



Constructing Post-Soviet Geopolitics in Estonia

Pami Aalto

Constructing Post-Soviet
Geopolitics in Estonia

Books of Related Interest

The Changing Geopolitics of Eastern Europe

Andrew H. Dawson and Rick Fawn (eds)

From Geopolitics to Global Politics: A French Connection

Jacques Levy (ed.)

Geoproperty: Foreign Affairs, National Security and Property Rights

Geoff Demarest

*Geopolitics and the End of the Twentieth Century: The Changing World
Political Map*

Nurit Kliot and David Newman (eds)

Land-Locked States of Africa and Asia

Dick Hodder, Sarah J. Lloyd and Keith McLachlan (eds)

Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity

David Newman (ed.)

Geopolitics and Strategic History, 1871–2050

Colin S. Gray and Geoffrey Sloan

Geopolitics: Geography and Strategy

Colin S. Gray and Geoffrey Sloan (eds)

CONSTRUCTING POST-SOVIET GEOPOLITICS IN ESTONIA

PAMI AALTO
University of Tampere

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published in 2003 in Great Britain by
Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN
270 Madison Ave, New York NY 10016

Transferred to Digital Printing 2007

www.routledge.com

Copyright © 2003 Pami Aalto

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Aalto

Constructing post-Soviet geopolitics in Estonia. – (Routledge studies in geopolitics

1. Geopolitics – Estonia 2. Estonia – Politics and government – 1991–

I. Title

320.16209479809049

ISBN10: 0-7146-5425-6 (hbk)

ISBN10: 0-7146-8349-3 (pbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-7146-5425-6 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-7146-8349-2 (pbk)

ISSN 1466-7940

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

aalto, Pami, 1972–

Constructing post-Soviet geopolitics in Estonia/Pami aalto.

p. cm. – (Cass series. studies in geopolitics no. 5, ISSN 1466-7940)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-7146-5425-6 (cloth) – ISBN 0-7146-8349-3 (pbk.)

1. Geopolitics–Estonia. 2. Estonia – Politics and government – 1991

3. Estonia – Foreign relations – 1991 – I. Title. II Series.

DK503.83.A14 2003

327.4798009 049–dc21

2003043406

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher of this book.

Typeset in 10.25 on 12pt Times by FiSH Books, London WC1

Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original may be apparent

CONTENTS

List of Figures, Tables and Map	vi
Foreword	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Abbreviations	x
Introduction	1
1. The Space of Post-Soviet Geopolitics in Estonia	13
2. 'High' and 'Low' Geopolitics	41
3. In Search of Discourses	62
4. Restorationist Geopolitics and Beyond	87
5. Identities and Subjectivities Matter	113
6. Discourse, Power and New Boundaries	136
Concluding Remarks: Critical Geopolitics and Peaceful Development	164
Appendices	167
References	169
Index	187

FIGURES, TABLES AND MAP

FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Estonia in 1920–40 and 1991–present	15
Figure 2.1: Construction of geopolitical discourses in the post-Soviet space	57
Figure 3.1: Forced Q-sorting grid	78

TABLES

Table 3.1: Concourse of practical geopolitical reasoning in post-Soviet Estonia	68
Table 3.2: Q sample of practical geopolitical reasoning in post-Soviet Estonia ($n = 57$)	71
Table 3.3: Participants of the Q-sorting experiments ($N = 24$)	75
Table 4.1: Participants and factor loadings	89
Table 4.2: Factor scores (idealised Q sorts)	89
Table 4.3: Discourse I on international politics and Russia	95
Table 4.4: Discourse I on EU and NATO membership	96
Table 4.5: Discourse II on interethnic relations	98
Table 4.6: Discourse III on external relations	102
Table 4.7: Discourse III on Russia	102
Table 4.8: Discourse III on Russia (continuation)	102
Table 4.9: Discourse III on NATO	103
Table 4.10: Discourse IV on interethnic issues	105
Table 4.11: Correlations between discourses	106
Table 6.1: The Baltic states' foreign trade with the CIS and the EU	150
Table 6.2: Estonia's foreign trade with Latvia and Lithuania	152

MAP

Map of Estonia (1991–present)	168
-------------------------------	-----

FOREWORD

Constructing Post-Soviet Geopolitics in Estonia is devoted to an important and challenging subject – construction of political space in Estonia and its impact as well as relationship to the broader context of post-Soviet geopolitics in the Baltic region. Pami Aalto has been able to produce a powerful and innovative account uncovering several important aspects of the research subject, which have been relatively neglected in an otherwise huge body of literature on post-Soviet Estonia. In this capacity, the book is of great interest not only to experts in the field of International Relations/Political Science, but also to the general reader interested in the Baltic region.

An important innovative aspect of the book consists in the focus on the subjective aspect of political space. The author uses Q methodology to trace down major geopolitical discourses in Estonia and to find competing patterns of geopolitical reasoning as well as to relate the issue to the possibilities of peaceful developments in the region at large. Applying his heuristic model, the author offers an interesting exploration of how boundaries between the internal and external aspects of Estonia's state sovereignty have been created, why the ethnic Estonians came to embrace restorationist geopolitics in the early 1990s and why there has been considerable resistance to it since the mid-1990s.

The main conceptual lines of the book concern external–internal boundary construction as well as linkage between security and identity issues in Estonia. According to the author, these two issues form pivotal 'puzzles' in the post-Soviet geopolitics. His analyses of the puzzles captures important aspects of the politics taking place within and between different actors in the postSoviet space. For example, it is shown how a particular type of 'us–them' distinction creates an entrapment perception among ethnic Estonians.

The normative base of the book derives from the idea of working for peaceful development in the region. The author predicts that Estonian foreign policy thinking has a potential for change in the not so distant future, because there are conflicting logics operating in geopolitical reasoning and Realpolitik. It can also be said, regarding the approach to Estonia's internal geopolitical boundaries, that the important and positive developments of recent years are very much due to the contribution of academics. It is not impossible that the same pattern will be followed in foreign policy thinking. Scholarly works such as Pami Aalto's can be regarded as an important contribution to this direction.

Raivo Vetik

Director, Institute of International and Social Studies, Tallinn

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Some of the research that appears in this book benefits from the criticism I have had from submitting work for publication. The third section of Chapter 1 and minor parts of Chapter 5 are based on my 'Beyond Restoration: The Construction of Post-Soviet Geopolitics in Estonia', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 35, 1 (2000), pp. 65–88. The second and third section of Chapter 5 also benefit from my 'Post-Soviet Ethnic Conflicts and the Level of Everyday Life', *Finnish Review of East European Studies*, 4, 3 (1997), pp. 8–27, and 'Post-Soviet Geopolitics and the Politics of Identity in Democratic Consolidation: The Case of Estonia', in D. Berg-Schlosser and R. Vetik (eds), *Perspectives of Democratic Consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2001), pp. 107–17. I am grateful to all of the above publications for their permission to reproduce this material.

A large number of people have helped me to plan and carry out the research that enabled the writing of this book. First and foremost I must mention those who have been central to my research training. John Hiden and David Smith were excellent and extremely knowledgeable supervisors when I was engaged in my Ph.D. project at the University of Bradford in 1997–2000. I have learned a lot from them. Vilho Harle, whom I would consider to be my intellectual mentor, has also contributed much to this book. He gave the original impetus for many of the new ideas presented here, and at the time of writing is my close collaborator at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Tampere. Burkhard Auffermann, Tuomas Forsberg, Jyrki Käkönen and Raivo Vetik also read through and commented extensively on the initial manuscript. Their critical and perceptive comments were extremely useful in the final revision and fine-tuning.

I must also thank all those who have, at various stages, been colleagues at the Department of Political Science at the University of Helsinki. They include Timo Kivimäki, Anne Eskelinen and Turo Virtanen who were instrumental in advising and helping me in my scholarly development. Timo Aarveaara, Niilo Kauppi, Marja Keränen, Arto Nokkala, Pasi Saukkonen and Henri Vogt were also stimulating colleagues to work with.

Elsewhere, I am indebted to several people for invaluable practical help, critical remarks, useful discussions and feedback that has made me think

Acknowledgements

harder about this project: Margaret Haldane, Jouni Häkli, Pirjo Jukarainen, Kai Juvakka, Mikko Lagerspetz, Anssi Paasi, Timo Piirainen, Peeter Vares, Raimo Väyrynen, and, of course, my fellow Finnish critical geopoliticians, Mika Luoma-aho and Sami Moisio. Likewise, I owe a great deal to Ebe Pilt, who kindly helped me with the practical conduct of the field-work for this study during my time as a visiting fellow at the Estonian Academy of Sciences in 1998–9. Here, I also wish to acknowledge those who helped me with the translation of some of the forms used during the field-work and with the transcription of all the compiled interviews. Even someone conversant in the local languages – Estonian and Russian – cannot manage without the help of local experts.

No study can be completed with intellectual resources only. Thanks for funding are due to several places: Finnish Graduate School of Political Science and International Relations (VAKAVA), University of Helsinki, Finnish Cultural Foundation, Jenny and Antti Wihuri Foundation, Helsingin Sanomat Centennial Foundation, Academy of Finland, Estonian Academy of Sciences, and finally, the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Tampere, which provided facilities and a good and supportive working environment for the finalisation of this book, in the context of the project ‘Identity Politics, Security and the Making of Geopolitical Order in the Baltic Region’ that is funded by the Academy of Finland.

I also need to extend the warmest of thanks to all those who have been around me throughout the project and who have gave me a hand in difficult times. Without the continuous support of my family, the research for this book would not have been finished on schedule and might never have been started at all. Also, for interesting debates and getting my mind off research work when I needed it, I want to thank all of my very dear friends. They have always been willing to converse on any topic, work-related or otherwise.

Finally, the biggest thanks must go to all those people who gave their permission to be interviewed and who kindly arranged some time to participate in the Q-methodological experiments and in-depth interviews conducted for this study. Without their views, I would not have been able to learn much from subjectivity.

ABBREVIATIONS

BALTBAT	Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion
CBSS	Council of the Baltic Sea States
CSCE	Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CE	Council of Europe
CPE	Communist Party of Estonia
CSS	critical security studies
EC	European Commission
EHS	Estonian Heritage Society
ENIP	Estonian National Independence Party
ESSR	Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic
EU	European Union
FSU	Former Soviet Union
GDP	gross domestic product
IR	international relations
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
MP	Member of Parliament
MRP	Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact
ND	Northern Dimension Initiative
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	non-governmental organisation
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PfP	Partnership for Peace Programme
PFE	Popular Front of Estonia
PM	Prime Minister
WTO	World Trade Organisation

INTRODUCTION

The title of this book, *Constructing Post-Soviet Geopolitics in Estonia*, may at first sight look somewhat unconventional. However, the apparent idiosyncrasies are not there for their own sake only, but rather for the purpose of opening up new insights into the study of international relations (IR) and the field of post-Soviet studies. It will become clear that I will make these contributions by deriving inspiration from various branches of research that are not too often combined in one book. I engage with IR research that lies outside the mainstream of the discipline, but in no sense is this intended simply to dismiss more conventional IR approaches. On the contrary, there are great benefits to be had from the present diversity of the field. In addition, I also confront some topical issues in post-Soviet studies and import perspectives from political geography and social theory. However, the most important source of possible unconventionality in this book is how the Estonian story itself is told. I review developments in Estonia since the early 1990s and up until the European Commission's invitation in autumn 2002 for Estonia to join the European Union, using methods that are not always found at the top of the toolkits used by scholars in IR or post-Soviet studies: Q methodology and in-depth interviews.

To situate this somewhat unconventional study in the very broad scope of contemporary IR, the discipline in which I have received the bulk of my research training, let me simply refer to three widely used and cited IR textbooks. They were written by authors representing different geographical contexts and represent, in a related way, somewhat different branches of IR research: the seventh edition of Kal J. Holsti's *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*, the second edition of Chris Brown's *Understanding International Relations*, and the eighth edition of Charles W. Kegley and Eugene R. Wittkopf's *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*.¹

To begin with the books by Holsti and Brown, one can immediately note that Holsti's book has a more pronounced North American flavour, which is, of course, well in line with his own scholarly context. His book aims to elucidate mainstream IR as it has evolved after World War Two, with the US academia as its most important site. Brown's book engages with the mainstream too, but concomitantly, in a gentle and constructive way, he

reflects a more critical attitude towards it. This stance has probably been influenced by Brown's own context within British and European IR at large that are currently, at least in some respects, gradually departing from the US-led mainstream.² Despite these differences of tone in their treatment of IR as a discipline, it should be noted that both books make a strong preference for *theory* as the basis of all research.³ I share this preference and trust that the present study speaks for all those interested in developing *new approaches*.

Holsti organises his book into four major parts: (1) international systems; (2) actors in the international system that, for him and the mainstream of IR scholars, are primarily states; (3) explanations of states' foreign policies; and (4) major forms of interaction between states. In this way, he first introduces the bigger picture of historic and contemporary international systems and then goes on in the three subsequent parts to focus on *states* as the principal agents within these systems. In his account, Brown interestingly replicates this division into system-centric and state-centric approaches.⁴ In terms of this practical division, the focus in the present study is not on the system, but rather on one particular state, Estonia, and on how people there contribute to, and for their own part, help to construct the broader context of post-Soviet geopolitics in the Baltic region.

Here, it is somewhat striking that neither Holsti nor Brown speaks of 'construction of geopolitics', the phrase that is indicated in the title of the present study. This is where my research goes beyond the worlds introduced in the pages of most IR textbooks.

Brown introduces the term *construction* and discusses the way in which social constructionist perspectives have become more popular in IR, especially towards the late 1990s and into the new millennium, although in general social theory they were fairly commonplace well before that.⁵ However, he does not advance his discussion to the specific issue of the construction of geopolitics. Holsti, and Kegley and Wittkopf, for their part, provide some references to geopolitics. Holsti mentions geographic and topographic characteristics as features of the domestic context influencing the formulation of foreign policy.⁶ The North American writers Kegley and Wittkopf define geopolitics in their textbook as the 'relationship between geography and politics and their consequences for states' national interests and relative power'.⁷ That they mention the term *geopolitics* is interesting, as it suggests a comeback of the term into IR theory that is currently underway after a somewhat undue absence of several decades.⁸ The unfortunate negative connotations of the term originate in the post-World War Two perception that the Nazi regime in Germany used geopolitical scholarship for its own imperialistic and expansionist ends. However, the grounds for these negative connotations are somewhat debatable, as recent studies suggest.⁹ In any case, it is important to note that the present-day comeback of geopolitics not only relates to the reintroduction of Kegley and Wittkopf's type of

traditional, fairly general and almost impressionistic accounts of the term as the interface between geography and politics. Rather, at issue is also an increasing tendency to *make use of the notion of construction in order to open up new insights into geopolitics*.

However, my use of the only recently (re)popularised terms *construction* and *geopolitics* does not connote complete incompatibility between the present study and the research agenda introduced by Holsti, Brown, and Kegley and Wittkopf. Broadly speaking, despite the differences in terminology, and consequently, of focus, the study at hand bears *some* resemblance and can thus be related to the enduring debates introduced eloquently by these writers on such topics as the domestic sources of a state's foreign policy, and the role of images, beliefs and geography in the formation of foreign and security policies. Concomitantly, the present study also touches on the often debated issue of state power: how small powers like Estonia for their own part contribute to regional developments whilst being influenced by external agents, including, for example, the great power of Russia, the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS), the Council of Europe (CE), the European Union, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). But, as noted, my approach in this study focuses on the construction of geopolitics. It does not speak directly to these established fields of IR research, but instead tries to argue in a way that is comprehensible to the scholars engaged in them.

This novelty in relation to mainstream IR becomes most strikingly evident in my somewhat unconventional understanding of the key notion of *constructing geopolitics*. Since the terms *construction* and *geopolitics* have so many different meanings in IR and post-Soviet studies alike, let me start unpacking my particular understanding of them first by noting that in the broad sense, 'constructing geopolitics' is a special aspect of the overall notion of the *construction of political space*. Thus, as this study focuses on the construction of geopolitics, at the same time it is in a broad sense about the construction of political space in post-Soviet Estonia. This overall theme relates this study to the above-mentioned, established debates on domestic, foreign and state power issues that clearly are all part of the processes of constructing political space. Now, let me explain in more detail what I mean by this overall notion by discussing the concept of *space*.

By speaking of space in this study, I mean something more than space simply as *material environment* or physical space, that is, space without any social mediation. Also, I mean something more than space simply as *difference*, in the sense that different places and regions are different, the differences then influencing social processes and social life at large. I conceive of space in the Lefebvorean sense as a *social product*. It is not the 'things' in space, or the character and dispositions of the space itself that are of primary interest, but their 'production' and 'construction'.¹⁰ This is not to deny the

existence of the material reality of the Estonian territory, topography and natural and demographic resources, nor to dispute the fact emerging from my research that the spaces of ethnic Estonians and Estonia's Russophone population are multiple and contested, coming in varying forms. The present study simply aims to shed light on how ethnic Estonians – the majority group – and Russophones – the minority group constituting about one-third of Estonia's current population of around 1.5 million people – make use of the material reality in Estonia and its environs in order to construct differences and thus political space as active subjects situated in concrete material and social contexts. This way of understanding space refutes the conception that commonly prevails in IR, that space can be neatly divided into domestic politics and international political space, seen as a reflection of sovereign state agents.

Thus, in this study I portray the spaces of ethnic Estonians and Russophones as multiple, contested and differently constructed. This is to say that such spaces are already in themselves political, by connoting aspects of contestation and conflict, and therefore of politics.¹¹ Now, if these processes of constructing political space by ethnic Estonians and Russophones in the broad sense are what this study is all about, why then do I wish to invoke the term *geopolitics*? Indeed, what role does geopolitics play in such processes?

There are actually four principal reasons for using the term *geopolitics* in this study, each one of which introduces more specific aspects of how geography is involved in the construction of political space in post-Soviet Estonia and the Baltic region as the whole. In this way, what emerges is a much more sharply focused geopolitical research agenda than the traditional account of the term would suggest, one which can be divided into four different images of geopolitics.

1. *Geopolitics as a key boundary-constructing practice.* The particular geopolitical practice of producing the various symbolic and material (territorial), intrastate and interstate boundaries that I will elucidate in the Estonian case, is *practical geopolitics*. Practical geopolitical discourses by political elites, intellectuals and opinion leaders include seemingly innocent comments and statements naming and essentialising places, identities and regions. However, these discourses also have a crucial influence on patterns of co-operation and conflict between groups, states and groups of states. Such acts are intimately intertwined with what can be called *popular geopolitics*: the active reproduction and legitimation of practical geopolitical discourses in the mass media, popular culture and everyday life in the form of subjectively experienced everyday understandings and images of other peoples and places.¹² Yet, although my interest is in practical and popular geopolitics in post-Soviet Estonia, I do not exhaust these two practices entirely in my analysis. The bulk of the research in this study concentrates on two puzzles that have a particularly clear boundary-constructing nature and that therefore

by definition offer interesting insights into geopolitics: the linkages between security and identity, and the linkages between internal and external aspects of state sovereignty.

2. *Geopolitics as the territorially defined broader context of the Baltic region.* There is no doubt that my interest in practical and popular geopolitics represents, despite the theoretical and methodological openings in this study, a relatively narrow field within the broad scope of contemporary IR and post-Soviet studies. Therefore, with this broader picture in mind, and, with reference to the state power issue mentioned above, I also attempt to locate the patterns uncovered in the case of Estonia in the broader context of the Baltic region, referring to representatives of concerned states and other agents with an interest in the region, such as the CBSS, CE, EU, OSCE and NATO. Hence, in this way I ultimately wish to reflect on Estonia's contribution to what can be called *post-Soviet geopolitics* in the Baltic region; the constellation of various substate, state level and international agents engaged in a contest over political space and power. Thus the book's title, *Constructing Post-Soviet Geopolitics in Estonia*, intends to refer to Estonia's contribution to this bigger game of regional rivalry.

3. *Geopolitics as 'critical geopolitics'.* This study contributes to the interdisciplinary field of research associated with such names as Gearóid Ó Tuathail, Simon Dalby, Klaus Dodds and, in the context of boundary studies, Anssi Paasi and David Newman. Critical geopolitics is a diverse movement between IR and political geography striving at the reintroduction of the term *geopolitics* into social scientific research in a considerably revised and much more specific form than is implied in the traditional accounts of the term. My purpose here is to bring certain new elements into critical geopolitics that have so far been missing. Thereby, I do not address its whole research agenda. Critical geopolitics varies from analyses of the international (geo)political economy and of such phenomena as deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation to largely textual studies of practical and popular geopolitics, that is, the conduct of spatially oriented foreign policy reasoning and its legitimation. I mainly limit my interest to the latter two aspects of the critical geopolitics agenda.

4. *Geopolitics as territorial disputes.* Patterns of practical and popular geopolitics in Estonia were in an important manner responsible for the emergence of a territorial dispute between Estonia and Russia in the early 1990s. However, this dispute over the relatively small territories around the towns of Narva/Ivangorod (Jaaniinn) and Pechory (Petseri), waned with shifts in the Estonian patterns of practical and popular geopolitics, and, significantly, with a growing diversity in the Estonian perceptions of how security and identity should be linked with each other. Thereby, my focus on practical and popular geopolitics in Estonia does not in any way signify a wish to neglect the more traditional geopolitical topics, such as territorial disputes, when they are relevant, as they are in the Estonian case.

However, despite the several references to practical and popular geopolitics I have made here, for the most part I do not speak that much of them throughout the book. Instead, as already indicated, I will speak of 'construction of political space', 'boundaries', 'geopolitics' and 'geopolitical discourses' in Estonia. This is simply in order to help with the task of developing a new type of critical geopolitics approach and to seek out new theoretical and empirical content for our understanding of practical and popular geopolitics, especially how these practices are involved in the construction of post-Soviet political space in Estonia and its environs.

Whilst setting out to study post-Soviet realities in Estonia, what initially attracted my interest was the contrast between the seemingly irrational way in which ethnic Estonians drove themselves into a territorial dispute with the great power of Russia, and the subsequent emergence of more diverse conceptions of political space, more diverse forms of boundaries, and ultimately, more diverse Estonian contributions to post-Soviet geopolitics. The study of issues such as the construction of discourses of practical geopolitics, the security/identity puzzle within them, and popular geopolitics as manifested in subjectively experienced everyday life, seemed to offer interesting and valuable insights into the Estonian story. Now, let me briefly sketch out how I approach this story in each chapter to the book.

I start the first chapter by noting that geopolitics is a feature of both the past and present processes of constructing political space in Estonia. As these features refuse to go away with the passage of time, they are worthy of study. My critical geopolitics approach is designed for this purpose. It adds new elements to the work done under the label of critical geopolitics. And if one looks from an IR perspective, my approach, with its focus on the *discursive*, *political* and *subjective* aspects of practical and popular geopolitics, is clearly situated outside the mainstream, making it best understood as a contribution to the very diverse category that has often been termed *reflectivism*.

In the same chapter I go on to argue for the necessity of paying more attention than before to the linkages between *internal* and *external* spaces of state sovereignty, and to the linkages between *security* and *identity*. I show, by looking at the Estonian case, how by exploring these two puzzles we can get useful insights into the ways in which post-Soviet space is constructed. I discuss how the discourse of 'restorationist geopolitics' dominated the construction of Estonia's political space in the early 1990s. This paved the way for the emergence of the Estonian-Russian territorial dispute over the small territories around the towns of Narva/Ivangorod (Jaanilinn) and Pechory (Petseri), and was instrumental in producing rigid identity boundaries between the ethnic Estonians and Estonia's Russophone population, and also between Estonia and Russia. Further, it invoked a dichotomous differentiation of the Estonian identity from the Russophones, and a spatial differentiation from Russia in rather exclusionist terms strongly coloured by security

considerations as well as justified by the principle of restoration of Estonia's statehood. In the policy sense, it induced ethnic Estonians to introduce, among other things, exclusionist language and citizenship policies and to seek membership of the EU and NATO. However, in order to supplement this type of analysis of the discursive and political aspects of geopolitics, I continue by suggesting that a careful examination of peoples' *subjective* perceptions and experiences, especially as manifest in different *generations*, can help us to understand how and why restorationist geopolitics came to dominate the political space in Estonia, and why there is now considerable resistance to it.

In the second chapter I develop my critical geopolitics approach further by engaging in a dialogue with the important and useful new openings in Alexander Wendt's constructivism and related constructivist IR approaches. In this way I develop a theoretically informed idea of the construction of geopolitical discourses in post-Soviet Estonia and the post-Soviet space at large. The thread of my argument is that despite their good openings, these writers do not provide us with adequate tools for enquiring into the construction of geopolitical discourses *within* states such as Estonia. Being system-centred, they ignore some important aspects of the internal–external puzzle, that is, the processes with which internal spaces are constructed, which for their part, also affect the system. In order to overcome this deficiency, I argue that more attention needs to be paid to the role of human subjectivity, which should be understood as situated subjectivity, or, effectively, *intersubjectivity*.

The rest of Chapter 2 outlines the implications for the security–identity puzzle. I argue that as far as the concept of security is concerned, the recently popularised Copenhagen school of security studies provides a useful conceptualisation in focusing on processes of 'securitisation' and 'desecuritisation'. This conceptualisation succeeds in opening up useful insights into the kind of geopolitical discourses one can find in the post-Soviet space. Securitisation – putting of issues onto a specific security agenda, defined by concerns for survival – is often part and parcel of post-Soviet discourses, whilst desecuritisation remains a more desirable goal for the scholarly community. But, in the case of identity, the Copenhagen school fails to take into account the indeterminate nature of identity politics in the post-Soviet states, missing out almost entirely on its subjective roots. And consequently, the Copenhagen school lacks any explicit idea of the consequences of identity politics regarding boundary construction processes. I attempt to address this deficiency by discussing the way in which the subjective roots of identity politics give rise to the construction of what I call *everyday* and *securitised boundaries*. Finally, at the very end of the chapter I present this conceptual discussion in the form of a heuristic model, by mapping the construction of geopolitical discourses through the concepts of *security*, *identity* and *subjectivity*. On the whole, as regards my critical geopolitics

approach, the main claim in Chapter 2 relates to the capacity of these concepts to open up viewpoints on boundary construction practices, and consequently, on geopolitics.

In the third chapter I discuss some of the available discourse analytic methods. For my purposes, both a Foucauldian type of 'critical discourse analysis', popular among key critical geopolitics writers and many other reflectivists, and survey techniques, popular among scholars in post-Soviet studies, are unsuitable. Neither can fully account for the kind of discourse construction among human subjects I am interested in. By contrast, Q methodology, originally invented by the psychologist William Stephenson, is highly suitable for this purpose, especially when used in conjunction with in-depth interviews. Focusing on the way in which human subjects perceive, interpret, map and communicate issues of salience around them, thus participating in the construction of various discourses, Q-methodological discourse analysis makes the best of both qualitative and quantitative traditions. It starts with a large universe of statements on a particular topic, such as practical geopolitical reasoning in post-Soviet Estonia. This material is arranged, with the help of theoretical considerations, into a more manageable number of statements and is administered to a group of people to express their orientation towards the issues at hand. They do this by sorting (rank-ordering) the statements. The results are then factor analysed in order to get an idea of the patterns of agreement and disagreement among these people, indicating the existence of different discourses that can be reliably assumed to prevail among the broader population.

Although Q methodology is not very widely used in IR or post-Soviet studies, I believe the fourth chapter shows its great potential in uncovering complex discourses. This chapter introduces four analytically distinct discourses (DI–DIV) of practical geopolitics that I have found to define Estonia's political space since the late 1990s. There is no dramatic mass exodus from restorationist geopolitics, as one of the more contemporary discourses is very much reminiscent of it (DI), and two others partially accept some of its premises (DII, DIII). But, they do this by concomitantly maintaining that the restorationist path is now exhausted. For DII, restorationism fails to provide a workable basis for arranging interethnic issues. For DIII, it fails to give good advice in both ordering internal spaces and arranging external relations in present-day Estonia. DII and DIII, which are both put forward by ethnic Estonians, manage to introduce viable alternatives and more diversity. The fourth discourse (DIV), which is forwarded by Estonia's Russophones, resists restorationist geopolitics in a much more coherent manner and has an agenda that is truly its own, with several policy recommendations that are to a large extent at odds with ethnic Estonians' discourses. At the end of the chapter I use this mapping of discourses in post-Soviet Estonia to identify lines of division in Estonian

political spaces, and to think of common points and grounds for co-operation between the divergent positions, not forgetting the possibility that other discourses might remain unaccounted for.

Chapter 5 discusses my main findings regarding discourse construction and the security–identity puzzle, as I contextualise the uncovered discourses by outlining the modes of identity politics, and the subjective perceptions and experiences giving rise to them. While the fourth chapter is about practical geopolitics, the fifth is about the interrelated phenomena of popular geopolitics. To comprehend why the first three discourses are defined by ethnic Estonians only, and why they all refer to the same objects – the Estonian identity and the Estonian state – I argue that ethnic Estonians have gone through the same experiences, such as the 1987–91 independence movement and the regaining of independence – as part of the same ‘metageneration’, in the metaphorical sense signifying a shared experience of lived history. Developments in the post-Soviet era, though, and most notably the calming of interethnic tensions, brought the dissolving of this ‘metageneration’ into different ‘generation units’, each one supporting different modes of identity politics. For ethnic Estonians, I argue that *primordial* and *constructionist* modes are the most commonplace, and that for Russophones, *postmodern* identity politics prevails. This situation also results in more diverse forms of intrastate boundaries in Estonia, and signifies the relative opening up of Estonia’s political space. But, crucially, with theoretical considerations in mind, it must be noted that there is considerable *variation* in the way security is linked with identity. In the case of Russophones’ postmodern identity politics, the linkages can remain relatively loose, making it a prime target for desecuritisating aims and policies.

All this focus on discourses, identities and subjectivities does not, however, mean completely ignoring questions of electoral legitimation and power, and also of issues of (geo)political economy, that are of equal interest regarding the construction of political space in post-Soviet Estonia. In the sixth chapter I examine the extent to which alternative discourses resisting restorationist geopolitics have in fact been legitimated and empowered in the more institutional sense. As regards internal spaces, restorationism has indeed been on the wane, with initiatives like the Estonian government’s Integration Programme for the period 2000–7, which is designed to get Russophones more involved in Estonian society and space. Symbolic boundaries within internal spaces have thus been taking on a different shape, as compared to the early 1990s. They have been moving away from the rigid, securitised mode and towards more open but still functional and effective everyday boundaries. But as regards policies geared towards external spaces, the old securitisation of Russophones and of Russia has been much more persistent, and voices

criticising the policy recommendations in restorationist geopolitics in favour of joining the EU and NATO have remained rather powerless. Sometimes they have become the object of outright ridicule. Yet, it is interesting to note the concomitant way in which this kind of strong identity politics has been balanced by what can be called *Realpolitik*: occasional concessions in the bargaining between ethnic Estonians and Russophones, and maintenance of relatively active economic relations between Estonia and Russia. Thus, in the external spaces on the whole, there is a lack of a clear pattern as far as symbolic boundaries are concerned. This does not, however, mitigate the fact that the still very much prevalent promotion of rather modernist forms of geopolitics in external relations by both ethnic Estonian and Russian political elites is making the interstate boundary between Estonia and Russia more impermeable. Estonia's EU accession process only works to support this hardening of the eastern boundary, but it must be admitted that it may also bring with it more of much-desired governance and order.

Because conclusions are presented in the body of the main text – mainly at the end of Chapters 4, 5 and 6 – there is no grand concluding discussion. But, in the brief concluding remarks I argue that my new critical geopolitics approach opens up a more detailed and multifaceted perspective on the construction of political space, boundaries and post-Soviet geopolitics in Estonia than is currently available. Indeed, the present study is the first comprehensive and detailed, book-length examination of these issues in the case of Estonia, and as such it offers conceptual and methodological tools for further studies of other post-Soviet cases. In addition, the new viewpoints presented up here are all the more important as they help us to identify prospects for promoting peaceful development in Estonia, the Baltic region and post-Soviet space at large. In this way, even a somewhat unconventional study that operates within the apparently relatively marginal, internally diverse category such as critical geopolitics, can have considerable policy relevance.

Lastly, I hope the reader concurs with my contention that this way of elucidating how political space and boundaries are constructed in post-Soviet Estonia, and how phenomena such as post-Soviet geopolitics is unfolding in the Baltic region, provide some tools when thinking about the broader prospects of constructing a more peaceful and stable Europe, whatever its future boundaries may be. Even so, this approach does not constitute a completely new research programme, but, at best, is a balanced effort to pay attention to issues that have so far been unduly neglected in critical geopolitics, IR and post-Soviet studies alike. More conventional studies are also needed, but on their own, they limit our horizons.

NOTES

- 1 K.J. Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1995); C. Brown, *Understanding International Relations* (London: Palgrave, 2001); C.W. Kegley and E.R. Wittkopf, *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2001).
- 2 These developments are in evidence, for example, in the efforts to revive the English school; see, e.g., 'Forum on the English School', *Review of International Studies*, 27, 3 (2001). Another example is the launch of the *European Journal of International Relations*, which has grown into a powerful alternative to US-based mainstream journals such as *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly* and *World Politics*. Although in a certain sense the origins of the movement to criticise the mainstream are in the work of scholars such as Richard Ashley, Yosef Lapid and R.B.J. Walker, who are based or have been based mainly in North America, in recent years several calls have been heard in favour of a clear European challenge to the US-led mainstream (for my understanding of the 'mainstream', refer to the main text below, as well as to Chapter 1). Concomitantly, one may, of course, say that the work of scholars such as Ashley never really took hold in continental Europe, because of the strong tradition there of IR work influenced by critical theory. Also, one may argue that the Nordic countries have always been sites of more or less critically minded peace research, but in my view, these points do not detract from the fact that a qualitatively different European IR agenda is in the making.
- 3 Brown, *Understanding International Relations*, pp. ix–x; Holsti, *International Politics*, pp. 2–4.
- 4 Brown, *Understanding International Relations*, chapters 7, 8, 9, 10 and 4, 5, 6.
- 5 The literature on the 'agent-structure' problem in international relations theory at the turn of the 1990s was significant in laying the basis for the constructivist debate; see, e.g., A. Wendt, 'The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations', *International Organization*, 41, 2 (1987), pp. 335–70; M. Hollis and S. Smith, 'Two Stories about Structure and Agency', *Review of International Studies*, 20 (1994), pp. 241–51. For a good guide to the later development of constructivist IR, see, e.g., 'Forum on Alexander Wendt', *Review of International Studies*, 26, 1 (2000); see also Chapter 2 below. For the relationship between social constructionist perspectives in IR and social theory, see Chapter 2 below.
- 6 Holsti, *International Politics*, p. 256.
- 7 Kegley and Wittkopf, *World Politics*, p. 20.
- 8 Refer, e.g., to the launching of the journal *Geopolitics*, and to the special issue 'Geopolitics, Geography, and Strategy' of the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 22, 2/3 (1999); also, see Chapter 1 below.
- 9 Karl Haushofer, who elaborated the ideas of Rudolf Kjellén and Friedrich Ratzel to serve German foreign policy needs, is often portrayed as a central figure in this politicisation of academic research in Germany in the 1930s. However, even his role was limited and in fact rather peripheral; see, e.g., M. Luoma-aho, 'Carl Schmitt and the Transformation of the Political Subject', *The European Legacy*, 5, 5 (2000), pp. 703–16; G. Ó Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 16–17. For a somewhat different view willing to accuse Carl Schmitt of participating in the Nazi regime, see J. Huysmans, 'Know Your Schmitt: a Godfather of Truth and the Spectre of Nazism', *Review of International Studies*, 25, 2 (1999), pp. 323–8.
- 10 K. Simonsen, 'What Kind of Space in What Kind of Social Theory?', *Progress in Human Geography*, 20, 4 (1996), pp. 494–512; H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991).
- 11 V. Harle, 'Otherness, Identity, and Politics: Towards a Framework of Analysis', *European Legacy*, 1, 2 (1996), pp. 409–14; K. Palonen, 'Politics as Dramatic Action Situation', in I. Heiskanen and S. Hänninen (eds), *Exploring the Basis of Politics: Five Essays on the Politics of Experience, Language, Knowledge, and History* (Helsinki: Finnish Political Science Association, 1983), pp. 13–34.
- 12 e.g. Ó Tuathail, 'Understanding Critical Geopolitics: Geopolitics and Risk Society', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 22, 2/3 (1999), pp. 107–24.

This page intentionally left blank

REFERENCES

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

- Aalto, P. 'East and West: The Everyday Life of an Estonian Individual in the Context of Estonian-Russian Relations' (Master's thesis, University of Helsinki, 1996).
- Aalto, P. 'Post-Soviet Ethnic Conflicts and the Level of Everyday Life', *Finnish Review of East European Studies*, 4, 3 (1997), pp. 8–27.
- Aalto, P. 'Beyond Restoration: The Construction of Post-Soviet Geopolitics in Estonia', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 35, 1 (2000), pp. 65–88.
- Aalto, P. 'Structural Geopolitics in Europe: Constructing Geopolitical Subjectivity for the EU and Russia', *COPRI Working Papers* 22/2001.
- Aalto, P. 'Post-Soviet Geopolitics and the Politics of Identity in Democratic Consolidation: The Case of Estonia', in D. Berg-Schlosser and R. Vetik (eds), *Perspectives of Democratic Consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2001), pp. 107–17.
- Aalto, P. 'A European Geopolitical Subject in the Making? EU, Russia and the Kaliningrad Question', *Geopolitics*, 7, 3 (2002), pp. 143–74.
- Aalto, P., Dalby, S. and Harle, V. 'The Critical Geopolitics of Northern Europe: Identity Politics Unlimited', special issue of *Geopolitics*, 8, 1 (2003), pp. 1–19.
- Adler, E. 'Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics', *European Journal of International Relations*, 3, 3 (1997), pp. 319–63.
- Agnew, J. 'Transnational Liberalism and the New Geopolitics of Power', paper presented at the International Studies Association conference, Toronto, 20 March 1997.
- Agnew, J. and Corbridge, S. 'The New Geopolitics: The Dynamics of Geopolitical Disorder', in R.J. Johnston and P.J. Taylor (eds), *A World in Crisis? Geographical Perspectives* (second edn; Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 266–88.
- Archer, C. and Jones, C. 'The Security Policies and Concepts of the Baltic States – Learning from their Nordic Neighbours?', in O. Knudsen (ed.),

- Stability and Security in the Baltic Sea Region: Russian, Nordic and European Aspects* (London: Frank Cass, 1999), pp. 167–82.
- Asmus, R.D. and Nurick, R.C. 'NATO Enlargement and the Baltic States', *Survival*, 38, 2 (1996), pp. 121–42.
- Avdeev, A. 'Russian-Lithuanian Relations: An Overview', *International Affairs* (Moscow), 46, 6 (2000), pp. 75–80.
- Baldwin, D.A. 'Security Studies and the End of the Cold War', *World Politics*, 48 (1995), pp. 117–41.
- Barth, F. 'Introduction', in F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Bergen and Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), pp. 9–38.
- Berg, E. 'Deconstructing Border Practices in the Estonian-Russian Borderland', *Geopolitics*, 5, 3 (2000), pp. 78–98.
- Berg, E. 'Ethnic Mobilisation in Flux: Revisiting Peripherality and Minority Discontent in Estonia', *Space and Polity*, 5, 1 (2001), pp. 5–26.
- Berg, E. 'Local Resistance, National Identity and Global Swings in Post-Soviet Estonia', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 54, 1 (2002), pp. 109–22.
- Berg, E. 'Schengeni leppega liitumise mõju Eestile', *Praxis Poliitikanaliüüs* 2/2002.
- Berg, E. and Kulu, H. 'Peipsivenelased: rahvus- ja regionaalpoliitilised realiteetid', *Akadeemia*, 6 (1996), pp. 1164–83.
- Berg, E. and Oras, S. 'Writing Post-Soviet Estonia on to the World Map', *Political Geography*, 19 (2000), pp. 601–25.
- Berger, P. and Luckmann, T. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967).
- Birckenbach, H.M. *Preventive Diplomacy Through Fact-Finding: How International Organisations Review the Conflict over Citizenship in Estonia and Latvia* (Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1997).
- Bloom, W. *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Booth, K. 'Security and Emancipation', *Review of International Studies*, 17, 4 (1991), pp. 313–27.
- Brass, P.R. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison* (New Delhi: SAGE, 1991).
- Brown, C. *Understanding International Relations* (London: Palgrave, 2001).
- Brown, S.R. *Political Subjectivity: Applications of Q Methodology in Political Science* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980).
- Brown, S.R. 'Q Technique and Method: Principles and Procedures', in W.D. Berry and M.S. Lewis-Beck (eds), *New Tools for Social Scientists: Advances and Applications in Research Methods* (Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE, 1986), pp. 57–76.
- Brown, S.R. 'Subjective Science: Normal and Abnormal (Continued)', *Operant Subjectivity*, 21, 3/4 (1998), pp. 92–111.
- Browning, C.S. 'A Multi-Dimensional Approach to Regional Co-operation:

References

- The United States and the Northern European Initiative', *European Security*, 10, 4 (2001).
- Brubaker, R. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Burke, K. *On Symbols and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).
- Burton, J.W. *World Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
- Buzan, B. *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester, 1991).
- Buzan, B., Wæver, O. and Wilde, J. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998).
- Campbell, D. *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).
- Checkel, J.T. 'The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory', *World Politics*, 50 (1998), pp. 324–48.
- Clemmesen, M. (1998) 'Foreign Military Assistance', in H. Mouritzen (ed.), *Bordering Russia: Theory and Prospects for Europe's Baltic Rim* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 227–58.
- Crossley, N. *The Politics of Subjectivity: Between Foucault and Merleau-Ponty* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1994).
- Crossley, N. *Intersubjectivity: The Fabric of Social Becoming* (London: SAGE, 1996).
- Der Derian, J. *Anti-Diplomacy: Spies, Terror, Speed and War* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).
- Dijk, T.A. 'Introduction', in I.M. Zavala, T.A. Dijk and M. Díaz-Diocaretz (eds), *Approaches to Discourse, Poetics and Psychiatry* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1997), pp. 13–24.
- Dijkink, G. *National Identity and Geopolitical Visions: Maps of Pride and Pain* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).
- Dodds, K. 'Political Geography III: Critical Geopolitics after Ten Years', *Progress in Human Geography*, 25, 3 (2001), pp. 469–84.
- Dodds, K. and Atkinson, D. (eds) *Geopolitical Traditions: A Century of Geopolitical Thought* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).
- Doty, R.L. 'Aporia: A Critical Examination of the Agent-Structure Debate in International Relations Theory', *European Journal of International Relations*, 3, 3 (1997), pp. 365–92.
- Doty, R.L. 'Desire all the Way Down', *Review of International Studies*, 26, 1 (2000), pp. 137–40.
- Douglas, J. *Creative Interviewing* (Beverly Hills: SAGE, 1985).
- Dryzek, J.S. *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- Dryzek, J.S., Clark, M.L. and McKenzie, G. 'Subject and System in International Interaction', *International Organization*, 43, 3 (1989), pp. 475–503.

- Erikson, E. *Identity and the Life Cycle: Selected Papers* (New York: International Universities Press, 1959).
- Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania: Foreign Trade 1998* (Tallinn: Statistical Office of Estonia, 1999).
- Fairley, L.D. 'Kaliningrad Borders in a Regional Context', in L.D. Fairley and A. Sergounin, *Are Borders Barriers? EU Enlargement and the Russian Region of Kaliningrad* (Helsinki and Berlin: Finnish Institute of International Affairs and Institut für Europäische Politik, 2001), pp. 9–138.
- Falah, G. and Newman, D. 'The Spatial Manifestation of Threat: Israelis and Palestinians Seek a "Good" Border', *Political Geography*, 14, 8 (1995), pp. 689–706.
- Forsberg, T. 'Comparison of the Annexed Territories', in T. Forsberg (ed.), *Contested Territory: Border Disputes at the Edge of the Former Soviet Empire* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1995), pp. 243–54.
- Foucault, M. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980).
- Galtung, J. 'Twenty-Five Years of Peace Research: Ten Challenges and Some Responses', *Journal of Peace Research*, 22, 2 (1985), pp. 141–58.
- Giddens, A. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984).
- Giddens, A. *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).
- Gill, G. 'Russian State-Building and the Problems of Geopolitics', *Archives Europeennes de Sociologie*, 37, 1 (1996), pp. 77–103.
- Gillespie, D.J. and Vetik, R. 'Perspectives of Students at Estonian Universities on Post-Soviet Estonia's Independence and Democracy', *Journal of Political Science*, 26 (1998), pp. 49–84.
- Gorohhov, S. 'Integration in Practice: The Case of Narva', in A. Kirch (ed.), *The Integration of Non-Estonians into the Estonian Society: History, Problems, and Trends* (Tallinn: Estonian Academy Publishers, 1997), pp. 122–41.
- Gray, C.S. 'Inescapable Geography', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 22, 2/3 (1999), pp. 161–77.
- Haab, M., Miniotaite, G., Mouritzen, H. and Ozolina, Ž. 'Baltic Scenarios for the Upcoming Decade', in H. Mouritzen (ed.), *Bordering Russia: Theory and Prospects for Europe's Baltic Rim* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 187–93.
- Haas, A. 'Non-Violence in Ethnic Relations in Estonia', *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 27, 1 (1996), pp. 47–76.
- Hallik, K. 'Eestimaa Venelased: kas Eestimaa või Venemaa vähemus', in M. Heidmets (ed.), *Vene küsimus ja Eesti valikud* (Tallinn: Eesti Avatud Ühiskonna Instituut, TPÜ Rahvusvaheliste ja Sotsiaaluuringute Instituut, and TPÜ Sotsiaalosalakond, Projekt Vera, 1998), pp. 203–28.
- Hansen, L. 'A Case for Seduction? Evaluating the Poststructuralist Conceptualization of Security', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 32, 4 (1997), pp. 369–97.

- Harle, V. 'Preface', in V. Harle (ed.), *Essays in Peace Studies* (Tampere: TAPRI, 1986), pp. vii–xiii.
- Harle, V. 'On the Concepts of the "Other" and "Enemy"', *History of European Ideas*, 19, 1–3 (1994), pp. 27–34.
- Harle, V. 'Otherness, Identity, and Politics: Towards a Framework of Analysis', *European Legacy*, 1, 2 (1996), pp. 409–14.
- Hay, C. 'What Place for Ideas in the Agency-Structure Debate? Globalisation as a "Process Without a Subject"', paper presented at the British International Studies Association conference, Manchester, 20–22 December 1999.
- Heidmets, M. 'Eesti valikud 1998', in M. Heidmets (ed.), *Vene küsimus ja Eesti valikud* (Tallinn: Eesti Avatud Ühiskonna Instituut, TPÜ Rahvusvaheliste ja Sotsiaaluuringute Instituut, and TPÜ Sotsiaalosalakond, Projekt Vera, 1998), pp. 239–54.
- Heikka, H. 'The Evolution of Russian Grand Strategy and its Implications on Finnish Security', *Northern Dimensions 1999*, pp. 27–43.
- Heller, A. *Everyday Life* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984).
- Herd, G.P. and Löfgren, J. "'Societal Security", the Baltic States and EU Integration', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 36, 3 (2001), pp. 273–96.
- Hill, C.J. 'Where Are We Going? International Relations and the Voice From Below', *Review of International Studies*, 25, 1 (1999), pp. 107–22.
- Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983).
- Hollis, M. and Smith, S. 'Two Stories about Structure and Agency', *Review of International Studies*, 20 (1994), pp. 241–51.
- Holsti, K.J. *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1995).
- Huntington, S.F. 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 3 (1993), pp. 22–49.
- Huysmans, J. 'Revisiting Copenhagen: Or, On the Creative Development of a Security Studies Agenda in Europe', *European Journal of International Relations*, 4, 4 (1998), pp. 479–505.
- Huysmans, J. 'Security! What Do You Mean? From Concept to Thick Signifier', *European Journal of International Relations*, 4, 2 (1998), pp. 226–55.
- Huysmans, J. 'Know Your Schmitt: a Godfather of Truth and the Spectre of Nazism', *Review of International Studies*, 25, 2 (1999), pp. 323–8.
- Häkli, J. 'Discourse in the Production of Political Space: Decolonizing the Symbolism of Provinces in Finland', *Political Geography*, 17, 3 (1998), pp. 331–63.
- Häkli, J. 'Manufacturing Provinces: Theorizing the Encounters Between Governmental and Popular "Geographs" in Finland', in G. Ó Tuathail and S. Dalby (eds), *Rethinking Geopolitics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 131–51.

- International Organization for Migration (IOM) *Estonia's Non-Citizens: A Survey of Attitudes to Migration and Integration* (Budapest: IOM, 1997).
- Jakobsson, K. 'Discursive Will Formation and the Question of Legitimacy in European Politics', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 20, 1 (1997), pp. 69–90.
- Jonson, L. 'Russia and the "Near Abroad": Concepts and Trends', in B. Hansen and B. Heurlin (eds), *The Baltic States in World Politics* (Richmond, VA: Curzon Press, 1998), pp. 112–32.
- Juvakka, K. 'Kielikysymys Viron kansalaisuuspolitiikassa', *Finnish Review of East European Studies*, 4, 1 (1997), pp. 17–33.
- Jääts, I. 'East of Narva and Põlva', in T. Forsberg (ed.), *Contested Territory: Border Disputes at the Edge of the Former Soviet Union* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1995), pp. 188–201.
- Jæger, Ø. 'Securitising Russia: Discursive Practices of the Baltic States', *COPRI Working Papers* 10/1997.
- Journal of Strategic Studies*, special issue 'Geopolitics, Geography, and Strategy', 22, 2/3 (1999).
- Kangas, O. 'Metsä vastaa miten huudetaan: kysymysten muotoilun vaikutus mielipiteisiin', *Politiikka*, 37, 2 (1995), pp. 128–37.
- Kaplinski, J. 'Estonia Between Two Worlds – Geopolitics and Culture', in R. Grönick, L. Koskinen and I. Fjuk (eds), *The Baltic States as New Actors in the Nearby Environment: Building Cooperation Instead of Confrontation* (Tallinn: Ignar Fjuk Architects, 1994), pp. 12–17.
- Karjahärm, T. *Ida ja lääne vahel: Eesti-Vene suhted 1850–1917* (Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus, 1998).
- Katzenstein, P. (ed.) *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
- Kegley, C.W. and Wittkopf, E.R. *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2001).
- Keith, M. and Pile, S. *Place and the Politics of Identities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993).
- Kelley, J. 'When can International Institutions Change State Behavior? The Case of European Integration and Ethnic Policies in Latvia and Estonia', paper presented at the International Studies Association conference, Los Angeles, CA, 14–18 March 2000.
- Kharkhordin, O. 'The Soviet Individual: Genealogy of a Dissimulating Animal', in M. Featherstone, S. Lash, and R. Robertson (eds), *Global Modernities* (London: SAGE, 1995), pp. 209–26.
- Kirch, A. 'From a Change of Evaluations to a Change of Paradigms: Estonia 1940–1993', in M. Kirch and D. Laitin (eds), *Changing Identities in Estonia: Sociological Facts and Commentaries* (Tallinn: Estonian Science Foundation and the Institute of International and Social Studies, 1994), pp. 6–10.

- Kirch, A. and Kirch, M. 'Search for Security in Estonia: New Identity Architecture', *Security Dialogue*, 26, 4 (1995), pp. 439–48.
- Kirch, A., Kirch, M., Ruutsoo R. and Tuisk, T. 'Jätkev eurohuvi: võrdlusandmeid uuringutest', in R. Ruutsoo and A. Kirch (eds), *Eesti Euroopa Liidu lävepakul* (Tallinn: Teaduste Akadeemia Kirjastus, 1998), pp. 57–99.
- Kirch, A., Kirch, M. and Tuisk, T. *The Non-Estonian Population Today and Tomorrow: A Sociological Overview* (Tallinn: Estonian Science Foundation, Estonian Academy of Sciences, 1992).
- Kirch, M. 'Mass Media and Integration of the Russian Population', in A. Kirch (ed.), *The Integration of Non-Estonians into the Estonian Society: History, Problems, and Trends* (Tallinn: Estonian Academy Publishers, 1997), pp. 94–105.
- Kirch, M. and Kirch, A. 'Identity Changes and the Emergence of a New Integration Paradigm', in A. Kirch (ed.), *The Integration of Non-Estonians into the Estonian Society: History, Problems, and Trends* (Tallinn: Estonian Academy Publishers, 1997), pp. 142–58.
- Kirch, M., Kirch, A., Rimm, I. and Tuisk, T. 'Integration Processes in Estonia 1993-1996', in A. Kirch (ed.), *The Integration of Non-Estonians into the Estonian Society: History, Problems, and Trends* (Tallinn: Estonian Academy Publishers, 1997), pp. 25–73.
- Kirch, M., Kirch, A., Ruutsoo, R., Tuisk, T. and Talts, M. 'Europe and the Baltic States: Which Way Should be Chosen for Integration?', *Revue Baltique* 8/1997.
- Kirveennummi, A., Räsänen, M. and Virtanen, T.J. (eds). *Everyday Life and Ethnicity: Urban Families in Loviisa and Võru, 1988–1991* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1994).
- Kolstø, P. 'The New Russian Diaspora – An Identity of its Own? Possible Identity Trajectories for Russians in the Former Soviet Republic', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 19, 3 (1996), pp. 609–39.
- Kolstø, P. 'Territorialising Diasporas: The Case of Russians in the Former Soviet Republics', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 28, 3 (1999), pp. 607–31.
- Kosik, K. *Dialectics of the Concrete: A Study of Problems of Man and World* (Dordrecht: Dr Reidel Publishing, 1978).
- Kowert, P. and Legro, J. 'Norms, Identity, and their Limits: A Theoretical Reprise', in P. Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 451–97.
- Krause, K. 'Critical Theory and Security Studies: The Research Programme of "Critical Security Studies"', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 33, 3 (1998), pp. 298–333.
- Krause, K. and Williams, M. (eds). *Critical Security Studies* (London: University College London Press, 1997).

- Kremenyuk, V.A. *Conflicts in and Around Russia: Nation-Building in Difficult Times* (Westport, CO: Greenwood Press, 1994).
- Kruusvall, J. 'Usaldus ja usaldamatus rahvussuhetes', in M. Heidmets (ed.), *Vene küsimus ja Eesti valikud* (Tallinn: Eesti Avatud Ühiskonna Instituut, TPÜ Rahvusvaheliste ja Sotsiaaluuringute Instituut and TPÜ Sotsiaalosakond, Projekt Vera, 1998), pp. 29–75.
- Kuus, M. 'European Integration in Identity Narratives in Estonia: A Quest for Security', *Journal of Peace Research*, 39, 1 (2002), pp. 91–108.
- Kuzio, T. 'Borders, Symbolism and Nation-State Building: Ukraine and Russia', *Geopolitics and International Boundaries*, 2, 2 (1997), pp. 36–56.
- Kuzio, T. "'Nationalising States" or Nation-Building? A Critical Review of the Theoretical Literature and Empirical Evidence', *Nations and Nationalism*, 7, 2 (2001), pp. 135–54.
- Käkönen, J. 'Asymmetry and Interaction: Borders in the International System', in H. Eskelinen, I. Liikanen and J. Oksa (eds), *Curtains of Iron and Gold: Reconstructing Borders and Scales of Interaction* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 377–84.
- Köll, J. 'North European and Baltic Statistics', in L. Hedegaard *et al.* (eds), *NEBI Yearbook 2001/2002: North European and Baltic Sea Integration* (Berlin: Springer Verlag, 2002).
- Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso, 1985).
- Lagerspetz, M. 'Post-Socialism as a Return: Notes on a Discursive Strategy', *East European Politics and Societies*, 13, 2 (1999), pp. 377–90.
- Lagerspetz, M. and Vogt, H. 'Estonia', in S. Berglund, T. Hellén, and F.H. Aarebrot (eds), *Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1998), pp. 55–88.
- Laing, R.D. *The Divided Self* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965).
- Laitin, D.D. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).
- Lapid, Y. and Kratochwil, F. 'Revisiting the "National": Toward an Identity Agenda in Neorealism', in Y. Lapid and F. Kratochwil (eds), *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996), pp. 105–28.
- Lapid, Y. and Kratochwil, F. (eds). *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996).
- Lauristin, M. 'Contexts of Transition', in M. Lauristin and P. Vihalemm, with K.E. Rosengren and L. Weibull (eds), *Return to the Western World: Cultural and Political Perspectives on the Estonian Post-Communist Transition* (Tartu: Tartu University Press, 1997), pp. 25–40.
- Lauristin, M. and Vihalemm, P. with Rosengren, K.E. and Weibull, L. (eds). *Return to the Western World: Cultural and Political Perspectives on the Estonian Post-Communist Transition* (Tartu: Tartu University Press, 1997).

- Lefebvre, H. *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991).
- Lehti, M. 'Sovereignty Redefined: Baltic Cooperation and the Limits of National Self-Determination', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 34, 4 (1999), pp. 413–43.
- Leito, V. *Euroopa Liit tagantvaates: Kõige tähtsamad varjatakse* (Tallinn: TEE toimkond Ei Euroopa Liidule, 1998).
- Linz, J.J. and Stepan, A. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
- Luke, T. 'Discourses of Disintegration, Texts of Transformation: Re-Reading Realism in the New World Order', *Alternatives*, 18 (1993), pp. 229–58.
- Luoma-aho, M. 'Carl Schmitt and the Transformation of the Political Subject', *European Legacy*, 5, 5 (2000), pp. 703–16.
- Löfgren, J. and Herd, G. *Estonia and the EU: Integration and Societal Security in the Baltic Context* (Tampere: TAPRI, 2000).
- Malachov, V. 'Russia's Identity and Foreign Policy: Perceptions of the Baltic Region', in P. Joenniemi (ed.), *Neo-Nationalism or Regionality: The Restructuring of Political Space Around the Baltic Rim* (Stockholm: NordREFO, 1997), pp. 139–80.
- Mannheim, K. 'The Problem of Generations', in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge by Karl Mannheim* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952), pp. 276–322.
- Marcussen, M., Risse, T., Engelmann-Martin, D.E., Knopf, H.J. and Roschler, K. 'Constructing Europe? The Evolution of French, British and German Nation State Discourses', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6, 4 (1999), pp. 614–33.
- Marsh, C. 'Realigning Lithuanian Foreign Relations', *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 29, 2 (1998), pp. 149–64.
- Martinez, O.J. 'The Dynamics of Border Interaction: New Approaches to Border Analysis', in C.H. Schofield (ed.), *Global Boundaries* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1–15.
- Mattisen, E. *Searching for a Dignified Compromise: The Estonian-Russian Border, 1000 Years* (Tallinn: ILO Publishing House, 1996).
- McKeown, B. and Thomas, D. *Q Methodology* (Newbury Park: SAGE, 1986).
- McSweeney, B. *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Mearsheimer, J. 'Disorder Restored', in G. Allison and G.F. Treverton (eds), *Rethinking America's Security: Beyond Cold War to New World Order* (New York: Norton, 1993), pp. 213–37.
- Medvedev, S. 'A General Theory of Russian Space: A Gay Science and a Rigorous Science', *Alternatives*, 22 (1997), pp. 523–53.
- Medvedev, S. 'Where to Belong in Eastern Europe', paper presented at the seminar 'Post-Europe', 2–4 April 1998, University of Helsinki.

- Moisio, S. 'Finland, Geopolitical Image of Threat, and the Post-Cold War Confusion', *Geopolitics*, 3, 3 (1998), pp. 104-24.
- Moisio, S. 'Geo-Conceptual Change and the Political Formation of the Eastern Dimension of the European Union', paper presented at the International Studies Association conference, Los Angeles, CA, 14-18 March 2000.
- Moisio, S. 'EU Eligibility, Central Europe, and the Invention of Applicant State Narrative', *Geopolitics*, 7, 3 (2002).
- Moravcsik, A. 'Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31 (1993), pp. 473-524.
- Morgenthau, H. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Knopf, 1985).
- Murphy, R.T. *Hume and Husserl: Towards Radical Subjectivism* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980).
- Neumann, I.B. 'Ringmar on Identity and War', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 32, 3 (1997), pp. 309-30.
- Neumann, I.B. *The Uses of the Other* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
- Olep, J. 'Eesti idapiirist Fukuyama ja Huntingtoni mõtete taustal', *Postimees*, 5 January 1995.
- Onuf, N. *World of Our Making* (Columbia, SA: University of South Carolina Press, 1989).
- Ó Tuathail, G. *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).
- Ó Tuathail, G. 'At the End of Geopolitics? Reflection on a Plural Problematic at the Century's End', *Alternatives*, 22, 1 (1997), pp. 35-55.
- Ó Tuathail, G. 'Political Geography III: Dealing with De-Territorialisation', *Progress in Human Geography*, 22, 1 (1998), pp. 81-93.
- Ó Tuathail, G. 'Thinking Critically About Geopolitics', in G. Ó Tuathail, S. Dalby, and P. Routledge (eds), *The Geopolitics Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 1-14.
- Ó Tuathail, G. 'Postmodern Geopolitics? The Modern Geopolitical Imagination and Beyond', in G. Ó Tuathail and S. Dalby (eds), *Rethinking Geopolitics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 16-38.
- Ó Tuathail, G. 'Understanding Critical Geopolitics: Geopolitics and Risk Society', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 22, 2/3 (1999), pp. 107-24.
- Ó Tuathail, G. and Agnew, J. 'Geopolitics and Discourse: Practical Geopolitical Reasoning in American Foreign Policy', *Political Geography*, 11, 2 (1992), pp. 190-204.
- Ó Tuathail, G. and Dalby, S. (eds), *Rethinking Geopolitics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).
- Ó Tuathail, G., Dalby, S. and Routledge, P. (eds), *The Geopolitics Reader*

- (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).
- Paasi, A. 'Deconstructing Regions: Notes on the Scales of Spatial Life', *Environment and Planning A*, 23 (1991), pp. 239–56.
- Paasi, A. 'Boundaries as Social Processes: Territoriality in the World of Flows', *Geopolitics*, 3, 1 (1998), pp. 69–88.
- Painter, J. *Politics, Geography, and 'Political Geography': A Critical Perspective* (London: Edward Arnold, 1995).
- Palang, H., Vessin, U. and Liiber, Ü. 'Eesti kooliõpilaste Euroopa-kujutlustest', *Akadeemia*, 8, 2 (1996), pp. 240–66.
- Palonen, K. 'Politics as Dramatic Action Situation', in I. Heiskanen and S. Hänninen (eds), *Exploring the Basis of Politics: Five Essays on the Politics of Experience, Language, Knowledge, and History* (Helsinki: Finnish Political Science Association, 1983), pp. 13–34.
- Palonen, K. 'Introduction: From Policy and Polity to Politicking and Politicization', in K. Palonen and T. Parvikko (eds), *Reading the Political: Exploring the Margins of Politics* (Helsinki: Finnish Political Science Association, 1993), pp. 6–16.
- Peirce, C. *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, volume II, *Elements of Logic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932).
- Proos, I. 'Euroopa Liit ja NATO: Eesti elanike prioriteetid', *Luup*, 8 (April 1997), pp. 10–12.
- Pursiainen, C. 'The Heritage of Soviet Foreign Policy Studies', *Finnish Review of East European Studies*, 2, 2 (1995), pp. 7–31.
- Putnam, R.D. 'Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games', *International Organization*, 42 (summer, 1988), pp. 427–60.
- Rahikainen, M. 'On the Rise and Fall of Subcultures: Toleration of Ideas and Modes of Life in European History', paper presented at the 'Otherness, Identity and Politics' symposium, University of Helsinki, 15–17 December 1995.
- Raudsepp, M. 'Rahvusküsimus ajakirjanduse peeglis', in M. Heidmets (ed.), *Vene küsimus ja Eesti valikud* (Tallinn: Eesti Avatud Ühiskonna Instituut, TPÜ Rahvusvaheliste ja Sotsiaaluuringute Instituut and TPÜ Sotsiaalosakond, Projekt Vera, 1998), pp. 113–38.
- Raun, T.U. *Estonia and the Estonians* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1991).
- Raun, T.U. 'The Estonian SSR Language Law (1989): Background and Implementation', *Nationalities Papers*, 23, 3 (1995), pp. 515–27.
- Regions of the Baltic States* (Stockholm: Nordregio, 2000).
- Review of International Studies*, 'Forum on Alexander Wendt', 26, 1 (2000).
- Review of International Studies*, 'Forum on the English School', 27, 1 (2001).
- Ringmar, E. *Identity, Interest and Action: A Cultural Explanation of Sweden's Intervention in the Thirty Years' War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

- Rose, R. 'Economic-Conditions of Nationalities in the Baltics', *Post-Soviet Geography*, 36, 8 (1995), pp. 476–95.
- Rosenau, J.N. 'Toward the Study of National-International Linkages', in J. Rosenau (ed.), *Linkage Politics: Essays on the Convergence of National and International Systems* (New York: Free Press, 1969).
- Rosenau, J.N. *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- Routledge, P. 'Introduction', in G. Ó Tuathail, S. Dalby and P. Routledge (eds), *The Geopolitics Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 245–55.
- Ruggie, J. *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).
- Ruutsoo, R. 'Introduction: Estonia on the Border of Two Civilizations', *Nationalities Papers*, 23, 1 (1995), pp. 13–16.
- Ruutsoo, R. 'Eesti kodakondsuspoliitika ja rahvusriigi kujunemise piirjooned', in M. Heidmets (ed.), *Vene küsimus ja Eesti valikud* (Tallinn: Eesti Avatud Ühiskonna Instituut, TPÜ Rahvusvaheliste ja Sotsiaaluuringute Instituut and TPÜ Sotsiaalosakond, Projekt Vera, 1998), pp. 139–202.
- Ruutsoo, R. and Kirch, A. 'Järeldusi ja tulevikuväljavaateid', in R. Ruutsoo and A. Kirch (eds), *Eesti Euroopa Liidu lävepakul* (Tallinn: Teaduste Akadeemia Kirjastus, 1998), pp. 157–68.
- Rytövuori-Apunen, H. (ed.) *Russian-European Interfaces in the Northern Dimension of the EU* (Tampere: Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Tampere Press, 2000).
- Salomaa, M. *Teräksenkovaa politiikkaa: Läntisiä arvioita Venäjän sotilaspolitiikan suunnasta* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 1995).
- Saukkonen, P. 'Kansallisvaltion identiteettipoliitikka: Kansallinen identiteetti politiikan tutkimuksen käsitteenä', *Politiikka*, 40, 3 (1998), pp. 212–25.
- Saussure, F. *Course in General Linguistics* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959).
- Savisaar, E. *Usun Eestisse* (Tallinn: TEA Kirjastus, 1999).
- Searle, J. 'The Problem of Consciousness', in M. Michaelis and J. O'Leary-Hawthorne (eds), *Philosophy in Mind: The Place of Philosophy in the Study of Mind* (Boston, MA: Kluwer Academic, 1994), pp. 179–90.
- Sekelj, L. 'National-State and Success of Democratic Transformation in Former European Communist States', in D. Berg-Schlosser and R. Vetik (eds), *Perspectives on Democratic Consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2001), pp. 31–45.
- Semjonov, A. 'Vene küsimus: kelle stsenaariumi järgi?', in M. Heidmets (ed.), *Vene küsimus ja Eesti valikud* (Tallinn: Eesti Avatud Ühiskonna Instituut, TPÜ Rahvusvaheliste ja Sotsiaaluuringute Instituut and TPÜ Sotsiaalosakond, Projekt Vera, 1998), pp. 262–8.

References

- Semjonov, A. 'Estonia: Nation Building and Integration: Political and Legal Aspects', *COPRI Working Papers* 8/2000.
- Sergounin, A. 'The Russia Dimension', in H. Mouritzen (ed.), *Bordering Russia: Theory and Prospects for Europe's Baltic Rim* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 15–72.
- Simonsen, K. 'What Kind of Space in What Kind of Social Theory?', *Progress in Human Geography*, 20, 4 (1996), pp. 494–512.
- Sinclair, T.A. 'Translator's Introduction', in Aristotle, *The Politics* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984).
- Smith, D.J. 'Russia, Estonia and the Search for a Stable Ethno-Politics', *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 29, 1 (1998), pp. 3–18.
- Smith, G. *The Post-Soviet States: Mapping the Politics of Transition* (London: Edward Arnold, 1999).
- Smith, G. 'Transnational Politics and the Politics of the Russian Diaspora', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22, 3 (1999), pp. 500–23.
- Smith, G. 'When Nations Challenge and Nations Rule: Estonia and Latvia as Ethnic Democracies', *Coexistence*, 33 (1996), pp. 25–41.
- Smith, S. 'Belief Systems and the Study of International Relations', in R. Little and S. Smith (eds), *Belief Systems and International Relations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 11–36.
- Smith, S. 'The Self-Images of a Discipline: A Genealogy of International Relations Theory', in K. Booth and S. Smith (eds), *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), pp. 1–37.
- Smith, S. 'Wendt's World', *Review of International Studies*, 26, 1 (2000), pp. 151–63.
- Snyder, R.C., Bruck, H.W. and Sapin, B. *Foreign Policy and Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe and Macmillan, 1962).
- Solomon, B. 'Return to the First Image', *Journal of Peace Research*, 34, 3 (1997), pp. 249–55.
- Solovei, N. 'Eshche raz ob assimiliatsii, integratsii i segregatsii', *Estoniia*, 10 September 1996.
- Stanton Rogers, W. 'Q Methodology, Textuality, and Tectonics', *Operant Subjectivity*, 21, 1/2 (1998), pp. 1–18.
- Steen, A. 'Confidence in Institutions in Post-Communist Societies: The Case of the Baltic States', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 19, 3 (1996), pp. 205–25.
- Stephenson, W. *The Study of Behavior: Q-Technique and its Methodology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).
- Stephenson, W. 'Concourse Theory of Communication', *Communication*, 3 (1978), pp. 21–40.
- Taagepera, R. *Estonia: Return to Independence* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993).
- Talts, M. and Kirch, A. 'Eesti ja Euroopa Liit: poolt ja vastu Eesti

- ajakirjanduses', in R. Ruutsoo and A. Kirch (eds), *Eesti Euroopa Liidu lävepakul* (Tallinn: Teaduste Akadeemia Kirjastus, 1998), pp. 100–13.
- Taras, R. 'Conclusion: From Matrioshka Nationalism to National Interests', in I. Bremmer and R. Taras (eds), *New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 683–705.
- Thomas, D. and Baas, L. 'The Issue of Generalization in Q Methodology', *Operant Subjectivity*, 16 (1992/3), pp. 18–36.
- Thompson, W.C. 'Citizenship and Borders: Legacies of Soviet Empire in Estonia', *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 29, 2 (1998), pp. 109–34.
- Trinkov, A. 'Otnosheniia mezhdru Rossiei i Estoniei: est' li vykhod iz tupika?', *Estoniia*, 3 October 1995.
- Tuomi, O. *The New Geopolitics: The World System and Northern Europe Seen from a Modern Geopolitical Perspective* (Helsinki: National Defence College, 1998).
- Tõnisson, J. *Oma Maa* (Tartu: E. Virgo, 1911).
- Unwin, T. 'Place, Territory and National Identity: An Interpretation of Estonia', in G. Herb and D. Kaplan (eds), *Nested Identities: Nationalism, Territory and Scale* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), pp. 151–76.
- Uus, U. *The Blindness of Modern Science* (Tartu: Tartu Observatory, 1994).
- Vares, P. (ed.) *Estonia and Russia, Estonians and Russians: A Dialogue* (Tallinn: Olof Palme Institute, The Institute of International and Social Studies and Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction, 1998).
- Vetik, R. 'A Semiotic Model of Ethnic Conflict – The Cases of Estonia and Russia', in A. Steen (ed.), *Ethnicity and Politics in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania* (Oslo: Department of Political Science, University of Oslo Press, 1997), pp. 23–40.
- Vetik, R. *Inter-Ethnic Relations in Estonia 1988–1998* (Tampere: University of Tampere Press, 1999).
- Vetik, R. *Democratic Multiculturalism: A New Model of National Integration* (Mariehamn: Åland Islands Peace Institute, 2001).
- Vihalemm, P. 'Changing National Spaces in the Baltic Area', in M. Lauristin and P. Vihalemm, with K.E. Rosengren and L. Weibull (eds), *Return to the Western World: Cultural and Political Perspectives on the Estonian Post-Communist Transition* (Tartu: Tartu University Press, 1997), pp. 129–62.
- Vihalemm, T. and Lauristin, M. 'Cultural Adjustment to the Changing Societal Environment: The Case of Russians in Estonia', in M. Lauristin and P. Vihalemm, with K.E. Rosengren and L. Weibull (eds), *Return to the Western World: Cultural and Political Perspectives on the Estonian Post-Communist Transition* (Tartu: Tartu University Press, 1997), pp. 279–97.

- Vikat, A. *Family Formation in Estonia* (Helsinki: Finnish Demographic Society, 1994).
- Väyrynen, R. 'The Security of the Baltic Countries: Cooperation and Defection', in O. Knudsen (ed.), *Stability and Security in the Baltic Sea Region: Russian, Nordic and European Aspects* (London: Frank Cass, 1999), pp. 204–22.
- Väyrynen, T. *Culture and International Conflict Resolution: A Critical Analysis of the Work of John Burton* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).
- Walker, R.B.J. *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Walt, S.M. 'The Renaissance of Security Studies', *International Studies Quarterly*, 35, 2 (1991), pp. 211–39.
- Wendt, A. 'The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations', *International Organization*, 41, 2 (1987), pp. 335–70.
- Wendt, A. 'Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics', *International Organization*, 46 (Spring 1992), pp. 391–425.
- Wendt, A. 'Collective Identity Formation and the International State', *American Political Science Review*, 88, 2 (1994), pp. 384–96.
- Wendt, A. 'Constructing International Politics', *International Security*, 20, 1 (1995), pp. 71–81.
- Wendt, A. *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Williams, M. 'Identity and the Politics of Security', *European Journal of International Relations*, 4, 2 (1998), pp. 204–25.
- Wilson, T.M. 'Sovereignty, Identity, and Borders', in L. O'Dowd and T.M. Wilson (eds), *Borders, Nations, and States: Frontiers of Sovereignty in the New Europe* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1996), pp. 199–219.
- Wæver, O. 'Insecurity and Identity Unlimited', *COPRI Working Papers* 14/1994.
- Wæver, O. 'Securitization and Desecuritization', in R.D. Lipschutz (ed.), *On Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 46–86.
- Wæver, O. 'The Baltic Sea: A Region After Post-Modernity?', in P. Joenniemi (ed.), *Neo-Nationalism or Regionality: The Restructuring of Political Space Around the Baltic Rim* (Stockholm: NordREFO, 1997), pp. 293–342.
- Wæver, O. 'Explaining Europe by Decoding Discourses', in A. Wivel (ed.), *Explaining European Integration* (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Political Studies Press, 1998), pp. 100–146.

DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Eesti Päevaleht
Estonia
Helsingin Sanomat
ME (Molodezh' Estonii)
Postimees
Rahva Hääl
Sõnumileht
Baltic Independent

SPEECHES

- Ilves, T.H. 'Promoting stability through economic integration', statement by Toomas Hendrik Ilves, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Estonia at the Conference on the Northern Dimension, Helsinki, 11–12 November 1999 (<http://www.vm.ee/eng/index.html>).
- Ilves, T.H. 'Estonia's main foreign policy priorities', address by Toomas Hendrik Ilves, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Estonia to the Riigikogu, 25 November 1999 (<http://www.vm.ee/eng/index.html>).
- Kallas, S. 'Siim Kallas at the Council of Europe 09.11.1995', posted to the E-LIST (2452) (E-LIST@hydra.cs.helsinki.fi), 'Mr Siim Kallas: The Council of Europe 9.11.1995'.
- Meri, L. 'Lennart Meri: One million is enough to study stars' (abridged from the remarks of Estonian president, Lennart Meri, at the European Music Concert in Munich, 31 October 1993), *Baltic Independent*, 10–16 December 1993.
- Meri, L. Speech by the President of the Republic of Estonia, Turku University, 17 May 1995.
- Meri, L. 'Lennart Meri at the Carnegie Institute, Washington, DC, 19.10.1995', posted to the E-LIST (2421) (E-List@hydra.cs.helsinki.fi), 'Presidendi Meri visit to USA'.
- Meri, L. 'Lennart Meri in München 27.11.1995', posted to the E-LIST (2484) (E-LIST@hydra.cs.helsinki.fi), 'Presidendi kõnesid'.
- Meri, L. 'Vabariigi Presidendi kõne Läänemere sümpoosionil Kielis 18. jaanuaril 1996.'
- Meri, L. 'Address of the President of the Republic of Estonia, Mr Lennart Meri, at the North Atlantic Council on 4 November 1998' (http://www.president.ee/eng/e_speeches.html?DOCUMENT_ID=4711).

DOCUMENTS

- 'A Charter of Partnership Among the United States of America and the Republic of Estonia, Republic of Latvia, and Republic of Lithuania, 16 January 1998' (http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/ch_9801_baltic_charter.html).
- 'The Coalition Agreement of the Reform Party, Pro Patria and Mõõdukad' (<http://www.riik.ee/government/>).
- Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Stable Support for Estonia Joining NATO' (<http://spunk.mfa.ee/eesti/nato//index.html>; <http://www.mod.gov.ee/downloads/NATOmarts2002.pdf>).
- Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Baltic Defence Cooperation' (<http://spunk.mfa.ee/eng/nato//index.htm>).
- Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Economy at a Glance' (http://web-test.vm.ee/eng/kat_133/281.html), downloaded 26 June 2002.
- European Commission, 'Regular Report from the Commission on Progress Towards Accession. Estonia – 13 October 1999' (http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/estonia/rep_10_99/index.htm).
- European Commission, '2000 Regular Report from the Commission on Estonia's Progress Towards Accession' (http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/dwn/report_11_00/pdf/en/es_en.pdf).
- European Commission, '2001 Regular Report on Estonia's Progress Towards Accession' (http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/report2001/ee_en.pdf).
- 'Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation', *International Affairs* (Moscow), 46, 5 (2000), pp. 1–14.
- 'Kontseptsiiia Natsionalnoi Bezopasnosti Rossiiskoi Federatsii, Utverzhdena Ukazom Prezidenta Rossiiskoi Federatsii No 24 ot 10.04.2000 goda' (<http://www.scrf.gov.ru/Documents/Decree/2000/24-1.html>).
- 'Mitte-eestlaste integratsioon Eesti ühiskonda: Eesti riikliku integratsioonipoliitika lähtekohad', appendix in M. Heidmets (ed.), *Vene küsimus ja Eesti valikud* (Tallinn: Eesti Avatud Ühiskonna Instituut, TPÜ Rahvusvaheliste ja Sotsiaaluuringute Instituut, and TPÜ Sotsiaalosalakond, Projekt Vera, 1998), pp. 255–8.
- 'Nash Dom – Estoniia!' (joint election platform of three Russian parties for the 1995 parliamentary elections), *ME*, 23 January 1995.
- 'Voennaia Doktrina Rossiiskoi Federatsii, Utverzhdena Ukazom Prezidenta Rossiiskoi Federatsii, ot 21 Aprelia 2000 g' (<http://www.scrf.gov.ru/Documents/Decree/2000/706-1.html>).

INTERNET SOURCES

E-LIST e-list@hydra.cs.helsinki.fi, terminated in 1997

Q-method home page <http://www.rz.unibw-muenchen.de/~p41bsmk/qmethod/>

INTERVIEWS

January–February 1996: Andrus, Erki, Evald, Jana, Kadi, Mari-Ann, Mart, Pille, Rein, Sirje, Tarmo, Juhan, Soile, Toivo, Valve.

October–December 1998: Alar, Anna, Arvo, Boris, Andrei, Eiki, Indrek, Iuri, Kadri, Krista, Larisa, Liia, Mai, Mare, Marika, Olev, Pavel, Priit, Raul, Raivo, Risto, Stanislav, Toomas, Triin.