the physical room people are living in and by building up the international world (Heininen 1999b: 30). Regionality has been seen earlier more as the top-down process, when the region has been built up by an administrative unit, such as government. It means then the de-centralization of power inside a state and that the process is purposely done. There is also a down-to-top spontaneous regionality process, where the region-building is done through the region itself. This has been called the new regionalism (Hettne 1997: 17-18).

New regionalism means a cross-border cooperation and the process of region-building in which the final element is an international region that is based on a geographical area (Heininen 1999b: 31). Northern Dimension might be seen as a cooperation over different borders. First of all there are different states (such as Finland and Estonia) and secondly different geographically defined regions (such as Scandinavia or Nordic and Baltic) and thirdly different administratively defined regions (such as EU, NATO and non-members). Northern Dimension is to be build up to conclude all these regions as a bigger one. But how likely is this region to be born? Also in order to see, how selfish²⁹ are the purposes of Finland in introducing such an dimension the whole frame-work of Baltic Sea region has to be understood.

It is seen that one of the central concepts in the discussion of regionality is the border (Heininen 1999b: 31). Border has been something dividing that had to be defended and that created a threat to the area it fenced. The states were distinguished through borders, the administratively constructed lines that were drawn with different reasons and for different purposes. Usually this border was as sharp to every direction of the state to all cardinal points imagined, with some exceptions like with Nordic states.

²⁹ Here is referred to the view of Northern Dimension as Realpolitik. It refers to the fear of Latvians and partly Estonians that Finland is aiming to promote Finnish interest in cost of the Baltic states (see Raik 1999). Then it is more understood that states more compete with each other than cooperate.
Nowadays the border’s meaning has changed. It might be seen as a junction, which function is to inspire different units in all levels of societies to cooperation over borders. It is not to be seen only as a gateway, but a new factor in international field. It needs to have a strategy in the context of regionality to be able to organize the society and create a new policy in the region (ibid: 31-34).

In the light of Northern Dimension, it may be asked how sharp are the borders now and how likely it is that these could be diminished? But, all the other countries than Russia has applied for the EU membership that would open the borders between the different states, so this should not be the question here. The question is how sharp will be the borderline in future between EU and Russia? And what is to be done to soften this border? It is needed, because when ”the innerborders are diminishing, the outerborders are sharpening” (ibid: 63). It means that when the peace is advanced through integration process (such as EU), the conflicts are more apparent in the border lines.

The countries included in Northern Dimension are going to be on that border, so they are the ones facing the conflict first. EU has been softening these borderline already in the South through the Southern Dimension and has started to do that in the North too (fe. Heininen 1999b: 63). Northern Dimension could strive this purpose. Now the projects for it has been a part of the foreign relations of EU, but mostly done bilaterally. The border in the North between Russia and EU is not just politically determined, but also the border of the civilization of the West and the civilization of the orthodox world is running there. So, this borderline is not regarded as insignificant. It does not matter actually in which one’s identity is based on (region, civilization or nation), because all this is fragile and constructive and even re-constructive as we have seen in the post-Cold War period. But what is left, is the need for distinguish between ”us” and the ”other”.

3.6. Glocalization

Glocalization might be seen as the notion itself refers, a connection of the concepts of globalization and localization. It is an integration process on the one hand and increasing of
the number of regions on the other (Haukkala 1999: 9). It is a try to deal with the pressure of globalization by connecting it with localization. It is state’s try to face the globalization. Northern Dimension has been seen as a factor of glocalization. It could be then seen as a strategic to survive in today’s globalized world. It could be seen as a try to prevent the bad sides of the globalization in the North, such as the displacing of the actors not able to keep up with the development.

3.6.1. Region-Building

Glocalization means region-building process, which has been referred to the process of traditional nation-building (Hettne 1997: 37). It is a political phenomenon, not geographical reflection and in order to understand why is it originating the political projects in and among the states in that region should be studied (Wæver and Joenniemi 1992: 15). In contemporary Northern Europe there are two relevant region-building processes going on (Lehti 1999: 21) that are the Baltic Sea region and the Northern Dimension. These processes cover the basically the same geographical area. What is the meaning of the region-building process for Northern Dimension and how is the process done?

It is important to be aware of the conditions for the strategy to be used (Heininen 1999b: 31-34). In the context of Northern Dimension these conditions could be the identifying with the other parties of the region, the awareness of the situation and possibilities, creativity and the political will, commitment to region-building process, creation of a cooperative network with the plan of distribution of work and, of course, knowledge and know-how of all the things mentioned and that this information is available and adopted by the parties of the certain region.

All these things are required for a region to be successful. For identifying with the region, the states included in the Northern Dimension must identify themselves also with each other. Right now there exists a lot of differences that make the region quite heterogeneous30. On the other hand, the Baltic Sea region has been even more clearly

30 As discussed earlier, some states are EU or NATO states, some or not. Also differences in religion, quality of life, slight differences in political systems etc.
divided that the contemporary division might feel slight in comparison. Also, the countries have the wish to be more homogenous. This is seen fe. in the purposes of Estonia and Latvia to belong to Nordic family and the applying for the EU membership, but also in the will for cooperation from the side of the different countries. But are they aware enough of the possibilities and do they have enough information available of it, and are they willing to adapt it? Are the states really ready for cooperation, but do they rather compete? I will come back to these question later in the thesis.

In the Europe where the nation-state has been the most important factor the question of identity has been one-dimensional, but in more integrated frame the different identities start to overlap (Wæver and Joenniemi 1992: 22). Usually each individual is facing many identities, but significance comes to a certain identity through a particular circumstance (Smith 1996: 196). In EU the Northern Dimension would be needed to refer the Baltic Sea region as the identity of the people in North. But before that could happen an individual needs to identificate oneself with a region so that there could exist a region.

Neil Renwick has argumented (1996: 154-155) that usually political identities are covered by the understandings of the citizenship of a state, nationality or by the combination of these two in institutionalized state. He argues that identities are also socially constructed, such as the regions are (Lehti 1999: 21). "Identities are also not complete and absolute … identity and process of identification are fundamentally political in character.” (Renwick 1996: 155). The question with Northern Dimension is that of will the individuals of the region be able to create a identity of North. Next I will be concentrating on the notion that are existing in the area of Northern Dimension. As Renwick (op.sit.) says, the identities can be constructed, re-constructed and de-constructed, so could it be with the Northern Europe and Baltic Sea region.

3.7. Nation State in "New Europe"

The authority of the nation-state has declined in comparison with regional and global transnational actors and networks. The concept of nation-state has had to face several challenges in post-Cold War Europe. Firstly the Europe is now whole, secondly nation-
state is facing the challenge of technology and economics, thirdly by the challenges of globalization and fragmentation (Hassner 1997: 45). There are new non-state actors, such as international corporations, private and semi-official political societies and international lobby groups, that are gaining from the decline of a nation-state (Tunander 1997: 31). In the context of Northern Europe a nation-state means rather homogenous state, a state that has been build around a nation.

3.8. Small States’ surviving in ”New Europe”

In the light of the Finland’s experience the survival strategies for small states are always dependent on the matters of international world order. Earlier the survival game for Finland has purely been dependent on the great power rivalry it was not able to do anything about. Still, regard of the situation, it was important for the small state to be known as much as possible in the international field. For Finland the marketing of the state for abroad was of importance in order to prove to everybody that it is a Western country.

The effort was done mainly through participation in international politics in the given conditions. It was mainly done through conflict preventing and resolution, a trend that tends to have been also in the shoulder of the other small Nordic states Norway and Sweden\(^\text{31}\). In Finland’s cases like holding the European Conference on Security and Cooperation 1975 in Helsinki or later on there has been cases like the former president of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari\(^\text{32}\) that was negotiating for peace in Kosovo in 1999. Through this participation in the international matters, such as common foreign and security policy helps Finns to identify themselves more clearly with the target group of reference (Ahtisaari 1994d) that is to belong to West and Europe.

Finland has been active also in international cooperation through international organizations such as UN\(^\text{33}\). “Geography does not change, and history has taught us caution, but experience and international transition has encouraged us to cooperate more closely with other nations.” (Ahtisaari 1994c). Especially during the Cold War the role of

\(^{31}\) Fe. Norway’s Oslo peace negotiations in Middle East, Sweden in former Yugoslavia.

\(^{32}\) He was the president of Finland in 1994-2000.

\(^{33}\) Finland has taken actively part in UN Peace Corps.
Finland was to be neutral in the international relation matters and mostly act as the third party between the West and the East\textsuperscript{34}, as the ground for impartial negotiations such as the CSCE meeting in Helsinki in 1975.

In the contemporary world the size of the country does not matter that much, like before year 1991. For Finland it seems that the country has chosen to be innovative and progressive in the every meaning of these words. It has been enthusiastically in the forefront of the technological development, but also in reforming EU. This is the ground that the Northern Dimension initiative is coming from.

\textsuperscript{34} West as US, East as USSR.
4. Northern Dimension as a Strategy for a Small State Finland to Survive

When Finland and Sweden joined EU they brought in 1300 kilometers borderline with Russia and a territory that reached from the Baltic Sea to the Arctic circle. EU had become an important actor in the North. With the upcoming enlargement process of EU with the Baltic states makes this territory of EU in the North even bigger and the borderline with Russia even longer. North is not a phenomena itself anymore, but with great importance to whole EU and all the member states of it - the borderline with Russia is not only a border between Finland and Russia, but that between EU and Russia.

There exists different political institutions and organizations that are already existing and working in order to create and maintain cooperation between different actors in the region. These may be partly overlapping and would need more general framework to be handled with. North and the Baltic Sea region are with great potential economic growth areas with 90 million inhabitants and which part of the world trade is about 10% (Lipponen 2000b). But in the contemporary international world the growth of the international cooperation and the diminishing of the state borders has created threats and problems that has to dealt with, there is no turning back to the closed and isolated systems (Ahtisaari 1998a).

The problems that usually are seen to be of importance in the region will not know any state borders. These threats are usually called to be soft-security ones, like criminality, drugs and diseases (like AIDS and tubercles). The problematic areas to handle are also the relations with Russia and Kaliningrad. The most important issue is to take care of the future of the region by preventing pollution in the Baltic Sea, but also by promoting transport or the areas of energy and economic cooperation. The enlargement of EU is creating challenges that are needed to be faced in the Union level. The existence of EU is going to be strong in the region, but also the existence of North is going to be felt in the Union.

35 This point has been stressed in many speeches given by Lipponen and Ahtisaari, see fe. Lipponen 2000b, Ahtisaari 1999.
Especially important for Finland (but also to other Nordic states) is to take care of these threats and problems together. They are common to all the states in that region, they have to share they piece of responsibility both in national and local level to be able to create the glocal cooperation. Inside EU there is no bloc-strategy, but a need for a broader cooperation (Lipponen 2000c), which is familiar from the experience of the Nordic cooperation. Right now the Northern region is a combination of different regions that consist of different states. They create a complex combination of cooperation and conflict to the region itself (see Knudsen 2000). The states in the North carry different regional identities, a common sub-regional arrangement is needed to handle the situation and fit it into the framework of EU in order to prevent the possible conflicts and most of all, to create a stable North\textsuperscript{36}.

In the region there already exists some different organizations that are needed to be introduced before concentrating mainly on the concept of the policy of Northern Dimension. It has to be kept in mind that it is not an organization. The basic assumption here is that North has been able to stand up as equal to the core of Europe. It is not considering itself as something peripheral, but an important actor.

\section*{4.1. Regional Identities of North}

Northern Europe is mainly concentrated around the Baltic Sea. Finland is locating in the North, Nordic and Baltic Sea. But what is the location of Finland on the different imaginary geographical maps? What are the concepts used to describe the location of the country? When one talks about Northern Dimension it is important to keep in mind that this area consists of lot of different regional images inside of it. The images of North and Nordic, Baltic and Baltic Sea needs to be discussed. Finland is geographically in the North and politically belongs to Nordic family. It has been part of Baltic states and its geographically located next to the Baltic Sea. It is not a Scandinavian country, even though some literature likes to locate it under this concept. Scandinavia is the peninsula where Sweden and Norway are located, they are the Scandinavian countries that will not include

\textsuperscript{36} The concept of North in here covers also the area of Baltic Sea region. Usually these concepts are used in the speeches of fe. Lipponen, Ahtisaari and Halonen as overlapping, which may create confusion.
Finland. The countries of Denmark and Iceland may also be regarded as part of Scandinavia, but this is mainly done because of the language-relations they share.

4.1.1. North and Nordic

To talk about the regional images, how is the North really defined? Finland do regard itself to be part of North, but what kind of North? This is not the "northern north", the Arctic North with polar bears walking on the streets, but the European North in the contact with other North European countries, the Nordic states. This is not the North of Eskimos and igloos, but yuppies and cellular phones. It is the North of Nordic.

In contemporary Nordic cooperation has become more as a Norden cooperation. In the Nordic languages such as Swedish and Finnish there exists two different concepts of the conception of Nordic. The other Norden means more North, while the other de nordiska länderna is referring more to the institutionalized cooperation. In this work the Nordic and North is used more as a meaning of the Swedish word Norden. This also done, because in contemporary Nordic the old conception of the old operation model is changing.

Nordic used to be clearly defined at the time of Cold War and the strong controversy of East and West. It was the same than Northern Europe or North. It consisted of five countries: Finland, Sweden, Norway, Iceland and Denmark and their autonomies. Nordic refers to welfare and cooperation, the values of equality and consensus, of democracy and human rights. In the Nordic states people care for people, just like in the idea of globalization. It is no wonder that the Nordic states are in the top of the most globalized countries in the world, in the globalization it is needed to care for the people too (see Hjerpe 2000).

37 In some literature Scandinavia is used confusively as comparable notion as Nordic, even though they will not include the same states.
38 Here is the Swedish words used. Norden is Pohjoinen in Finnish, de nordiska länderna is Pohjoismaat. Arter (1999) is using Norden in English when talking about Nordic to make a point here. English language do not have the same kind of difference in the meaning. Arter (1999) is using Norden in English when talking about Nordic to make a point here. English language do not have the same kind of difference in the meaning.
Nordic is really important conception used, while talking about Northern Dimension. With the joining of Finland and Sweden to Union there existed an idea of bringing the Nordic values of politics, economics and society into it. At that time the Nordic Dimension and Northern Dimension were seen as parallel concepts (Heininen 1999a: 38). Now they have separated, because of the changing image of Nordic. There are new countries that are trying to join this "Northern Union", countries like Estonia and Latvia that are trying to be included as Nordic State instead of Baltic states. The old five-cloverleaf\(^{39}\) has got a challenge from the other side of the Baltic Sea, the Baltic states Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to include three other leaves too. And as we know, the cloverleaf might not have that many leaves and maybe a new concept is needed.

Even though it might feel that the Nordic cooperation might not work now as hoped, the Nordic states have been acting separately even in the past. For example in the time of WW II the Nordic countries chose their own ways, but still it did not end the cooperation between the states. The special relationship between the Nordic states might feel a little strange for somebody coming outside of it. It does not mean that the countries would not have any special features of their own or that they would not have any competition between each other. Its specialty might be in the trust and respect they share towards each other. For Nordic states the special feature is not to work as allied or a Nordic bloc, but to respect different choices other state is making. "The Nordic states need each other in the Union and they could act most effectively if they share the same opinion … but the decision [that is]… made is theirs and they make it from their point of view.” (Lipponen 2000c) It is a fact that actually has been bothering all the parties, but that nobody really can not do anything about (see fe. Antola 1999a).

Iceland and Norway has stayed out of the Union, a possibility that has been offered to them through the sea, fish and oil. But they are still strongly connected to EU and other three Nordic states through ETA-agreement and of course Nordic cooperation. Denmark has been in the Union (maybe too) long and its located close to the core of Europe, which makes it to be close to the matters that are handled. For Sweden and Finland the security threats are similar, but there exists different attitudes towards for example EMU. Finland is moving in the front, when Sweden wants to observe first how the things are going.

\(^{39}\) It is an notion used in the literature to refer the Nordic cooperation.
For the first time it seems that Finland has been the one to take its lead. It is not asking advice from the other sisters, but acting by itself, still not turning its back to them. It locates in the peripheral part of Europe and needs to promote its interest to Union, but also customize EU for Finns. The feelings towards EU are still mixed and changing, in which the politicians has reacted through the customized needs of the citizens (see Ojanen 1999a). The idea of the Union could be seen then as one looking like its members. In this case, to make it look Finnish, Nordic or North\(^40\).

### 4.1.2. Baltic and Baltic Sea

The phenomena of the Baltic states is interesting. The states of Estonia and Latvia share similar history of German occupation till 20\(^{th}\) century and fifty years of Soviet occupation from that on 20\(^{th}\) century. All the countries share a short period of independence in between and again second independence from 1991 on. Still there is no Balt, but strongly a Lithuanian, a Latvian or an Estonian. Lithuanians and Latvians share the same Baltic language group, Estonian has the language from the similar language group of Finno-Ugrian than Finland. Estonians feel strongly to be part of North, Lithuanians to Central Europe, while Latvians are left in between. For Estonians it is important to recognize that after the independence in 1920’s and 1930’s the location of Finland was actually more Baltic than Nordic. It seems to give them hope for future of development and possibilities to success, a way to survive in contemporary international world.

It is actually interesting to play with the thought of the new Nordic image, because there have been signs that are not so promising for the further cooperation with the old and traditional "means". The experience from EU in the different matters does not show much of the traditional Nordic cooperation. Still the Nordic cooperation is recognized and respected. Even the Baltic states are eager to take part of it. This again does not feel yet possible. States are still quite indifferent in order to follow the principles of the Nordic states and to cooperate as equals with them\(^41\). So hard that it is for the Baltic states to

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\(^{40}\) Actually all these concepts could be regard as the same.

\(^{41}\) This is a feature that could have been with significance. Finland was actively taking part of the Nordic cooperation until 1960, when it was beginning to resemble the other four partners.
admit, they are still not able to do that. The basic difference comes from the need to be able to cooperate rather than compete. Also Baltic states rather act as liberal than welfare state. The Soviet Union did not exist without leaving also something behind. The attitudes towards welfare state are felt strongly leftist and so unacceptable to the citizens of these three states. A concept that would cover both the Baltic and the Nordic is needed to fix these gaps. And this could be the concept of new North, Northern Dimension.

4.1.3. Other Actors in North

All of these countries (Nordic and Baltic states) are closely linked to the Baltic Sea and this region is closely linked with the concept of Northern Dimension (see appendix). Maybe this linking is done by Finland only, but it is a way of connecting the traditional Nordic with the Baltic states. Also it is a way of organizing the cooperation between the countries belonging to other important groupings around the Baltic Sea rim. Some countries are members of the EU (Finland, Sweden, Germany, Denmark) some are not (Russia, Norway, Iceland) and some of them are applying for membership and are so members to be (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland).

Also some are the members of NATO (Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Germany and Poland), non-members (Finland, Sweden, Russia) and the ones applying for it (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania). This shows only how divided the Baltic Sea is in between different organizations. The most strongly of all these the Nordic states feel the common identity of which the idea of Northern Dimension is an example. The countries outside EU (Norway, Iceland) and even Baltic Sea region (Iceland) are included to Northern Dimension, a fact that may create surprise among the people of the Baltic states. Iceland is not located by the Baltic Sea, but is still regarded as inseparable part. It does not belong to Nordic states through geographical ties, but through the language and culture. It is still a fact that is no surprise for somebody coming from a Nordic country.

At the same time it may be seen that the non-NATO members and non-aligned Finland and Sweden could be striving a new aspect, an alternative in security dimension. Northern Dimension has not a hard security dimension, but more of the one to soft security. The tradition of the Nordic countries is more towards the conflict preventing and peaceful
conflict solution and Northern Dimension could be stressing that. The problems and possible conflicts are tried to be dealt with before they even become one. This aspect is to be discussed more later on the thesis. In here it is just to point out the great possibilities of North through international politics. Nordic has an experience from the peaceful conflict solution\textsuperscript{42} and especially from conflict preventing.

4.1.4. Russia as an Actor in Baltic Sea Rim

One important actor that should not be forgotten while talking about Baltic Sea region and North is Russia. It is still regarded as a security threat for the region, both in hard and soft security issues. But the attitude seems to have been changing from suspicion to interdependence of all the parties with Russia. It is understood widely that Russia should not be excluded from the cooperation in the region. But that it would be better to all that this cooperation should be taken to higher level than bilateral cooperation between the single state, but a broader unit of EU.

Of the states in the Baltic Sea region Finland shares most practical experience of cooperation with Russia diplomatically, politically and commercially (see Knudsen 2000). Of course there are competing interest with Finland and Baltic states in commercial, but similar in security issues. In here it may of course be asked, which one is more of importance to compete or to cooperate with each other. The Baltic states do already have something Finland is not having, the Russian population and the language skill of Russian in the majority population.

4.1.5. Pole Star Finland in Imaginary Map

As mentioned earlier Finland, the country of Nokia, came out with the idea of Northern Dimension in EU couple of years after the membership in 1995. It became an EU policy in Vienna European Council meeting in 1998. Since then it has been under discussion of its content and meaning. It is an policy that should ”strive to articulate and establish common

\textsuperscript{42} As discussed earlier, the president of Finland Ahtisaari has been negotiating peace for Kosovo in 1999. Norway has been an active part in Middle East peace negotiations and Sweden’s former prime minister has
European interests in the northern areas” (Lipponen 1998). It has been marketed all over the world by the leading Finnish politicians, the prime minister Lipponen and the presidents, first Ahtisaari and now Halonen.

Finland is located in North and between East and West. It is also Northern European country and belongs to the Nordic states group. It is not a Scandinavian or a Baltic country, but is located by the Baltic Sea that is actually called in Finnish the East Sea. For Finland the Baltic Sea is not then the window to South or West, but actually it refers to East, the cardinal point that Finland has been struggled its way out. Of the rather politically loaded geographical images to Finland are important those of Nordic and Baltic Sea. The Nordic idea as it is known now has existed since 1930’s and got just stronger over the times.

Idea of Nordic is very West and for Finland belonging to Nordic states has meant belonging to West. Many times this concept has been given as historical and always existing fact, while forgetting that Finland has always existed as border state in between West and East (Lehtinen 1999b: 127), the image change from Baltic to Nordic was a serious national undertaking for Finland, but that image has held (Korhonen 1997: 225). This kind of image-changing process is actually seen now with Estonia. The political elite is stressing belonging to North and Nordic, while it has been regarded as the Baltic state. For Finland it was important to be included as West, because of its northern and peripheral location in Europe. It had to create an image abroad that would guarantee its existence among the eyes of the other western states. To be a western state has been regarded as something successful and democratic, to belong East is old-fashioned and authoritarian.

After the collapse of "East” the new concepts to visualize the international world are needed. The Northerness has become as a contrasting image to the other controlling image inside EU, the South. It is not competing image, but belongs to EU politics and all the member states of it. While South has been formed around the Mediterranean Sea, North is forming around the Baltic Sea. These concepts are purely discursively produced cultural constructs to build new regions and in this process Baltic Sea region and Northern Dimension are the most relevant processes (Lehti 1999: 21) in the new Europe.

been negotiating for peace in Northern Ireland, not to mention the participation of these countries in UN peace corps.
4.1.6. Identity of North

Some of these geographical images are overlapping partly, but what is sure, the regional identities in the Northern Europe and Baltic Sea region are changing. For the sake of Northern Dimension it is important root the idea of common identity in all the countries included. First it is needed to have ”political process whereby images and truism are created politically … It is a process of naturalization.” (Lehti 1999: 21-22) It is important for the region-building process to include the spatial images and especially identity to be able to make a new region acceptable for its habitants. The region must feel ”natural”. The naturalization is done through concrete projects that would create the feeling that the region is needed.

For the success of the Northern Dimension in this sense it is needed that all the Baltic Sea countries feel connected more with North than Central Europe. It feels that it is decided from to that the process should be done. The conceptions change slowly, it took a long time for Finland to become a Nordic country since 1930’s (Korhonen 1997: 259). At the same time, a spontaneous movement of the people living in the area is moving towards a new regional identity. There are new components that will not fit the old location, but are moving restlessly towards something else, like in Estonia’s case. This is creating pressure from down to top for changes. The process of naturalizing the idea of Northern Dimension to for instance Estonia or Latvia is not going to be too easy. The politicians have been recognizing the need for that but for example through media there has been lot of scepticism. They are afraid that Northern Dimension is just Finland’s way of promoting its own interests in the cost of Baltic states (Raik 163:1999). But as the Nordic cooperation shows, all the parties are wanted to be participating in the process, they are listened and the common consensus is reached through that dialogue (see Lipponen 2000c).

4.2. Organizing Northern Europe

The specialty of North has been recognized by the Northerners themselves. Now it has been the time to show that to the other parties of the international field also. Especially
important this is inside EU where all the citizens of EU are seeking for their identity in the process of Europeanization. Northerners tried to understand the way how they could be “European”. They started to drink wine instead of beer, in Finland the wine was even let to the shelves of the supermarkets. The wind-proof sportswear was left to closets and people started to dress like the “Europeans”. The myth of European was created and people started to aim to be one. Now the situation has stabilized. People are able to be proud as coming from North. North is now something mystical and exotic that has been started to market as such to the other Europeans.

There are other special needs in the North also that are much more closer to the Earth. The nature of North is rough and the ways of surviving are limited only because of that. The farming is not to be succeed in all parts of North just because of the short period of growth for the plans or the rough and rocky ground. There exists special flora and fauna that is not to be found anywhere else in Europe, but which has to be taken care of. The possibilities for North to be urban is not that good either that they are for the core of Europe. The distances in the Northern areas are long and not everybody is able to be collected to the few urban centers of the country and also people prefer privacy in the North. New means for the regional planning is also needed in the local levels in order to create job possibilities and wealth to the farther areas of North.

4.2.1. Organizations in North

There are already existing and working organizations in the North. Here the most important ones are taking into consideration. One of them is the Nordic cooperation through Nordic Council and Nordic Council of Ministers, second is the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBBS) and the third Barents Euro Arctic Council (BEAC). All of them are taking care of different matters and different regions. Nordic Council is relevant in the soft-security issues and works through cooperation principle. It has a working and institutionalized structure since 1960’s. They have had a pressure for reforms from the side of the Baltic states that

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43 There has been a strict alcohol policy regulation in Finland. Alcohol has been sold in special liqueur markets and only beer has been available in the supermarkets.

44 Finns used comfortable clothing that usually meant wind-proof sports wearing in all free-time occasions such as traveling or shopping.
are equal in taking part of the Council work. But they have not been accepted as the members.

CBSS was formed after the collapse of the USSR in 1992 and its center is in the Baltic Sea. It has had an emphasis more on the so called hard security issues (Knudsen 1999: 47), but also in more assisting than cooperative work in economic and technologies, in democratic institutions, in the areas of humanitarian matters and health, in culture and education, tourism and information, as well as in energy and environment issues and transport and communication. It may be asked how long this kind of assisting work is needed and wanted from the all parties of the Council. The post-Soviet countries are developing and moving towards success and becoming more and more equal with the other states in the region.

Also the name of the council is not carrying positive meanings. As discussed earlier, the Baltic Sea is not “Baltic” in the Finnish or Swedish, but the “Eastern sea”. It carries in itself unwanted associations of the East, something Finland already has struggled away from. Of course for Estonians it is again the “Western sea”, which also could carry a negative association of been left out from the West, being divided by Western sea to East. Third organization is BEAC that mostly considers the issues in the Northern North, taking care of the special conditions of the Arctic. This organization might be seen as to be too northern for the purposes of whole region, not to underestimate the needs and special conditions of the Arctic.

Not any of these organizations is able to feed all the needs of the Northern Europe. They are partly overlapping institutions with the special needs and stressings of their own. But as questioned, the existing Nordic and Baltic Sea cooperation might not be working as wanted just because of the changed situation in the international field as well as in the states domestic politics. Also none of these organizations are under the EU and are so unable to answer the needs of enlargement of EU and in-differences created in the area, as well as taking care of the special relations with Russia, even though EU is part of CBSS and able to make decisions in it. A new framework is needed, Finland has offered the initiative of

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45 Itämeri in Finnish, Östersjö in Swedish.
46 Läänemeri in Estonian.
Northern Dimension. The Central image and association would be that of North. It is not carrying anything but special images in itself right now.

4.2.2. Regional Background of Northern Dimension

The idea behind Northern Dimension is not so young than the concept itself. It is a continuation of the regional development in the Baltic Sea area in the North of Europe. First there was the Nordic cooperation that has functioned as the fundament to the new concept to be build on. When Sweden, Finland and Norway were applying for the membership of EU they were marketed to other member states as the countries that would bring Nordic values inside the Union, like the ones of cooperation, compromising, democracy, welfare and human rights. Terms Nordic Dimension and Northern Dimension were seen as overlapping concepts. Still, there was no talk about a policy as such until later on.

Then there was the collapse of USSR and the Baltic countries seeking for regional identity in which they could be part of. Nordic countries were the ones they first turned to and started to try to resemble with. A thing that has not got that much of favor from the Nordic states as such. All of the sudden there is this group of countries that want to cooperate with each other, but there are no means for that. Northern Dimension is like a good tool for that purpose. There is also not only Nordic and Baltic states of importance around the Baltic Sea rim, but also Russia that could be included in cooperation through Northern Dimension.

Baltic Sea area has also been divided between different alliances, blocs and unions. During the Cold War there were the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries with two countries, Finland and Sweden as neutral. Now there are the countries of NATO and countries that are not in it. Some of the countries are in EU, while others has stayed out or are applying for the membership. The idea of Northern Dimension could fit this picture as one to integrate it all.

In Finland such an initiative was needed to strengthen the position of EU among Finns. “In joining the EU - Finland will not lose her northern identity, on the contrary, it will become
a driving force of her Union policy.” (Ahtisaari 1994a) Northern Dimension may also be seen as a way to customize to Union, to make it more Finnish (Ojanen 1999a: 13). Each member state has to create an Union that their citizens are willing to accept and legitimate. In this sense Finland should not be seen as a different case.

If the new North is wanted to work, a cooperation framework is needed in which the Nordic values are to be stressed. In today’s globalized world the cooperation is the key feature of success and survival, this is especially true for a small state such as the states in the North. Now the division with the states is still remarkable in the sense that Nordic states believe in cooperation, while Baltic states in competition. This might be the hardest part, while trying to include all the parties under the same umbrella.
5. Northern Dimension

Northern Dimension is an effort to complete the regionality process that has already begun in the region of North. Northern Dimension is not an organization, but an EU policy. The two basic ideas behind Northern Dimension are first to promote and maintain the vital interest of North inside EU and secondly to maintain the stability of the Northern region by conflict settlement and crisis management, and by peaceful and cooperative relations across the external borders of EU to Russia (see e.g. Ojanen 1999a: 14).

Northern Dimension aimed at creating a dimension towards Northern Europe as mentioned earlier, it was done in the South of the Union (Forsberg and Ojanen 2000: 119). The basic idea was to make the Baltic Sea as an European inland sea through interdependence, in spite of the certain heterogeneous features of the region. It is an attempt to use Northern Dimension as to give the EU a local - Northern - content and flavor (Knudsen 1999: 30-31). The idea is not to create any bloc-system inside EU, but to make the North important actor for the whole Union as the South already is. This is especially justified through the existence of Russia in the North. The chaos has to be taken care by the cosmos\textsuperscript{47}.

North is a matter that is to be taken care of by the Union as common cooperation through Northern Dimension, not through bilateral relations of the member states. The conflict situation in the North would affect whole Union, but also the success would benefit it. It is in the interest of the EU to diminish the differences in the region of North, as to make the enlargement process smoother, not to courage the continuation of it. It is in the interest for all to maintain North as conflict-free region (see Ahtisaari 1994).

5.1. Promoting Northern Dimension

The foreign politics of Finland has had a strong leader (the president) until the new constitution 2000\textsuperscript{48}, in which the executive powers of the president were diminished and

\textsuperscript{47} To use the concepts of Tunander (1997) to describe the European order.
\textsuperscript{48} Paasikivi started the special Soviet relations, that Kekkonen shaped up to Finlandization. Koivisto started a new line by denying the dependence on the Soviets.
distributed to the government (and the prime minister). When Finland joined the EU in 1995 the president was Martti Ahtisaari, he was also the president at the time the constitution was accepted\textsuperscript{49}. His linings has had a great importance in the foreign policy of Finland. He emphasized three points in his foreign politics: the importance of international community, the common responsibility and the intelligible solutions through cooperation (Harle 2000: 5). Because the Northern Dimension has been the central theme in the foreign politics of Finland, it could be argued that these three emphasizes can be seen as the basis of it too.

Ahtisaari has been talking about the Northern Dimension even before the EU membership for instance while visiting Tartu University, Estonia in 1994. He has stressed the importance of the creation of the "European green Northern zone" (Ahtisaari 1999). The emphasis has been on the Northern region, but the more exact framework has been formulated later on. The Northern Dimension initiative was first introduced in the year 1997 by Paavo Lipponen in the Barents Conference in Rovaniemi, when he mentioned the establishment of such a dimension of EU. A month later president Martti Ahtisaari handled the same idea in a speech given in the University of Harvard in USA. In a speech given by Lipponen in May 1998 the initiative was gone so far that there was no turning back anymore, it had been initiated and now started to be formulated. Northern Dimension was accepted as Union policy in 1998 with the Commission report (Commission of the European Communities 1998).

In Cologne European Council meeting in June 1999 the guidelines for the implementation of the Northern Dimension were formulated, also a Foreign Minister Conference of Northern Dimension was held in November 1999 in Finland during its presidency. It was meant to be an inventory of the current activities under the Northern Dimension. Finally in Helsinki European Council meeting in December 1999 the Commission was invited to prepare an Action Plan for the Northern Dimension. It was introduced in Feira European Council meeting in June 2000 as "Action Plan for Northern Dimension in external and cross-border policies of European Union".

\textsuperscript{49} In the constitution 2000 the presidential powers were diminished and shared with the prime minister.
Northern Dimension has still stayed cluttered mostly due to its wide meaning. The conception has not settled, because the great effort has been done by the Finnish politicians in the marketing work of the importance and "excellence" of the North as whole, which has left the policy with rather theoretical settings. The meaning and concept has been given depending on the public that it has been introduced to. And so long as the Northern Dimension will get more support from the states in the region, it will start to gain concretness.\(^{50}\)

In the Ahtisaari speeches the most important factor seems to be the cooperative tradition of Nordic states that should be promoted through Northern Dimension also to the Union. He sees it important, because the problems concerning North will not be handled otherwise. The "[state] borders do not stop pollution, nor they bar epidemics, drugs and crime. Cooperation is the key to success in fighting them, as experience has shown." (Ahtisaari 1998b). Ahtisaari has also pointed out the need for taking care of Russia (see Ahtisaari 1998b) or the Arctic as whole (see Ahtisaari 1997) depending on where and to whom he has been talking to. Much content has not been given by him, he has more been the initiator and promoter of the initiative.

The prime minister Paavo Lipponen has been the one to be initiating, promoting and developing the idea and the policy of Northern Dimension. He has been formulating and re-formulating it from the perspective whom he has been talking to. But it seems that Northern Dimension is starting to have more concrete conception. It is done through the dialogue in the Union and with the member states and the states in the region. Next the closer look will be taken on these matters.

\(^{50}\)It was not until 2000, two years after the initiative was made and accepted as the Union policy, that the first concrete step was taken in St. Petersburg’s sewage water refinery-project (Lipponen 2000b). But it was done with the common understanding and funding.
5.2. Understanding Northern Dimension

After being introduced Northern Dimension has been stressing the importance of Northern Europe, Northern North and the area of Baltic Sea. Emphasis has been in the discussion mostly on cooperative function of the region despite of the differences and different actors in it. Through cooperation the interdependence could be created that would tie all the states for the region.

EU (see Commission of the European Communities 1998, European Parliament 1999) sees that the most important factors have been the relations with Russia, the enlargement process of EU to the Baltic states and the environmental and economical future of the Baltic Sea and the Northern region. These factors are to be discussed next in the thesis.

5.2.1. Russian relations

Finland has an experience of mastering diplomatic and economical relations with Russia. As discussed earlier in the thesis it share a long history with it. The greatest challenge for the cooperation and future development was faced in the Cold War time, when Finland had to master between the free world and evil empire. It survived and could be now respected to have a special knowledge of that country.

But Finland is now part of European Union, it is not standing bilaterally with Russia anymore. Russia again is not probable member-to-be of EU. It is trying to connect with West\textsuperscript{51}, while Finland and West sees important to stimulate this effort. It is not in the interests of any state if Russia becomes introversed, it should be connected to the economic cooperation with rest of the Europe (Ahtisaari 1997).

Also one serious challenge for Europe will be the need for future the energy transports outside the Union. It is growing from 40\% to 70\% by the year 2002 (Lipponen 2000b). Especially great challenge it will be for Northern Dimension in future. The project of North

\textsuperscript{51} Something that was also done in the time of Peter the Great in 19\textsuperscript{th} Century. Then the orientation was done in "French". 
European Gas Pipeline (North Transgas) is one of the choices to answer the future energy needs. It means a construction of gas pipeline under Baltic Sea from Russia to Germany, covering the region of Northern Dimension, when Europe becomes more and more dependent on the gas reserves from Russia.

Kaliningrad, a region of Russia in between Lithuania and Poland creates a situation in itself, because it has no land connection to Russia. "The main responsibility is on Russia and the region itself, but EU, member states and the neighboring countries are ready to support the development" (Lipponen 2000b). Also the problems of drugs and epidemics (AIDS and tubercle) are growing there fast, and as mentioned earlier, will not know any borders.

5.2.2. Enlargement of EU

The enlargement of EU means moving farther East, even closer to Russia. The borderline between EU and Russia is becoming even longer and the inner division of welfare inside the Union becomes more visible in North. The focus of EU towards the North and the special features of it, is increasing by itself. It is important to consider also the special Northern features of the Baltic states, which makes them different from the more Southern and Central European applicant states\(^\text{52}\) (Ahtisaari 1999).

EU has the special regional policy, which means that the basic function of it is to reduce the regional disparities through regional development, which is done through integration and cohesion. Its function is that the states and the regions, which have most problems of development also need the most assistance (Jauhiainen 2000: 60-61). For this purpose special structural funds and cooperation programs are needed, in order to help the countries or regions in need. Some of these funds (Interreg\(^\text{53}\)) and programs (Phare\(^\text{54}\), Jopp\(^\text{55}\), Tacis\(^\text{56}\),

\(^{52}\) With this could be understood for instance applying the special treatment in the transition period for labor movement through Northern Dimension to the Baltic states.

\(^{53}\) Interreg is a community initiative that aims at diminishing the problems of the regions in EU’s inner and outer border, increasing the cooperation over the borders both bi- and multilaterally and taking care of the Union’s outer border in general.

\(^{54}\) Meant to eleven post-Soviet countries in the Eastern Europe and for the Baltic states to their economic and democratic development.

\(^{55}\) Part of the Phare-program. Mainly to the companies in Baltic states and Eastern Europe, also Russia.

\(^{56}\) Program is for the Russia and the post-Soviet states like Georgia, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.
Ecos-Ouverture\textsuperscript{57}) are meant to ease the upcoming enlargement process. The structural funds are not in direct use for the non-members of EU, but could be used by the member state(s) to soften the outer borderline of EU. For instance in the cooperation between Finland and Estonia the Finns may apply for the Interreg fund money, while Estonia could use Phare-program. For the moment using these funds and programs for these purposes are enhanced for instance by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry through the project of "Business mentor\textsuperscript{58}". Through Northern Dimension the use of Tacis, Phare and Interreg could be channeled even more effective. This point has been considered already by the local actors and EU member states governments (Lipponen 2000b).

Especially the Baltic states has feared that Finland is using Northern Dimension as realpolitik, promoting its vital interests in the cost of the Baltic states (see fe. Raik 1999 and Korbe 2000). This may have more to do with ignorance of the purpose of the Dimension or the fear of unknown. The criticism by the Baltic states towards the policy of Northern Dimension (see Postimees fe. 30.6., 13.7., 24.7. 1998.) is not justified in the light of the possibility of enhancing the vital interest of the whole region of North. Northern Dimension is by concrete ways trying to promote an idea that every state and actor in the region of North could benefit. The ways of getting the funding from EU may be complicating\textsuperscript{59}, but through Northern Dimension it would be better available for all the parties. For instance common funding was used in the sewage water refinery-project in St. Petersburg (Lipponen 2000b). This is of course an example for the purpose of Baltic Sea, not to the enlargement process in itself. But it shows the undiscovered possibilities of the Northern Dimension. Through the enlargement process the Baltic Sea will be regarded as the inner sea of EU. This gives it special position in making the Union politics. The issues, problems and challenges of the sea are touching not few, but many member states of the Union. Next more about that.

\textsuperscript{57} This is meant for the cooperation of different units, regions or cities of the states over the borders.
\textsuperscript{58} A Finnish project for the small and medium-sized companies in order to help the Estonian companies by the Finnish mentors that may be from all sectors of business. The project has been successful inside Finland in order to help the poorer regions of the state.
\textsuperscript{59} For instance lots of paperwork that could be helped by top.
5.2.3. Future of Baltic Sea

Baltic Sea has had different meanings in Finland’s history. It has separated it from the West and on the other hand has hold it in it. While traveling from Finland the fastest way possible is to take a plane or a boat to get to Europe - the Baltic Sea is getting on the way. In the time of medieval Hanseatic League Finland was in connection with the European trade routes by the Baltic Sea. Also at the time of Swedish empire\textsuperscript{60} Finland was located closer to the core of Europe than ever. Now with the enlargement of the EU the Baltic Sea is located in central position again. It ties North closer to the core of Europe that it has been since the end of Swedish empire.

Even though the Baltic Sea is known of its good trade or navigation connections they should be stimulated more, especially the development of the infrastructure is seen as needed (Lipponen 2000b). The environment friendly navigation and development of working sea ports are seen as the basic projects to be done in this sense. In the Baltic Sea rim the Via Baltica, Helsinki-St. Peterburg-Moscow, Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow road connections are seen as important to be developed in future. These are regional level projects for better cooperation in the region.

One of the biggest fears of the Baltic Sea in future is the pollution. The sea has a special fauna and beautiful archipelago that should be maintained and protected by all the states around the sea rim. At the moment the environment projects of the Baltic Sea has been the most concrete cooperation inside the framework of Northern Dimension\textsuperscript{61} (Lipponen 2000c). The EU’s structural funds and the programs (such as Tacit) has been used to fund to improve the environment friendlier industry.

Also one of the concerns is the nuclear safety in the North and Baltic Sea. The concern has been on the safety of the reactors and in the question of the nuclear waste. Member states of EU are having discussion over the need for nuclear energy. Sweden for instance has made a decision of abandoning the nuclear plans and the discussion in Finland is hot whether to decrease plans by one or not. The tendency seems to be on the decreasing, but

\textsuperscript{60} From the 16\textsuperscript{th} to 19\textsuperscript{th} century.
\textsuperscript{61} For instance the already mentioned sewage water project in St. Petersburg.
the doubts are also in importing the energy. It is not seen as an option to it on bringing the energy from the Russian nuclear plans, which are not regarded as safe.

For the sake of the Baltic Sea it may be seen that unfortunately not all the states around the Baltic Sea rim are thinking about the future of upcoming generations in the post-materialistic way, but rather economically sufficient one. That is why the common demand for consciousness is needed, to take care of the common "property", the Baltic Sea.

5.2.4. Future of Northern Region

Northern region is located mostly around the Baltic Sea as discussed earlier. It covers also the areas of Arctic, of the northern north. Northern Dimension is a superior notion to Nordic, Baltic and Arctic and its core is in Baltic Sea. It is a conception that has been offered to cover the former understandings, to face the challenge of the changing Northern European order. It is one way to answer the challenges of the Baltic Sea and the Northern Europe in future.

Future challenges for Northern region among the mentioned are the ones of soft-security, such as drugs, criminality and epidemics rather than hard security one. For Finland the most "dangerous", the most chaotic states are in that sense Russia and the Baltic states (especially Estonia). The cooperation of the police-forces and border guards has started in order to prevent them, even though the actions inside the states are needed. For instance in Estonia the AIDS problem among the drug addicts is growing fast and closely followed by the Finns. The interaction between these two states is so intense that epidemics in both state are a danger for the both party and through that to whole region of North.

One of the challenges for Northern Dimension would be in the EU initiative made in Lissabon summit meeting in 2000 that is called eEurope. Its emphasis on the strengthening of the Union’s position in the global development of information society (see Lipponen 2000b). The differences between the countries in North should be diminished in that aspect too. Even though the development has been fast in the Baltic states (especially in Estonia) they have not reached the level of the IT-sector that the Nordic states have, not to mention Russia. North is the center for IT-technology in Europe. It gives it great advantage for
further development in the same area and creates interdependence between the core of Europe and the Northern Europe.

5.3. Future of Northern Dimension

Since the collapse of the USSR Finland has been actively taking part of the international relations, especially the ones concerning EU. The most concrete move has been the initiative of Northern Dimension. Finland saw in 1995 that there was no choice for EU, already because of the state’s dependency on the export. The security reasons had own impact on the decision made for Union membership. Of course behind all this could be seen to have been the need for Westernization and Europanization.

Since the membership Finland has aimed at supporting its own interests through the support for strengthening the Union, cooperation inside EU and by creating confidential relationships with all the member-states (Lipponen 2000e). Through the Union Finland has strengthen its international position, it has shown active interest in the EU matters and acted among to it actively. Of course not all the politicians in Finland are happy about it (like the former president Mauno Koivisto). When joined the Union the purpose was not to stand still or to rush in fore-front, but to move nice and steady with the other member states (see Heininen 1999b).

It seems that Finland has realized that the international field is more complicated than ever, because of the multiple and different actors in it. But this field offers a small state more playroom than ever, a possibility to have a say in international matters in a new way. The Finnish politicians are using this opportunity a same aggressive and joyful way than a colt that has been put for the first time on the green summer grass. It is to be seen how the idea of Northern Dimension is moving forwards to concrete actions. The foreign relations Commissioner Chris Patten has committed to the development of the Northern Dimension (Lipponen 2000e). Also the other states included to the region of North have given their support to the policy of Northern Dimension (see Lipponen 2000). This should be seen as promising for the future of it, more support it gets, more concrete actions could be taken.
The biggest problem might be that the states will not become committed enough to their actions in the given matters. It is to be seen, how the cooperation between the Nordic and Baltic states and Russia is moving forwards. The politicians of the all countries are supporting tolerant and compromising cooperation at the moment. But how deep are the sceptical attitudes towards the intentions of Finland? And how possible is the cooperation between the states in the region? The money is available for further actions through EU, but the attitudes towards EU are to be seen in the future cooperation of the states in the region. Also it will be seen, if the Baltic states are to be part of EU. What will be the future and the will of EU to support North, if the Baltic states will not join it after all?

Best thing would be that the policy of Northern Dimension would become so deeply part of EU that no one would remember whose initiative it was in the first place. As Lipponen puts it (2000b), the future of Northern Dimension is in the hands of the people living in the North. They shape it with their activity to be the one they want. It is not only the state that is taking care of it, but also the regional actors (regions, cities, communities etc.). European Union and the Nordic states may try as much as they want to root the idea of the Northern Dimension. But this has to done through dialogue, without it there is no further regional cooperation in the area.

The question remains, is the North ready for regional changes? One must be hopeful and doubtful. There is too much competitive attitude in the Baltic air that makes doubt and so much trustful in the Nordic that creates hope. On the other hand, the Baltic states want to be regarded something else than Baltic, but how much more? They have an eager want to be regarded to the same family than the Nordic states, even though Nordic states deny it. The solution might be a new conception of the Northern Dimension.
6. Conclusions

"New Europe” gives more choices for the small states to survive than ever before. In Finland’s case it seems that the experience of the bipolar-world to the small states can be seen as an advantage of acknowledging the importance of cooperation between states that has reached in the new regionalized Europe to other actors also. The importance of the state has diminished in the glocal-level, as it has been in the local- and global-level. With the diminishing importance of the state as an actor in the international field the importance of the size of the state has disappeared even more. Of course it has to keep in mind that the state is still an important actor.

The smallness of the state is now an advantage: it ables the state apparatus to react faster and more flexible than in a bigger state, but it is not the decisive factor in contemporary Europe. More important is now to take part actively, even aggressively, in developing the EU. Only through that participation it is possible to customize the Union for the needs of its member-states. In the smaller states the political elite is smaller and can act more aggressively than in the bigger states. The advantage of the Nordic states is paying off now in EU, it has become customized more Nordic than before.

In the time of bipolarity Finland was left with the choice of Finlandization, a strategy that abled it to stay friendly with the Eastern neighbor USSR not forgetting the West at the same time. After the collapse of USSR in 1991 Finland was facing new possibilities and joined the EU in 1995 and started the time of Europeanization. The identity problem of Finland was then solved: it became truly part of Europe, part of the Western world without proving that to anybody. It has shown an active interest in taking part in EU, the most concrete proof is the initiative of Northern Dimension.

Northern Dimension is not an organization, but a policy of EU that is using the already existing organizations and fundings in the region. It is not trying to promote Finland’s own interest only, but the North as whole. It is facing the challenge that has appeared to the
traditional Nordic cooperation from the Baltic states. It is trying to build a "new North" of those states from Nordic and Baltic states. The decisive difference between these states is the will of cooperation in Nordic and the habit of competitiveness in Baltic. It is a new region-building process of that of North and the Baltic Sea, in which also Russia is not forgotten. It is by no means a way to create different blocs inside the Union, such as North and South. It is way to point out the common problems that are existing or threatening the North. It is taking care of the North. At the same time it is taking care of the matters between EU and non-EU. The EU enlargement process to the Baltic states brings Union more North, but also closer to Russia. It almost makes the Baltic Sea to be an inland sea of the Union and so makes it almost natural for EU to take care of. It makes North and the Baltic Sea to become also an EU matter.

Finland is not trying to dictate the rules, but trying to promote and develop the idea through a dialogue between different parts of the region of North. For future of Northern Dimension it will be important how actively the different states in the region are in the process and how willing they are to cooperate with each other. By the April 2001 the Estonian foreign minister Toomas Hendrik Ilves says that Northern Dimension is not only a small talk, but it is followed by concrete actions and that it helps small states to survive in European Union (PM 11.4.2001). The politicians of various countries has given they support to the policy, but it will be seen how committed they are also in the actions taken.
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Luup


*Postimees*


Suomen Kuvalehti


**LECTURE**


Appendix 1. Europe
(Only in paper version)
Appendix 2. Northern Europe
(Only in paper version)
Appendix 4. Finland
(Only in paper version)
Appendix 3. Baltic Sea region

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Appendix 5. "northern North"
(Only in paper version)