

ENGLISH SUMMARIES

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THE ALMOST IMMORTAL LEADER President Kekkonen's Funeral as a Ritualized Media Event

Whenever a leading political figure of a nation dies, his funeral becomes a national media event. At the time of death of the Finnish President Urho Kekkonen (1956–1981), the Finnish society had already entered an era where the media had a clear role in assembling the nation and constructing and re-constructing social reality. This article examines the ritual elements through which Kekkonen as a leader symbolized the nation. It also analyzes how those elements appeared in the media material addressing his death and funeral.

In the material, Kekkonen stands out as a leader beyond compare, head of the national political family, a sovereign, and a friend of the people that watches over his subjects firmly, but in a fatherly manner, protecting the nation from outside threats. To conclude, we discuss the rituals of Kekkonen's death as a transition of power, as well as ceremonial goodbyes, representing a slow move towards a new kind of political culture.

Jukka-Pekka Puro

LEADERSHIP THROUGH SPEECHES

The Manifestations of Strong Leadership in Kekkonen's Radio Speeches of the Years 1937–1967

Presidential radio speeches, as they were broadcast in Finland from the 1930s to the 1960s, were an integral part of Urho Kekkonen's political leadership and his position as the head of the state. In this article, Kekkonen's speeches are divided into three genres: memorial speeches, New Year's speeches, and foreign policy speeches. Each speech genre can be interpreted to avail various political

ambitions and the political objectives strengthened during the time. In his first national radio speeches, Kekkonen was moderate and restraint, but during the 1950s the speeches became persuasive and eloquent. In Kekkonen's most famous speeches of the 1960s, he applied diverse techniques of classic rhetoric aiming at strong rhetorical leadership. The 34 speeches, discussed in this article, are analyzed from the perspectives of neo-classical and generic rhetorical criticism.

Päivi Timonen & Minna Lammi

ON A VOYAGE WITH KEKKONEN *Finlandia Surveys* as Instruments of Persuasion during Kekkonen's First Presidency

This article focuses on the imagery in Finland's news coverage during Kekkonen's first term as president (1956–1962). During this term, Kekkonen was obliged to strengthen his less than distinct position both in Finland and abroad. This led to much coverage of official visits to the Soviet Union and Western countries. We interpret these ceremonial events as a resource of soft power used for persuasion.

As the position of Kekkonen was at first weak, he endeavored to create an image of himself as a powerful and convincing state actor, and thus sought to cast himself as an active player in the governance of the state.

Furthermore, he was able to mediate to both Finns and Western observers how the Finnish economy was led by the state. The Soviet newsreels of the time indicated how keen Finland was to follow Western science and technological development.

Olli Seuri

KEKKONEN AND POWER The Image of Urho Kekkonen in *Helsingin Sanomat's* References to the 1960s

This article explores the history of President Urho Kekkonen as it appeared in the pages of daily newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS). His history is produced in different sections and historical references in every-day work of a newspaper. Separate pieces of representations produced by writers, editors and interviewees construct the image which is as much about representing and remembering as it is about forgetting and omitting.

This article's material is limited to references to the 1960s in the HS's volumes of 2008 and 2013. The sample is limited in order to analyse the idea of "different types of Kekkonen" in Finnish history culture. This study shows that the image of Kekkonen constructed in these references to 1960s is that of a powerful president. For example, young Kekkonen, Prime Minister Kekkonen, and the frail President after 25 years reign, are all omitted. Representations and meanings in these newspaper references are limited to Kekkonen, his legacy, and influence in public and private life in the 1960s and 1970s.

In this study's material Kekkonen is a progressive force in the modernization period of the 1960s Finland. Also, the legacy of Kekkonen and his foreign policy are strong in HS's references. The debate concerning Cold War shows the dynamism of the image of the past of President Urho Kekkonen and his lasting relevance to Finnish history culture. His legacy and history can be used for various lines of argument. Different emphasis leads to different, even opposing, views and visions. The public debate over Cold War and Kekkonen represents a broader aspect, noticed earlier by historian Henrik Meinander (2010): The debate concerning the legacy of President Urho Kekkonen is a debate of Cold War Finland and Finland's position between the East and the West.