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SHAKING HANDS UNDER THE BALTIC SEA

The Nord Stream pipeline and the Baltic Sea region

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In this thesis I inquire into the Baltic Sea region. I firstly determine which countries are representing the area in this study. I focus on the character of the relations among the states in the area. In particular I aim at characterizing the peculiar social structure that is present in the Baltic Sea region. The study is framed by the constructivist understanding of the relations among states as shaped by common norms, rules and values. In order to inquire into the Baltic Sea region this study uses the set of concepts of the English School. In particular the region is defined and discussed with the help of the structural English School concept of the international society. Such a concept is used to discuss and interpret the political dynamics expressed as narratives. The thesis is designed to revolve around a study case, the Nord Stream pipeline. The construction of the Nord Stream is an offshore gas pipeline which is meant to be constructed from Russia to Germany. As for its dimensions and for its costs, related to the offshore route, the pipeline raised numerous debates. The officials of the countries belonging to the region express, via declarations or speeches about the pipeline, not only their opinions but what they share and what they don't, with the other representatives of the countries. I develop my narrative analysis on such speeches.

The theoretical framework of this study is directly drawn from Barry Buzan's structural English School. In his variant of the English School the dynamics among political units can be summed up with a triptych whose pillars are defined on actor-hood. The pillars are the interstate domain, the transnational domain and the interhuman domain. I mainly draw from the interstate domain to characterize the interplay among the three pillars, which is described in the concept of the international society. In order to do so I gather texts and declarations from the officials of the region. These declarations concern the Nord Stream pipeline and its construction.

The main finding of this study is a definition of the regional dynamics of the Baltic Sea within the spectrum of pluralist and solidarist features. The determination of the unique mixture of those features is done together with a discussion about the interplay of the social forces within the legal and political set established by the states. The international society of the Baltic Sea region appears to be stronger in the primary institutions of the environment and of the market. The solidarist developments in these two institutions are though linked to other similar developments in the primary institution of the international law and energy prosperity. Surprisingly, this study points out how the main pluralist features derive from the international character of the European Union. This study contributes to the scientific debates on the Baltic Sea area for two reasons: a) it applies the set of concepts from the English School to a geographically limited area and by doing so, aims at fulfilling an analytical gap; b) it widens the set of discourses on the political dynamics of the Baltic Sea area by introducing the perspective of the structural English School.

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1. THE SOCIAL TISSUE OF THE BALTIC SEA AREA

Introduction

“It is an ideal location platform to collect intelligence” (Holmström 2006). “This project equally complies with the aim of reliable energy supplies and energy security of all countries” (Medvedev & Merkel 2009). “Poland has a particular sensitivity to corridors and deals above our head. That was the Molotov-Ribbentrop tradition” (Sikorski 2006a). “An example of cooperation between Russia and Europe in all parts of the energy chain” (Simonov 2009). The quotations above appear to describe different things. On the one hand, the language and the concepts expressed would suggest that they were taken at some point in the middle of the Cold War or from a spy-story movie. However these two famous statements belong to a Swedish journalist Mikael Holmström, and to the current Minister of the Foreign Affairs of Poland Radoslaw Sikorski. On the other hand, two of the quotations are describing a profitable and convenient undertaking, and they relate to concepts such as cooperation and energy security. Those two statements belong to the President of the Russian Federation, Dmitry Medvedev and to Konstantin Simonov, the general director of the Russian National Energy Security Fund. These four statements refer to the same thing, the Nord Stream pipeline.

The Nord Stream is an offshore pipeline linking Russia to Germany and crossing the whole Baltic Sea area, as it is going to be constructed on its seabed. Its aim is to deliver natural gas, which is extracted in Russia, directly to Germany and from the rest of Europe. This is a huge undertaking as for the distance it covers, 1200 kilometers, and it costs and dimensions as it is consisting of two lines. Unlike other similar projects, the Nord Stream pipeline has raised debates and controversial opinions and continues to animate the political discussions in the Baltic Sea area. The importance of the subject is illustrated by the fact that most of the countries in the area, via their politicians or officials, have expressed opinions, praises and concerns towards the pipeline. The debate is rather alive and topical in the political agendas of the countries of the Baltic Sea area. The point here is to inquire into the Baltic Sea region as a whole, using the debate about the Nord Stream pipeline to highlight the characteristics of the area. At the base of common or differing evaluations and opinions there are various values, interests and beliefs which are in play and determine the positions on the

pipeline. Obviously there are economical, and political interests at stake. However, is it possible to trace largely shared features, and if so which ones? Is there something else that associates the countries of the area with each other? This study makes use of the booming case of the Nord Stream to answer these questions. It does so by collecting speeches and texts about the Nord Stream. These speeches and texts are then interpreted with the help of narrative analysis. The findings of such an analysis are linked to the theoretical framework of this study: the English School.

As this study inquires on the interaction among countries, the research is to be located in the wider discipline of the International Relations. Its contribution to the discipline has to be seen under the light of English School approach (Dunne, Little, Linklater and Suganami). The English School is an approach in the study of the international relations. This research adds to the wider debate by focusing on the delimited geographical dimension, traditionally underestimated by the scholars belonging to the school (Buzan 2004, 2009). This study inquires into the characteristics of the interaction of a specific region, the Baltic Sea area. The interactions among countries are conceived to be as shaped by interests, values and beliefs. In particular, within the English School approach, I chose the reformulated set of concepts attempted by Barry Buzan (2004) which goes under the name of the structural English School.

This study makes use of a study case, the Nord Stream pipeline, to analyze the social dynamics of the states in the Baltic Sea region. It does so by implying a methodology developed on narrative analysis. The study reconstructs the social interactions among the states of the region from the speeches that politicians, officials and journalists of the area release about the Nord Stream. These features are defined by the reconvened concept of the international society, borrowed from Buzan (2004). The character of the research and its geographical determination serve two purposes: unfolding the social dynamics of a peculiar region, such as the Baltic Sea area and contributing significantly to the development of regional perspectives in the English School tradition.

1.1. The background of the research problem and the study case

1.1.2. The study case: the Nord Stream pipeline

This paragraph briefly describes the Nord Stream pipeline. It attempts to portray the technical characteristics, such as costs, route and companies involved in the project, simultaneously with offering a glance at its the political background. This is meant to facilitate the understanding of the meaning of the Nord Stream pipeline in the area.

The project of the Nord Stream pipeline was initiated under the name of the *North European Gas Pipeline* by the joint venture Nord Stream AG (Morozov 2007 p. 54). The company originated by the cooperation among Gazprom, BASF/Wintershall, E.ON Ruhrgas and Gasunie which are respectively Russian, German and Dutch companies (Nord Stream AG 2009). Gazprom holds 51 percent of the shares of Nord Stream AG, the German companies together hold 40 percent and Gasunie the remaining 9 percent (Westphal 2007 p. 107, Nord Stream AG). The project consists of two parallel lines of tubes which would transport up to 55 billions of cubic meters of natural gas and which will be constructed from Vyborg (Russia) to Greifswald (Germany). To give an idea of the proportions of the pipeline and of its impact on the European market it is enough to think that the amount of gas transported the EU-25 total imports of natural gas is estimated to be 225 billions of cubic meters (Dempsey cit. in Westphal 2007 p. 109). Its costs and the route have been repeatedly changed and discussed in the last three years. This is due mostly to the environmental and the political opposition that the project has encountered from countries such as Sweden or Estonia. The official website of the company traces the costs of the undertaking up to 7.4 billion Euros, but these data are continuously updated. This is depending on the different evaluation on the route and the relative costs, as for the materials and transportation. The current route of the pipeline is designed to depart from the Gulf of Finland and to pass through the economic territorial waters of Estonia and Sweden. The pipeline is projected to land to Germany. The project is a business which is explicitly designed to bring economical profit. However, due to the location of its construction and to the proximity of transit

countries such as Poland¹, the project acquires inevitably geopolitical meaning and significance as it plans to cut off the transit countries (Morozov 2007 p. 54).

The project originated within the wider cooperation and partnership between the former German Chancellor Gerard Schröder² and the current Russian Prime Minister, Vladimir Putin. Furthermore the Nord Stream obtained the classification of Trans-European Network, from the European Union (Gloser 2009). At the moment there are two major pipelines which transport gas from Russia to Europe, Yamal Europe and Brotherhood. These two pipelines are constructed inshore and therefore imply their routes to be bypassing transit countries such as Ukraine, Belarus and Poland. The passage through transit countries determines the collection of fees. As the recent Russo-Ukrainian crises have demonstrated, cases of unpaid bills can easily turn into consistent political issues. Therefore according to the constructors, there are evident political and economical advantages in avoiding the involvement of the transit countries. The Nord Stream pipeline is a tool to avoid potentially dangerous involvements from transit countries and a safe vector to deliver gas without the obligation to pay fees.

On the other hand, opposite evaluations can be made by the (potential) transit countries, the positions of which are worsened by the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline. It follows that because of these considerations, the construction of the pipeline is a meaningful event for the whole Baltic Sea area. The next paragraph deals with introducing the countries which represent the Baltic Sea area in this study.

1.1.2. The Baltic Sea area

As mentioned above the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline is a meaningful event in the Baltic Sea area. Its route has been designed to depart from Vyborg (Russia) and to land in Greifswald (Germany), it crosses completely the Baltic Sea. The Nord Stream pipeline will transit through the exclusive economic zones of Russia, Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Germany and it will

¹ Poland is one of the countries where Yamal-Europe, one of the major existing gas pipelines, passes through (Aalto & Westphal 2007, pp. 16-17).

² Currently Schröder is working for the Nord Stream AG.

cross the territorial waters of Denmark, Germany and Russia³. However not all the countries are particularly involved by its construction. For instance Denmark due to her energy self sufficiency (Aalto 2007 p. 19) is not as involved as other countries by the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline. In order to represent fully the Baltic Sea area I made a selection among the countries which are part of it. I selected six countries to represent the region basing my choice on two parameters: a) the direct or indirect involvement in the project; b) the dimension of the study and the relative contribution of each country to the analysis. In this study the Baltic Sea region is represented by Estonia, Finland, Germany, Poland, Russia and Sweden. Germany and Russia are the constructor countries. Poland for the opposite reason is the main excluded country from the Nord Stream pipeline. Finland and Sweden have their exclusive economic zones crossed by the construction of the pipeline. In the end I chose Estonia among the Baltic Republics. Now that the region has been delineated, I proceed to present the outline of the research.

1.2. The outline of the research

1.2.1. Formulation and specification of the research problem: the social tissue

The study case, the Nord Stream pipeline and the background of the research have been introduced in the previous paragraphs. This was done in the specific contest of this study the Baltic Sea region. This section of the chapter defines the object of the research, with its origin and the contribution that this study aims at providing. In this paragraph I address specifically the research question and therefore what is inquired into in the rest of the study.

The Baltic Sea region presents peculiar characteristics. Along modern and contemporary history the countries of the area shared kingdoms, rulers, laws and even emperors. During the Cold War it used to be the point where the two blocks were “peacefully” tangent, due to the unique role of the so called “neutral” countries, Sweden and Finland. After the collapse of the Soviet Union the situation of the area passed, borrowing terms from chemistry, from a solid to liquid state. The European Union membership acquired by most countries in the area, and the growing number of common institutions,

³ The data are retrieved from the official website of the Nord Stream AG 2009.

organizations and associations has determined a lot of “interplay” in the region. In this study, the interactions among states are understood as shaped by interests, values and beliefs. Therefore I aim at characterizing the “interplay” and dynamics of the region by spotting those interests, values and beliefs which underpin them. I define the set of dynamics qualifying the Baltic Sea region, as social tissue. The social tissue represents the set of interactions among the states in the Baltic Sea region. It is a metaphor to describe how states and political units do have social contacts and relations and this sum of relations and interactions can be seen as a whole, the social tissue. This social tissue is linked to the concept of the international society of the English School. It follows that the research question of this study deals with the determination of the characteristics of the social tissue of the Baltic Sea region.

1.2.2. Heuristics: the idea behind the research

The Nord Stream pipeline had caused debates and prompted declarations by different politicians from the various countries in the area. These reactions seemed sometimes to rely upon historical, cultural and therefore social patterns which were not just related to the pipeline. As my attention and interest towards the pipeline grew, I realized how the more appealing aspects of the event were connected to the characteristics of the relations among the political units of the area, rather than to the construction itself. In addition to that, I had the chance of coming across the English School. The English School has, from the very beginning, intrigued me in relation to its theoretical framework and explanatory capacity. In particular I was fascinated by the property, peculiar of the English School, of articulating the international relations on different perspectives: international system, international society and world society. I share the attention manifested by the English School towards the “social” aspects of the international relations. I then decided to inquire into the Baltic Sea area with the help of the English School.

As the idea developed I became more aware of what I was exactly researching. The core of my interest, and therefore what is researched in this study, is what metaphorically lies above and around the pipeline. To put it in other words: I aim at researching the peculiarities of the interstate system in the regional background of the Baltic Sea area, and I plan to unfold the social tissue on which the relations among states, companies and individuals are taking place. These relations exist regardless of the pipeline and have peculiar characteristics which I attempt to disclose. The Nord Stream pipeline

is then regarded as a catalyst which prompts the emergence of social patterns which I aim at addressing with the help of the concepts borrowed from the English School. Chapter 2 deals specifically with the presentation of the theoretical framework used in this study: the structural English School. The next paragraph introduces the justification of the research task.

1.2.3. Justification of the research task and its contributions

In the last three years the debates concerning the Nord Stream pipeline have been growing in number and consistency. In a recent joint press conference held in Berlin, the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, and the President of the Russian Federation, Dmitry Medvedev, have remarked the importance of the Nord Stream not only as a pipeline but as a vector to bring Europe and Russia closer, starting from the economical sector (Medvedev & Merkel 2009). Whether this is true or not, it is clear how this project is meaningful for the constructors and for the other countries of the area, which are, willingly or not directly or not, involved in it. The study case represents then an interesting instance.

The regional dimension has been the most neglected in the English School literature, according to Barry Buzan one of its major exponents. As Buzan has acknowledged, this is due the tendency of the English School to think in holistic terms (Buzan 2004 pp. 205-209). The global dimension and perspective of the concepts of international system, international society and world society have caused, in the literature of the school, the regional representations of such elements to be ignored. The most meaningful attempt to fulfill this theoretical gap has been carried on recently from Buzan himself, together with Ana P. Gonzales, who edited a collection of articles researching the international society of the Middle East. This research aimed at applying the set of concepts of the reconvened structural English School to the Middle East. The study then focused on the international society and its development in an historical perspective. This was done, to quote Buzan: “to investigate whether or not significant, distinct, international social structures exist at the regional level” (Buzan 2009 p. 24). This point is also mine. The social tissue represents a structure of interactions at the regional level. This consideration represents the point of departure for developing this study, which aims at looking at the reconvened English School triptych and at the functioning of the concept of the international society (both described in chapter 2, and drawn from Buzan 2004) in the structural interpretation, from a regional and geographically limited perspective, the Baltic Sea area.

This study then aims at contributing to the wider English School literature by offering a glance at the region of the Baltic Sea, through the interpretative lens offered by the reconvened structural English School. Peter Marton, PhD student, has presented a similar study in which he analyzed the emerging patterns of international society in the Central/Eastern Europe (Marton 2007). However Marton's study, like *International society and the Middle East* book edited by Buzan and Gonzales, adopts an intrinsic historical perspective. This point serves to clarify the main difference between this study and the similar researches mentioned above. Both for Marton's and Buzan and Gonzales's works, the historical perspective show the emergence and consolidation of common institutions, shared values, interests and norms. In the case of Buzan and Gonzales's book this is done to delineate the features of the international society of the Middle East, and to identify if and which of these elements are in tension (and how) with the wider global international society. To the contrary, this study aims at providing a snapshot of the contemporary international society of the Baltic Sea area without considering its historical development.

On the other hand the research on the Baltic Sea region and its political dynamics is rather rich. Studies which concern the Baltic Sea region started to peak up after the collapse of the Soviet Union. An example of the first research carried on about the Baltic Sea region is the book *The Baltic Sea Region: conflict or cooperation?* In this book its author, Wellmann, is inquiring into the nature of the political dynamics of the Baltic Sea region in the first years after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This study is oriented towards the discovery of cooperative or conflictive dynamics in the area and the character of a geographical region during its formation (Waever & Joenniemi 1991, pp. 35-46). The contribution of this study can be seen in the light of the studies on the Baltic Sea region. In addition to that, this study can be framed in the wider corpus of research that addresses the energy policy formation and the Baltic Sea region. More specifically this study and its outcomes can contribute to the development of studies on the relationship between the Baltic Sea region and the European Union. The study of the collocation of the Baltic Sea region within the European Union and the Northern Dimension was attempted in the books *The Baltic Sea region in the European Union* and *Political Integration and Northern Dimension of the EU order*, which were respectively edited by Tassinari and Schartau. This thesis focuses mostly on the Baltic Sea region and its peculiar social tissue, as seen with its own characteristics. However its contribution to the wider scientific debate can be the improvement of the studies of the Baltic Sea as a region, with its own inner political dynamics.

The next chapter presents the theoretical framework of this study and illustrates the concepts with the help of which I attempt to characterize the international society of the Baltic Sea area.

1.3. The structure of the research

1.3.1. Research design: from the material to the concepts of the English School

The research frames the Nord Stream pipeline as a catalyst. In this study by catalyst it is meant a source for the production of declarations and speeches. The declarations of the officials, gathered in this study, are all revolving on the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline. The countries I chose to represent the Baltic Sea region do express their opinions about the pipeline. To this extent the Nord Stream pipeline is here regarded to as a catalyst: it prompts, declarations, speeches and texts. In addition to being an interesting case as such, it is used to unfold the patterns of the social tissue of the Baltic Sea region, i.e. distinct, international social structures of the Baltic Sea area. The first step of the inquiry is the collection of material. On the material takes place the analysis and from the findings of the analysis I draw the conclusions on the base of a theoretical framework. In this study I make use of two kinds of sources, primary and secondary. The primary sources are collected and they are available on the internet for public consultation. They are taken on the base of their relevance to the Nord Stream pipeline. They can be articles, speeches, declarations or official documents in which a politician, an official or a journalist is talking about the Nord Stream pipeline. The speeches concerning the construction of the pipeline are collected and catalogued, in order to apply a methodology based on narrative analysis. This procedure is carried for all the countries in the area, as defined above. However the perspective is holistic, as the point of the analysis is to highlight the common features. The narrative analysis is constructed borrowing analytical tools mainly from Hayden White and partially from Propp, and their combination creates the unique narrative analysis which is presented in this study. The tools acquired are then used on the primary sources. The results are then interpreted with the theoretical framework acquired from the English School. This procedure aims at fulfilling the purpose of the study and inquiring into the social tissue of the Baltic Sea area.

1.3.2. The organization of the study

This thesis is organized in the following manner. Chapter 1 has dealt with a general introduction of the study, with its aim, purpose and justification. Chapter 2 is structured to present the theory which is framing the research. Chapter 3 presents the methodology, and the three different steps of analysis. In chapter 4 the analysis on the primary sources takes place. The texts are grouped per country and analyzed. The findings of the first two steps of the analysis are then interpreted with the help of the structural English School in chapter 5. Eventually the conclusions are summed up in the relative concluding section of the study.

2. THE THEORETICAL APPROACH AND THE RESEARCH ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

This whole research was inspired from the very beginning by the attention that the work of those who go generally under the name of English School scholars raised in me. It is however necessary to have an overview of what is meant by the English School or at least to underline what is most agreed as being the English School, before tackling more specifically the author whose work has been the most inspiring of all to me, Barry Buzan. This chapter aims at presenting the theoretical framework that lies in the background of my research. In order to do so, the chapter is structured in two main sections. In the first section I characterize the wider meta-theoretical assumptions that are at the roots of both social constructivism⁴ and the so-called English School (ES). Those communalities are in fact relevant in the view of the authors I selected to represent the English School: Barry Buzan, Tim Dunne and Richard Little. I then offer a brief historical introduction to the English School, and this is done to picture the difficulties in highlighting communalities within the broad church of the English School (Linklater & Suganami 2007). I draw from both Dunne and Little to account for some of the commonly shared or more debated concepts within this approach. The second section tackles more specifically the work of Buzan (2004). This research is thus oriented by Buzan's "reconvening" of the ES, where the reformulation of the concept of *World Society* leads towards a structural English School. In this section the inductive orientation of this research and its logic of inquiry are disclosed. Finally I also present the content and the object of my research. The definition of the parameters of the structural English School then allows me to present my logic of inquiry. I present eventually the key concepts and the terminology employed by Buzan and the theoretical consequences of his reformulation.

4 The adjective *social* here and hence indicates the connotation of that branch of constructivism, as many are existing, who specifically address the social sciences in general and more specifically the IR. As Dunne puts it: "social signify the ontological presumption that individuals are social beings whose subjectivity is reflexively formed by interaction" (Dunne 1995a, p.371).

2.1. *The classical English School*

2.1.1. The meta-theoretical points of departure

Considering that facts do not speak for themselves, a theory is “[what is necessary] in order to structure our view of the world and to separate what is more important from what is less important” (Sorensen 2008, p. 5). In this chapter, I aim at presenting the lens, through which, The lens, I separate what is important from what is not. The terminology needs to be clarified since there is a meaningful difference in the two main traditions of IR, the British (and wider European) and the American (considered the mainstream) ones, when it comes to the definition of theory, and therefore approach. While in the American tradition theories “attempt to explain causal relationships” (Moore 2007, p. 3), in the European tradition a theory is “anything that organizes a field systematically, structures questions and establishes a coherent and rigorous set of interrelated concepts and categories” (Buzan 2004, p. 24). In the European tradition, approaches do not present structured theoretical frameworks, rather they can be best conceived as research orientations providing the researcher with common conceptual sets. As the scholars within the English School “have never adhered to a common perspective” (Little 2000, p. 397) it is easier to refer to the ES as to an approach or an orientation to the study of IR. I attempt to offer a glance at some of the authors, who are placed or placed themselves, under the English School’s flag. The difficulty that one can face in summing up the wider and more common stands of the ES starts with establishing its meta-theoretical assumptions.

Dunne (1995a; 1995b), Little (1995; 2000) and Buzan (1993; 2004) in different measures all underline the shared meta-theoretical roots between social constructivism and the English School. I proceed from their reconstruction of the school's meta-theoretical assumptions (Little and Buzan) by underlining the ties with the constructivist tradition (Dunne) in order to connect the whole with the key concepts of the ES (Little and Buzan). In order to do that I need now a step back, to define the departing points.

As Dunne (1995a) and Moore (2007) point out in the discipline of IR there have been three major meta-theoretical issues. Chronologically the topics debated were the level of analysis, the agent-structure issue and the existence of two different stories of the social world (subjectivism, objectivism). The issues themselves are mutually interrelated but they are not the matter here. However

while my argument unfolds I relate the meta-theoretical issues and their topics in order to point out the features of the English School. Each issue implies a discussion over ontology and epistemology of the field of study. I aim at describing the key concepts of the English School while relating those to the constructivist and the neo-realist influence. I specifically rely on the content of the first two issues. I do that to present the basic meta-theoretical assumptions of the ES and how those are reflected in the origin of the concepts and the mechanics of the school.

Let us start from the beginning by defining the discussed matter. Ontology deals with the nature of being. It follows that the main question to be answered in order to characterize a theory on the ontological level is whether there is a real world independent from our knowledge of it (Marsh and Furlong cit. Moore 2007 p.10). Consequently we can divide those patterns which are independent from our knowledge of those (mind-independent) from those which are instead dependent (mind-dependent). On the other hand, epistemology deals with what is knowledgeable. Once we have acknowledged that something can be investigated, epistemology answers the question on *how* we can acquire knowledge on it. I can now relate back to the matters of the three debates.

2.1.2. The individual, the state and the system: a pluralist ontology

The discipline of IR deals with the relations among states, political units and as their representatives, individuals (Moore 2007). It follows that it is needed to establish what is meant by “state” and, consequently, how we do account for their “behavior” with each other. The first meta-theoretical issue dealt with the level of analysis which is necessary to attempt to inquire in the subject. Put in other words: it is a matter of deciding which, among the individual, the state and the system has a prevalent ontological stand. This implies the epistemological question of determining from which of these levels we should start an inquiry or a research. While, to some extent, it seems easier to define the position of other theoretical approaches, it is rather more complicated to give an account of the matter in the wider English School approach. For instance, if we consider the Waltzian neo-realism, it is straightforward to recognize an ontological priority to the systemic features rather than to the other two. Little (1995, 2000) recalls the initial considerations made by Bull regarding the necessity of not assigning ontological priority to any of these levels. Little's argument starts with an overview of the writings of one of the scholars looked at as a father of the English School, Martin Wight.

In tracing the origins of the three traditions from which the English School originated, Wight argues how the realist, the rationalist and the revolutionist thinking have meaningfully contributed to the school (Little 2000). Wight conceptualized the international relations as a matter whose analysis could be attempted by combining the above mentioned traditions. The realist thinking has put a strong emphasis on the necessary condition of anarchy deriving from the sovereignty of the states: this element is an inescapable condition in international relations, according to the realist view. The rationalists have been emphasizing how the institutions of commerce and diplomacy could improve the initial conditions of anarchy by thickening the interrelations among states. Finally the revolutionists highlighted the cultural and moral whole which is formed by the community of the sovereign states and which is necessarily underpinning it: this aspect is essential to overcome the effects of anarchy. Each of these traditions offered a diversified perspective on the international relations, implying at the same time a multifaceted ontology, which means an ontological stand where the three elements of realist, revolutionist and rationalist are all in play. This consideration is made clear by Little when he addresses as “pluralism” the ontology of the English School (Little 2000, p. 399). Paradigms are commensurable. The triptych of the three traditions condensed in the concepts of *international system*, *international society* and *world society*. As Bull puts it an international system occurs where:

States are in regular contact with one another and where in addition there is interaction between them, sufficient to make the behavior of each a necessary element in the calculation of the other (Bull cit. Little 1995, p. 11).

On the other hand an international society is observed where states “are conscious of certain common interests and values” and “conceive of themselves to be bound by a common set of rules...and share in the working of common institutions”(Ibid). The concept of the international society outlines a concept of ontology, where mind-dependent features such as values and interests are the prevailing element. For instance, among the institutions, as Dunne points out, we can count sovereignty and the principle of non-intervention. These two concepts are pivotal to the existence of a system first and then a society. Sovereignty is based on the mutual recognition of the states and its derivative principle of non-intervention is a consequence. As Wendt puts it: “sovereignty is an institution, and so

it exists only in virtue of certain inter-subjective understandings and expectations, there is no sovereignty without an other” (Wendt cit. Dunne 1995a, p. 379).

A world society is however among individuals and it is based on a “world common good” which is embodied in “common ends or values of the universal society of mankind” (Ibid). It is possible, drawing from the definitions given here to trace the influences of the three traditions on the English School thinking. The triptych does not only reflect the traditions but the interrelated ontology at three levels. The individual, the state and the system are mutually involved in the complex features of the international relations. While the state-system tension is present in the first two elements, the world society is the domain of individuals where the ontological primacy goes to the individual unit. As mentioned above, Little is very keen on emphasizing how Bull stressed the importance of all of them, as each of them offer a necessary and interdependent perspective on the functioning of the international relations. Further theoretical developments on the relations and the dynamics occurring among the three domains were carried out by Buzan (1993; 2004). I will come back to those in the second section of the chapter.

2.1.3. From the agent-structure issue to the dynamics of the international society

The issue concerning the agent-structure revolves around the problem of agency. The matter to be established is which element in the dyad is the dominant one, and which dynamics are therefore formed. Once again the simplest was to conceive such a meta-theoretical issue is to look it through the neo-realist lens. According to Waltz, states in the system act through competition and socialization. The first activity allows states to deal with each other under constraints of anarchy; the second factor allows them to compete in the search for higher share of capabilities at disposal in the system. The distribution of capabilities, the sum of which is fixed and therefore a systemic attribution, allows movements and determines the degree of action of each unit: under the given constraints of anarchy. In such a view of the international relations, the structure determines the degree to which units can act (Waltz 1979). It is safe to state that in the dyad, the structure or mind-independent feature has then an ontological priority.

In the English School approach though, the influence of constructivist thinking has shaped the conceptualization of this meta-theoretical matter. In particular, as we will see later, Buzan's structural English School draws directly from Wendt's social theory of international politics. Important here is to underline that for constructivists reality is a "social construct". The question of agency concerns the mutual process of shaping and constructing that structures and agents activate on each other. This process is self sustaining and operates at all time as "people and societies construct, or constitute, each other" (Onuf cit. Dunne 1995a, p. 372). The same process is at work in the international arena. The agents operating within the structure contribute to shape it while at the same time they are shaping it. In the possible evolution from an international system into an international society, states thicken their sets of norms and rules that are mutually binding them. The reflexive formation of a society then shapes the states within it. As Wight puts it:

International society...can be properly described only in historical and sociological depth. It is habitual intercourse of independent communities, beginning in the Christendom of Western Europe and gradually extending throughout the world. It is manifest in the diplomatic system: in the conscious maintenance of the balance of power...in the regular operation of international law, whose binding force is accepted or a wide though politically unimportant range of subjects...all these presuppose an international social consciousness (Wight cit. *ibid*, p. 376).

The practices that are created in the international arena give origin to institutions, actually they embed them (Dunne 1995b, p. 141). Again it is useful to underline the persistent link with social constructivism, in consideration of the definition that Guzzini gives of the international system "as socially constructed through practices" (Guzzini 2000, p. 169). In particular the nature of the international society, with its constructivist accent on inter-subjective norms, rules and institutions (Reus-Smit 2002, p. 488), is characterized by the mutual recognition of sovereign equality among its members (Buzan 1993). The principle then which operates within a society and separates it from a system is legitimacy: "units not only recognize each other as being the same kind of entity, but also are prepared to accord each other equal legal status on the that basis" (*ibid*, p.345).

The process of transformation, that *consciously* takes place between system and society, can be disharmonious within the international system (Little 1995). As Buzan explains the criteria for the expansion of an international society implies a concentric development around a thicker core. The core is where the international society historically and functionally develops. Buzan draws from the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* in order to explain the expansion of the international society and the qualitative distinction between two types of society. The two German terms refer to both to community or society. *Gemeinschaft* (used as in Wight) is historically and culturally based; it follows that such a form of community (society) is characterized with a thicker and tighter set of common norms, rules and practices underpinning it. *Gesellschaft* develops at a functional level, its units are not necessarily culturally tight but they work as a whole. The international can develop as *Gemeinschaft* (culturally based) or can evolve as *Gesellschaft*, i.e. its functions will be exported first and those will work as ties to link the original community with the acquired one. Since the principle of legitimacy underpins both the societies (and separates them from a system) this model allows thinking about an expansion without necessary cultural bonds. As “anarchy works best in short distances” (Buzan 1993, p. 344) the dynamics between states and the international system will develop at first within a restricted and limited area. The growth of the international society from the smaller core has two main characteristics. The first one is the inequality of its expansion. This process does not embrace the whole international system at the same time but is faced by segments of it, and it specifically proceeds in concentric circles. The second characteristic is the necessity for a prior expansion of the world society outside the original core of the international society. The community or elite of individuals sharing cultural features such as similar acknowledgement of rules norms and values underpins the development of the international society. This process is not unidirectional. The international society, when those underpinning features might happen to retreat or collapse, can return to the systemic form (Ibid).

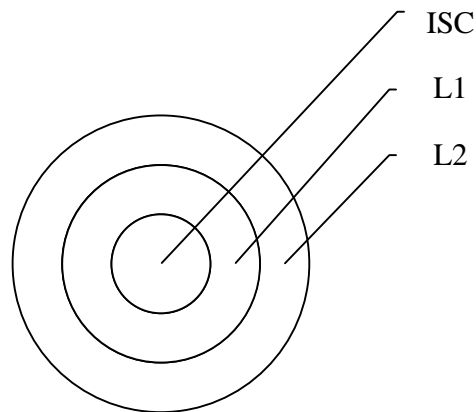


Figure 2.1

In figure 2.1, I represent the concentric structure of the international society. In the core (ISC) the acceptance of norms, institutions and values is thicker and therefore stronger. While proceeding to the outer layers (L1 and L2) the sharing of those features become thinner. When the world society of individuals takes form in the outer layers, the conditions for the growth of the international society are met, especially in the *Gemeinschaft* type of society. The preliminary development of a world society is necessary for the expansion of those values and norms emanating from the core. Another point to be made is that international society is not just a matter of its existence or not, is also a question of degree (or thickness) that determines the characteristics of it. Only the most basic structure of international society can emerge without a prior expansion of the world society. An extremely thin set of basic institutions norms and values would be then spreading (Buzan 1993, p. 345).

On the other hand when the world society does expand such a development is due to thick relationship of the core with the outer layers. In a *Gemeinschaft* type of expansion this process is strictly cultural and historical, as with the influence of a strong community allows the circulation of shared practices from the core to the peripheries. This circulation of ideas and practices ultimately might allow the expansion of an underpinning world society. The tighter links connecting the states in the core attract and reshape the states in the outer layers, and by doing so enlarging the central core. In a given international system the existing international societies can be more than one. The mechanism of expansion follows the same steps, allowing the stronger (more tightly connected) society to incorporate the other eventually (Ibid).

The study inquires into the Baltic Sea area, and its international society. In order to do so it is important to determine the underpinning values upon which institutions and common practices are built. The cohesion of the international society is given by the extent to which certain values are shared, and why they are shared. Even if the study of the world society and its expansion are not at stake in this research, the above mentioned mechanism explains how values need to be internalized by a given society before they can circulate towards its borders. Buzan fairly describes the structure of the international societies as yolks, where cores of thicker values, norms and therefore societies lay on different geographical positions (Buzan 2004, pp. 205-210). This brings us back to this research and its aim, the analysis of the yolk in the Baltic Sea area.

2.1.4. The historically constructed concept of the English School

Concerning the formulation of its main concepts and for the assignments of its meta-theoretical assumptions, it is hard to find agreements among the scholars regarding what exactly is the English School. What is agreed though (Bull, Buzan, Dunne, Linklater, Little, Suganami) is the path leading back to its roots. The above mentioned scholars agree to trace the dawn of the school back to the beginning of the 1950's. By the time the mainstream thinking in IR was deriving from the American (mainstream) tradition. The end of the World War II and its destruction had contributed to let the Realist thinking definitely "win" the contest against the previous utopianist (idealist) tradition. In this scenario a group of individuals among which Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight, under the name of British Committee on the Theory of International Politics, initiated a research program in order to elaborate a new conceptualization of the international relations. The main common point of departure was a rejection of the mainstream realist thinking and a strong critic towards its behaviorist methodology and its positivist epistemology. As argued by Suganami there is not a widespread agreement on the major common achievements of the school neither it is useful here to attempt an account of the branches that developed in years (Linklater & Suganami 2007). I tried in the above paragraph to offer a coherent account of concepts, meta-theoretical prospects and general features of the approach that goes under the name of English School. However even the name school itself is often contested. Little as well emphasizes that it is not a simple task to trace a common "critical mass" to unite different scholars and different views with a least common denominator. In addition to that it appears that the name English School is very recent (20 years), and this name has been historically constructed to amalgamate different scholars mostly sharing British origins. Suganami claims that in

1999 after the calling from Buzan to conceive again the concepts of the “English School”, such a name became of wide use. However for the purposes of my study the definition of the name English School holds, considering that around that name circulate a number of key concepts. Once again it is mostly accepted that the major unifying flag of the school is the concept of the international society.

However different in many extents, the English School scholars all attempt to address the international relations from three different perspectives. They attempt to link together the systemic features (international system) the social interactions (international society) and the actions and values of the non-state actors (world society) in the understanding of the international relations. These three ideal-types portray the political world as a mixture of these three elements. This mixture and consequently the interplay among these three elements, can describe the international relations (Linklater & Suganami 2007 p. 103). Considering that the aim of this study is to characterize the social tissue of the Baltic Sea area, the English School concepts and in particular the ideal-types represented by its triptych, offer proper analytical tools. In particular the reconvened triptych (Buzan 2004) of the English School, with its subdivision operated on actor-hood, enables this study to research over the social parameters which are peculiar and characteristic of the Baltic Sea area.

The reconvened triptych, which was mentioned above, and the other concepts of which this study makes use, are the subject of the next section of the paragraph. As anticipated above, the attempt of Buzan to reformulate the triptych of the English School originated in a new branch of the English School, referred to as structural.

2.2. The structural English School and the research orientation of the thesis

2.2.1. The structural English School: the premises and the achievements of the reformulation

Under the name structural English School goes the set of concepts and scopes reconvened by Buzan (2004). The book is conceived as an attempt to work on the aspect of the classical English School’s triptych which seemed weaker: the world society. The conceptual weakness of the world

society had been already pointed out (Little 1995), and its vagueness was affecting the explanatory power of the English School and creating confusion in the definition of world society. Buzan points out how the problem concerning the definition of world society (what is exactly meant by that) relied also on the difficulty of tracing its conceptual borders with the international society. Such a consideration, together with the attempt to draw from a more structural (both from realism and Wendt's constructivism) approach brought Buzan to redefine the whole triptych. Buzan argues that such a change in the conceptual framework both of the triptych and its background ontological condition serves at best two main purposes: a) granting the English school with a more structured approach and with a more defined flagship concept whose pillars are now defined on actor-hood; b) providing therefore the theoretical approach with more efficient tools to undertake the study of the complex processes linked with globalization (Buzan 2004, pp. 90-95). This research specifically draws from point a) while referring to the regional dimension of point b). The wider range of changes and their consequences on the theoretical level will not be addressed here. Rather by focusing on the conceptual reformulation, I address the specific Baltic Sea region. I build on the reformulation of the three pillars to guide my research in the light of the new triptych offered by Buzan.

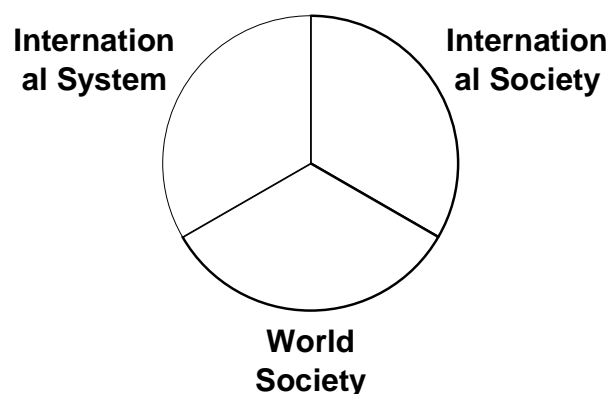


Figure 2.1 (Buzan 2004, p. 98)

The figure 2.1 is taken from Buzan (2004). The scheme above summarizes how Buzan visualizes the classical English School concepts of the international system, international society and world society. In Buzan's point of view the three pillars are divided by fuzzy borders, which allow

conceptual confusion among them to take place. Each of them occupies about one third of the triptych. As the borders are not rigidly marked, the definition of the functions and characteristics of each pillar becomes problematic (Buzan 2004). This inaccuracy is reflected on the conceptual weakness of the world society pillar. As the difference among the pillars is not properly highlighted, the analytical capacity of the triptych is reduced (Ibid). In order to improve such a capacity, Buzan, tackles the reformulation of the three concepts by focusing on their distinctive patterns. International system, international society and world society are reformed into *interstate societies*, *transnational societies* and *interhuman societies*. This transformation is based on actor-hood. Each of the reformed pillars entails a different type of actors, respectively states, transnational organizations and human beings. While the first two deal with collective units, the third one deals specifically with the individuals. The new structured triptych privileges the state level, and establishes how the three pillars are ontologically distinct but interplaying (Ibid, p.136).

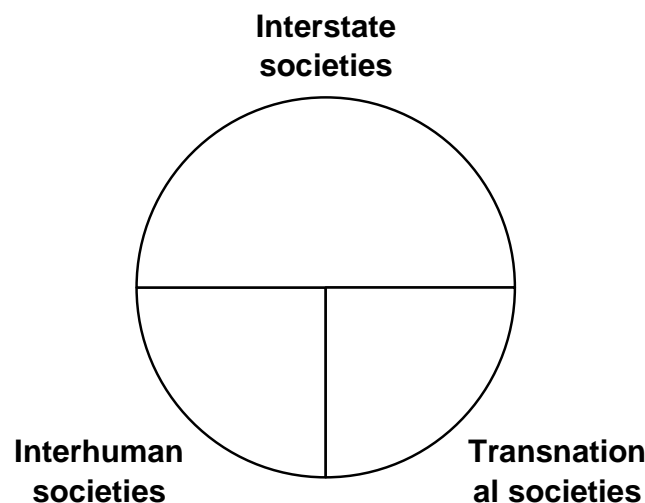


Figure 2.2 (ibid, p. 133)

Figure 2.2 is once again taken from Buzan. The graphical appearance explains the changes made. The borders among the pillars, once fuzzy, become rigid. This is not supposed to

diminish the interplay of the three pillars but simply to identify each of them with one type of unit. The once very heterogeneous domain of the world society has split in two parts, dividing the transnational actors (seen as collective units) from the individuals. The cohesion of these societies is measured relying to the nature of the binding forces keeping them together: coercion, calculation and belief. Those are simultaneously present (unlike in Bull's interpretation) and their mixture determine the cohesion of the society. As it shows in the scheme the interstate domain is the most relevant. This implies two important conceptual consequences. The state centrism of Buzan reformulated triptych expresses the accent put on the dynamics at the state level. In Buzan's point of view, this level remains the core of the theoretical framework, while the other two maintain their interplay however in a secondary ontological position. The most interesting consequence is the new meaning given to the concept of the international society. The conceptual place previously occupied by it in the classical English School triptych has been assigned to the interstate domain. The new dimension of the international society is then "the arrangement...where the basic legal and political framework is set by the state system, with individuals and transnational actors being given rights by states within the order defined by interstate society" (Ibid, p. 202). This definition embraces both the purposes for which Buzan undertook the reformulation of the classical English School triptych. The international society concepts now embraces the whole set of dynamics and interplays among the three pillars, where the "legal and political framework" is given within the interstate domain. The change on the theoretical level is obviously meaningful. The international society now describes the complex interplay among the three pillars. As the interaction is taking place on a setting established at the state level, its ontological primacy is explained. On the other hand, such a setting, is constructed by the interaction that individuals and transnational organizations undertake continuously. It is important to notice how, by broadening and slightly modifying the concept of international society, Buzan is able to tackle the reformulation he attempted while at the same time fulfilling his aims in point a), providing the English School with a more structured approach, and b) tackle the study of the processes linked with globalization. The first point is about the consideration that the contemporary structure and functioning of governance within the state-system implies the involvement of individuals and transnational actors. In addition to that, the new triptych and the deriving new concept of the international society allow "to bring back" into picture the sub-global or regional level of analysis. These two aspects interweave in my research. In the next paragraph I illustrate how in the regional setting of the Baltic Sea area, the

characteristics of the international society might provide with hints to reflect upon the dynamics which are unfolding in that specific geographical setting.

2.2.2. The research orientation

This study aims at inquiring into the reconvened concept of the international society in the Baltic Sea area. The interplay within interstate, the interhuman and the transnational domains synthesizes the dynamics according to which the international society in the region is characterized. The scope of the study, along with its purpose, does not allow this research to wholly impinge on the three domains at the same time. This study will specifically focus on the interstate domain. Nonetheless the importance of the other two domains is not neglected. On the contrary the international society, as defined by the interplay among the three pillars, is inquired with the help of a study case which involves different types of actors. The characterization of the international society in the Baltic Sea area is carried out by collecting empirical data on a study case involving the majority of the countries in this sub-region along with some transnational actors: the Nord Stream pipeline. The study case works as an instance which allows the characteristics of the international society to emerge. The methodological procedure is explicated in chapter 3. As the countries in the area are involved, their reactions in form of political speeches are analyzed in chapter 4. This leads towards the collection of common key stories, which unfold shared patterns (such as values, principles or institutions). Once the common features have emerged, they are gathered and interpreted with the help of the concepts of the structural English School (chapter 5). The study case reveals the dynamics which are characterizing the interplay among the three pillars.

On the theoretical level this study follows two main paths of research indicated by Buzan, and this relates to points a) and b). The aim of this research is to identify/characterize the social tissue or international society of the Baltic Sea area. The interplay among the three pillars is underpinned by a specific mixture of coercion, calculation and belief. Those binding forces explicate why and how given values, norms, principles are internalized. As Buzan points out these three elements are in play at the same time in a peculiar mixture for any given society (2004 pp. 146-154). Some norms or values are worshipped because they are imposed, some others because the units perceive that by complying with

norms or by sharing values they might obtain advantages. Finally some values are shared due to belief. Actors share values and obey to norms not because of imposition or instrumental calculation, but because of belief in those norms and values. These underpinning elements determine which kind of international society we face. As mentioned above, in Buzan, these three elements are present in a peculiar mixture in any given international society. The dosage of each of them in a given setting, as for instance the Baltic Sea area, entails the character and the patterns of the international society. For instance a society mostly held together by coercion is likely to be less cohesive than any other one which is mostly held together by belief. The characterization (liberal, authoritarian, socialist and so forth) of the underpinning values of the international society is attempted by the analysis of the narratives which emerge from the political speeches in the context of the primary institutions and their corollary secondary ones. I aim at indentifying the shared patterns by looking at the primary institutions and why and how those are shared. I aim at characterizing the thick/solidarist and thin/pluralist patterns of the international society and to determine which elements in the Baltic Sea area have solidarist or pluralist developments⁵. In conclusion I apply the set of concepts implied by the structural reformulation by Buzan, to a geographically limited space.

This last remark brings us back to the second theoretical purpose of this study. As Buzan claims, the sub-global perspective has been neglected to the attention of classical English School scholars (ibid, p. 206). The previous formulation of the international society concepts had the tendency to privilege the global and wider context, and so did the world society. The stress here is put on the development of mutual and interplaying interactions in the context of the Baltic Sea area. The mechanisms of such an interrelation are particularly meaningful on the regional level. As Buzan puts it: “taking the regional level on board opens up a rich set of cases both for comparative purposes and to help in thinking about theory” (ibid, p. 206).

The setting of the Baltic Sea area is characterized by old and historical connections at the level of the interstate domain. The Nord Stream pipeline is an instance to underline how the transnational actors (specifically the Nord Stream AG) became meaningful in the interplay of the dynamics also at the state level. Their interests, values or beliefs (may then be economical, ideological

5 A solidarist international society is characterized by a thicker set of shared norms, institutions and values. However the term thicker does not have to be intended as more numerous, but as *qualitatively* different. The following paragraph clarifies further the concept.

and so forth) are now a factor influencing the behavior and the decisions of the actors at the state level. To a different extent the same thinking can be applied to some particularly influential individuals. These components add complexity to the functioning of the international system and those are well portrayed by the reformulated triptych of the English School. Such considerations imply the link between point a) granting the English school with a more structured approach and with a more defined flagship concept whose pillars are now defined on actor-hood, and b) providing therefore the theoretical approach with more efficient tools to undertake the study of the complex processes linked with globalization. The project of the pipeline and the relevant events connected to it, reveal the wider and deeper process of interplay among the domains determining the international society. In addition, the geographical definition of the study case and its impact, allows to reflect upon the regional dimension of the mechanisms which are regulating the contemporary aspects of governance and its characterization. The interstate domain is characterized by six countries, the choice of which is explained in the previous chapter dedicated to the study case. Transnational actors and their influence can be seen through the light of the construction of the pipeline. This influence is not only due to the economical factor which is quintessential in a company like Nord Stream AG. It can be traced also by looking at the environmental, for instance, perplexities that other transnational actors, such as NGOs, use to articulate the construction of the pipeline. These different articulations or stories concerning the pipeline interweave with those used at the interstate domain and can be seen in the context of primary institutions. This interaction in the form of speeches and declarations, is underpinned by characteristics which are related to the common characteristics of the area (principles, norms, values, institutions). Discussions regarding the reasons in favor or opposing the construction of the pipe unfold what is shared and what is not. This complex mechanism of mutual influence is at the core of the functioning of the interplay among the pillars, which Buzan sums up with the new concept of international society.

This research aims at extracting the contents of those speeches , and at placing them in the light of structural English School and characterizing them with help of its key concepts in order to describe the international society in the Baltic Sea area. The following chapter clarifies the structure of this study.

2.2.3. The structure of the research

This study is guided by the structural English School definition of international society. I formulate the research problem according to the theoretical lines of inquiry expressed by Buzan (2004). The theoretical framework set above helps inquiring into two subjects: a) the study of the international society, within the limits of an empirical research about the interstate domain; b) the contribution to the regional dimension of concepts such as the international society. As to satisfy both points I proceed by:

- 1) addressing the international society in the Baltic Sea area as a research problem (which was dealt with in this section);
- 2) introducing the study case, the Nord Stream pipeline (see above, chapter 1.);
- 3) collecting the empirical material and, with the help of a method, analyze it (see below, chapters 3 and 4.);
- 4) linking the results obtained from the empirical data to the theory in order to draw conclusions on the research problem (see below chapter 5).

In order to move forward to the next steps of the research I need to introduce the relationship between the theory displayed above and the method I intend to use. The final paragraph deals with the introduction of the concepts on which this study builds.

2.2.4. Theory, method and the case study: ontological and epistemological adherence

As clearly pointed out by Little (2000) and by Buzan (2004) there are different ontologies at work within the English School triptych. Especially considering the reformulation carried out by Buzan, the investigation of the international society involves insights over the mutual relations among the three domains. Essentially based on the interstate pillar, the reformulated triptych and the new meaning of international society, focus on the interplay and the interaction among the three domains. This assumption follows from the consideration made by Buzan that the interstate system has a social character (Buzan 2004). The study case helps in extracting the mutual considerations of the actors, essentially of the interstate domain such as states, about the pipeline. In the declarations and in the speeches there are implicit and explicit references to what each actor perceives as shared or not. These

shared norms, values and principles unfold in the narratives which can be collected in the area. Those narratives can be seen in the context of primary or secondary institutions, as they embed shared patterns. Social life is a narrative (MacIntyre cit Czarniawska 2004, p.3). The structure of the international society is then embedded and identifiable in the stories that the authors tell about the Nord Stream pipeline and the social relations they entail with the other actors in the system. Such a structure emerges in form of common acceptance or rejection of specific societal parameters such as values, norms and institutions. The level of cohesion⁶ is peculiar to any given society. The degree to which, norms or values are shared or not, pictures the society and its structural characteristics when it is traceable when it is expressed in forms of stories.

How “solidarist” is the behavior of the members to each other and to which extent; what kind of behavior is accepted and which one is rejected or stigmatized, the answers to these questions describe the character of the social tissue within which individuals act. Politics as Ringmar (2006) points out, can be seen as story-telling process. The declarations or speeches are not only the product of the author but depend on their content on the society in which they are contextualized. As I inquire about a society and the quality of this society is reflected on the stories that the units composing it tell, I make use of narrative analysis to unfold such parameters (such as shared values and norms). As the concept of international society deals with inner mechanisms on a constructivist orientation, a methodology concerning the language with which this society is constructed is epistemologically and ontologically fit. More specifically narrative analysis and the English School have been combined rarely and this attempt of mine adds further value to the research. Let us now have a look at the main concepts used in the study.

2.2.5. The key concepts of the research

The research builds around the following concepts. Each of them is used in relation to the others. The *solidarist/ pluralist spectrum* is the range of possibilities in a second order society (or a system) that varies between complete asociality (possible in theory) to confederation (so far possible in theory). A *second order society* is characterized by units which have a collective character. The actors share a certain common identity, as states. In this paper a good example might be the Baltic Sea region and its international society. The term is a direct response to *first order society* as composed solely by

⁶ By the term cohesion here is meant how strongly the attributes of a given society are keeping it together.

individuals. In order to classify the elements of a second order society, in the pluralist/solidarist spectrum, we need to look at what patterns can be defined as cooperative, where the more of those are present the closer the society will be the solidarist end of the spectrum (Buzan 2004, pp. 139-143). However these cooperative features coexist with some pluralist/thin patterns. The process of adding institutions, norms and rules which should lead towards a solidarist characterization is not always cumulative (ibid). For instance the possibility of violent resolution of conflict, war, is a pluralist feature. If such a feature is a widely accepted mean, a more solidarist practice like the institution of diplomacy will not make the system proceed significantly towards a solidarist orientation (ibid). To progress in that sense the possibility of raising war should be limited to the units which are external from the system, or substitute with a less violent mean for resolution of conflicts. An example could be the practice of consultation, which in many cases has substituted the mean of war.

The *primary institutions* are characteristics “constitutive” of states and of the international society. They originated from principles lying behind mutually constitutive practices. They are socially constructed and construct at the same time the society that embeds them. The primary institutions are directly linked to the degree to which a society can be called solidarist or pluralist. As mentioned above this is not necessarily a cumulative process but deals more specifically to the quality (which institutions and why are shared) (ibid, pp. 161- 167). The number and the characteristics of the primary institutions which are shared in a society give us an idea of the purposes of that society. Some examples can be: sovereignty, territoriality, diplomacy, market and great power management. The clear corollaries of the primary institutions are the *secondary institutions*. Those are products of consequences of the principles that determined the primary institutions. From the shared and accepted practice of diplomacy (primary institution), the concrete consequence is the establishment of embassies. Embassies for themselves are physical buildings. However they are conceived as representing the wider concept of diplomacy. As a consequence embassies, where diplomacy is a shared primary institution, represent the sovereign territory of another country. The *binding forces* keeping together a society determine also *how* and *why* norms and institutions are embedded in that society (ibid, pp. 152- 156). Coercion, calculation and belief are from the thinnest to the thickest the binding forces all present and at work in a peculiar society.

3. STORIES AND CHARACTERS, METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter introduces the method and the methodological procedure that will be carried out in the thesis. These pages present a general introduction of the methodological tools, while introducing a background of the wider approach of narrative analysis. The chapter introduces mainly the work of Hayden White and the limited use of the work of Vladimir Propp, with a special focus on their relevance to this study. In order to achieve an adequate clarity of terminology I will explain the use of the concepts and the context in which they have to be considered. In addition, I will provide a quick overview to previous IR works which use narrative analysis, linking it to different authors, by looking at the specificity of White and Propp and how they have been applied. I state what is my personal contribution concerning the use of narrative analyses in IR, and in this respect the aims this study is meant to achieve. Furthermore I describe the methodology that this paper makes use of and I develop the analysis on the primary sources.

3.1. *NARRATIVES, NARRATIVE ANALYSIS AND STORIES*

3.1.1. Chronicles/Narratives become Stories

The general assumption, as well as the main point of departure for the methodological analysis lays in the definition according to which: “narrative is ...essentially a story, a term more often associated with fiction than with political science” (Patterson & Monroe 1998, pp. 318-320). In other words, narrative is the process within which we put together different events, which take place in our own experiences, in order to grasp their meaning and make sense of our reality. This procedure is carried out daily and in everyday life as “we do this as individuals and we do it as collective units, as nations or groups...” (Ibid).

In order to avoid misunderstandings concerning the terminology the concepts used and their meanings need to be outlined properly. This clarification is needed due to the fact that the meanings of the terms chronology, narrative and story, overlap and this creates unnecessary confusion. In the paper I will use Hayden White's interpretation of the nouns, as an essential difference among them emerges in his work. I draw from his definitions of chronology, narrative and story and I use these terms according to the description given below.

A *chronology* is the most basic element and can be seen or heard in a text or in a speech, as a series of actions or events which are enveloped within it: in its typical form for instance there are three events X Y Z and a "teller". This account can be given either in oral or written form: first X happened then Y, in the end Z happened. In a narrative, according to White, facts are listed in a chronological manner and the account is lacking a structural form and a train of thought. A *story* contains a structure, the name of which is plot. A brief and fit definition of plot is the one formulated by Todorov who labels it "the passage from one equilibrium to another" (Todorov cit. Czarniawska 2004, p. 25). Events are then linked to a causal thread which does not simply keep them together but grants the whole with continuity. The plot connects and links the different events/actions in the story and characterizes it. The wire appears to the reader/listener as she/he proceeds in the story. This is a step which is already part of the first act on the text, interpretation, to which I will return later on.

3.1.2. Narratives in IR

Roberts, while he underlines the utility of the tools provided by the narrative approach, points out that the last years have seen the increase of the use of narratives in the field of IR, due to which we may speak about a narrative turn in IR (Roberts 2006, p. 710). I show in the paragraphs below how my paper was inspired by work previously done in IR and how the use of narratives made by other authors differs from the one I am attempting.

In one article Ringmar (2006) discusses how the different points of view over the War in Iraq could be summarized as different stories. The dialogue among these stories becomes inter-textual communication. As the interpretations of the conflict are articulated as narrative types, Ringmar shows how disagreements could be reduced to the incommensurability of the plot characterizations. In addition to that, the second aim of the article is to establish how the choice of a given plot is not

depending only to the author, but it's a reflection of his cultural and social background. The final step concerned Ringmar's considerations about the possibility of avoiding or solving narrative disagreements. In the conclusions he remarks how disagreements are not necessarily negative as they point out different perspectives on the same fact.

I also find inspiring the article by Martin Hall concerning the comparison among the Christian myth of Satan, Harry Potter and realism. His initial assumption is that some concepts, like anarchy, have acquired the status of myth in the "narration" of the international relations that the realist thinking has given us⁷ (Hall 2007, pp. 178-179). Hall argues that resemblances of the structure of the myth of Satan in Christianity can be found both in the realist thinking and in many fantastic genres, such as Harry Potter. Hall particularly focuses on demonstrating that both the realist narration of international relations and the tragic characterization of Harry Potter follow the same steps. Those three are: the recognition of a state of affairs (wizard world or international system of sovereign states); the condensation of the source of evil (Voldemort or the rise of an imperial power); and the struggle (Harry and Voldemort or the security dilemma). This comparison is used to clarify that since myths are paradigmatic truths (ibid, p.191), the articulation of a story along the lines of "civilization defining myths" improve its credibility, authority and truth claiming power. This is not to state that realist thinking was shaped on purpose on the myth of Satan, but that its resemblance with it made its fortune as a powerful explanatory tool in IR.

Another example of the use of narratives in IR comes from John Mearsheimer who in 2001 has written the book "The Tragedy of Great Power Politics". Mearsheimer argues that the struggles in the international arena are tragic, and he underlines the inevitability of war and conflict in Great Power politics. He argues that the plot characterization of the international relation has a tragic line. He uses narratives, specifically the classical narrative type of tragedy, to frame the story of great power politics in a coherent and universal manner. As a realist he implies that the security dilemma, in which the great powers are trapped, and the consequences in the escalation of tension among different powers truly characterize the relations among states as tragic (Payne 2007).

⁷ In this particular respect Hall draws from Cynthia Weber's observations. By myth here is meant something that does not need to be explained or justified, because it's natural and its existence is taken for granted. In classical realist thinking anarchy is the *natural* condition of the international system deriving from sovereignty, and such a characterization determines the behavior of the states. (Hall 2007)

Payne (2007) and Samhat (2007) in particular draw on Mearsheimer's work to attempt a redefinition of the way in which international relations were portrayed. As in Mearsheimer's book the narration of the happenings in the international system necessarily had to be tragic, the scholars suggest the re-articulation of such stories with a different plot characterization. Their articles aim at changing what was often portrayed as "tragic, embedded in fear, possessing a gloomy destiny" (Payne 2007, pp. 4-5) into comedies, or satires (ibid, p.3). Their work is oriented towards the comparison between the historical characterization (typical of realist thinking) of the international relations as tragic and a possible reframing of the latter as comedic or satiric. Their reasoning speculates on the fact that a direct reframing of the story telling in IR implies a different definition of key concepts of the language such as, anarchy or sovereignty. In both the articles, Payne and Samhat underline the elements of satire and comedy that could be made use of in describing international relations.

I do not aim at defining a unifying plot characterization for the discipline of IR (as Mearsheimer, Payne and Samhat do), nor at constructing a comparison between a specific IR theory, a myth and a plot characterization (Hall). Rather I intend to create a methodology based on White's work enriched by a limited use of Propp's functional analysis to analyze international relations. The modes of emplotment and the functional analysis are brought together to create a new methodological tool, which is meant to operate over the texts produced by politicians on the Nord Stream pipeline. It follows that this paper contributes to previous IR discussion on narrative analysis, firstly, by bringing together the structural English School and a specific narrative analysis. Secondly, as already mentioned, this paper draws from Ringmar's use of the classical narrative types to describe and articulate the political debates on a specific issue (the Nord Stream pipeline) to build a methodology that is meant to disclose the meanings existing prior to the texts. Therefore the narrative analysis carried in this paper serves as a methodological tool to combine the concepts of the structural English School with the findings in the different texts.

3.1.3. Narrative Analysis

One possible way to approach narrative analysis is to focus on the verb "interpret" which Umberto Eco defines as "...to interpret means to react to the text of the world or the world of the text by producing other texts...The problem is not to challenge the old idea that the world is a text which

can be interpreted, but rather to decide whether it has a fixed meaning, many possible meanings or none at all” (Eco cit. Czarnawska 2004, p. 60). The significance of this quotation for the paper relates to the interpretation of the “world of text”.

The construction of the Nord Stream pipeline is not a simple fact which results from the building of two pipelines under the Baltic Sea area. It represents the centre around which stories in the area are told: narrations of its necessity or of its harmfulness. Those emerge from political speeches, texts which contain the divergent interpretations of the pipeline given by the different political actors, readers and authors. The Nord Stream pipeline project can thus be examined as a text which produces other texts as a reaction. The tools provided by narrative analysis will help to identify the meanings, present in the different texts. Those meanings need to be interpreted to make sense of the political reality. In order to do that the concepts of the structural English School will be used as an interpretative tool, which enables disclosing the features of the social tissue.

The approaches to narrative analysis have different roots, going from German hermeneutics to Russian formalism passing through French structuralism. What ties them all together is the concern and major focus oriented towards the text rather than the authors: texts as such are then the core of the form of analysis (Czarnawska 2004, pp. 61-64). The concerns over the intentions or the point of view of the author are secondary to the general features of the text. However texts are not thought of as detached products of an author. They reflect systemic features which existed prior to their production. The access to these meaning is granted by the analysis of the texts produced about the Nord Stream pipeline: the texts are the key to reveal these structural features I look for. The focus of the study is not to seek the personal intentions of a specific author. Rather, I will reflect upon the influence of the social surroundings of the produced text. I presuppose that individuals, as part of the society in which they live, possess common patterns which they inevitably pass on to the texts they produce. Texts are then a reflection of the structural surroundings of the author. I will come back to this important point in the following pages.

This approach presupposes that politics, with definitions of objectives, claims, means and purposes, also consists of stories: for instance statements or public declarations of war fit in this category. It follows that plots are contained in these texts as the facts or the concepts expressed are not

a simple chronological account but they possess political meanings. In addition to that the story teller (politician, Prime Minister, and so forth...) is providing us with a text in which his/her “interpretation of the world” is contained. More importantly the understanding of the world which emerges in the texts is not personal and peculiar but social. What politicians express in texts is the fruit of cultural and social circumstances. Erik Ringmar (2006) emphasizes how in the texts or speeches produced by political actors concerning the war in Iraq, different and often divergent plots and stories could be found. The heterogeneous positions expressed by the Prime Ministers were developed and expressed in their declarations about the war. Each side was telling us a story concerning the reasons why the war in Iraq was a fair or an unfair deed: in most of the cases these stories were deeply differing from one another. At the same time the structures of narration appeared to be specific and of a finite number. These specific paths of narrations are as well a cultural widely shared pattern and therefore they reduce the cognitive and interpretative understanding of the texts to universally intelligible plot characterizations⁸. This means that all the possible narrations of the war could be understood or interpreted in the light of one of the four classical narrative types (romance, tragedy, comedy and satire). These four different paths of narration could lead to extremely different conclusions (the war as a due act, or as tragic event and so forth), even though they were narrating the same fact. In addition Ringmar argued that those narratives were a social and cultural product rather than a free choice of the story teller: it follows that analyzing how and why the war was articulated in one of those narratives types grants us an insight into the society we wish to look at. The condition of a finite and specific number of narrative types allows us to speculate on all stories, bringing them back to the classical types, to which they inevitably relate.

In this type of analysis different plots, with almost “incommensurable” functions of the characters do not simply imply competing “points of view”. They rather state opposite basic beliefs and cognitive comprehensions of reality, while on the other hand the presence of similar stories is revealed: those stories share plots and hence conceptualizations of the War. In the article by Ringmar it emerges how these opposite beliefs and values determine the contents of the speeches: the political declarations articulate the war in Iraq in different terms depending on the kind of “understanding of the world” that

⁸ In his article Ringmar refers to the fact that even though the classical narrative types belong originally to the Greek tradition, and by extension to the Western culture, their use has spread worldwide. From this follows that the articulation of a narration in one these four types is universally intelligible and therefore it can be used as instrument to categorize all sorts of narration. (Ringmar 2006, p.3)

is socially accepted in the cultural environment of the author (Ringmar 2006, pp. 1-3). Beliefs shared values, norms and institutions exist then *a priori* and are reflected in the texts, by argumentations, statements and comments. This relationship between what is expressed in a text and the cultural societal tissue in which the contents that characterize the text are developed allows me to reflect upon the patterns of a society (composed by individuals or by collective units).

I work on the basis of the assumption that there is an analogy between the conceptualizations of the war in Iraq and the narrations that the politicians are creating about the Nord Stream. From this follows that in the Baltic Sea area texts are produced as a reaction to the construction of the pipeline. The politicians (ministers and officials of the states belonging to the area) are producing texts and stories which can be understood referring to the classical four narrative types. It follows that these texts will be regarded not primarily as a personal and free choice of the author, but as a socially and culturally rooted products. The societal and cultural tissue of the authors will be reflected in their texts. The shared values and beliefs, determine the contents of the texts which revolve around the construction of the pipelines. The societal tissue and its peculiarities can be then determined by analyzing the texts which politicians produce while debating over the pipeline. The structural English School's concepts of the international society and the primary institutions, will clarify the quality of the tissue and its thickness: what is shared and what is not.

The methodological approach needs now to be explained in detail. The logic of the analysis and the empirical part will be combined in the following pages. Let us first have a look at the tools the method provides us with, in order to explain further analytical steps.

3.1.4. Hayden White and the ways of emplotment

Hayden White dealt with historiography and the process of "history(ies)-making" where the emplotment (the art of giving a plot) takes place. He studied the relation between the formation of history and the way in which historians made sense of it in their attempt to explain it. White argues that this process is culturally based and that it follows certain paths which are of a finite number. These paths built on the ancient Greek classical narrative modes. In my paper I will draw from White's

concept of emplotment and from the four different types of plots he derives: romance, tragedy, comedy, satire (White 1975).

Romance is mostly centered on a single character and it often takes the form of a quest in which the “hero” has to go through perilous fights and along dangerous paths while facing the forces of evil. The confrontation between the hero and the “villain” is a metaphor of the battle between good and evil, and it can take place in various forms. This kind of plot has a linear structure since the journey will eventually lead towards the victory of the hero. Once he has regained what was lost at the beginning of the story the hero ends up in triumph. (Ringmar 2006, pp. 2-4)

Tragedy is characterized by the presence of the forces of nature and its laws, which again can take different forms. Those forces (such as fate) are naturally hostile to humankind, which has to struggle to achieve relief from them. The figure of the hero might be present in a tragedy but his fights have another connotation compared to the romance. The structure of the narration is circular and the struggles of the hero often have negative outcomes. He is often mistaken and his actions lead him to be cursed by the laws of nature or society. No reward is in sight and there is no final triumph. The unachievable task is then a metonymy of the hero’s fate. Time’s flow and narrative structure are circular: evil forces will not be defeated eventually and the efforts to change one’s own fate are in vain. (ibid)

Comedy has to be seen as the narrative type of misunderstandings, where from the very beginning an unpleasant situation or the frustrated whims of the main character are at the core of the focus. Essentially built on twists of plot, comedy narrates the passage from one society (or state of being) to another, better and more desirable. The humorous ingredient is given by the twists themselves and the characters working within it. Usually two types of personages are present; those pushing for a positive turn and those obstructing it. Since characters, human beings, are then meant in the end to harmonize with the whole, comedy represents a synecdoche. Time proceeds linearly as the narrative structure: their flow is arrow-type. (ibid)

Satire is typically the mode where irony rules, and as a consequence of that the main characters and functions of the other modes are reversed or ridiculed. For this reason Ringmar has

defined it a “parasitic mode” (Ringmar 2006, p. 5). Satire “deconstructs” or subverts the hierarchies of the other modes, and it does not only do so to the plot, which is then turned upside down, but also to the characters, which drastically change their roles. The main target of this deconstruction is romance, which is reverted and its hierarchies are then as a consequence twisted. The aim of achieving a complete twist is pursued with the use of absurd logic, which is implied in a reversed plot. Hero is often then ridiculed as his quests are poked fun at (Ibid.).

3.1.5. The limited use of Vladimir Propp and functional analysis

Vladimir Propp was a Russian formalist who dedicated his studies to the classification of Russian Folktales. His claim and major point was the “uniformity of all the fairy tales in their structure” (Alker 1996, p. 274). His work started as an attempt to classify and describe the components of the different fairy tales in order to be able to draw common patterns and common possible developments. In his famous book, *Morphology of the Folktale*, he develops a method of classification which is basically consisting of two main parameters: the dramatis personae and the functions.

Propp developed an analysis which is based on the study of different Russian folk tales. His point was that it is possible to trace common characters with similar function, in relation to the plot, for the different Russian folk tales. Similarly when it is possible I aim at pointing out the similar functions and the dramatis personae in the text that I analyze. By doing so it is possible to deepen the analysis made with the help of the concept of enplotment. In this study I mainly draw from three characters (hero, villain and helper) and one function villainy. These categories are used to ask question on the characters of the stories collected from the Baltic Sea area. My argument is that the text collected can be classified as romances, tragedies, comedies or satires. Furthermore, by reflecting over the four roles and the function of villainy of the stories’ main actors, it is possible to identify the key plots that the stories are made up of and, on this basis, to characterize the regional international society with the help of the English School concepts. I therefore do not use Propp dogmatically, I do only borrow from him some of the characters and one specific function as this help the methodological analysis.

So far I have been describing the methodological tools which I make use of. I mainly use White's work, while borrowing when possible some of Propp's *dramatis personae*. The next section of the chapter aims at linking the context of the primary sources (political speeches interpreted as stories) to the methodology itself. Furthermore the section illustrates how the narrative analysis on the primary sources is able to extract those key stories I need to answer the research question. Firstly a preliminary step has to be taken in the direction of introducing the "inquired material": the social tissue of the Baltic Sea area.

3.2. STRUCTURE OF THE ANALYSIS

3.2.1. Social tissue, where stories grow

As argued and quoted elsewhere (Ringmar 2006) politics and therefore international relations can be seen as story telling and inter-textual dialogues. As a consequence of that plots can be traced in speeches, declarations and official documents. Those plots are not simply invented or created independently from the cultural and social context, as Ringmar puts it: "... although stories may have a material or an institutional base, it is clear that they draw heavily for their shape and content, on the cultural presuppositions of the societies in which they originate"(Ringmar 2006, p. 3).

These cultural presuppositions are both inherent to the society and to the individual parts of it. The particular cultural properties of an individual or of a collective unit have endogenous and exogenous elements. The endogenous elements originate from the personal set of values of the individual, while the exogenous ones derive from the society where the individual lives.

The level in which the social parameters are shared by the other individuals composing a given society is shown by the extent to which norms, institutions and beliefs are commonly accepted and internalized. The more a norm is internalized, the harder it will be to classify as socially acceptable a behavior that endangers the respect for the norm. The deeper a value is shared, the stronger will be the compulsions to act according to it. The behavior and the roles of individuals in a society are then

also given by their acceptance or rejection of the societal parameters. This point is relevant for my thesis as I seek to reconstruct the social parameters of the society in the Baltic Sea area, starting from the stories concerning the Nord Stream pipeline. I presuppose that the stories are determined by the social and cultural components existing a priori, and this is the reason I look at the former (stories) to find out about the latter (social parameters or social tissue). However the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline might reveal some new feature.

The common acceptance or rejection of specific societal parameters is peculiar to a given society: the degree to which given norms or values are shared portrays the society and its social tissue. How “solidarist” is the behavior of the members to each other and to which extent? What kind of behavior is accepted and which one is rejected or stigmatized? Answers to these questions can be used to describe the character of the social tissue within which individuals act. In order to gain access to the social tissue in the Baltic Sea area, I make use of narrative analysis of the texts that the selected states produce. I will retrieve the shared norms, values and beliefs by looking at the speeches, declarations and documents regarding the Nord Stream pipeline. What will emerge with the help of narrative analysis from the documents will be then connected to those norms, values and beliefs.

In the Baltic Sea area the stories concerning the Nord Stream pipeline not only narrate the construction of the pipeline, but disclose what is shared and what is not. In other words stories are “culturally available explanations of institutions, systems and relationships” (Patterson & Monroe 1998, p. 317). This research is framed within the structural English School theory and I will reveal the social tissue on which stories grow, by reflecting over those same stories, their plots and the functions of their characters. This study is lead by the reconvened concept of international society to the results of the methodological procedure. The results of the methodological procedure are then framed within the structural English School concepts⁹. The theoretical analysis then will provide this research with answers to the research question.

The primary sources for the narrative analysis are the speeches, declarations and documents that ministers and officials have released while discussing the pipeline. In this study the Nord Stream pipeline is regarded at as a catalyst. The pipeline prompts the creation of documents in

9 This is done in chapter 4.

which stories are traceable and therefore a narrative analysis can be carried out. The aim is to inquire into whether there are hegemonic¹⁰ stories in the national narrations of the Nord Stream pipeline: i.e. to determine which ones are more abundant and which are their distinct patterns. This is done by listing the most recurrent plot characterizations of the Nord Stream pipeline. I apply his scheme to each speech from the countries involved and then move on to characterize the Baltic Sea region with the help of the conceptual apparatus of the reconvened English School.

The following paragraph describes the methodology: the logic of the procedure and steps of the inquiry are shown with their relevance to the analysis. The tools provided by White and Propp will be explained and applied in the light of the methodological procedure, afterwards the primary sources will be analyzed.

3.2.2. The analysis of the primary sources: construction of the method, logic and procedure

The object of inquiry is the social tissue of the Baltic Sea area. In order to characterize it I use the reconvened concept of international society. The project of the Nord Stream pipeline functions as a catalyst by causing reactions from the countries in the area which take the form of stories. This enables me to inquire into the social tissue framing it with the concept of international society.

In this study I mainly focus on six countries: Estonia, Finland, Germany, Poland, Russia and Sweden (see chapter 1). To briefly sum up the reasons are mainly two. On the one hand the scope and the nature of this study remain limited and in order not to render the analysis excessively wide and inconsistent the number of the studied countries must be circumscribed. The second reason draws from the consideration that not all the positions over the pipeline are that meaningful to the case or add something peculiar. The choice of the countries aimed then at achieving consistency with the above mentioned points. As a consequence the countries chosen are those with a more relevant position regarding the Nord Stream pipeline. This is determined by focusing on namely two parameters: their energy interdependence and the political relevance of their statements. Denmark for instance is almost independent from external energy sources, and the same can be stated for Norway. On the other hand,

¹⁰ The adjective hegemonic refers to a qualitative abundance and not directly to the more specific Gramscian meaning. From the documents some key stories are more abundant than others, as certain elements are more recurrent than others.

the positions of Latvia and Lithuania are not extremely relevant due to their not meaningful dependence on external sources of energy and to the similarities of arguments with the Estonians' ones (Aalto 2007b). For the latter reason the analysis of their texts would not add much to the overall study on the qualitatively speaking.

The methodology is divided in three procedural steps from the primary sources to the concepts of the reconvened English School: a) the analysis of the texts; b) the collection of the key stories in each of them and, when possible, the limited use of Propp's functional analysis; c) the theoretical analysis of the findings with the help of the structural English School concepts. Chapter 4 deals specifically with the first two steps, which are meant to disclose the stories within the primary sources. Each step is characterized by a different analytical moment: *abduction*, *deduction* and *induction*. Each of these stages respectively deepens the analysis on the texts, underlines the key stories and leads towards the concepts of the structural English School.

The first step is a preliminary reflection over the research materials. This is meant to provide me with initial hypotheses as I use the ways of emplotment to address each text. The materials are looked at and at a preliminary glance are characterized as tragic, romantic, comedic or satiric. This is the abductive moment and it is meant to direct the further analysis by producing questions. The initial conceptualization of the pipeline in one of the four modes provided by White stimulates the formulation of further questions. For instance: Why is the passage a tragedy (or comedy and so forth)? What makes it a tragedy (or a comedy and so on)?

In order to answer these questions I will make use, in some cases, of the functional analysis provided by Propp. I draw partially from Propp and his functional parameters but this will not be done dogmatically: I use the *dramatis personae* of the hero, the villain, the helper and the function of villainy. This will point out different functions of the personages in the texts by prompting questions as: Who or what is the hero? Who is the villain? What the villainy? This is the deductive moment and it is needed in order to move to the level of politics. In each passage the political elements might emerge as to address, villains, heroes and so forth. The characters and their functions, when clearly remarkable, are placed in the scheme provided in figure 3.1. The key stories of each passage are here underlined. The key stories are general and wider arguments to which the content of the passages can be related.

The last step is the inductive moment in which I make sense of the findings by linking them to the concepts of the structural English School. This is the inductive moment, and I deal with this last step of the analysis in chapter 5. As argued by Ringmar, pure forms of narrations or unique elements are hard to find: i.e. a pure tragic narration will not likely appear and the same applies for comedy and so forth (2006, pp. 2-4). On the other hand the different key stories for each country are then referred to the different elements characterizing the social tissue: shared values, interests and norms for instance. Let us have a look at the example.

Finland considers the project [the Nord Stream pipeline] a way of improving energy security in Europe. The pipeline in itself is a safe way of conveying gas, but we want — and indeed our legislation requires — that all environmental factors involved in the project will be carefully studied. When Finland decides on whether to allow the use of her sea areas, the decisions will be based on environmental factors (Halonen 2008a).

I conceptualize the text as a romance which can turn into a tragedy. In this speech Tarja Halonen¹¹ depicts the construction of the pipeline as a “safe way of conveying gas” while at the same time she is asking for consideration for the “environmental factors”. Halonen argues that if the environmental factors are satisfactorily met, Finland will not object the use of her sea area. Firstly Halonen’s passage is articulated on the importance of the energy security, which I then call key story. Halonen acknowledges the importance of the supply of gas that the Nord Stream would guarantee. This supply of gas would be beneficial for the whole Europe. Secondly Halonen remarks in her passage, the importance of the environmental factors, which the Nord Stream has to comply with. “Environmental factors” is the second key story of the passage. While the provision of energy prosperity allows to conceive the construction of the pipeline as romantic, the possibility of threats for the environment might turn the narration towards a more tragic characterization. The analysis of the passage revealed the key stories of energy security and environmental factors. This procedure is repeated in the following chapter for all the passages collected. I now proceed to work on the corpus of the sources. I

11 This speech “Our common Baltic Sea region, future challenges” was given by the current President of the Finnish Republic (Tarja Halonen) in Hamburg, Germany on the 8th 2008.

examine a country at the time and those are listed alphabetically. In the next chapter I go through the first two steps of the methodological procedure a) and b), respectively the analysis of the texts and the collection of the key stories. Finally I unfold the inductive moment of the analysis in chapter 5.

4. HEROES, VILLAINS AND THE NORD STREAM PIPELINE: FROM THE TEXTS TO THE STORIES

This chapter tackles the analysis on the primary sources. The method and the methodological procedure unfolded in chapter 3 are applied to the texts and passages collected from the countries. The chapter is divided in two sections. In the first one I present the texts and the relative analysis carried on for each of them. The passages are grouped for each country and the order in which the countries are listed is alphabetical. This section develops the analysis according to its first two stages: a) analysis of the texts and b) collection of the key stories and their characters. The second section of the chapter deals with the systematic collection of the key stories and their characters in order to prepare the ground for the step in which theory, method and analysis are combined (which is carried in chapter 5).

4.1. TEXTS AND STORIES OF THE BALTIC SEA AREA

4.1.1. Estonia

This section begins with the analysis of the Estonian texts all of which describe the construction of the pipeline in somewhat tragic terms. Located in the south part of the Gulf of Finland, Estonia is also rather involved in the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline. As a matter of fact since 2007 the Nord Stream AG has attempted the survey of the Estonian maritime economic seabed. The reactions on the Estonian side have been mostly negative to such a request. The main point in neglecting the survey was “protecting the Estonian natural resources” (Reuters 2007a). Environmental concerns were raised along with those connected to the seabed (Tere 2009). Both these points (see also Kisel 2007, Liiv 2009) can be seen by the passage from Urmas Paet, Estonian Foreign Minister:

[Estonia] would like to see that also the alternative on mainland will be researched. Nord Stream AG, owned by Russian energy monopoly Gazprom, the German Wintershall and E.ON and the Dutch Nederlandse Gasunie, did not

want to investigate a real alternative overland and the Baltic pipeline could affect the fragile sea in a devastating manner. For us with Nord Stream there is one big problem or question mark and it is environmental one. Because actually we don't understand why the Nord Stream company didn't analyze or research a real alternative and a real alternative should be on the mainland because the Baltic Sea is a very fragile sea environment (Paet 2008a).

In this passage Paet argues that the construction of the pipeline would have “devastating” consequences. The seabed is described as an endangered area because of critical environmental condition. The Nord Stream is then a threat for the environment. In addition the constructors are depicted clearly as villains for their refusal to look for other solutions, less impacting on the environment. In particular Paet refers to a mainland alternative which, as he argues, would be a better solution to preserve the environment of the Baltic Sea. In this passage the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline is described as villainy against the environment. The key story embedded in this passage is: “the fragility of the Baltic Sea”. This is because the passage revolves on the necessity of preserving a fragile environment, such as the Baltic Sea. Paet in another article expresses his opinion concerning the Nord Stream in very similar terms.

From our point of view, we are not against that there would be new pipelines from Russia to Europe, but with this concrete pipeline we still like to see that also the alternative on mainland will be researched. This construction is going to be very huge; it is more than 1000-kilometres-long and, of course, this kind of big construction in the sea, which is very fragile, has also an influence over the sea environment.(Paet 2008b)

The construction itself, due to the projected route, and the dimensions of the pipeline itself pose a potential threat to the environment. Once again Paet refers to the fragility of the Baltic Sea environment. This is the point on which Paet seems to articulate the construction of the pipeline. Paet also suggest again that a mainland alternative would be a better solution for the Estonian counterpart. An onshore pipeline would grant better chances to Estonia in terms of fees on the transported gas. As can be inferred from other passages (for instance, Socor 2007) Estonia and other countries would rather

favor a route which would involve their territories, as from that it would derive the possibility of gaining transit fees for the Russian gas. Paet affirms that Estonia is against the pipeline as it is now just due to its offshore character. In addition the emphasis is put on the fact that Estonia would not object new pipelines from Russia to Europe. The key story here is again: “the fragility of the Baltic Sea”.

The articulation of the discontent in regard of the pipeline has also other connotations. Paet states that the environment and the relative Baltic seabed are not the only reasons for the Estonian doubts.

Why do they want a pipeline which could affect the Baltic in an unpredictable manner? The prevailing view in Estonia is that the only reason why the pipeline has been planned to run underwater is to avoid cooperation with certain European countries, such as Poland, Lithuania, and the other Baltic states. Routing plans were made for so long among few states. The Baltic countries and Poland were kept outside the negotiations for a long time, even though they are coastal states on the Baltic Sea. (Paet 2007)

The effects of the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline are said to be “unpredictable” for the whole Baltic Sea area. In addition the Nord Stream pipeline represents the violation of the principle of cooperation as most of the countries were kept outside of it. This represents the villainy of the undertaking. Therefore Russia and Germany are implicitly represented as villains. The passage implicitly refers to the possibility of renewing the already existing pipelines, Brotherhood and Yamal Europe, which the construction of Nord Stream endangers. These two pipelines are passing by the countries mentioned in the passage. Paet refers to the fact that the agreements for the Nord Stream project were made between Germany and Russia without involving other European countries. Furthermore this is done on purpose. This fact is negative as cooperation is violated where it should be stronger, among the European countries. This articulation seems to blame mostly Germany, as European country. These considerations lead me to name the key story in this passage: “lack of consultation among European countries”.

The President of Estonia had the chance as well to discuss the topic of the Nord Stream. This passage is taken from his speech released in Kiev on the 23rd of May 2008.

The European Union must speak about energy issues with one voice and act as a common target market, only then is it possible to resist the attempts of any country to use energy supplies to increase their political profile. Nord Stream and South Stream, the new gas lines offered by Russia, are new supply channels, but do not help us to diversify our suppliers and thereby increase energy security. The main alternative to Russia in guaranteeing the stability of the energy supply for Europe is supplies from the Caspian Region. (Ilves 2008)

In this passage the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline has both tragic and romantic connotations. The Nord Stream pipeline and the South Stream are seen as tools of Russia to “increase its political profile”. This is an act of villainy as it weakens the European Union and its possibility to diversify its suppliers and increase energy security. This is the common goal, according to Ilves, that the European Union has. In this passage the source of potential tragedy lies in the fact that Russia might use the Nord Stream and the South Stream as tools to increase its political power. It might do so by improving its “control” over the European energy sources. This makes Russia a villain, in the interpretation of Ilves. On the other hand, the energy supplies from the Caspian Region (helpers able to turn the tragedy into romance) would serve to operate towards this goal granting the story with a romantic spin and avoiding Russia to increase its power over the European Union. In particular here is important to notice when Ilves refers to how the European Union should act and speak with “one voice”, by doing so Ilves implies that the European Union does not do so in the question of the energy supplies and more specifically of the Nord Stream. I therefore name the key story in this passage “division of the European Union”, as Ilves refers to the lack of common voice and action among the European Union members.

More recently President Ilves has addressed again the problems he claims the Nord Stream would represent in terms of energy security. He has done so at the Munich Security Conference in 2009, and besides addressing the specific security-related issues shown above he stated in this passage:

The real question for both South Stream and Nord Stream is really how we inject some parity into this dependency. Specifically, we would allocate large EU structural funds for a project that fundamentally violates EU competition rules, in American English, EU anti-trust legislation. The technical term in Eurospeak is “bundling“, i.e. when ownership of supply and distribution is one and the same. When it comes to energy unbundling, however, national interests prevail, with dire consequences for our security. Massive EU funding is sought for a project that by its nature violates EU competition policy with a country that on January once again showed, is quite willing to use energy as a foreign policy tool. (Ilves 2009a)

This passage depicts the Nord Stream pipeline with satirical traits. About the dependency on Russia and how to deal with it (see also Ilves 2008, 2009a and 2009b). The elements of satire derive from Ilves’s use of terms to underline and deconstruct contradictions in the motivations behind the pipeline. If the pipeline is built the European Union would be the villain's helper, while Russia “willing to use energy as a foreign policy tool” is the villain of the story. Ilves argues again that the “energy unbundling” and more generally in the energy policy of the European Union, the national interests prevail, preventing the European Union itself to speak or act with one voice. This division among the European countries causes contradictions (the Nord Stream pipeline which violates the EU competition policy), and makes European countries subject to the Russian “foreign policy tool”. I therefore call the key story in this passage “division of the European Union”.

4.1.2. Finland

In chapter 3 I offered a quick glance at one of Halonen's speeches (Halonen 2008a). In that speech Halonen referred to the Nord Stream as to a potential romance and as a potential tragedy. The romantic conceptualization was deriving from the possibility of energy prosperity, which is indeed profitable and convenient to all. On the other hand, the possibility of ecological disaster was still inherent to the construction of the pipeline as well as the call for the constructors to meet the environmental standards. President Halonen has remarked a similar position in other circumstances as when she declared:

This is an ecological question, not a political one. We say ‘yes’ to the pipeline and no to ecological threats. If the latter can be avoided, we will support the pipeline. (Halonen 2007a)

Halonen emphasizes that Finland does not oppose the construction of the pipeline because it is not a political issue and therefore allows it to have a romantic and positive ending. In fact by not putting accent on a potential political debate, Halonen is affirming the Finnish positive view of the pipeline. On the other hand the possibility of the tragedy is there, as the ecological threats must be avoided. I call the key story here “environmental threat”. Environment is the object to be preserved and the one that might turn the key story in a romance or in a tragedy.

The accent on the environmental related issue is also stressed by Heidi Hautala, member of the Finnish Parliament:

Finland has always taken an active position on Nord Stream. Therefore it did not close its eyes to all the shortcomings of the project. The shortcomings are as follows: the underwater topography in the Gulf is not simple. But in addition to this, Russia needs to ratify the Espoo Convention. Without such ratification there is no reliable framework within which environmental questions can be discussed. (Hautala 2008a)

Hautala emphasizes the active position of Finland on the Nord Stream. This is not necessarily negative. However the shortcomings of the projects are impeding a romantic or comedic development. Hautala here stresses the importance of the two factors linked to each other. She highlights the value that the environment has for Finland. In addition to that she underlines the importance of the ratification of the Espoo Convention, which Russia has to comply with. In particular Hautala herself is fiercely opposing the construction of the pipeline (see also Hautala 2008b and 2008c). I name the key stories in this passage “environmental regulations” and “the fragility of the Baltic Sea”. The ratification of the Espoo convention is a key element in the passage and articulates what Hautala has expressed here. Furthermore she stresses the importance of the environment (when

she refers to the Gulf of the Baltic Sea and its topography) and by doing so she implies the fragility of the Baltic Sea. In Hautala's account Russia emerges as villain who has not ratified the Espoo Convention.

If Hautala has been critical of the Nord Stream project, a mildly positive position in favor of the Nord Stream was taken by Finnish Foreign Minister, Alexander Stubb. In occasion of a meeting with his Latvian counterpart he released the following declaration:

The European Union might need the Nord Stream gas pipeline planned to run under the Baltic Sea from Russia to Germany. Europe needed an energy mix including gas, nuclear and other options to ensure supplies. I say we need Nabucco, I say we need South Stream and I say that at the end of the day we might also need Nord Stream. Politically we are not blocking the Nord Stream and our approach to it is a positive one (Stubb 2009).

It is difficult to classify this passage as either a comedy, tragedy, satire or romance. Stubb emphasizes that the Nord Stream is needed by the European Union. The pipeline is narrated in the wider discourse of diversification of energy sources. Stubb places the Nord Stream as one project which could contribute to such a security, together with the Nabucco and the South Stream¹². These three projects are all in accordance to the aim of granting Europe with energy of supplies. In this sense, the passage contains romantic elements as it paints a picture of the European Union, the energy needs of which are well served by a variety of pipelines. Interestingly Stubb does not frame Nabucco and the South Stream as alternatives to each other but as complementary projects. As these projects would serve to provide "energy security", this is name of the key story.

Furthermore Stubb highlights what he believes the role of Nord Stream pipeline might be in the wider Euro-Russian energy interdependence debate. He suggests that:

12 The Nabucco and the South Stream are two different pipelines which are under consideration at the moment being. The South Stream would connect Turkey (and Russian Gas) to Italy and therefore the South of Europe (Aalto 2007). The Nabucco project would imply a pipeline linking Georgia to Austria, bypassing Russian supplies (Nabucco Pipeline, 2009).

Seventy-five percent of the Russian energy market is in Europe, so who is more dependent on who? Gas going to Germany is as important as gas going to Latvia and the Nord Stream project could be one part of the solution. My feeling is very strongly that the crisis we witnessed at the beginning of the year with Russia and Ukraine should provide impetus for a common European energy policy. I'm not talking about determining energy sources but it should be our next big project. (Ibid)

It is difficult to address this passage with pure characterizations (romantic, tragic and so forth). There are elements of a tragic and of a romantic spin. The interpretation of the Nord Stream as a helper –part of the solution- enabling the European Union in attaining its energy security is supported by this passage. These are the romantic features. According to it the pipeline is not only important in order to reduce the shortage of supplies to Latvia and Germany but it is framed within the wider context of a common European energy policy. However elements of a potential tragedy are present in the passage as Stubb refers to the Russo-Ukrainian crisis in which gas supplies destined to European market were taken on the Ukrainian line of Brotherhood¹³. Nord Stream is then an important tool (a helper) that might help in addressing wider issues (such as avoiding crises).

Furthermore, Stubb challenges the interpretation of the European Union as dependent on Russian energy sources: Russia and Europe are depicted as mutually needing each other (interdependent). Thus he challenges the interpretation of the Nord Stream pipeline as an act of villainy on the part of Russia. To this respect he seems to suggest that Nord Stream pipeline could be part of the solution to the problem of granting gas supplies (to Germany or even to Latvia). Stubb emphasizes the need to reduce the dependency of the European Union on Russian energy sources, both at the level of perception (by reminding how Russia is dependent on EU energy market) and factually by highlighting the need for diversification. In addition to that Stubb strongly underlines the need for a common European energy policy. This concept is derived from the reference to the Russo-Ukrainian gas crisis. I name the key story of the passage: “European common energy policy”.

13 The Brotherhood pipeline links Russian market with Central Europe, passing by Ukraine. Due to unpaid bills, Gazprom cut off the supplies of gas that were destined to Ukraine in 2006. As retaliation Ukraine took part of the gas which was meant to go to the European countries (Aalto 2007).

4.1.3. Germany

The Nord Stream AG is a company which was created by the joint venture of Gazprom and two German companies, BASF/Wintershall and E.ON Ruhrgas¹⁴. It follows the direct economical and political German interest regarding the construction of the pipeline. This interest and the necessity for the construction of the pipeline were remarked in an official document in 2006¹⁵. In this report, withstanding all the possible issues deriving from the construction of the pipeline, it was stated that the possibility to withdraw from it “should be abandoned” (Fine-Kaper 2006). More recently the speeches from the German Chancellor Angela Merkel have stressed the necessity of the pipeline, especially considering the wider perspective of the European energy security (see Merkel 2007, 2009a and 2009b). In occasion of the first official visit that Mr. Medvedev had in Germany, Mrs. Merkel and the President of the Russian Federation released a common press conference where the Nord Stream was discussed:

Economic cooperation can bring advantages especially in the energy context... We [Germany] will support the cooperation on the energy sector and the cooperation with Russia...We [Germany] support Euro-Russian cooperative patterns. ...We did not overcome yet all the problems concerning the Nord Stream. ...However we had to exclude some countries from this project just because the strategic meaning of the project should be also taken into account. ...We have a very good opportunity to deliver gas directly from Russia to Germany and both countries are interested in doing so. (Medvedev & Merkel 2009)

This passage contains a strong romantic characterization of the Nord Stream pipeline. The economical advantages are underlined and the importance of the market economy emerges as a consequence. The problems concerning the transit countries and the environmental concerns are presented as challenges yet to be overcome so as to realize the bigger goal. Merkel justifies the exclusion of some countries from the project. Merkel refers to the countries, like Poland which were

14 There is also the participation, with a smaller quote, of the Dutch company Gasunie (Nord Stream AG).

15 *The Foreign Policy Implications of the Nord Stream Pipeline* (Fine-Kaper 2006). This document was prepared for the German Government from the private Fine-Kaper (Osipov 2007).

kept out of the project. This discourse is linked to the choice of building an offshore pipeline like the Nord Stream, instead of investing on the already existing ones which are passing by Poland and other countries, to whom transit fees would have to be paid. This exclusion is articulated in the name of the wider process of economic and energy cooperation of which Nord Stream is clearly an important tool. The “strategic meaning” of the undertaking is also underlined. The choice to exclude other countries is then also linked to strategic reasons, such as to protect the national interest of Germany. Interestingly enough, the decision to avoid transit countries is characterized as a heroic undertaking due to the fact that it might bring considerable economical benefits to Germany, Russia and the European Union. That is, in order to fend off criticism against the bilateral character of the project, Russia and Germany are argued to work not only for their mutual advantage but for the wider common sake of the Euro-Russian cooperation. However the “common good” is achieved with the pursuit and the defense of the strategic purposes of the project. These considerations lead to characterize one of the key stories in this passage as “Euro-Russian economical cooperation” and the other one as “energy security”. The first key story relates to the fact that, in this passage, Merkel characterizes the Nord Stream within the wider Euro-Russian cooperative patterns. From this follows that the cooperation can be framed in the energy sector, and this would mutually benefit the parts (Germany, the European Union and Russia). The key story of the “energy security” derives from the use of natural gas (through the Nord Stream) to achieve the mutual benefit, and grant security of supply and demand of gas.

Similar arguments can be found, for instance, in the press release from Mr. Gloser, the German Minister for State of Europe, in Stockholm in April 2008.

In light of increasing demand and decreasing production levels in the North Sea, the secure supply of the Western European gas pipeline system requires additional routes of transport. The Nord Stream pipeline is essential to meet this goal; it was with good reason that, on 6 September 2006, in a joint decision of the European Council and the European Parliament, the pipeline received the status of a "Trans-European Network-Energy" project. (Gloser 2009)

According to Gloser the Nord Stream fulfills the need for the additional routes of transport for the Western Europe. Nord Stream is represented as a necessary tool in securing the supply

of gas to Western Europe as a result of which the whole project acquires some romantic connotations. Furthermore the legitimacy of the pipeline is argued to derive directly from the European Council and the European Parliament. The articulation of the pipeline's legitimacy is thus linked to the European institutions, which are supposedly granting the undertaking with an approval on the European level. In consequence, the construction of the pipeline by Russia and Germany emerges as a heroic deed undertaken in the name of the “energy security” for the European Union which can also be identified as the key story underpinning this passage.

In the same press release Mr. Gloser further talks about the Nord Stream pipeline, and this time addressing the specific doubts raised by other countries and underlining the position of Germany on this issue.

The construction of an offshore pipeline through the environmentally sensitive Baltic Sea presents a particular challenge. And all neighboring Baltic states are in agreement that existing environmental protection obligations must be strictly adhered to. I'd like to emphasize here that Germany takes these obligations extremely seriously. While the construction of an on-shore pipeline would probably be somewhat less expensive, the operating costs would be considerably higher, and the environmental balance during operations would clearly be negative, especially as a result of the emissions from the necessary compressor stations. Therefore, an offshore pipeline is the better alternative.
(Ibid)

In this passage, the construction of the pipeline and the necessity to withstand the environmental obligations are represented as difficulties to be overcome. The fact that “all” the Baltic states acknowledge the importance of the environmental factors bind also the constructors (Russia and Germany) which Gloser is implying. In particular he states how “seriously” Germany takes those obligations. The articulation of the passage is romantic, as it emerges from the fact that the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline is a “challenge” but still the “better alternative”. The main point of the passage is the consideration that the Nord Stream pipeline, might be a more expensive alternative to an onshore pipeline. However, argues Gloser, the Nord Stream pipeline is the safer solution for the environment of the Baltic Sea. From Gloser's words we can then infer how the care for the

environment and the respect for the environmental obligations are at the base of the German decision to proceed with the Nord Stream project. The care for the environment is expressed by the key story of the “fragility of the Baltic Sea”, which is a feature that forces the country to take care of the common sea. On the other hand Gloser also wanted to emphasize the importance of the environmental obligations, which is portrayed in the key story of “environmental regulations”.

4.1.4. Poland

In this paragraph I list the passages from Poland. The texts are collected from speeches released by Polish official or (former) ministers. The reactions and declarations concerning the pipeline start appearing immediately after the first official notification of the construction of the NP. Gazprom notifies via an official letter¹⁶ that the works for the pipeline will be initiated. In a public continuation of that letter Mr. Piotr Wozniak released to the press the following declaration. He emphasized the first Polish reaction to the project:

The Ministry of Economy confirms its previous assessment of threats caused by the projected construction of the Wyborg – Greifswald pipeline (the Nord Stream gas pipeline) through the Baltic Sea. The investment poses a serious threat to the Polish national security. It negatively affects inter alia the transit and supply of natural resources through the “Yamal” and “Braterstwo” gas pipelines as well as poses an environmental threat (Wozniak 2007b).

In this passage Wozniak’s conceptualization of the pipeline appears clearly as a tragedy. Its construction would cause “a threat to the Polish national security”. In addition the Nord Stream pipeline would also damage the other energy supplies that Poland uses and it poses a threat to the environment as well. As Wozniak implies, the construction of the Nord Stream would be dangerous for Polish national security as from its completion would derive a decrease of transit and supplies from the other pipelines. He refers to the fact that, as Yamal Europe is passing through Poland, the construction

¹⁶ I have collected the letter (Wozniak 2007a) sent as a reply to Mr. Matthias Warning of the Nord Stream AG. The former Polish Minister of Economy Mr. Piotr Wozniak (2005-2007) was asking for clarification regarding the route and the construction of the NP, claiming that the released document from Nord Stream AG at this respect was “Neither complementary nor accurate”.

of the Nord Stream pipeline would directly affect it. The route of the Nord Stream would bypass Poland, and therefore diminish its control over transit fees. As a consequence the first key story in the passage is the “national security”. Wozniak claims the importance for Poland of the respect of its national interest and security. On the other hand he also addresses the Nord Stream as a cause for a concrete “environmental threat”, which then is the name of the second key story. The second key story is related to the articulation of the construction of the Nord Stream as dangerous for the environment of the Baltic Sea. In the following passage, released by the same politician, the construction of the Nord Stream is also articulated as a danger for the Baltic ecosystem.

[Mr. Wozniak] emphasized that a large amount of sunk ammunitions dating back to the Second World War is located at the bottom of the Baltic Sea in the proximity of the Nord Stream gas pipeline which poses a serious threat to the Baltic ecosystem (Wozniak 2007c).

This second passage further emphasizes how the Nord Stream pipeline is conceptualized in the framework of villainy. Its construction would damage also the Baltic ecosystem. The key story on the basis of which the construction of the Nord Stream emerges is an act of villainy against the Sea itself. Here Wozniak refers to the environmentally related doubts which are surrounding the construction of the Nord Stream. He therefore calls the Nord Stream a threat for the Baltic ecosystem, it follows that the name of the key story of the passage is “environmental threat”.

Wozniak released another passage concerning the Nord Stream pipeline and the need for its constructors to obey to the regulation of Polish and international law.

The fact that the route of the gas pipeline passes through the Polish exclusive economic zone obliges Nord Stream AG to act in accordance with the provisions of the Polish law. Unless Nord Stream complies with all the regulations concerning the procedures under the Espoo Convention, inter alia, if the outcome of the environmental impact assessment is not positive, the construction of the gas pipeline will not commence (Wozniak 2007a).

Here the Nord Stream AG is also depicted as a potential villain: the passage speculates with the possibility that the company will not comply with the jointly formed regulations and will violate the principles of the rule of law (Polish law and Espoo convention). In this passage emerges the emphasis that Mr. Wozniak puts on the importance of the commonly accepted laws and norms. In addition to the recall for the respect of Polish law, Mr. Wozniak forecasts a potential villainy for not obeying to the regulations establish in the Espoo Convention¹⁷(see also Wozniak 2007d). The “environmental regulations” (among which we can place the Espoo Convention) is then the key of the passage.

The key story underpinning the passage can be narrated in both romantic and tragic tones. Mr. Wozniak’s speeches do not reveal too enthusiastic tones in favor of the pipeline. The narration itself, however, suggests that laws, rules and conventions are powerful as a respect of which there is a romantic element to the passage. The respect and obedience to norms and rules can turn a potential villain into a hero, changing the plot orientation. In a letter to the Financial Times, Sikorski directly addressed the consequences that the construction of the pipeline would have on the institutional level, (Sikorski 2007a). The former¹⁸ Polish Minister of the Defence Mr. Radek Sikorski, and current Minister of Foreign Affairs, has expressed all his concerns and the potential damages caused by the Nord Stream pipeline:

The Nord Stream is the most outrageous attempt by Mr. Putin to divide and damage the EU, and it would be an economic and geopolitical disaster for the Union. The pipeline was initiated by Gerhard Schröder, Chancellor Merkel's predecessor, with no consultation with Germany's EU partners. (Sikorski 2007a)

The tone used and the expression “geopolitical and economical disaster” seem to suggest a gloomy and tragic plot characterization. The pipeline is depicted as a sort of “Trojan horse” prepared by Mr. Putin, the villain of the story, to infiltrate within the Union and weaken it, politically and

17 The Espoo Convention, held in 1991, established among others that “Environmental threats do not respect national borders” (www.unece.org).

18 Mr. Radek Sikorski has been the Minister of National Defence of Poland from 2005 until 2007.

economically. In addition the “helper” of the villain is Mr. Schröder. He actually initiated the project but did not consult the European partners, and by doing so is helping Putin. In Mr. Sikorski’s point of view, the Nord Stream pipeline is a tool for creating discontent among partners, which weakens the strength of the European Union, whose members are lead to quarrels. In this passage the key story is “Putin’s attempt to divide the EU”. This as a result brings towards political division among the members of the European Union, whose voice is once again not unique. The Nord Stream pipeline is a hotly debated issue and its construction is not proven to be beneficial for all the parties. It causes division (either directly or indirectly by lack of consultation) and it troubles the stability of the Union. Mr. Sikorski continues:

Economically, the Nord Stream is absurd. Its cost (estimates up to €12bn are quoted, but there is no official figure) would be three to five times that of doubling up existing land links. Financing it should be tough as the European Investment Bank has balked and German taxpayer guarantees for Russia are questioned by the Commission. But in any event, the bill would be met via the tariff by German and other EU producers and consumers. They would be paying for increased market dominance over themselves by Russia-Gazprom and its allies, in raging contradiction to European policy on liberalization. Ineluctably, there would be higher energy costs and lower German and EU competitiveness. And fossil fuel usage would be entrenched, to the detriment of cheaper and cleaner nuclear power. (ibid)

In this passage Mr. Sikorski’s comment on the Nord Stream pipeline is evidently satirical. He characterises the pipeline as a ridiculous undertaking. The cost of the project is so high that it does not make sense. Such a risky operation would imply huge investments while other operations, involving the already existing land pipelines, would be cheaper and safer. The absurdity of the pipeline is further emphasised by the fact that in Sikorski’s view, the EU members would themselves end up paying for such extravagance. The “villains” are then Russia and Gazprom, and the victims are the European consumers and producers. The “villainy” jeopardizes prosperity, liberalization of trade and competitiveness. Mr. Sikorski further suggests that the “German and other EU producers and

consumers” are being fooled into such an absurd deal by Russia and Gazprom. This part of the passage increasingly underlines the satirical connotation that Mr. Sikorski gives to the construction of the pipeline. Russia, as Mr. Wozniak has previously argued, is again attempting to misuse European partners for its own advantage. The Nord Stream pipeline is in this passage an effective tool for economically weakening Europe and the Europeans while Russia (Gazprom) is obtaining profit out of a risky undertaking. I name the key story in this passage “economical disaster for the European Union”, as I argue such a conception sums up the elements which were brought up by Sikorski with a clear economic cut. Figure 3.5 sums up the functions of the characters in the key stories collected from the two passages by Sikorski.

Furthermore Radek Sikorski has delivered to the press what is probably the most famous speech regarding the Nord Stream pipeline.

Poland has a particular sensitivity to corridors and deals above our head. That was the Molotov-Ribbentrop tradition. That was the 20th century. We don't want any repetition of that. Germany's attitude today undermined European solidarity. The project was a bad deal for consumers since it would cost \$6m more than one built through Poland. (Sikorski 2006a)

This passage has a rather defined tragic characterization. Sikorski articulates the construction of the Nord Stream as a villainy. Its completion would recall a tragic historical period for Poland, represented by the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact. He refers to an historical fact that determined the agreement between two powers, the Soviet Union and Germany, over the division of Poland within a frame of mutual non-aggression. Therefore in this passage Poland is the victim. The reference to the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact implies a serious disagreement about the construction of the Nord Stream. The construction of the pipeline, described as the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, would imply from Germany the disrespect to the one of the founding principles of the European Union: solidarity. Obviously in the text a clear villain emerges, which is Germany. By constructing the Nord Stream Germany, Sikorski argues, would disrespect solidarity as it would pass over Polish interests (Yamal Europe for instance). The strongest point is to emphasize how in the current context such an

undertaking would jeopardize Polish national interest but even one of the founding principles of the European Union, having repercussions on the whole continent. The key story of the passage is the “Ribbentrop-Molotov pact”.

During an informal conference of the European Council held in Paris in the early July 2008, Poland was represented by its Deputy Prime Minister, Waldemar Pawlak. In this occasion he was addressed by a French commissioner, Mr. Claude Mandil, in respect of the advantages that the Nord Stream pipeline would have brought to the European Union. Mr. Mandil was referring to a report, commissioned by the French commission on Energy Safety, in which the economic and energy related advantages of the Nord Stream were highlighted. This was his reply:

Poland doesn't share the opinion included in this report and is not going to build the interconnection between Poland and Germany, which was considered in the report. In our opinion, Nord Stream project is not an investment which can increase the energetic safety of the EU. The implementation of this project means serious risk for Baltic Sea environment (eco-system). I also count on the support from the EU in the Amber pipeline project, which construction is more reasonable than the one of Nord Stream pipeline. (Pawlak 2007a)¹⁹

In this passage the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline is articulated as a tragedy. The Nord Stream would imply risks for the environment of the Baltic Sea and its eco-system. The Nord Stream pipeline is then a false hero as it implies false premises as those of energetic safety for the European Union. Furthermore in this passage the Amber project is described as a hero, since its construction would be “more reasonable”. This implies that the Amber project would address the issues that the Nord Stream cannot. In this passage Pawlak refers to his doubts concerning the capacity of the Nord Stream to fulfill the task of granting the European Union with a safe supply of energy. In addition to that he argues that the Nord Stream would imply considerable risks for the environment of the Baltic Sea. In consideration of these two points, I name the key stories of this passage “energy security” and “environmental threat”.

4.1.5. Russia

Russia is the country mostly involved in the construction of the pipeline. Gazprom, the major stakeholder of the project²⁰, is a Russian company. In addition Russia is the major European supplier of gas (Aalto 2007) and it is therefore interested in the delivery of its supplies to Europe. During his first visit abroad as newly elected President of the Russian Federation, Dmitry Medvedev released a joint press conference with Angela Merkel in Berlin. The first and most debated topic was the Nord Stream pipeline. These were the terms in which Medvedev addressed the subject (see also Medvedev 2009a, 2009b and 2009c):

A very important part of our interaction and a very important part of our cooperation is our agreement regarding the Nord Stream. ...We indeed view it as global project of European scope, this project equally complies with the aim of reliable energy supplies and energy security of all countries. ...[Nord Stream] is one of the most important factors in German-Russian cooperation. ...Even advancing in such a mutually profitable project you need to overcome fears and prejudices, even if it is a good project and a very needed one on European side like the Nord Stream. ...Both the Nord Stream and the South Stream are needed by Europe. ...They are economically advantageous and they will help energy security of the whole European continent. ...Furthermore nothing takes closer countries than economical joint ventures, the more we will have the closer we will be. (Medvedev & Merkel 2009)

In this passage the Nord Stream is characterized in a romantic tone. The Nord Stream represents first of all an important instance in the relationship between Russia and Germany, which is articulated in terms of economical profit. Medvedev seems to suggest how partnership is conceived on bilateral terms, on the Russian side. Liberal values such, as profit pursue business and free market conditions, seem to be orienting the cooperation of which Medvedev is talking about. In fact the cooperation is described as mutually profitable essentially on economical terms, the construction of the Nord Stream complies with the benefits of the market economy. In addition the Nord Stream is

19 Translation of the document done by the author.

20 Gazprom owns 51% of the company Nord Stream AG (Nord Stream AG).

important also on a wider scope. The pipeline is able to serve the purposes of all European countries, as it provides “energy security and reliable supplies”. The romantic spin of the story is given by the “fears and prejudices” that need to be “overcome”. Russia and Germany characterized as the heroes due to the fact that their undertaking is needed by Europe. Furthermore the liberal conceptualization of cooperation and its purpose emerges also from the last part of the passage. An economically advantageous project as the Nord Stream goes also in the direction of bringing countries “closer”. This emphasizes that “integration” to Europe is to be developed on the grounds of economic benefits. Considering what has emerged from the passage, I name one of the key stories “energy security”. Medvedev has focused on the concepts of energy supplies and energy safety, and this has determined the choice for the first key story. The second key story of the passage is “Euro(German)-Russian economical cooperation”. This name describes how Medvedev articulated the Nord Stream as a vector to implement a cooperation guided by liberal values such as, for instance, the market, the profit-pursuing business. This is not only meant to bring Russia and Germany closer, but he implicitly refers to the possibility of extending such a process to the whole continent.

Right after the latest Russo-Ukrainian crisis the Russian Prime Minister and former President, Vladimir Putin, emphasized the role that the Nord Stream has in the Russian view (see also Kosachev 2009 and Putin 2009b).

The gas crisis with Ukraine and its effects in Europe boosts the North Stream pipeline project. The current crisis finally convinced European consumers that the pipeline is necessary and should be completed as soon as possible. Russia realized that such problems may appear long ago with Ukraine and decided to diversify ways of supplies its energy resources. For this purpose we initiated the construction of north-western pipeline at the bottom of the Baltic Sea and another pipeline which we call South Stream at the bottom of the Black Sea. That is why we also built the gas pipeline Blue Stream to Turkey at the bottom of the Black Sea, by the way now it's fully loaded, and this eases the problem a little. (Putin 2009a)

In this passage the Nord Stream is depicted as a romantic solution to a tragic scenario. In a context where gas crisis and the diversification of sources are concrete problems causing a tragic scenario, Russia prompts the idea of the Nord Stream. The Nord Stream is the key to turn a tragic situation in the energy security of Europe to a romance. The Nord Stream, the South Stream and the Blue Stream are tools to prevent crises and respond to the needs of the Europeans. To this respect Ukraine is indirectly blamed as the villain of the story. Russia is then portrayed as a hero in Putin's words. In addition Putin claims that the even the European consumers realized how much they need the pipeline. In this way he argues that all the constructions and projects which are going on are justified. They all serve the purpose of granting energy security for the European consumers. This consideration has prompted me to name the key story of the passage "energy security".

Konstantin Simonov, the general director of the Russian National Energy Security Fund (Simonov 2009), has as well underlined the meaning that the Nord Stream as Russia and its relationship with Europe.

Nord Stream is an example of cooperation between Russia and Europe in all parts of this energy chain – downstream, middlestream and upstream. We see German companies in Yuzhno-Russkoye, we see Gazprom in European downstream and also in middle stream because our partners will be not only BASF and E.ON, our partners will be Gasunie and maybe GDF Suez. The project's value in restoring EU-Russia ties is more important than its contribution to energy security. (ibid)

The romantic characterization of the project is due to the fact that the Nord Stream represents an instance of intentional Euro-Russian cooperation, which is highlighted as at the core of the project. The focus of the passage is mainly on the companies involved in the project. Such a consideration prompts to underline how the liberal conception of cooperation is emerging. Simonov argues that the participation of German companies in Russian ones and the cooperation among Gazprom and other European companies is an instance of wider Euro-Russian cooperation. This concept of cooperation is underpinned by liberal values such as profit pursuing business and free

market. In other words, as Medvedev previously, Simonov conceives cooperation in terms of liberal connections among companies and increasing mutual economic interests. Cooperation is once again framed within the patterns of economically mutual advantageous undertakings. In this light the “ties” that Simonov talks about are referring to stronger cooperation with Europe as articulated on the economical level. The goal of the Nord Stream is to improve Euro-Russian cooperative patterns. I therefore name the key story in this passage “Euro-Russian energy cooperation”, as the Nord Stream is an instance of that.

4.1.6. Sweden

This last paragraph deals with the documents and the analyses collected from Swedish officials and their declarations to the press. Sweden is also involved in the construction of the pipeline as the route is planned to pass near its national waters. One of the most active officials in releasing speeches the Nord Stream pipeline is the Minister for the Environment of Sweden, Andreas Carlgren. In a breakfast meeting in January held in Brussels he declared:

Sweden doesn't want to be rushed into approving a Russian-German natural gas pipeline project under the Baltic Sea before a careful review of environmental concerns. Sweden is aware of Germany's needs for that gas, and that it is necessary for Europe to find other ways to get gas from Russia and to get gas and energy from several sources. But that can in no way interfere into our legal process. (Carlgren 2009a)

The passage depicts a plot which can easily turn from romance into tragedy and vice versa. The turning point of the key story is the respect for the environment and the national legal process, which would prompt Sweden to approve the construction of the pipeline. Interestingly Carlgren portrays Sweden as a sort of watchmen, taking care of the fact that environmental issues as far as national legal processes are respected. While recognizing the German and European needs, Carlgren underlines how important it is to check whether certain parameters are supervised. Carlgren implies

that the environment as a common good and the Swedish national legal process as a sovereign Swedish right, have to be respected. In particular he emphasizes how external pressures to approve the project will not work, as Sweden as a sovereign legal system. It follows that the key story of this passage is “sovereign legal system”.

The same tone and similar arguments can be traced in the second part of the article where the above mentioned declarations were reported. Carlgren continues:

Parties or companies like Nord Stream have the right to make use of the sea to build pipelines, but on the other hand there is an obligation for coastal states to make sure that they won't face unacceptable environmental consequences. So far Nord Stream has not presented full and sufficient quality documentation for the environmental impact and this is a concern for the Baltic states not just Sweden.(Ibid)

The narrative tension in this passage revolves again around a key story that could turn from romance into tragedy. Carlgren acknowledges the right of Nord Stream AG, as a company, to pursue economic profit by building pipelines. Carlgren also in this passage portrays for Sweden the role of the watchman. By emphasizing the role of the coastal states (among which Sweden) to check on the undertaking, the Swedish Minister for the Environment, goes implicitly back to the role he assigned before to Sweden. The presentation of appropriate documentation regarding the evaluation of the environmental impacts is the condition for the other countries to be satisfied. In the passage the value of the shared environment is underlined by the reference Carlgren makes to “coastal states” and the “concern for the Baltic states”. Interestingly and similarly to the previous passage, the Nord Stream pipeline prompts an occasion for Sweden to represent itself as a hero making sure that the environment and the national legal processes are respected. There is a tension between business, represented by the companies and their interests, and the environment which Sweden is portrayed to guard. Sweden, argues Carlgren, aims at establishing the precise environmental impact of the pipeline. “Environmental threat” is then the name of the key story.

The importance that Sweden gives to the respect for the environment in the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline is repeatedly highlighted. Carlgren further emphasizes Swedish point of view on that matter in this passage taken from a governmental press release:

The Swedish Government considers that the project's environmental impact assessment should contain alternative routes. Once we have received the application, we will examine the project very carefully in accordance with Swedish legislation and international conventions. The impact that the pipelines will have on the sensitive environment of the Baltic Sea will be closely studied. The international conventions that must be followed when considering granting permits require that reasonable alternatives are reported. In the consultations concerning the project that have taken place, many of the Swedish referral comments, including those from several government agencies, have placed demands that alternative routes be reported. (Carlgren 2007a)

The passage depicts the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline is presented in a romantic narration. The construction of the pipeline represents an issue which might have a romantic development. This positive or romantic end would be achieved if proper studies concerning the environment and alternative routes for the pipeline were presented. The pipeline is not hindered by Sweden, which is again portrayed as a sort of watchman or hero. Sweden is the observer that carefully watches over the Baltic Sea in order for the international laws and conventions to be respected. Nord Stream has to show that it can act according to common rules such as international conventions and specifically Swedish law. Sweden demands more appropriate and detailed environmental impact assessment. This is argued to be for the sake of the environment itself. However the passage repeats and underlines the importance of the international laws and conventions, which are regulating activities potentially endangering the environment. Carlgren mentions the referral comments which were also reported from governmental agencies and highlights the importance of alternative routes for the Nord Stream. I name the first key story in this passage is "environmental regulations", as those need to be respected. Furthermore the second key story is "the fragility of the Baltic Sea" refers to the fact that the eco-system of the Baltic Sea is particularly sensitive. These two points are at the centre of the passage by Carlgren.

The terms in which the pipeline and the consequences of its construction are addressed, are slightly different in Wahlback's point of view. In a meeting in Washington, Wahlback²¹, has released this declaration:

Sweden has no interest in impeding Russian gas exports and would like to contribute to the integration of Russia with Europe economically and otherwise. However these two powers have prepared the project without asking for Sweden's views about the intended route. (Wahlback 2006a)

Here it is very difficult to characterize the passage as a romance, a comedy, a satire or a tragedy. Wahlback states that there is in principle no objection to the integration between Russia and Europe. He argues that Sweden promotes such integration on the economical level. This point is used to declare that Sweden does not oppose the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline. Furthermore Wahlback seems to conceive the Nord Stream as an instance of such integration (as Medvedev, Merkel and Simonov). However the problem lies in the bilateral character of the undertaking. Sweden was not consulted on the route. On the one hand Wahlback approves integration as articulated on economical terms, but on the other he claims that the project should have been more largely agreed upon. The first content of the passage is then the key story of "economical integration". The second part of the passage is oriented by the key story of "rejection of bilateralism".

The position expressed by Ygeman is rather different from the one which Wahlback was articulating. The Swedish parliament committee was invited to a conference in Saint Petersburg which would have dealt with the presentation of the status of the Nord Stream pipeline project (Ygeman 2009b). The committee, represented by Ygeman, decided to boycott the meeting.

We do not believe that it is in Swedish interests to build a Russian gas pipeline in the Swedish Economic Zone. We do not want to commit ourselves in a new big fossil fuel project. We consider it not in Sweden's interest to get this project up standing. (Ygeman 2009a)

21 Krister Wahlback is the former ambassador and security-policy advisor to the former Swedish Prime Minister, Carl Bildt (Wahlback 2006a).

The construction of the Nord Stream pipeline is here articulated as a tragic event. The construction of the pipeline would be clearly a damage for Sweden. Ygeman does not see advantages in the construction of the pipeline and this is related to the fact that the Nord Stream is supposed to transport gas, which is a fossil fuel. This argument points out the environmentally related concerns that Ygeman is expressing in consideration of the fact that gas is itself a polluting and not renewable fuel. This point about the big fossil fuel project relates to the fact that such thing is intrinsically an environmental threat. This is to stress the importance of the environmental argumentation unfolded in the passage, and the key story is “environmental threat”.

In the end I want to present the passage by Mikael Holmström²². All the other passages were collected from politicians and officials. Although the author is not a proper actor (politician or official of one of the countries of the region), his text is one of the most famous texts regarding the Nord Stream. Holmström has collected, in one article he wrote on the Swedish tabloid *SVD*, a declaration which he claimed to be close to official Swedish governmental sources.

The entire line is also a potential political and security problem. There will be a new Russian island only a few miles from Swedish territory. It is an ideal location platform to collect intelligence. No country is interested in getting other countries' eyes and ears closer than absolutely necessary. (Holmström 2006)²³

This passage contains a clear tragic conceptualization of the pipeline. The tragic spin lies in the characterization of the Nord Stream with a language that recalls a spy-story movie. The construction of the Nord Stream is a tragic event because its lines could be used as spying devices. Russia is depicted as the absolute villain of the story. Her action recalls strategies (intelligence collection) which resemble very closely the Cold War times. Sweden is then threatened by the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline as it would see its security decreased. The claim of having other countries' ears and eyes closer, as a result of the construction of the pipeline, is as well recalling Cold War time language. The main point in this passage is the evil depiction of Russia and the consequent articulation of the Nord Stream as a tragic happening. The key story in this passage is “spying device”.

22 Mikael Holmström is a journalist writing for *SVD*. This article was also quoted in Larsson 2007, p.8.

23 Translation done by the author.

4.2. The common key stories

4.2.1. The constructors: economical cooperation

This section of the chapter aims at summing up the results obtained with the analysis of the texts. This first paragraph describes the results which were obtained with the texts and documents relatively to Germany and Russia, the two countries responsible for the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline.

In the German speeches the key stories that emerged are: *energy security*, *environmental regulations* and *Euro-Russian economical cooperation*. The Nord Stream pipeline is first of all an answer to the needs of energy security, both in terms of supplies and in terms of diversification of sources. The Nord Stream answers the European needs for a safe and reliable supply of natural gas. In the German speeches there is the attempt to underline the utility of the pipeline for the whole European continent. Interestingly, in Merkel's speech, the choice of excluding other countries is justified in the light of the fact that the project has a strategic meaning. The exclusion of certain countries appear then to be beneficial to articulate the "cooperative patterns". The Euro-Russian economical cooperation is argued to be the background of the Nord Stream project. Cooperation is conceived mainly in economical terms and in particular, in energy related enterprises which are economically profitable. In addition to that there is the attempt, in Gloser's speech, to emphasizes the respect for the environmental regulations. The justification of the construction of the Nord Stream is also grounded on environmental terms. The Nord Stream is not only economically profitable or a vehicle to secure supplies, it is also an environmentally safe choice.

The Russian passages are characterized by the key stories of *energy security*, *Euro(German)-Russian economical cooperation* and *Euro-Russian energy cooperation*. The Nord Stream is firstly, together with the South Stream and the Blue Stream, an important tool to guarantee safe supplies of natural gas to Europe. By building the Nord Stream, Russia and Germany would provide Europe with a reliable source. In Medvedev's speech, the necessity of building the pipeline is articulated on the consideration that the Nord Stream (and the South Stream) "is needed by Europe". By arguing the common European necessity for the reliable supply of gas, Medvedev implies that the Nord Stream is not only an instance of the German-Russian cooperation, but it is meant to be an

advantage for the whole continent. The advantage of the construction of the Nord Stream is related to the fact that it implies economical benefits. In particular, in the Russian speeches, cooperation is depicted as economical or as energy related. The liberal values of profit-pursuing companies and free market seem to underpin the articulation of the Euro-Russian cooperation. Medvedev clearly states how nothing brings countries closer than “economical joint ventures”. On the Russian side, cooperation is intended as mutually profitable enterprises. The Nord Stream is mutually profitable and therefore can be a good instance of cooperation between Russia and Europe. Furthermore such a cooperation is also argued to be revolving on the energy sector. The Nord Stream, in Simonov’s words, is also an instance of how the cooperation between Europe and Russia is effective in the energy chain. In addition to that the Nord Stream is a tool to enlarge and strengthen the “ties” linking Europe and Russia.

4.2.2. The Baltic Sea region: environmental concerns and economic losses

This paragraph gathers the key stories which emerged from the other four countries of the Baltic Sea region. I proceed by listing them alphabetically.

The Estonian key stories that emerged from the passages are: *the fragility of the Baltic Sea*, *lack of consultation among European countries*, and *division of the European Union*. The Estonian passages often emphasize the delicate environmental condition of the Baltic Sea. This point is used to suggest an alternative route for the pipeline on the mainland, which according to the Estonian point of view would be less harmful for the environment. However a mainland route for the Nord Stream would most certainly involve the passage through the Estonian territory, granting fees and political weight. In addition to that, Paet (2007) uses the point made about the offshore route of the pipeline to argue that some countries (among which Poland, Lithuania and other Baltic states) were left out of the project on purpose. This point is rather relevant as Paet explicitly implies that Germany, as a European country, did not cooperate with the other European countries as they would have expected. The lack of cooperation among European countries that, from the Estonian point of view, the project showed, is a point which is enlarged and deepened in the speeches of the Estonian President. Ilves claims how the European Union does not speak with one voice. By doing so he implies its division, lack of cooperation, and the tendency for many countries to follow their national interests. According to Ilves the Nord Stream pipeline is an instance of these three elements. It is the result disagreements of

the European countries on the energy sector, and it shows how Germany decide to pursue its own national interest rather than focusing on the common necessities. As a consequence the European Union is weaker and subject to the Russian “foreign policy tool” represented by the Nord Stream in particular and by the energy policy in general.

The Finnish key stories are: *energy security, environmental factors, environmental threat, fragility of the Baltic Sea, environmental regulations* and *European common energy policy*. In the first Finnish speech, Halonen underlines how Finland sees the Nord Stream as a factor which could improve the energy security for the whole Europe. However in the Finnish speeches there are abundant references to the environmental conditions of the Baltic Sea. Halonen highlights how the Finnish support to the pipeline is tied up with the respect for the environment and the guarantee that the pipeline won't be an ecological threat. The different key stories that are relating to the environmental condition of the Baltic Sea underline the importance of the subject. This is also evident in Hautala's speech where the attention towards the environment is linked to the respect for the environmental regulations. Hautala claims the ratification of the regulations established in the Espoo Convention as a fundamental prerequisite for the discussions concerning the pipeline to take place. Hautala in particular is blaming Russia, due to its missing ratification of the Espoo Convention. A rather more positive point of view about the pipeline is expressed by Stubb. In one of his two texts he argues how Europe might need the Nord Stream pipeline as a mean to improve the European energy security. Interestingly Stubb argues and calls for “common European energy policy”, underlining how the European countries are still divided and this makes them more exposed to energy crisis (the Russo-Ukrainian case).

The Polish position on the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline is generally rather negative. The key stories which characterize the expression of the Polish dissent towards the Nord Stream are: *energy security, environmental threat, environmental regulations, national security, Putin's attempt to divide the EU, economical disaster for the EU* and *Ribbentrop-Molotov pact*. The Nord Stream pipeline is depicted as a matter of national security. Its construction would jeopardize, among others, the existing gas pipelines (Yamal and Brotherhood). Wozniak implies that Polish interests would be damaged by the Nord Stream (Yamal Europe is passing through Poland) and by doing so he justifies Polish position against the pipeline. Poland would rather have an increased use of the existing pipelines, as this would provide with transit fees and political weight. In addition the

environmental threat represented by the Nord Stream is a persistent key story in the Polish passages. Poland, is argued, would rather support alternative projects (like the Amber pipeline) in order to safeguard the Baltic Sea which is endangered by the construction of the Nord Stream. Furthermore the Nord Stream AG does not appear to comply with the environmental regulations of the Espoo Convention, and this is in the Polish point of view a reason to oppose the pipeline. The Nord Stream is described as an attempt by Putin to “divide and damage the EU”, attempt which could not be carried out without the help of the former German Chancellor Schröder. As a consequence, Poland claims that the principle of consultation was violated by the German behavior. Like in the Estonian case, Poland argues that the Nord Stream is an instance of problem at the level of the European Union. Its members do not consult and do not cooperate with each other as it would be expected. The “geopolitical absurdity” represented by the Nord Stream is also a very risky economical undertaking. The Polish narrative insists on the expansive costs of the Nord Stream and how these costs would have to be paid by the European consumers. In addition the Nord Stream would violate one of the principle at the core of the liberal conception of the market: the competitiveness, as it would lower the number of companies on the market (weakening the European policy on liberalization). In particular Poland has delivered probably the most famous speech on the Nord Stream pipeline. Sikorski has compared the Nord Stream pipeline to the Ribbentrop- Molotov pact, in an image which was unfolding the fear what the historical fact represents: agreement at the expense of Poland. This kind of attitude on the German side, which according to Poland resembled the logic behind the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, is also undermining the principle of solidarity among European countries.

The Swedish key stories are *sovereign legal system, environmental threat, environmental regulations, fragility of the Baltic Sea, economical integration, rejection of bilateralism, environmental threat, spying device*. Carlgren claims the independence (sovereignty) of the Swedish legal system adding that the Swedish decision regarding the pipeline cannot be forced from outside. In particular the Swedish doubts surrounding the pipeline are related to the environmental concerns that its construction raises. The Baltic Sea has a delicate environment and therefore the countries around it have to make sure that such an environment is preserved. For this reason Sweden articulates her doubts about the Nord Stream also by insisting on the respect for the international conventions regulating the environmental issues. Sweden is also skeptical of the reasons behind the pipeline. What Walhback criticizes is the bilateral character of the agreement which lies behind the pipeline. As he argues this

decision was taken by the European Union and Russia without a consistent consultation with others (in this case with the Swedish government). However Sweden acknowledges the right for companies to pursue profitable business and is in favor of Euro-Russian integration based on the economical enterprises. Finally in the article by Holmström, the key story that emerged was articulating the Nord Stream as a spying device, implying the language and the logic of the Cold War. Holmström implies that the construction of the Nord Stream is directly affecting Swedish security and therefore is a menace.

The methodological procedure, as explained in chapter 3, has completed the abductive and the deductive moment. The texts and the passages have been analyzed and the data collected. In order to fulfill the scope of the research and therefore characterize the international society of the Baltic Sea area, I need to complete the last step of the methodological analysis: point c), the inductive moment. In chapter 5 the findings which were collected in this chapter are linked with the concepts of the structural English School. Eventually the Baltic Sea area is framed within the concept of the international society.

5. THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE BALTIC SEA AREA

This chapter brings together the methodological analysis, its findings and the concepts of the structural English School. It aims at linking the data which emerged in chapter 4, to the concepts (described in chapter 2) of the structural English School. In particular the study is framed within the structural reformulation of the English School as attempted by Barry Buzan (2004). The reformulation attempted by Buzan aims at: a) granting the English School with a more structured approach and a more clearly delineated flagship concept whose pillars are now defined on actor-hood; b) establishing a link between the complex process of globalization and its regional, geographical dimension. The reformulation changed the meaning of concept of international society and by doing so inspired the research question (as expressed in chapter 1). Chapter 3 has dealt with the introduction of the methodology that was applied in chapter 4. In particular the two previous chapters focused on the methodological steps of abduction and deduction. This chapter specifically refers to the inductive moment (as explained in Chapter 3) of the methodological analysis. This is done in three phases. I firstly look at the primary institutions and the secondary ones by linking them to the key stories. I proceed then by characterizing the emerged institutions and their underpinning values as pluralist or as solidarist. Finally I gather these elements in order to describe the international society in Baltic Sea area.

5.1. The primary institutions and the European Union

5.1.1. From key stories to primary and secondary institutions

The debate concerning the primary institutions within the English School is rich and variegated. As Buzan points out, the classification and the definitions of the primary institutions differ almost in each scholar belonging to the English School. However difficult it is possible to trace and highlight a shared understanding of the primary institutions which are “durable and recognized patterns of shared practices rooted in values held commonly by the members of interstate societies, and embodying a mix of norms, rules and principles” (Buzan 2004, p. 181). This definition helps us to place the primary institution within the research design. It does so because Buzan’s understanding of

the primary institution can be linked to the concepts of key stories, which were collected and discussed in the previous chapter. The key stories were presented in Chapter 3 as general and wider arguments to which the content of the passages can be related. The general arguments which emerged with the narrative analysis represent principles norms and values which are embedded in the different passages collected. The different conceptualizations of the Nord Stream pipeline and the narrative analysis highlighted different narratives which can be framed in the context of primary institutions. This is done by speculating on the fact that the Nord Stream works as a catalyst prompting narrations which entail key stories. The narratives which emerged in form of key stories entail, as argued in Chapter 3, social features. It is due to their “social character” that it is then possible to reflect upon which ones and why are shared. Buzan clearly points out that “primary institutions have to reflect some shared principle, norm or value” (2004 p. 177). I then proceed linking the key stories to primary institutions. The same thinking applies to secondary institutions. Secondary institutions are: “the products of certain types of international societies... [and] they are consciously designed to serve the instrumental purposes of the entities that create them” (Buzan 2009, p. 27). I argue that the European Union can be understood as a very strong secondary institution, as it was consciously designed by its members to deal with various issues in the international affairs. The starting assumption is given still by Buzan’s consideration that “[primary] institutions will be different from one kind of society to another” (2004 p. 166). It follows that, being the aim of this study to characterize the international society of the Baltic Sea area, it is necessary to depart from the analysis of the primary institutions. In the next paragraph I list and discuss the primary institutions as they can be inferred from the key stories I gathered. I aim not only at showing how some key story can be framed within more than one primary or secondary institution, but also at highlighting how the primary institutions relate to each other.

5.1.2. The primary institutions and the European Union in the Baltic Sea region

The primary institutions of a given international society change in time and can easily decay or evolve and this process is extremely fluid (Buzan, Dunne, Little). In the book edited by Buzan and Gonzales, the characterization of the primary institutions was attempted to see “how they agree or differ from the global understanding” (Gonzales 2009, p. 92). I do not intend to compare the structure of primary institutions of the Baltic Sea to the global ones. Rather I focus on the specific characteristics that the primary institutions of the Baltic Sea provide to its international society. In the study of the international society the Middle East, the institutions and the regional features are compared to the

global ones in order to see where frictions or can be traced, in a historical perspective. This study does not aim at providing an historical perspective on the evolution of the primary institutions in the Baltic Sea area. Rather, it focuses on portraying an accurate picture of the contemporary regional combination of the primary institutions, in order to attempt the definition of its international society. In the purely constructivist understanding primary institutions and the interstate society shape each other and, as a consequence, are mutually constitutive. The same mechanism of mutual shaping is operating among some primary institutions and the other two domains, the interhuman and the transnational. It follows that to study the social tissue within a given international society we need to have a look at the primary institutions which are characterizing it. This paragraph tackles the specific set of primary institutions which can be found in the Baltic Sea area. The following list does not imply any hierarchical classification, as this is not within the scope of the study, rather it aims at enumerating the primary institutions to enable the discussion on their pluralist and solidarist elements, which takes place in the next paragraph.

The key stories of the environmental factors, the environmental threat and the fragility of the Baltic Sea are the most shared and the most strongly present among the narratives of the Baltic Sea area. In the context of the primary institutions they can be seen as the institution of the *environment*. These key stories reflect principles which can be linked to the care for the environment. Generally the key stories linked to the environment are used to articulate dissent towards the construction of the pipeline. The Baltic sea is narrated as fragile, delicate and as an environment where the impact of the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline would be devastating. The countries that are not directly involved in the construction of the Nord Stream, claim the respect for the common environment. This does not necessarily show that the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline will be compatible with the environmental care. Rather it underlines how the respect of the environment it's mandatory, for the construction of the pipeline to be "socially acceptable" in the area. The countries use the environmental care as the primary vehicle to articulate dissent or to subordinate the acceptance of the pipeline to the respect of norms and conventions, which are environmentally related. The environment appears as the most shared primary institution and most agreed upon. The great majority of the countries refer to the primary institution of the environment either to support or to criticize the construction of the pipeline. It is then safe to argue that the preservation of the Baltic Sea considered as a maritime resource and a common ecosystem is a value, and the countries in the area implicitly expect its respect. This primary

institution allows the meaningful participation of transnational actors (belonging to the transnational domain) such as environmental NGOs. Furthermore within the primary institution of the environment the transnational organizations contribute meaningfully to the interplay among the pillars. Also the individuals (from the interhuman domain) such as private citizens, for instance, can be active in the framework given by this primary institution.

The key stories of the environmental regulations can be framed within the primary institution of *international law*. From what has emerged in the analysis, in the region of the Baltic Sea, the institution of the international law appears particularly linked to the primary institution of the environment. The narratives concerning the norms and international regulations, to which the countries refer to in the area, have all an environmental character. The dissent towards the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline is articulated along the legal framework within which the undertaking must be placed. However, in one of the German passages Gloser mentioned the fact that Germany took very seriously the compliance to the environmental norms and regulations. Nord Stream AG claims from its website the respect for the same norms. The primary institution of the international law appears to be relevant and important in the Baltic Sea area as connected to the environment. This connection can be seen when looking at the often mentioned Espoo convention. The Espoo convention established a set of norms and regulations that apply to the environmental sphere. These two institutions, the environment and the international law, interweave and complement each other. The aspect of the environmental care is deeply linked to the respect of the commonly established regulations. This aspect of the international law is rather interesting as it shows how such regulations and conventions, are binding not only for the states (Germany, Russia and so forth) but also for the transnational actors (such as Nord Stream AG) and potentially for the individuals.

The key stories of the economical integration, the economical disaster for the European Union, the Euro-Russian economical cooperation and Euro(German)-Russian economical cooperation can be seen in the context of the primary institution of the *market*. These narratives explicitly refer to liberal values, such as the profit pursuing logic or the free market. The liberal understanding of the market as the core of the narratives, either if they are employed to justify the construction of the Nord Stream or if they mean to criticize it. The countries refer to economical gains or losses and they articulate those in discourses to support or to hinder the Nord Stream. In the case of the Euro(German)-

Russian economical cooperation narratives, Germany and Russia articulate the development of the relations and the improvement of the cooperative patterns between Europe and Russia, along the principle of mutually beneficial enterprises. This argument is used to justify the construction of the Nord Stream and shows that one of the main advantages from its construction is the economical profit. Medvedev declares that economical joint ventures bring countries closer. By doing so he emphasizes that the liberal value of profit pursuit, can be used to implement further integration, based on economic interdependence. The primary institution of the market is also shared by those not supporting the construction of the pipeline. The Nord Stream is described as a disaster as its costs would be on the shoulders of the European consumers. The dissent it is articulated on the consideration that the Nord Stream would lower German and European competitiveness. The primary institution implies a strong presence of transnational actors (such as Nord Stream AG or other companies) and individuals in the interplay among the pillars and the profit or economic gain as a target is largely accepted and considered legitimate. In addition to that the principle of free competitions among the transnational actors is taken for granted. This principle is extended to the larger regional area (to states, and even to the European Union) either to justify the construction of the pipeline as profitable (in terms of strict economic gains or losses) or to oppose it.

The key stories of energy security and Euro-Russian energy cooperation can be seen in the context of the primary institution of the *energy prosperity*. The energy prosperity appears to be a strongly shared primary institution in the Baltic Sea region. The references to secure supplies and resources of energy are abundant. From the analysis of the texts, the energy prosperity and its related narratives were shared by Germany and Russia and also by countries not directly involved in the construction of the pipeline. In particular, for those supporting the Nord Stream pipeline, its construction would be an instance to secure the other countries with secure supplies and reliable sources. On the other hand the countries which are opposing the Nord Stream pipeline argue that its construction would not diversify the energy sources and enlarge the dependence on Russian gas, as a consequence it would endanger the European countries. In the narrative of Euro-Russian energy cooperation, the mutual energy prosperity is the base to argue a deeper level of cooperation. The primary institution of the energy prosperity has underpinning values which are very similar to the institution of the market and the two are related. The profit or prosperity is seen in from the point of view of energy supplies and the security of receiving those. Like in the primary institution of the

market, the underpinning logic of profit (though as seen as energy) implies the involvement of the actors from the three domains. The presence of the transnational actors is strong and there is possibility for the individuals.

The key story of sovereign legal system can be seen in the context of the primary institution of *sovereignty*. The first consideration to be made is about the key role of the primary institution of sovereignty. It is in fact difficult to imagine a contemporary state system which does not include the respect of the sovereignty of its members. In the narratives which were collected in the Baltic Sea area the primary institution of sovereignty implies as a consequence the respect of internal and international laws. It follows that the way in which sovereignty is perceived affects the way in which the European Union is conceived. The states in the system acknowledge each other's existence and in a second moment they recognize international laws, as regulating the relationships among sovereign units. To put it in other words "states recognize each other as the same kind of entity with the same legal standing" (Buzan 1993 in 2004 p. 145). In the key stories of sovereign legal system and spying device, Sweden claims not only the respect of international regulations but claims that her own legislative system and process can accept no interference. The primary institution of sovereignty mostly implies the states to be the preponderant element in the dynamics among the three pillars. The transnational actors and the individuals are not playing an important role within the functioning of the institution of sovereignty in the interstate system.

The key stories of lack of consultation among European countries, division of the European Union, European common energy policy, national security, Putin's attempt to divide the EU, Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, rejection of bilateralism and spying device are directly or indirectly concerning the same thing: the character of the European Union as an international actor in the region. The characterization of the European Union within the English School is a rather difficult task which I do not attempt. Rather the point here is only to underline what is the perceived international character of the European Union. To put it in other words: how the countries conceive the consequences that derive from the membership to the European Union and the following expected behaviors of the members.

As I argued above, the European Union can be understood as a secondary institution. It was consciously designed by its member to deal with the international affairs. Some key stories which are related to the above mentioned primary institutions (in particular the market and energy prosperity) can be also seen in the context of the nature of the European Union. The key stories reveal that there is a common perception of division among the European countries. The Nord Stream is often articulated as an instance of that division. The European Union is claimed to fail in its purpose of speaking with a unique voice in important matters such as the energy policy. This is why Stubb, the Finnish Foreign Minister, suggest the creation of a common European energy policy. The division among the countries allows national interests to emerge. For instance, the key story of spying device and national security, are both describing a scenario where the Nord Stream pipeline is endangering the national safety of each country (Sweden and Poland). The level of consultation is also criticized. Mutual consultation should be drawn from the principle of solidarity, which is at the core of the European Union. The Nord Stream pipeline is argued to be an instance of lack of consultation. Germany, in particular as a member of the European Union, and Russia did not consult the neighboring countries adequately before initiating the project of the pipeline. Bilateralism is criticized. An instance of that is the way in which the tight Russo-German cooperation is discussed and blamed. Germany, as a country which belongs to the European Union, should privilege the dialogue with all the countries instead of proceeding with bilateral agreements. That is why, Schröder is blamed to be a sort of traitor by helping Putin to divide and damage the European Union with the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline. To emphasize the German bad behavior, one of the Polish key stories was articulated on the comparison between the Nord Stream and the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact. Again what was criticized in the key story was not the pipeline itself, but its bilateral character which ends up damaging the collectivity as it serves only the interests of two countries rather than the whole. The next paragraph aims at describing the pluralist and solidarists elements which are peculiar to the Baltic Sea region.

5.2. From pluralist to solidarist: from thin to thick

5.2.1. Pluralist institutions

The previous paragraph has outlined the primary and secondary institutions which are peculiar of the Baltic Sea area. As mentioned above such a set of institutions characterizes the area and it is therefore unique. The aim of this paragraph is to point out the elements of the primary institutions,

and discuss them in the context of their thin/pluralist or thick/solidarist connotations. Important is to notice that pluralist and solidarist elements are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary they coexist in a given interstate society and their mixture describes which kind of society we are facing. Another preliminary reflection concerns the fact that solidarist elements, rest and develop upon pluralist ones. In a given society in order for the development of solidarist features to happen there has to be a solid pluralist bedrock to start with (Buzan 2004, pp. 140-143). As Buzan himself suggests it is easier to conceptualize the two concepts as the ends of a spectrum, one thin where there are mostly pluralist elements, the other thick where solidarist features are preponderant. I proceed now by discussing the pluralist elements.

The pluralist elements in the Baltic Sea region are related to sovereignty and the character of the European Union. The primary institution of sovereignty and the secondary institution of the European Union are related to each other. This is because the European Union is possible due to a spontaneous “handover” of a part of the sovereignty of its members. Sovereign entities have designed it to deal with part of issues of the international affairs. This link is evident also from the fact that the pluralist elements have emerged in the narratives which are related to those two institutions. Sovereignty is traditionally a pluralist primary institution (Buzan 2004, p. 140). The development of other primary institutions or some secondary ones, as in the case of the European Union, should lower its importance. However there are still narratives of sovereignty in which the concepts of national interest and national security have remarkable pluralist features. More surprisingly the secondary institution of the European Union is characterized by pluralist patterns. The understanding of mutual solidarity among its member presents a clear pluralist cut. Consultation is often avoided or minimal and countries act most likely in the pursuit of their own interests rather than those of the whole. This division is evident in the field of energy policy, where there are not common directives. Germany chose a bilateral project rather than going through a more complex, but agreed, process of consultations and elaborate compromises. The pluralist understanding of consultation (minimal, done only to communicate the results of a deal) is evident from the joint Merkel and Medvedev speech in Berlin. In that speech Merkel justifies the exclusion of some countries from the Nord Stream project on the ground of the strategic meaning. It follows that she implies that the protection of German (and Russian) national interest would allow the disrespect for consultation with other European countries. There is a common and shared perception of division within the European Union. This happens regardless of the

fact that such a secondary should implement solidarity and promote solidarist behaviors among its members.

5.2.2. Solidarist institutions

The solidarist developments are visible in the other institutions. The primary institutions of the environment and of the international law cooperate and reinforce each others. The environment shows consistent solidarist developments as the Baltic Sea is viewed as a value and something more than a mere common space. It follows that the respect of such an asset is expected from all the units in the system. Specifically the environmental care acts together with the implementation and the compliance to the regulations and norms (such as the Espoo convention) which are extended from the primary institution of the international law. Buzan places the international law among the pluralist institutions as it regulates the relations among sovereign units (ibid, pp. 140-143). However the primary institution of international law is characterized by environmentally related features. One of those is the set of regulations deriving from the Espoo convention, which were commonly established by the countries of the region. The primary institution of the market has very well developed solidarist patterns. Buzan himself (2004 pp. 146-148) indicates the market as an institution where solidarist features emerge especially in liberal terms. Not only the market seems to be deeply shared, with its liberal values agreed upon, but the solidarist connotations are rather evident. The same developments are evident for the peculiar primary institution of the energy prosperity. Interestingly the solidarist developments in these two institutions are in tension with the pluralist features described in the narratives concerning the European Union. The Nord Stream is argued to be built in order to pursue Euro-Russian economical cooperation, however the countries which are supposed to take part in this cooperation (the other European countries) are not properly consulted. This shows that while the market evolves with more solidarist patterns, where cooperation and integration are developed on liberal values, those developments are in tension with pluralist features of the secondary institution of the European Union. This holds as well in the narrative of the Euro-Russian energy cooperation, where the bilateral character of the Nord Stream is argued to be for the common good of the European countries. In general the solidarist elements appear to be preponderant and there is a consistent thickening of the solidarist features underpinned mostly by the values of the environmental care, free trade and profit. There are tensions among institutions, but as Buzan argues, those frictions are part of the standard dynamics in the interplay which exists among them (ibid, pp. 180- 185).

5.3. The Baltic Sea area through the lens of the structural English School

5.3.1. Back to the research question, the international society of the Baltic Sea area

This chapter aimed at reflecting on the data gathered in chapter 4 through the interpretative lens of the concepts of the structural English School. This last section tackles specifically the research question that is the characterization of the international society in the Baltic Sea area. The reformulation of the English School triptych has furthermore generated a new definition of international society, which has become: “the arrangement...where the basic legal and political framework is set by the state system, with individuals and transnational actors being given rights by states within the order defined by interstate society” (Buzan 2004, p. 202). The rest of the paragraph describes the Baltic Sea area while referring at the definition of the international society mentioned above.

The Baltic Sea area is characterized by evident and strongly grounded solidarist patterns. However, sovereignty is still a present and important institution. The factual and perceived division of the countries in the European Union, specifically in the energy sector, encourages national oriented behaviors. Bilateralism is blamed and perceived as a pluralist behavior on one side, while on the other bilateralism is argued to be the best way to achieve security of supplies, economical integration and stronger cooperative ties for the whole community. Whether the Nord Stream is perceived as a Russo-German project or an EU-Russian project, what is most criticized from the countries not directly involved, is the bilateral character of the project. This cannot be framed in accordance with the principles and practices that should come along the membership to the European Union, such as solidarity and the duty to consult each other. As a consequence German conduct is often blamed, in a way or another, to weaken the strength of the European Union by acting on the base of her national interest. On the other hand solidarist developments are consistent. The values underpinning the market and the energy prosperity have spread in the whole region and are supported transversally by all the countries. The concepts of integration and mutual benefit are linked to the liberal understanding of development. The pursue of profit and the free trade are not only recognized practices, but they appear to be strongly internalized to the level of belief. These developments seem from time to time to be in tension with the pluralist features which appear from the membership to the European Union. The most

solidarist features appear from the characteristics of the primary institutions of the environment and of the international law. These two institutions are mutually supportive in the Baltic Sea area. The value, which the Baltic Sea represents, appears to be shared by the whole region. In addition to that the compliance to the environmental norms, such as the Espoo convention, is fundamental.

As Buzan, in relation to the interplay among the pillars which characterizes an international society, has stated: “how the three domains interact with each other depends on what sort of values are in play and where they are located” (2004 p. 199). There are significant solidarist developments in the Baltic Sea area, even in the more pluralist elements. The interplay among the pillars is not particularly evident in relation to most of the primary institutions and their underpinning values. The international society of the Baltic Sea area is characterized by a strong interplay among the pillars in relation to the primary institution of the market and of the environment. These two institutions and their underpinning values are deeply internalized by the units of the interstate domain and have spread to the other two domains. This allows especially transnational actors and (potentially individuals), such as Nord Stream AG, Gasunie to interact continuously with the interstate units. The liberal values of the market grant companies with a specific weight and their profit pursuit is recognized as a right and encouraged by the states. At the same time the primary institution of the environment has structured and determined rules and regulations by developing with the institution of international law. This is the case particularly in the Espoo convention, where the regional aspect of the link between these two institutions is recognizable. This link does not only affect the level of ideal argumentation but also the more concrete legal level where regulations and norms ought to be respected. Bilateral behaviors are not perceived as positive for the community while the majority of the countries lament lacks in the principles and practices that they would take for granted as coming with the European Union’s membership. Curiously, a secondary institution designed to represent solidarist behaviors among its members is blamed to allow pluralist conducts. The international society in the Baltic region has a remarked orientation towards the institutions of the environment and the market. This is due to the fact that the solidarist developments and the interplay among the three pillars is more meaningful under those two institutions.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This study was articulated around the concepts of the structural English School. In particular the research question dealt with the definition of the international society in a defined geographical space: the Baltic Sea region. This thesis was built to tackle the Baltic Sea area with the help of a study case. The Nord Stream pipeline was the study case of the thesis. It was argued to function as a catalyst prompting stories as reactions to its construction. The analysis of the narratives produced as documents, texts and declaration has portrayed a picture of the region. The Baltic Sea region appeared as an area where solidarist developments are built on a still persistent pluralist set of features. The study case revealed how bilateral enterprises, or more generally, self-interest oriented behaviors of the states are not socially acceptable. In general the international society of the area appears to have developed solidarist features especially in the context of the primary institution of the environment and of the market. The solidarist developments are however in contrast and in tension with the unexpected pluralist features which emerged from the perception of the countries in respect of the European Union. The structure of the research has respected the ontological primacy of the states by focusing on the interstate domain and its units. This was done from the collection of the texts, which are mostly from officials or ministers, to the design of the analysis which dealt with the states and their narratives. However as the definition of the international society draws from the interplay of all the three domains, a similar analysis could have been carried for the transnational and the interhuman domain. This could have been done by gathering texts in various forms from different transnational actors of the area. Finally, the possibility of gathering material from individuals would have granted the study with a three folded perspective. This would have allowed a more complete perspective over the interplay among the domains and the spillover at the level of shared values, norms and practices. This was not done for two reasons: a) the dimension and the purpose of the study; b) the resources that such a research would have implied. However this represents an interesting direction for future research at this respect.

In addition to that, this study attempted a structural analysis on a region, the Baltic Sea area, a development indicated by Barry Buzan. However this study did not attempt a comparison between the regional and the global level. The primary institutions which were described in the analysis

were not matched with the ones present in the global layer. Such a comparative perspective would have implied a much deeper and detailed study than this thesis could afford to be. However, by highlighting the peculiar primary institutions of the area, and the functioning of the European Union as a secondary institution, this study has given an interesting point of view on the Baltic Sea region. In addition to that, this study showed the patterns of the international society, as conceived by Buzan, in a limited geographical space. Further research should be following a similar path in other sub-regions of the globe.

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