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**Trust in International Relations: Case-Study of  
Russian-Finnish Cooperation**

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## **Abstract**

The importance of trust in international relations is constantly stressed by the outstanding politicians and other distinguished public figures. The research focuses on Russian-Finnish relations during the period since 2000 till 2008. It aims to the assessment of the role of trust in the process of establishment and development of the Russian-Finnish cooperation. In this connection, first of all, I try to consider category of trust in international relations on the whole. Theorizing, I demonstrate the distinguishing and similar features in defining trust within the framework of the different theories of international relations. Particular attention is paid to the consideration of trust by the means of constructivism. For the further application of the theoretical findings to the case of Russian-Finnish relations the special methodology is elaborated. It consists in the combination of the qualitative content-analysis and cognitive mapping. The selected research methods are determined by the theoretical basis and the available primary data for the research. The original methodology for the research of the problem of trust can be applied to the other examples of interstates relations. Taking stock to the history of Russian-Finnish relations on the basis of research literature and using the research findings of the case-study, I try to estimate the level of trust in Russian-Finnish relations in the considering period, to reveal the causes of such state of affairs and, particularly, to define the premises, which will promote or hamper the growth of trust between Russia and Finland.

*Keywords:* trust, Russian-Finnish relations, constructivism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism, cognitive mapping.

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## INTRODUCTION

The idea about the role of trust between the states and its positive influence on the development of relations between the states and on international relations in general has emerged a long time ago and has its supporters and opponents. At the different periods of time the outstanding politicians and other public figures called for the creation of the climate of trust on international arena in order to achieve the main aim of the international relations as a science - to maintain peace in the world.

An eminent Danish physicist Niels Bohr wrote in 1950 in his Open Letter to the United Nations that such issues as, for example, atomic armament have made evident “a constructive approach to such vital matters of common concern would require an atmosphere of greater confidence” (Bohr, 1950). Taking into account the growing interdependence of the states in the world, the trustworthy relations or “an atmosphere of greater confidence” could become the basis for the establishment of the new model of relations between the states.

However, in this research I try to avoid the utopian views and always keep in mind that the moral values in international relations very often are of no importance. I do believe that it is possible to integrate such ex facto moral category as “trust” in the international relations and to realize a profit from the practical application of the trust-concept.

The research relevance can be explained by the recognition of the importance of trust for the successful interaction of the actors on international arena. This assumption also finds the conformation in the views of the politicians, who are responsible for the foreign policy decision making. In connection with the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish relation in the considering period, we can refer to the opinion of the President of the Russian Federation since 2000 till 2008 V.V.Putin. He pays the great attention to the problem of trust in the different spheres of cooperation between the states. Particularly, he stated on the First EU-Russia Innovation Forum “...for the realization of such goals [strengthening of innovation and technological cooperation] we should be more aware of the opportunities of each other. Establish the direct partnership relations, which give rise to trust and “team spirit” (Putin, 2010).

In addition, in the works of researchers the problem of trust is elaborated basically in the context of the internal policy. As far as it concerns the investigation of trust with regard to the foreign policy, there is quite limited range of studies, and the majority of them are devoted to the

problem of trust during the Cold War. These works will be partially considered in the Chapter 3 of the research.

Thus, the object of research is the category of trust in international relations. The Russian-Finnish relations in the context of trust during the period since 2000 till 2008 are the subject of research.

The aim of research consists in the assessment of the role of trust in the process of establishment and development of the Russian-Finnish cooperation.

In order to achieve the research aim the following objectives should be resolved:

- To consider category of trust within the framework of different theories of international relations;
- To define trust according to the social constructivism;
- To elaborate the particular methodology for the investigation of the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish relations;
- To apply the selected theoretical approach and elaborated methodology to the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish cooperation.

The official statements of the President of the Russian Federation since 2000 till 2008 V.V.Putin, and the fundamental documents on internal and foreign policy of the Russian Federation were used as the sources for research.<sup>1</sup>

The works of the prominent theoreticians of international relations, A. Wendt, M. Finnemore & K. Sikking, G. M. Grieco, R. Jervis, R. O. Keohane, K. N. Waltz, etc.,<sup>2</sup> compose theoretical-methodological basis for research.

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<sup>1</sup> See for example Putin, V. V. (2001). *Statement to the Press and Answers to Questions at a News Conference with President Tarja Halonen of Finland*. Available at [http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2001/09/03/0001\\_type82914type82915\\_136381.shtml](http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2001/09/03/0001_type82914type82915_136381.shtml) (2 February, 2011); Putin, V. V. (2003). *Transcript of a Plenary Session of the Russia-European Union Summit*. Available at [http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2003/05/31/0003\\_type82914type82917\\_163826.shtml](http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2003/05/31/0003_type82914type82917_163826.shtml) (2 February, 2011); The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (2000). Available at <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/econcept.htm> (12 December 2010); The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation (2010). Available at <http://www.mid.ru/ns-osndoc.nsf/0e9272befa34209743256c630042d1aa/2a959a74cd7ed01f432569fb004872a3?OpenDocument> (12 December 2010).

The research literature devoted to the history of transformation of the Finnish identity and the development of Russian-Finnish relations was used for the case-study. Here, I would like to point out the researches of C. S. Browning, M. Engman, A. Kangas, T. Vihavainen.<sup>3</sup>

Scientific novelty of research is conditioned, firstly, by the methodological approach, elaborated for the achievement of the overall goal. Secondly, by the attempt to define category of trust in international relations: its nature, limits, importance. And, finally, by the application of the theoretical and methodological findings to the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish relations.

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<sup>2</sup> Wendt, A. (2006). *Social theory of international politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Finnemore, M. & Sikkink, K. (2001). Taking stock: The constructivist research program in international relations and comparative politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4(1), 391-416; Grieco, J. M. (1988). Realist theory and the problem of international cooperation: Analyses with an amended Prisoner's Dilemma model. *The Journal of Politics*, 50(3), 600-624; Jervis, R. (1999). Realism, neoliberalism, and cooperation: Understanding the debate. *International Security*, 24(1), 42-63; Keohane, R. O. (1988). International institutions: Two approaches. *International Studies Quarterly*, 32(4), 379-396; Waltz, K. N. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. New York: Newbery Award Records.

<sup>3</sup> Browning, C. S. (2002). Coming home or moving home? 'Westernizing' narratives in Finnish foreign policy and the reinterpretation of past identities. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 37(1), 47-72; Engman, M. (2008). *Finlandin v Peterburge*. St. Petersburg: Evropeyskiy Dom; Kangas, A. (2011). Beyond Russophobia: A practice-based interpretation of Finnish-Russian/Soviet relations. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 46(1), 40-59; Vihavainen, T. (2006). Does history play a role in Finnish-Russian Relations? In H. Smith (Ed.), *The Two-Level Game: Russia's Relations with Great Britain, Finland and the European Union*. (pp. 27-48). Helsinki. Aleksanteri Papers. N 2.

## CHAPTER 1: DEFINING TRUST

### 1.1. Trust and Diversity of International Relations Theories: Problem of Selection

Attention of many researchers is attracted by the phenomenon of trust for many a long day. This category plays an important role in understanding of the processes of interpersonal and intergroup cooperation (Ferrin & Bligh & Kohles, 2007, p. 466). Therefore, trust takes a permanent place in psychology and management. In these two sciences the notion of trust is most elaborated. But the multi- and interdisciplinary nature of international relations and the influence of wider tendencies in social science on the development of IR theory provide a reason for assumption that phenomenon of trust developed within the framework of psychology and theory of management could be successfully extrapolated on the international relations.

Indeed, international relations as a social science have formed relatively late (Frieden & Lake, 2005, p. 137). Here, there was a heed to adopt the research methods from the other science: history, philosophy, sociology, etc. Moreover, the phenomena and processes, which are considered in international relations, represent an interest to the other sciences. The obvious connection between economy and international relations, law and international relations does not allow a complete separation of these sciences from each other, meaning also methodological aspect.

As it was stated above, in case of the problem of trust the issue of correlation between psychology and international relations is put in the forefront. Here, I would like to consider “trust” within the framework of the several major theoretical traditions in international relations. Under the several major theoretical traditions I understand realism, liberalism and constructivism.

The central position of realism and liberalism in international relations is unchallenged. Namely the adherents of the liberal and realist camps began the controversy concerning the principles, according to which the world order is organized and developing. This confrontation between the liberals and realists went down in history of IR as the “First debate”. By the way, during the “First debate”, which consisted in the critique of liberalism by realism, the liberalism was named by the adherents of realism as idealism. This “First debate” gave an impetus for the further development of international relations as a science. Of course, the new ideas, new theoretical orientations were emerging with the course of time, what provoked the new “Great debates”. One of them, which took place in 1980s, was the debate “between neo-realism and neo-

liberalism over the possibilities of co-operation” (Ikenberry, 2009, p. 206). In psychology as well as in international relations trust is one of the main factors for the cooperation. The fact that the problem of cooperation was the stumbling block in the debate between the neo-realism and neo-liberalism and the great importance of the realist and idealist traditions for IR give me a reason for choosing the neo-realism and neo-liberalism as the theories for the consideration of the problem of trust within their frameworks.

At the same time, the “Neo-Neo debate” revealed the similar position of neo-realists and neo-liberalists concerning the major issues. The neo-theories proved to be much closer than classical realism and liberalism. The division between the neo-realism and neo-liberalism consists in the critique of neo-realism by neo-liberalism for underestimation of the role of international institutions in the conditions of international anarchy. One more contradiction concerns the issue of gain, which states seek to get from cooperation. Realists emphasize relative gain, while liberalist opts for maximization of individual absolute gains of the states and their indifference to the gains achieved by others (Grieco, 1988, p. 487). The convergence of neo-realism and neo-liberalism allows speaking about the consolidation of the rationalist in international relations. Rationalistic approach in international relations is opposed to the reflective one. The understanding of these two approaches is a main task in order to formulate the appropriate research strategy for explanation of international processes (Keohane, 1988, p. 382).

The challenge of reflective orientation to the rationalistic one led to the last great debate, which occurred in the 1990s as a consequence of the disciplinary crisis provoked by the end of Cold War. The existing theoretical schools of international relation showed their incapacity to predict the cardinal changes in the world order, what incited the researchers to seek for new way of thinking in international relations. Postmodernism, post-structuralism, feminism, critical theories and, finally, constructivism were united within the framework of reflective orientation.

Emerging as a critique of rationalism, constructivism becomes the new mainstream in international relations in 1990s. In its nature constructivism has many points of contact with cognitive psychology. The leading role of constructivism in international relations theory during 1990s, its opposition to the rationalistic approach and active interaction with cognitive psychology invoke me to use constructivism as a third theory, which I am going to apply to the consideration of the problem of trust.

Thus, admitting the diversity of IR theories, in my research I will concentrate on neo-realism, neo-liberalism and constructivism. From my point of view, namely these three theories give an opportunity to demonstrate the distinctions and similarities in the defining of problem of trust according to the different approaches existing in international relations.

### 1.1.1. Trust and Neo-realism

The emergence of neo-realism is closely linked with the publication of the book *Theory of international politics* by K.Waltz. Researching international relations, K. Waltz proceeds from the assumption that there is a global system, which is based on its own rules of functioning. This global international system is a key factor, which determines the action of the states on international scene. The importance of structure in international relations is constantly stressed by neo-realists. According to Waltz, a system approach is needed "...if outcomes are affected not only by the properties and interconnections of variables but also by the way in which they are organized" and helps to reveal the real causes of the conflicts (Waltz, 1979, p. 39).

At the same time, neo-realism admits the anarchy as an ordering principle of international structure. This anarchy nature of international system exerts an influence on the behavior of the states on international arena. But the states seek to organize the anarchy structure of IR according to some principles or to achieve the balance of power.

Neo-realism was a very popular theory during the Cold War, because it can be applied to the explanation of the bipolar system's existence. Among the other prominent representatives of neo-realism Joseph Grieco, Robert Gilpin, John Mearsheimer, etc. should be mentioned. Neo-realists agree that the structural characteristics of the international system depend on the great powers (in the case of the Cold War the - Soviet Union and the USA). Moreover, the bipolar world order is connected with the Waltz's concept of balance of power. For Waltz balance of power is an organizing principle of the international system and main factor for the maintenance of system's functioning. The system is always in a balance, the upset of the balance of power can take place only during the periodic crises. The best form of balance for Waltz is bipolarity, because the minor actors, which have no influence on the international system, align themselves with superpowers. From the Waltz's point of view, a bipolar system is an utmost stable and permanent. Such attachment to the bipolar system of world order explains a decline in interest to neo-realism after the end of the Cold War.

However, neo-realism does not lose its relevance concerning the principles of cooperation between the states, what is important related to the consideration of trust according to the neo-realist tradition. Of course, by researching the problem of trust in the context of cooperation between the states, I could simply confined myself by application of the game theory and namely Prisoner's Dilemma. According to the rules of this game before cooperation the participants of

game should define the appropriate strategy for actions. This strategy is built on trust or mistrust to the other participants of game (Ehrhardt, 2008, p. 62). According to classical realism the choice between cooperation and self-action is predetermined by the two main aspects: realization of national interests and expansion of power. National interest and power are the main categories, on which the classical realism is based, the principles, which distinguish realism from idealism and justify the realism's critique aimed at idealism (Morgenthau, 1978).

Unlike the classical realists the neo-realists feel free concerning the importance of national interests in explaining the behavior of states and “shedding this aspect of the earlier tradition in part because of their reliance on the theory of modern social science” (Forde, 1995, p. 143). The partial distinction of neo-realism from classical realism provides more opportunities for defining trust according to the neo-realist tradition.

In this connection, the game theory partly loses its relevance in aggregate with neo-realism. However, admitting the fact that the classical model of Prisoner's Dilemma does not correspond to the principles of neo-realism, the adherents of the neo-realist orientation try to adjust them to each other (Grieco, 1988, p. 601). It was an attempt to take into account the influence of anarchy on the states and the weakening of commitment to the leading role of the national interests. Here, the problem of compatibility of neo-realism and Prisoner's Dilemma could be resolved, what provides an opportunity to research the phenomenon of trust in this context.

But “trust” in the context of game theory has not that meaning, which I understand, speaking about trust. In my opinion, the participants of the game are initially untrustworthy to each other. Their choice for cooperation or self-action could be explained by their desire to get more from cooperation and depends on their readiness to run risks. They do not really trust each other but only estimate the probability that the partner is not cheating. Thus, the notion of trust in this case could be turned into the short-term cooperation, which is based on the valuation of risks and opportunities. However, the real trust emerges in the relations between the states after the long-term positive experience of cooperation.

Here, I attempt to define trust according to neo-realism not using the game theory. As it was described above, anarchy forces the states to strive for the balance of power, what makes them to interact with each other. Undoubtedly, meeting the decision with whom to cooperate, states are guided by many factors. Among the simplest one are the common interests, a desire to gain support from the more influential partner. It is very difficult to present the whole range of crucial

aspects. But I think that in many cases the states will not cooperate, if they do not trust each other.

Tracing back the history and looking at the process of establishment of bipolar world order, we could conclude that among the reasons, according to which the states were choosing the Soviet or the USA position, was not only an aspiration to cooperate with the most powerful actor. In fact, the Soviet Union and the USA were nearly equal in that sense, what essentially determined the balance of power during the Cold War. Trust has a lot to do with the choice of a “chief partner”. It was based on the confidence that the Soviet Union or the USA can and will protect their partners in case of aggression from the enemy country, adherence to the way of development, which was implemented by the confronting states.

After the establishment of the multipolar world order the states become more opportunities for cooperation. They are not restricted by the limits of their political block and can choose any partner for cooperation, of course, in compliance with their national interests.

Thus, taking into account the reasoning concerning the unity of trust and neo-realism, I can define trust in the following way:

trust is an attitude to the potential partner for cooperation, which is based on the experience of interaction, evaluation of risks and opportunities, does not contradict the national interests and weaken the power of state, and emerges as a result of states' striving for the balance of power.

### 1.1.2. Trust and Neo-liberalism

Despite the dominance of neo-realism in 1980s and a subordinate status of neo-liberalism until the end of the Cold War, neo-liberalism was and remains to be one of the most fundamentally incommensurable paradigms in IR. Among the outstanding representatives of neo-liberalism R.Keohane, J.Nay, S.Krasner, H.Milner should be pointed out.

According to the classification of R.Keohane three main types of liberalism could be identified in IR theory: 1) democratic liberalism (democratic structural liberalism). Adherents of democratic liberalism assert that the republican form of government preserve peace in IR. 2) commercial liberalism, which considers trade as a key factor for peacekeeping. 3) regulatory liberalism or liberal institutionalism, which stresses the importance of rules and institutions in relations between the states. Moreover, sociological liberalism, which considers transnational contacts and coalitions as a main reason for transformation of national interests, is often indentified as a forth type of liberalism (Nye, 1988, p. 246). In my research I am going to use neo-liberalism or neoliberal institutionalism according to Keohane's classification.

Neo-liberals as well as neo-realists admit the anarchy nature of IR. At the same time, they insist on the existence of the different types of actors on international arena: states, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, etc. The leading theorists of neo-liberalism R.Keohane and J.Nay stress in their book *Transnational Relations and World Politics* an important role of interaction between the different non-governmental actors for international relations (Keohane & Nye, 1972).

Actions of the whole diversity of actors on international arena generate threats and put in the forefront the problem of security. According to neo-liberalism, the concept of balance of power does not take the central place in solving the problem of security. Neoliberals do not strongly oppose the balance of power, they just doubt in its efficiency (Chatterjee, 2003, p. 135). The liberals consider the usage of the concept of collective security, which is based on international cooperation, as the most successful way in ensuring security. It is necessary to point out, that neo-liberals believe in the high potential for cooperation between the states, what can help to preserve the conflicts. At the same time, they are very pessimistic concerning the real state of affairs in IR, thinking that the states do not use the existing opportunities for cooperation (Jervis, 1999, p. 47).

Neo-liberalism considers international relations as a process. From this appears that great attention is paid to the investigation of international cooperation and the factors, which promote or hamper it. Neo-liberals as well as neo-realists actively use the game theory for explanation of the cooperation between the states. Application of game theory stresses the rationalistic nature of neo-liberalism, because the game theory provides an opportunity to find the most appropriate from the existing decisions. I will not repeat myself in describing the differences concerning the relative and absolute gain in neo-realism and neo-liberalism. However, it is necessary to mention that, according to neo-liberalism, the states are seeking to realize their interests in compliance with international norms and regimes, because it gives them more advantages than the violation of rules and promotes more effective realization of national interests (Tarzi, 2004, p. 125).

Active international cooperation exerts a positive influence on development of international relations. The common interests of the states represent a basis for international cooperation, while the international organizations play the role of a platform for coordination of interstate cooperation. According to neo-liberals, international organizations are the independent actors and make IR more transparent and predictable and, therefore, more stable (Joyner, 2006, p. 255). The strict compliance with the rules and norms, activity of international institutions have an obvious superiority over the use of force in conflict resolution. Rules and norms, regimes influence on behavior of the states, give them special roles in IR. Thus, neo-liberalism considers rules and institutions as the key factors, on which international system is based.

The rules, regulating international relations, could be divided into moral norms and norms of law. They are not in conflict, on the contrary, they amend each other. From these two groups of norms the moral norms are more important for neo-liberalism, as they derive from the idealist tradition of liberal democracy and observing of human rights.

Neo-liberals consider functioning of the system of rules and norms in IR by the means of the theories of regimes, hegemonic stability, and interdependence. The nature of the theory of interdependence is revealed in the book of R.Keohane and J.Nay *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Keohane & Nye, 1977). Keohane and Nay introduce the notion of the complex interdependence. The main characteristics of the complex interdependence are high level of social interdependence, intensive intergovernmental interaction of the states, and complex internal policy. In connection with the main features of complex interdependence, the use of power is not effective anyway because it has a negative influence on interaction between

the states in the other spheres. This assumption distinguishes neo-liberalists from neo-realists, for whom the issue of security is of paramount importance.

Theory of regimes was elaborated by R.Keohane in his book *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Keohane concludes that international regimes promote cooperation not by establishing the rules but by changing conditions, in which the states meet the decisions based on their interests (Keohane, 1984, p. 13). International institutions provide the states with information about each other, allow to estimate the readiness of potential partner for cooperation, what promotes active interaction between the states.

Keohane explains commitment of the states to the existing regimes through the economical reasons. The process of establishment or rebuilding of a new regime demands high material costs. Being rational, the states try not break created regime, what maintains status quo. Theory of hegemonic stability is closely linked to the theory of regimes. From the neo-liberals' point of view, the presence of hegemon facilitates establishment and strengthening of regime, although it is not an obligatory factor for its existence. The presence of hegemon reduces the risk of emergence of new regime, what is not desirable from considerations of economy.

From the main principles of neo-liberalism we can conclude that it attaches more importance to the moral aspect in IR and in cooperation between the actors than neo-realism. Neo-liberalists also assert the efficiency of international cooperation for prevention of conflicts or their successful resolution. Principle of collective security, compliance with rules and norms, commitment to the theory of regimes, importance of international institutions enclose the problem of trust.

Collective security implies the unconstrained cooperation between the states and, consequently, trust. There will not be an effective functioning of international organization, if the states do not trust that they are unbiased. Trust, in perception of neo-liberalist, could be defined as a confidence that existing norms and rules, established regime do not abuse the interests of the state and provide the real opportunities to gain from cooperation. Moreover, taking into account that neo-liberalism understands under international actors not only states, it should be noticed that trust exists between different actors: state and state, state and international organization, etc. In addition, an economic aspect plays an important role for neo-liberalists. Here, trustworthy relations between the partners in the sphere of economy take the central place.

Summarizing, I would like to stress the difference between the liberalism and neo-liberalism. For liberals trust could be understood as trustworthy relations between democracies, which derive just from the assurance in the peacekeeping principles of the democratic states. Trust for neo-liberals is rather trust to the justice of the international institutions, which can prevent the aggressive behavior of the other international actors and to protect the actors existing in compliance with established norms and rules.

### 1.1.3. Trust and Constructivism

The term “constructivists” is a self-description, it was introduced by Nicholas Onuf in his work *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations* in 1989. A.Wendt, J.Ruggie, E.Adler, P.Katzenstein, F.Kratochwil, M.Finnemore have made a valuable contribution to the development of constructivism (Onuf, 1989). Constructivism emerged in the 1980s as a critical orientation: in the narrow sense as a critique of IR rationalism, first of all, neo-realism; more broadly as a dialogue with social scientific innovations since 1970s. Origins of constructivism could be found in the Kant's ideas concerning the subjective knowledge about world and Weber's thoughts about subjective understanding and interpretation of actions.

Constructivism's critique of rationalism is based on the assertion that a rational choice theory restricts the spectrum of issues, which can ask researcher. From the point of view of constructivists, realism ignores the cultural attributes of structure, what is inadmissible because the material factors depend on meaning given to them. Constructivists as well as neo-realists admit the great role of structure in international relations, but they believe that structure determines state identity, which is constructed through the process of interaction between the states. Sovereignty as a social identity also depends on mutual recognition and is a result of states' actions in compliance with the shared norms, which define the existence of notion “sovereignty” (Wendt, 1992, p. 413). Thus, the key factor for construction of state identity is neither human nature nor domestic politics, but interaction between the states, which is invoked by structure. Interests in turn depend on identities. Thereby, both identity and interests of the states are foreordained.

The main objects for an international relations' analysis in constructivism are the states. But constructivists refuse to describe the states in IR as the billiard balls. Because of given identity they consider state as a black box. Constructivists insist on the interdependence of the international society and its components, under the components they understand mainly states. The anarchy isn't immanent attribute of the international system, it is a result of states' interaction, which forms interests and identities. A.Wendt distinguishes three cultures of anarchy: Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian. The nature of Hobbesian anarchy could be explained through the formula: “war of all against all” (Wendt, 2006, p. 265). The starting point for development of the Lockean culture of anarchy is the states' perception of each other as the rivals not as the enemies as opposed to the Hobbesian culture. Finally, in the Kantian culture the place of rivalry and enmity is occupied by the concept of friendship.

The constructivist approach to the problem of anarchy was implemented in the elaboration of securitization theory. Developing the ideas of K.Deutsch, E.Adler and M.Barnett come to conclusion that identity and trust are the key factors for the establishment of security community (Adler & Barnett, 1998). In general they focus attention on the influence of structure on security.

It should be taken into account that constructivism is not a homogeneous mainstream. There are some divisions within it. First of all, constructivism and critical constructivism should be distinguished. Critical constructivism encompasses different schools: postmodernism, post-structuralism, feminism, etc. Doubt of rationality and existence of one objective truth, critique of historicism unite all these schools (Der Derian, 1990, pp. 295-310; Lyotard, 1987, pp. 3-9; Tickner, 1997, pp. 611-32).

Secondly, Wendt's interpretation of constructivism is defined as institutionalist constructivism as opposed to Ruggie's historical constructivism. Admitting that sovereignty is a social identity, which is historically specific and may be transformed through the processes of enhancing interdependence and transnational convergence of the domestic values, Wendt finds an opportunity to solve the problem of security dilemma. From his point of view, it could be achieved through the reduction of the systemic heterogeneity. In this connection, Wendt puts forward the idea of international state's construction. It should be a complex multilayered transnational structure, which can be bring about through collective identity and in which sovereign territoriality is suspended. In his later work Wendt elaborates the theory that the end-point of a development of the international system is a world state. The formation of the world state is inevitable and this process includes five stages: a system of states, a society of states, world society, collective security and world state (Wendt, 2003, p. 491). The final stage is characterized by a complete abolition of the logic of anarchy, the elimination of the sovereignty, and the end of the international.

The key thesis of Ruggie's historical constructivism runs as follows: modern states' system is a result of a unique historical trajectory that might be coming to an end (Ruggie, 1998). According to Ruggie, both premodern-modern and modern-postmodern transformations are determined by changes in social mentalities, ideas, norms, practices, which constitute and maintain a political community. Sovereignty is also not a timeless attribute of anarchy. There is an opportunity of transformation of system's structure from the segmental structure of multiple authorities to the territorial exclusivity unitary based on supreme authority.

John Ruggie elaborated two most outstanding theories. The first one is a theory of the emergence of sovereign statehood, considering the factors and processes, which helped to establish the institute of sovereignty. The other famous theory, produced by Ruggie is a theory of the multiperspectival polity, which implies a coexistence of overlapping authorities (states, regions, transnational authorities) and the enfolding of the state within a complex network of polities (Ruggie, 1993, pp. 139-74).

The differences between historical and institutionalist types of constructivism reveal in their critique of neo-realism. The main point for Wendt's critique is a materialist ontology of neo-realism. For Ruggie the crucial drawbacks of neo-realism are the ahistorical nature of theory, incapable of conceptualizing systematic transformation; ignoring the level of structural differentiation, which effaces the difference between the medieval and the modern.

In addition, there are the essential contradictions between historical and institutionalist constructivism themselves. Historical constructivism dismantles state-centrism of Wendt, developing analytical instruments for the understanding of current transformation in the statehood.

Finally, there are some controversies concerning the key factors for formation of identity and interests in the works of the constructivists. Martha Finnemore, for example, stresses the importance of international norms and consequently international organizations in the creation of identity and interests (Finnemore, 1993, p. 566). From the point of view of P.Katzenstein, particular significance in this process have the domestic structures or factors. He corroborates his assertion by the analysis of the Japan's security policy and comes to conclusion that "Japan's security policy is shaped largely by domestic rather than international determinants" (Katzenstein & Okawara, 1993, p. 117).

Using constructivism for definition of trust, I imply constructivism in a broad sense. However, the applied type of constructivism is more close to the Wendt's interpretation as the classical one. In any case the representatives of the different schools of constructivism are united by the similar position concerning the major issues.

The central notion of constructivist theory is a state identity. As it was stated above, identity of the states is forming through the process of interaction. Here, we can suppose that identity in turn

plays an important role in the process of cooperation. In other words, identity and interaction between the states are the mutual influencing factors. On these ground I propose an assumption that the states, which are close in their identities are more trustworthy to each other and therefore cooperate more often. It could be simply explained because the states with the similar identities have similar interests, what is a basis for fruitful cooperation. For example as identity of the Soviet Union and the USA during the period of the Cold War could be considered their ideologies (Kydd, 2005, p. 21). Confrontation between these two great powers as well as establishment of two opposed blocks are explained through the contraposition of the ideologies.

Taking into account constructivists' critique of rationalism and their perception of identity, we can conclude that states are initially trustworthy or untrustworthy to each other, what is predetermined by their identities. On the other hand, identity and interaction between the states are mutual influencing factors. Consequently, distrust could transform into trust through the process of interaction. Assumption about the possibility of distrust-trust transformation seems to be relevant because, from the constructivists' point of view, even sovereignty refers to the identity and exists due to the mutual recognition of the states. Transformation of distrust into trust is connected with the transition from Hobbesian culture of anarchy to the Kantian one, when Lockean culture is a transient stage. In this connection, the crucial role of trust in solving the problem of security is asserted.

Statement about the correlation between identity and the process of securitization finds confirmation in the works of the representatives of the Copenhagen school. B.Buzan and O.Wæver agree that for some cases of securitization not sovereignty but identity could be lost (Buzan & Wæver, 1997, p. 242). Thus, by losing the identities, which contradict each other, the states become ready for cooperation, what promotes the establishment of security community or formation of the world state in understanding of A.Wendt. Of course, speaking about identity, assumptions of M.Finnemore and P.Katzenstein concerning the role of international norms and organizations and domestic factors in formation of state's also should be taken into account, but, at same time, I give the palm to the interaction between the states.

Coming to conclusion, I would like to define trust within the framework of constructivism in the following way: trust is predetermined by the identities of the states, but it could be also achieved by the means of interaction and transition from the Hobbesian culture of anarchy to the Kantian one. Thus, not only anarchy but also identity and trust are what states make of them.

## 1.2. Trust in Russian-Finnish Cooperation: Why Constructivism?

Here, I would like to explain, why namely constructivism seems to be the most applicable theory for the analysis of the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish Cooperation.

First of all, constructivism is the most appropriate theory for consideration of the phenomenon of trust in general because it is closely linked with psychology and “at a fundamental level, a cognitive psychological analysis of world politics is compatible with the constructivist program” (Goldgeier & Tetlock, 2001, p. 83).

Secondly, constructivists pay a great attention to the identity. In this connection, the issue of the Finnish identity and the role of Russia in the process of its transformation could be raised. Geographical location leaves no choice. Therefore, Finland and Russia were always in interaction, what exerted an influence on the identity. Especially spirited discussion concerning this issue started after the end of Cold War and is constructed around the assumption that Finland is “neither Eastern nor Western” (Dutton, 2009, p. 40). If we can state that Finland is rather “partially Eastern”, it provides a reason to assert that trust between Finland and Russia is predetermined (Ibid.).

Thirdly, the history of Russian-Finnish relations is a good example of the transformation of distrust into trust and vice versa and of transition from the Hobbesian culture of anarchy to the Kantian one. This process is closely linked with the changes in Finnish identity. It should be pointed out that transition from one culture of anarchy to another one happened more than one and this is an ongoing process.

Here, one more reason for usage of constructivism could be mentioned. From my point of view, Finland's movement to the West expressed in terms of its close cooperation with the other Nordic countries and integration in the European Union in general, reflects the process, which according to constructivism could be described as the formation of world state. In this transition Russia for several reasons is obviously dropped behind. It is clear that such situation does not promote cooperation between Russia and Finland.

Research of the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish Cooperation should allow to define what level of trust corresponds to the current state of affairs. Are Russia and Finland enemies, friends or just rivals?

## **CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY**

### **2.1. Research strategy**

Methodology is a system of principles of scientific investigation, the scope of research procedures on collection, primary treatment and analysis of information (Yadov, 1995, p. 31). In other words, methodology implies a technique of methods' application, which is used in order to solve the research problem. Methodology can include a range of methods, which help to collect, and analyze the data to make conclusions on this basis.

The strategy of research should be elaborated on the assumption of research problem. In this connection, the author of research chooses the appropriate methods, which seems to be the most applicable for the particular goal of research. In addition, the author should choose the most applicable from the available methods for research, taking into account the restrictions posed by the situation, in which the research is conducted. Thus, two main principles for choosing the research methods are the applicability to the examined categories and practicability of method (Manheim & Rich, 1999, p. 31). Moreover, the strategy of research should correspond to the theoretical approach applied to the study of problem. One more distinguishing feature of the methodology in international relations is interdisciplinarity, which is conditioned by examined problem.

The research of the phenomenon of trust in international relations is implemented by example of Russian-Finnish cooperation. This approach implies an attempt to apply the theoretical findings to the concrete case of interstate relations. It helps to confirm the relevance of the phenomenon of trust in international relations and produce the general framework for the examination of trust concerning the relations between the states. In other words, the problem of generalization will be resolved. Generalization is one of the goals of any political research. It implies the applicability to the wide range of different examples united by the same problem. However, it is only one of many other possible approach and the distinguishing features of any particular case also should be taken into account.

Aiming to investigate the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish cooperation, I elaborate the special methodology to advance the research. First of all, it should be pointed out that the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish cooperation is examined by the means of research of V.Putin speeches. The usage of Putin's speeches reveals the psychological aspect of research. Thus, there is a need to choose the appropriate methods. In this connection, I decided to choose the methods, which

are typical for the humanities in general, not only for political science and reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the research: content analysis and cognitive mapping. Strictly speaking, the main method of research is cognitive mapping, but in our case it is impossible to realize cognitive mapping without qualitative content analysis. Content analysis in research plays the role of auxiliary method. However, its significance for research should not be diminished.

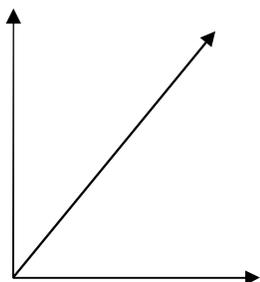
The combination of content analysis and cognitive mapping seems to be relevant according to the elaborated strategy of research. The results of the content analysis serve as a basis for the further consideration of problem of trust by the means of cognitive mapping. The combination of qualitative content analysis and cognitive mapping was already implemented by Gr. Bonham and M. Shapiro for the comparison of cognitive maps of politicians with the goal of prognostication of their behavior, what allow to assert that this combination of methods is reasonable in research of international relations (Bonham & Shapiro, 1976).

In order to explain why namely this research strategy was chosen I want to stress the singularity of investigated problem. Trust is a cognitive category, which steams from the individuals' perception of each other. It is very complicated to discover trust, to describe its nature and to make conclusions concerning the existence or absence of trust in Russian-Finnish relations. Thereupon, the speeches of Mr. Putin were chosen as the primary data for analysis. He was the mouthpiece of the Russian population during the period from 2000 till 2008 or at least the process of further development of Russian-Finnish relations depended on his perception.

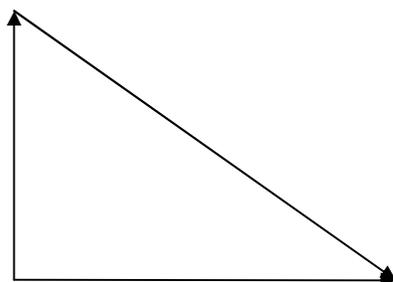
In addition, one of the tasks, which should be resolved in the course of research, is the description of the changes in the level of trust in Russian-Finnish relations by the means of graph. There are three possible alternative models, reflecting the nature of the changes in the level of trust in Russian-Finnish relations, which can have: 1) upward character; 2) downward character; 3) wavy character (see Figure 1). At the end of the research I plan to apply one of these three models to the case of Russian-Finnish relations.

Figure 1. Possible models of changes in the level of trust in Russian-Finnish relations.

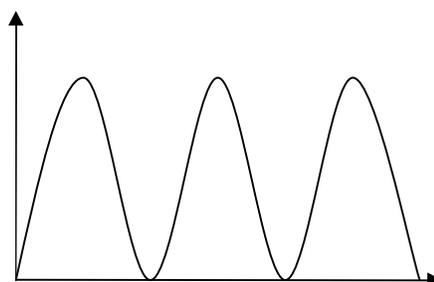
№ 1



№ 2



№ 3



## 2.2. Compatibility of Methodology and Theory

As it was mentioned above, the speeches of V.Putin are chosen as the data for research. The process of data selection fully corresponds to the principles of constructivism. According to constructivist point of view "...it [speech] is doing important social construction work, creating new understandings and new social facts that reconfigure politics" (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2001, p. 402). Thereby, by analyzing the speeches, we can understand the attitude of any person to the particular problem and to predict the possible variants of behavior or influence on the development of international relations.

Here, I would like to pay attention to the role of personality in international relations. It should be pointed out that Mr. Putin was living in Saint-Petersburg a long period of time. In this connection, we can suppose that belonging to the population of North-West Russia left traces on his perception of Russian-Finnish relations. This assumption is especially relevant in the light of importance of identity for constructivists. Hereby, on the basis of the research findings there is an opportunity to confirm or to refute the assumption concerning the belonging of V.Putin to the identity of the population of the North Europe.

The other reason, which confirms the compatibility of constructivism as a theoretical approach and cognitive mapping as a main method for research is the constructivists' assurance of the role of states' interaction in the construction of international relations. Thus, constructivism in fact puts in the forefront the significance of the states' intentions, which are subsequently realized in their actions on international arena. The possible strategy of the state's actions could be estimated by consideration of the cognitive maps of the leading politicians of the state, who are responsible for foreign policy decision making. Taking into account the constructivist approach, namely the cognitive maps of the leading politicians are the starting point for the development of relations between the states, because the key politicians exert the influence on foreign policy and form the mutual perception of the population of states.

In general, in the research is used quit flexible approach, what solves the problem of long-term relevance of the research. It is not based on so-called "given factors" and, thus, even in case of the radical changes in world order or structure of international relations the elaborated strategy will help to investigate the problem of trust between the states. It is also very important in the light of constructivism, because namely constructivism was a theory, which replaced the existing theories of international relations after the collapse of the bipolar system, and is not attached to

the particular system of world order, emphasizing “the social dimension of international relations and the possibility of change” (Fierke, 2007, p. 167).

The methodological approach of the research could be also characterized as the empirical one. Along with the empirical approach the normative approach is recognized. Difference between these two approaches is predetermined by the ultimate goal of research. The main goal of normative approach consists in production of the best solution in the given condition. The empirical approach is aimed at the critical consideration of the made decisions and propose a wide range of other possible alternative strategies. The empirical approach reflects the constructivist attitude to the methodology and namely the attitude of the modern constructivists.

The stage of interpretation is an integral part of research for the modern constructivists. They believe that there are different variants of interpretations, all of which have the right to exist, but some of them are the most appropriate (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2001, p. 395). However, implementation of pure normative or empirical approach is practically not possible. The empirical approach to the problem of trust has also features of normative one. In the final analysis any researcher seeks to propose the best solution of problem. But in my research this solution has only advisory character and reflects my personal opinion concerning the problem.

Thus, for the achievement of the main goal of research the combination of qualitative and interpretative methods is used. Under the qualitative and interpretative methods in this particular case the qualitative content analysis and the cognitive mapping are implied. The features of the implementation of these methods to the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish relations are considered in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 3: CASE-STUDY OF RUSSIAN-FINNISH COOPERATION

### 3.1. Principles of Data Collection

In order to research the phenomenon of trust in Russian-Finnish relation the speeches of Vladimir Putin, the President of the Russian Federation during the period from 2000 till 2008, were selected as the primary sources. The data are available to a wide audience and could be found on the official web site of the President of Russia<sup>4</sup>, where all President's speeches from December 31, 1999 till May 7, 2008 are stored in the archive. The time frame sharply restricts the period of Presidency of Vladimir Putin. On December 31, 1999 Mr. Putin became the Acting President after the retirement of the first President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin. May 7, 2008 is the last day of the Presidency of Mr. Putin after the two presidential terms. The inauguration of the new Russian President Dmitry Medvedev took place this day.

According to the categorization of Manheim J. and Rich R. the speeches of Mr. Putin are the sources of internal nature written by the examined individual but external oriented (Manheim & Rich, 1999, p. 269). The very speeches of Mr. Putin were used as the data for research for several reasons. First of all, it seems to be more appropriate to consider a completed period of presidency when the results of the president's actions are more or less obvious. Thus there is an opportunity to link together the results of the empirical data's research and the practical evidences consisting in the development of partnership, friendly and constructive relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Finland.

Secondly, in my opinion the period from 2000 to 2008 is long enough and thus qualified for the content analyses and subsequent cognitive mapping - methods which are used to solve the research problem. In spite of the fact that Russian-Finnish relation can be qualified as intensive compared with the other bilateral contacts of the Russian Federation, first persons of Russia and Finland met at an average two-three times in a year including the multilateral meetings devoted to the different issues.

The process of the data analyses is divided in two nominal large stages. On the first stages all speeches of Mr. Putin referred to the considering period are examined with the application of the chosen method. On the second stage the application of method is narrowed to the speeches of Mr. Putin concerning the Republic of Finland. On this second stage particular attention is paid to

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<sup>4</sup> [www.kremlin.ru](http://www.kremlin.ru)

the speeches in the framework of the meetings with the key politicians of Finland. Under the key politicians are understood from Finnish site – the President of the Republic of Finland from 2000 till present - Tarja Halonen, Speaker of the Parliament of Finland from 2003 till 2007 - Paavo Lipponen and the Prime Minister of Finland from 2003 till 2010 - Matti Vanhanen.

Certainly, the analysis of the official speeches poses some limitations on the results of research. It is obvious that the official statements of the first persons of the states are prepared by speechwriters and thereby can't be considered as the pure expression of the personal thinking and attitude to the issue. But on the other hand, namely the official statements reflect the common policy of the Russian Federation toward the Republic of Finland. In addition, it is believed that Mr. Putin is free enough in his statements and intended to improvisation. Here, the part of personal attitude in the official statements of Mr. Putin is high.

Stages of the data analysis are linked to the first step of content analysis. In this phase the researcher defines the whole set of data for the examination. The set of data depends on the test subject. The test subject in our case is trust in Russian-Finnish relations. Therefore the speeches of Mr. Putin related to the meeting with the Finnish politicians were selected for analysis. But each researcher seeks to improve his scientific investigation to make it more precisely. In the light of this aspiration the following procedure of the content analyses is proposed by author.

### 3.2. President Putin is Putting Trust in Good Use

Taking into account interdisciplinary nature of the international relations as a science, any method needs to be specified in order to be applicable in aiming the particular goal of the research. The content analysis in the research of the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish relations has the features of the discourse analysis. It means that the content analysis can't be reduced to the simple counting of the chosen key words in the texts. The simple calculation of the key words disregarding the context is one of the more common errors, which faces researcher during the content analysis (Manheim & Rich, 1999, p. 274). The crucial point in the research is to define the context of trust, what Mr. Putin implies, when he speaks about trust.

Hereby, on the first large stage of the content analysis all speeches of Mr. Putin over the specified period are selected as the primary data. The examined material includes speeches on working meetings and conferences, memorable dates and events, meeting with representatives of various communities, press conferences, and etc. One of the criteria for the correct application of content analysis is the usage of the one type of data. However, this point does not mean that, for example, only addresses to the Federal Assembly could be chosen as a primary data. In our case this condition is completely observed because of the use of the official statements of one person, the President of the Russian Federation – V.Putin.

While analyzing the data it should not be overlooked that the context of trust in the speeches of President Putin depends on the circumstances in which V.Putin delivers his speech or being more precise on the conversation partner. Thus, trust could be most frequent equated to the cooperation, friendly relations in the speeches devoted to the meetings with the politicians of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) member states.

Confirmation of this meaning of trust concerning the CIS can be found, for example, in *A Statement and Answers to Journalists' Questions Following Negotiations with President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan*, where V.Putin stresses the high level of trust and mutual understanding between Russia and Uzbekistan, and the development of cooperation between the states in the different spheres (Putin, 2000). The absolute trust to each other in the context of mutual assistance, support and cooperation as the basis for the further development of relations between Russia, Belarus and Ukraine is mentioned by Mr.Putin in the *Statement on the Opening Ceremony of the Friendship Day of the Population of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine* (Putin, 2001).

Such approach to the relation with the CIS countries could be explained by the special relationships, which the Russian Federation seeks to strengthen with its next-door neighbors.

Building of the special trustworthy relations with the CIS countries is one of the high-priority goals of the Russian foreign policy. Among the regional priorities of the Russian foreign policy “...ensuring conformity of multilateral and bilateral cooperation with the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to national security tasks of the country” comes first according to The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation approved by the President of the Russian Federation V.Putin on June 28, 2000 (2000, Item IV). This priority of the Russian foreign policy remains unchanged during the whole period of the presidency of V.Putin and was stated again in The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation approved by the newly elected President of the Russian Federation D.Medvedev on July 12, 2008 (2008, Item IV).

Trust in the context of relations with the other countries, meaning so called western society (EU member states and the USA), commonly has an economical connotation. Speaking about trust in these cases, Mr. Putin seeks to stress the necessity of construction of positive image of the Russian Federation in the eyes of foreign investors and creation of friendly climate for investments. Trustworthy relations as the precondition of the successful implementation of business-projects were pointed out by President Putin at the *Opening ceremony of the Hannover Trade Fair* (Putin, 2005). At the *Joint press conference with Austrian President Heinz Fischer* V.Putin referred to the volume of the Austrian investments in the Russian Economy as a sign of the high level of trust of the Austrian investors (Putin, 2007).

Regarding the relations with the USA trust could be referred to the sphere of security and is often used dealing with the problem of disarmament, nuclear security, etc. Thus, for example, the issue of disarmament was raised at the joint *meeting of the USA President G. W. Bush and the Russian President V. V. Putin with the students of Crawford High School*. Answering to the question of audience, V.Putin said that the effectiveness of the negotiations between the USA and the Russian Federation concerning the reduction of nuclear weapons arsenals directly depends on the level of trust between the states (Putin, 2001).

Trust from the position of security is also found in the speeches of Mr. Putin in respect to the relations with the NATO. Relations of the Russian Federation and the NATO in the first place have a great significance in the safeguarding. From the point of view of Mr. Putin expressed at the *meeting with NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer* the growing level of trust

between the Russian Federation and the NATO could promote the strengthening of security in the world (Putin, 2004). But the key word here is “could”, and this statement of Mr. Putin is only the desire, but not the reflection of reality. This point of view is corroborated by the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation approved on February 5, 2010 by the President Medvedev. According to the item 8 (a) of this document the NATO's enlargement is the main external military threat facing Russia. It is noteworthy that among the main goals of the Russian Federation directed at the deterrence and prevention of the military conflicts the EU and the NATO are mentioned in the context “the development of relations with another intergovernmental organizations” on the last place after The Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), CIS, OSCE and The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SOC). Moreover, in the list of the military cooperation's priorities the NATO as well as the EU aren't mentioned at all (2010, Item 19).

Concerning the Asian countries such as China, North and South Korea, India Mr. Putin tries to emphasize personal trust, special character of relation between the Russian Federation and these countries. For instance, at the *press conference after the Russian-Korean talks* V.Putin paid particular attention to the trustworthy and open atmosphere of negotiations with the President of South Korea Roh Moo-hyun (Putin, 2004). With regard to the countries of the Arab world the term “trust” in the majority of cases signifies “respect”. At the *press conference after the Russian-Syrian talks* President Putin mentioned the principles of equality, mutual respect and trust to each other as the reliable basis for partnership (Putin, 2005).

Generally speaking, we can conclude that the speeches of Mr. Putin are aimed at the psychological perception and appeal to the mental identity of the audience. The content of his speeches correspond to the goals, which he wants to reach. When politician speaks for the wide audience, his main goal is to create the positive image. It is well known that due to the history for the Asian countries as for comparatively shut-in society personal trust and special character of relations have the great importance. In its turn the friendly and partnership relations with the Arab countries could be more easily established on the mutual respect, considerations for traditions and religion. Usage of these distinguishing characteristics in the proper way is a passport for success in creation of climate of trust for the further cooperation.

One more meaning in which Mr. Putin uses the term “trust” is connected with the sphere of internal policy. This signification of trust implies trust in political institutions and legitimization of power, which is given to the governmental authorities by the population through the

democratic procedure of free elections. The issue of trust to the federal authorities was especially often raised by early 2000<sup>th</sup>, when the attention of international community was compelled to the Chechen problem. Thus, at the *press conference after the Russian-European Union Summit*, which took place on 17 May, 2001, President Putin was forced to admit that the level of trust to the federal authorities in Chechen Republic is low (Putin, 2001). At the same time, V.Putin stressed the governmental efforts aimed at the creation of population trust to the authorities, emphasizing the role of population trust in maintenance of stability in the country (Putin, 2001).

Trust to the governmental authorities, political parties, political leaders currently captures a great attention of the academic world. A wide range of researches can be mentioned in evidence of the particular interests to the issue of trust on the level of internal policy (Luehiste, 2006, pp. 475-96; Lidstroem, 2008, pp. 384-407; Baeck & Kestilae, 2009, pp. 171-94). Namely the fact that the problem of trust is developed by the scientists especially concerning the internal policy gives me an impetus to research the problem of trust between the states in international relation.

However, it is necessary to mention that several researchers investigated the problem of trust in international relations during the period of the Cold War (Jervis, 1978, pp. 167-214; Kydd, 2005). These researches have partially lost their urgency after the changes in the world order connected with the Collapse of the Soviet Union and transition to the system of the multipolar world order. Moreover, trust in such kind of researches is considered within the framework of the game theory. Thereby, the importance of trust as one of the crucial elements for the cooperation between the states in this case is restricted enough. Such approach doesn't explain the phenomenon of trust between the states but rather makes a contribution to the further development of the game theory.

Thus, taking into account the described above meanings of the key word "trust", in which it is used in the analyzed data, in fact we apply one of two possible methods for the identification of the context. The first way implies the work of the group of experts, who define the context of the key words. The analysis of the same material at least by two independent experts reduces the probability of the mistaken treatise of the context. The second method is more appropriate for this research. It consists in the supplement for the analysis of the word combinations, which explain the meaning of trust in every particular phrase. In spite of the fact that a very wide range of the word combinations can denote one or another meaning of trust, I tried to define the most popular one in order to provide "trust" with the certain sense.

The selection of the word combinations is realized by the means of the pilot content analysis of the limited sample of data. In order to define the appropriate word combinations for the content analysis of the speeches of Mr. Putin I carried out the pilot content analysis of his speeches dated to the 2001. The common length of materials of 2001 corresponds to the middle length of the speeches of the other years, therefore, the outcomes of the pilot content analysis could be considered as representative.

### 3.2.1. Content Analysis: Stage 1

As it was stated above, on the first stage of research all the speeches of Mr. Putin during the period since 2000 till 2008 are used as the data for analysis. According to the pilot study of the materials dated to the 2001, “trust” in the speeches of Mr. Putin could imply some different senses.

The first one signifies friendly relationship. The following word combinations correspond to this meaning of trust: cooperation and partnership as the main principles of interaction of the states; trust of one society to the other society based on the positive and in the most cases historically determined experience of the partnership; respect to the traditions, religion prevailing in the other state; trust-based dialog between the governmental authorities of the states.

Trust can also have an economical connotation. This meaning of trust could be defined through the following word combinations: trust of investors, who do not fear to invest their money in Russia; trust between business-communities of the states, what could be achieved through the honest cooperation; trust used in the context of cooperation concerning the energy resources also can be attributed to the sphere of economy.

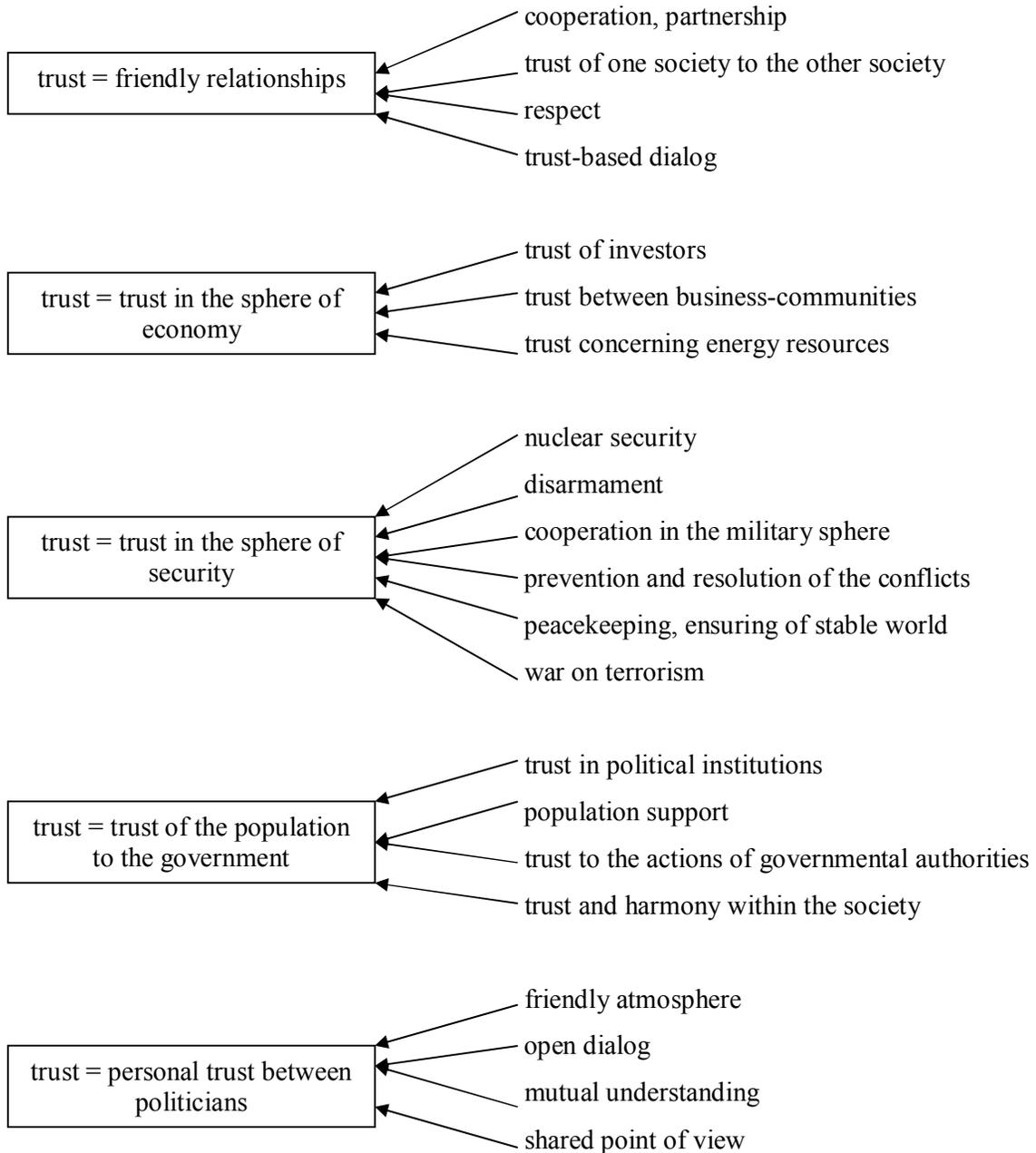
The third meaning of trust deals with the security sphere. In order to referred “trust” to this relative group the following word combinations are chosen: nuclear security, disarmament; cooperation in the military sphere; prevention and resolution of conflicts, including the conflicts, when the Russian Federation acts as a mediator; trust as a mean of peacekeeping, ensuring of stable world and war on terrorism.

For the interpretation of trust on the national level as a signal word combinations could be considered: trust in the political institutions; population support; trust to the actions of governmental authorities; trustworthy and harmonic relations within the country.

The last meaning of trust, which was discovered in the speeches of Mr. Putin, implies the personal trust between the politicians. Usually the personal trust is stressed with the help of word combinations, which describe friendly and trustworthy atmosphere during the bilateral negotiations; open dialog, mutual understanding between the politicians; shared point of view concerning a wide range of issue.

The main meanings of trust in the speeches of the former President of the Russian Federation, V.Putin, and the word combinations, which help to define the meaning of trust in the context, are represented schematic on the Figure 2.

Figure 2. Meanings of Trust and the Relevant Word Combinations



All the speeches of Mr. Putin during the period from 2000 till 2008 were analyzed according to the elaborated classification of trust and corresponding to each meaning word combinations. In order to demonstrate the outcomes of the content analysis more visually the results are

represented in the table (Figure 3). Such presentation of information also gives an opportunity to compare the number of mentions of trust in the different years and to trace some trends in the changing context of trust.

Figure 3. Results of the Content Analysis of Mr. Putin' Speeches since 2000 till 2008

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
<b>trust = friendly relationships</b>	16	28	31	35	22	35	30	32	4
<b>trust = economy</b>	6	5	3	3	0	8	4	7	0
<b>trust = security</b>	1	6	2	3	4	4	4	3	3
<b>trust = population support</b>	3	9	0	1	2	0	5	3	0
<b>trust = personal trust</b>	1	11	6	11	8	10	7	10	3

### 3.2.2. Content Analysis: Stage 2

Taking into account the results of the previous stage of research and being guided by the elaborated classification of the meanings of “trust”, only the speeches of Mr. Putin concerning the Republic of Finland are selected as the data for analysis on this stage of the research. The outcomes of the second stage of content analysis are tabulated (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Results of the Content Analysis of Mr. Putin' Speeches concerning Finland since 2000 till 2008

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
<b>trust = friendly relationships</b>	0	2	0	1 <sup>5</sup>	0	0	0	0	0
<b>trust = economy</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>trust = security</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>trust = population support</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>trust = personal trust</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

The outcomes represented on the figure show that “trust” concerning relations with Finland is found in the speeches of Mr. Putin very rare. It is not accidental that in all cases it means friendly relationships. In connection with the fact that “trust” is used in the analyzed data only three times, I would like to consider these cases more detailed.

Two mentions of “trust” are dated to the 2001. For the first time, Mr. Putin spoke about trust and partnership between Russian and Finland on the *meeting with Finnish businesspeople in Helsinki* (Putin, 2001). He stressed trustworthy character of Russian-Finnish relations based on the long-term mutual efforts aimed at the ensuring of fruitful cooperation between the states. For the second time, confidential nature of the Russian-Finnish relation was pointed out by Mr. Putin on

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<sup>5</sup> This case does not directly concern Finland but it is quite interesting regarding the Russian-Finnish relations. It is considered more detailed below.

the *common press conference with the President of Finland Tarja Halonen*, which took place in Helsinki on the same day (Putin, 2001). President Putin stressed again the importance of mutual trust based on the long experience of interaction. Finally, the last time Mr. Putin mentioned “trust” meaning trust-based dialog *on the plenary session of the Russia-European Union Summit* on May 31, 2003 in Strelna (Putin, 2003). In this case it does not concern Finland directly but as one of 27 member-states of the European Union. Here, it is necessary to make some notes.

The usage of the speeches within the framework of meetings with the participants from the other countries along with the representatives of Finland as a data for analysis seems to be reasonable because it shows to some degree the importance of the relations with Finland for Mr. Putin. His address to the representatives of Finland on the multilateral meetings stresses the special character of relations between Russia and Finland. Mention of “trust” in such context could be considered as a comparison with the other states, an example of positive cooperation between the states and as a sign of Russian readiness to develop relations based on mutual trust. But it is obvious according to the results of the content analysis that the appeals to the Russian-Finnish relation in the context of trust on multilateral meetings were not found. Quite the contrary, Mr. Putin speaks about trust considering the EU as an integral actor in international relations.

Perception of Finland as part and parcel of the EU is a consequence of the process of transformation of Russian-Finnish relations into the Russian-EU relations (Browning, 2002, pp. 47-72; Alapuro, 2004, pp. 85-101; Rieker, 2004, pp. 369-92). In the first place it concerns the foreign policy orientation of Finland. This aspect consists of two main parts. The first one is the current position of Russia in the formation of Finnish foreign policy and its weakening after the collapse of the Soviet Union when “...after the historical parenthesis of the Cold War Finland has finally come home to the West, the most concrete and symbolic manifestation of which has been Finland's membership in the EU” (Browning, 2002, p. 47). The second one deals with the embedding degree of the common EU policy into Finnish “national” policy and its influence on the Finnish foreign policy in general and its security policy in particular.

The tendency of transformation of Russian-Finnish relations into the Russian-EU relations gives me an impetus to analyze speeches on the multilateral level with the representatives of Finland. In order do not trouble validity of the content analysis these speeches are used only as an additional materials, which help to reveal some features of the Russian-Finnish relations in the modern period.

### 3.2.3. Outcomes of the Content Analysis

Returning to the issue of trust in Russian-Finnish relations, I carry out the comparison of the results finding on the first and second stages of content analysis. The process of comparison is realized in the following way.

To consolidate the results of the first stage it is necessary to sum up the number of trust's mentions in the different context during the whole period since 2000 till 2008. Than by the means of simple calculation the total number of pages corresponding to the analyzed materials could be defined. In order to demonstrate the process of calculation visually it is represented in the table (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. Summarized Data of the First Stage of Content Analysis

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	total
<b>mentions of trust</b>	27	59	42	53	36	57	50	55	10	389
<b>number of pages</b>	112	183	161	236	181	303	289	223	61	1749

The data cited in the table provide an opportunity to define what number of pages corresponds to one mention of trust at the average. For this goal the number of pages should be divided by the mentions of trust. The results got from this calculation reveal that “trust” is found in the speeches once in 4,5 pages in the mean. In the same way could be defined frequency of trust's usage in the speeches concerning Russian-Finnish relations. The data are also tabulated (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. Summarized Data of the Second Stage of Content Analysis.

	2000	2001	2002	2003 <sup>6</sup>	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	total
<b>mentions of trust</b>	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
<b>number of pages</b>	0	5	3	0	3	5	5	2	0	23

<sup>6</sup> The data differ from the data cited on the Figure 4 because the case of mentioning “trust” in the context of EU-Russian relations is not taken into account. Thereafter, the number of pages includes only the speeches, which directly concern Russian-Finnish relations.

Using the simple formula of trust's frequency calculation we become that "trust" concerning Russian-Finnish relations is found in the speeches of President Putin once in 11,5 pages, what is much more rare than "trust" in all speeches of Mr.Putin during the period since 2000 till 2008.

As methodical application in the research does not limit with the content analysis it is not the time to make final conclusions concerning trust in Russian-Finnish relations. To obtain more specific data the next stage of research consisting in cognitive mapping should be useful.

### **3.3. Cognitive Mapping as an Instrument for Understanding Trust in Russian-Finnish Relations**

Cognitive mapping is especially applicable for the development of comprehensive and multiple-factor notions and processes. On the basis of the previous stage of work we received evidence that “trust” is namely such category. Thus, using the results of the qualitative content analysis carried out earlier, I try to draw up a cognitive map, which reflects the perception of trust by President Putin.

Cognitive analysis may be subject-oriented or object-oriented. The first one provides inside into the perception of individual or group of people. The results of the subject-oriented analysis describe views of people, what gives an opportunity to forecast their actions. This option is very important in relation to the political sphere. Object-oriented analysis allows by the means of using cognitive map of an individual to construct the model of situation, which includes a range of mutual influencing factors.

Taking into account the theme and course of research, cognitive mapping applicable to the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish relations should be divided into the two stages corresponding to the stages of content analysis. Moreover, the first stage would be subject-oriented and the second one – object-oriented. On the first stage of cognitive mapping as well as on the first stage of content analysis the goal is to understand, what is trust according to the perception of V.Putin. The second stage of cognitive mapping is aimed at the consideration of trust in Russian-Finnish relation. For achievement of this overarching goal of research the perception of trust by President Putin plays the role of instrument for understanding of the present state of affairs.

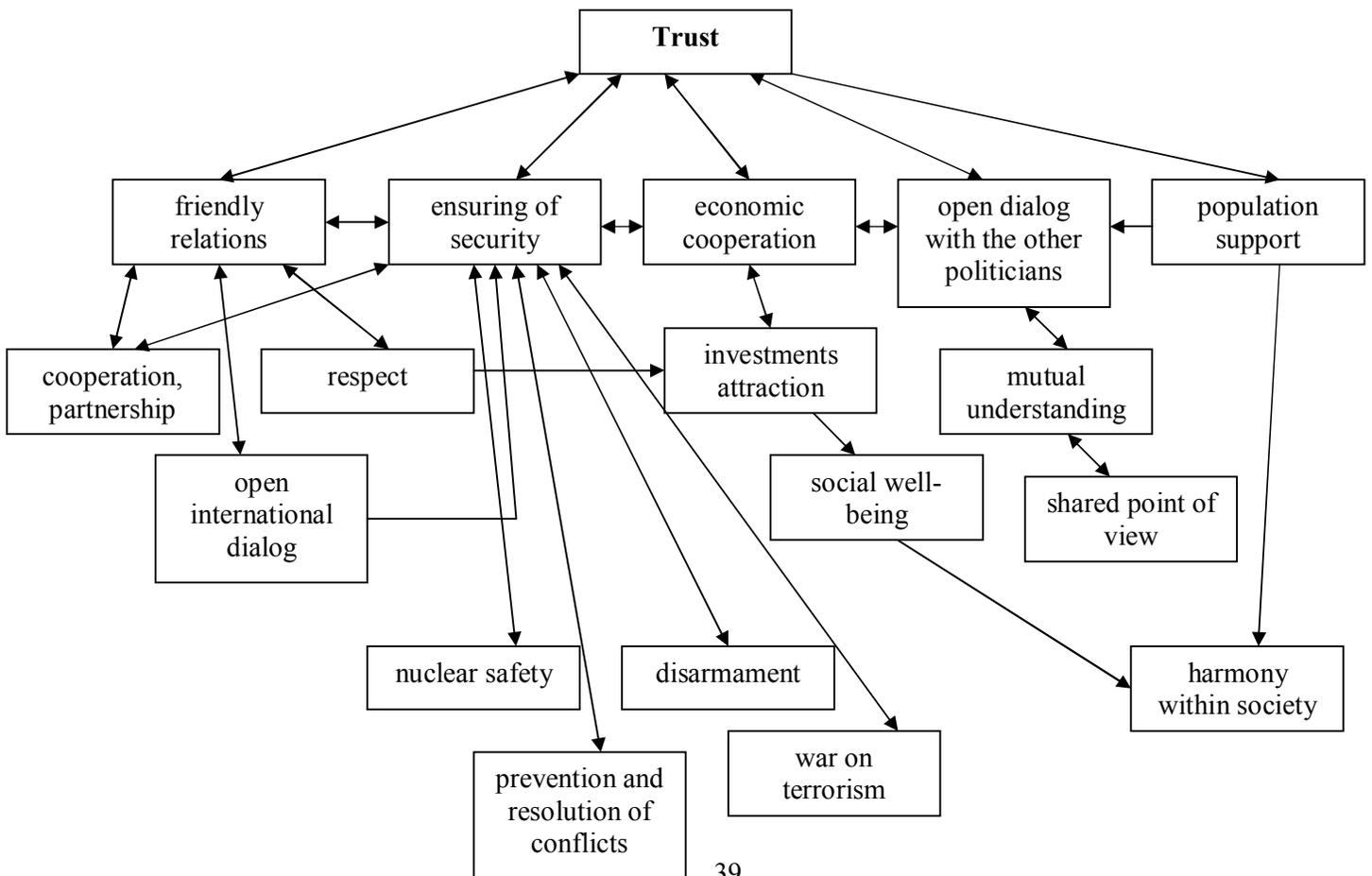
The results of the second stage of content analysis show that “trust” in the speeches of Mr. Putin is found only two times and in the same context. Here, it seems to be more appropriate to analyze the passages from the speeches and to construct the cognitive maps reflecting the perception of trust in Russian-Finnish relations on the basis of these two mentions. In this connection, first of all, I try to draw a cognitive map, which describes perception of trust by V.Putin in general; than to construct two maps reflecting trust in Russian-Finnish relations and, finally, to combine the outcomes and explain the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish relations on the basis of cognitive mapping and results finding by the means of content analysis.

### 3.3.1. Constructing Cognitive Map: Trust in Perception of V.Putin

On the first stage of cognitive mapping the selection of data should be carried out. We have already accomplished this phase realizing content analysis. The data chosen for the content analysis fully correspond to the requirements of cognitive mapping. Materials, which are used in cognitive mapping, should be attributed to the concrete individual. Thereafter, for the examination were selected only statements of President Putin.

The main typical notions, which Mr. Putin uses in his speeches, and cause-effect relations between these notions are detected on the second stage of cognitive mapping. In the research I concentrate my attention on the notion of trust. During the content analysis the word combinations, which are most frequently used by V.Putin in connection with trust, were also defined and are represented on the Figure 2. Thus, for constructing of cognitive map reflecting the notion of trust in perception of President Putin I plan to go through the text of his speeches and to structure relations between trust and the main word combinations. The results of this investigation are consolidated in the cognitive map situated below.

Figure 7. Cognitive Map: Trust in Perception of V.Putin.



After constructing cognitive map the results represented on it should be explained.

Thus, trust, according to the views of Mr. Putin, has five main meanings. The first one implies friendly relations between the Russian Federation and another state. The second one supposes ensuring of security, the absence of hostile intentions between the states. The third one is connected with the economic sphere expresses in the fruitful cooperation between the states. Next meaning of trust is used by V.Putin in order to stress open dialog with the other politicians, representatives of the other states, especially during the bilateral negotiations. And the last one meaning, which applies to the sphere of internal policy but can not be neglected, is population support – trust of people to the governmental authorities. This meaning of trust reflects the main principle of representative democracy, when through the process of voting people decide, who will act on their behalf. By the way, the level of political trust in Russia is ranked by the researchers as very low. Such state of affairs is considering as a legacy of the Soviet Union and a characteristic feature for the process of transition to democracy (Secor & O'Loughlin, 2005, pp. 66-82; Newton, 2001, pp. 201-14; Sil & Chen, 2004, pp. 347-68).

The cause-effect relations between the notions on the map are figured by the arrows. When the notions have the mutual influence the double arrow is used. The mutual influence is detected between trust in general and four main meanings of trust related to the sphere of foreign policy. For example, ensuring of security contributes to the creation of climate of trust and building of friendly relations between the states, promotes open dialog between the politicians and opens new opportunities for economic cooperation. At the same time, we could rearrange the line of notions and put “open dialog between the politicians” at the begging in place of “ensuring of security”. Relations between the notions will not break due to the stable correlations between the notions. The same scheme could be applied to the description of the cause-effect relations between the other notions used in the cognitive map.

Paying attention to the connection between trust and its five main meanings, I would like to take some notes concerning relations between the notions “population support” and “open dialog with the other politicians”. As we could see on the map, in this case one-way communication is observed between the notions. Generally speaking, this connection, reflecting the influence of internal policy on the foreign policy is quit unusual. But by constructing this cognitive map and namely by figuring this connection, I have tried to express the interest of international community to the situation in Chechen Republic. This issue was especially often raised by early 2000<sup>th</sup>. Here, stable situation in Chechnya and trust of the Chechen population to the central

authorities was a very urgent point for the establishment of open dialog with the representatives of the other states and international organizations.

The next level of notions derives from the five main meanings of trust. As we can conclude from the cognitive map, the notions of the second level and four meanings of trust, which are related to the sphere of foreign policy, are reciprocal. This means, for example, that common war on terrorism promotes the ensuring of security and vice versa the process of ensuring security implies the common efforts aimed at the war on terrorism.

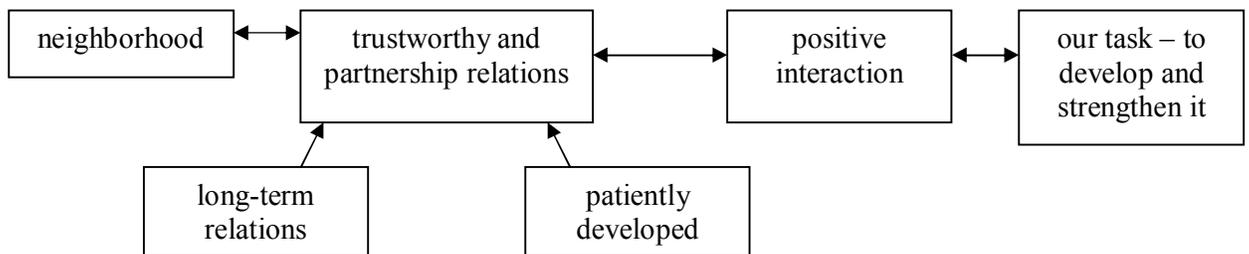
In addition, the meanings “economic cooperation” and “open dialog with the other politicians” has the third level of related notions. On the basis of the described relations between the notions and different level of map the other connections could be easy read from the Figure 7.

### 3.3.2. Constructing Cognitive Map: Trust in Russian-Finnish Relations.

The speeches of President Putin on the meeting with the Finnish businesspeople and on the common press conference with the President of Finland Tarja Halonen in Helsinki are used as the data for constructing cognitive maps reflecting the Putin perception of trust in Russian-Finnish relations. Indeed, only the passages, in which trust is pointed out, serve the material for analysis.

Using the procedure elaborated above for cognitive mapping, two maps could be constructed. The first one represented on the Figure 8 was made on the basis of speech delivered by President Putin on the meeting with the Finnish businesspeople.

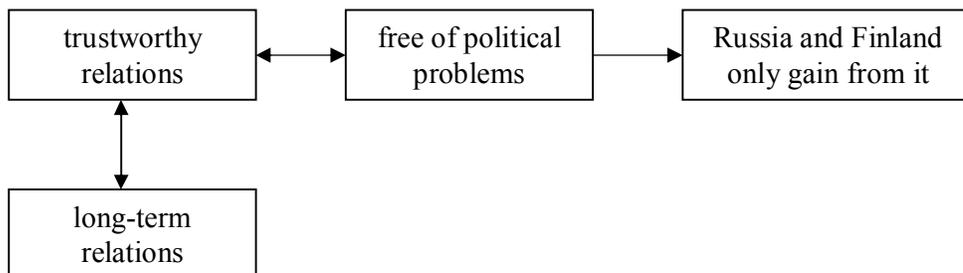
Figure 8. Cognitive Map: Trust in Russian-Finnish Relations (1).



In spite of the fact that the analyzed speech was delivered by V.Putin on the meeting with the Finnish businesspeople, the notions, which are used in the speech, do not correspond to the economic connotation of trust. They rather describe friendly relations between Russia and Finland.

The second map is constructed on the basis of passage taken from the statement for press on the common press conference of President Putin and President Halonen.

Figure 9. Cognitive Map: Trust in Russian-Finnish Relations (2).



It is obvious from the both maps that a key factor for the currently trustworthy Russian-Finnish relations is a long history of interactions between the states. The inevitable interaction was predetermined by the neighbourly location. According to the cognitive map of V.Putin, mutual efforts aimed at the establishment of trustworthy relations between Russia and Finland led to the positive result. He appreciates achievements and considers them as a good platform for the further development.

### **3.4. Interpreting Outcomes: The Problem of Trust in Russian-Finnish Relations**

Research of trust in Russian-Finnish relations carried out by the means of qualitative content analysis and cognitive mapping confirms the special character of Russian-Finnish relations. This special approach has a strong historical background. The geographical location incited the states to find the ways for cooperation and made it impossible to isolate from each other. The cooperation between Russia and Finland had different forms depending from the historical period and situation on international arena. A long history of interaction encompasses also the periods when trust between the states was ruined what led to the tragic events after the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Winter War of 1939.

It should be pointed out that in the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century the contacts between the ordinary people of Russia and Finland were quite restricted. Taking into account the lack of information, the images created by the intellectuals and the ruling elite played the crucial role in the perception of each other. In addition, the image of intellectuals rather reflected their individual experience, perception of Finns and Finland, while the image of the ruling elite was politicized (Novikova, 2010, p. 38).

The proximity of Russia has a great influence on the Finnish foreign policy, makes it ambiguous and gives a reason for discussion about West- or East-orientation of Finland. "...Finland's specific historical position in the interface between two established members of the European state system, Sweden and Russia" forced Finland to accommodate to the given situation and until to date the foreign policy orientation of Finland could not be defined unambiguous (Alapuro, 2004, p. 86).

Speaking about Russian-Finnish relations, phenomenon of Russophobia can not be neglected. It consists in the enemy image of Russia which began to develop after 1899 in connection with the so called Russification policy (Luostarinen, 1989, p. 123). Association of Russia with the threat coming from the East was especially popular during the periods of strained relations between Russia and Finland. Complicated relations between the states were often depicted on political cartoons dated to the period after the revolution in Russia when Finland became independent (Kangas, 2011, pp. 40-59). But even here the image of Russia could not be definitely identified as a negative. Russia is rather considered as a potential threat but, at the same time, as a state, which gave freedom for the Finnish people. The subtle balance between the images of Russia as a friend and as enemy is constantly projected on Russian-Finnish relations.

The obviously enemy image of Russia created during the Russo-Finnish War of 1939 has undergone the process of transformation right after the war. After the World War II a new era began in the international relations in general and in Russian-Finnish relations in particular. The structure of international relations in Northern Europe after the World War II reflected the bipolar order between the United States and the Soviet Union by the “Nordic balance” (Steinbock, 2008, p. 196). Balance of power in the region was determined by the membership of the Nordic countries in the NATO. In spite of the fact that Sweden and Finland tried to practice neutrality, Finland could be rather attributed to the Soviet block. The special relations with Finland allowed the Soviet Union to strengthen its position in Northern Europe.

Collapse of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the world order do not change the relations between Russia and Finland radically. The strong desire of Finland to become a member of the European Union did not represent a challenge for the further development of partnership relations with Russia. The transformation of Russian-Finnish relations into the Russian-EU relations should not be interpreted as a complete denial of bilateral relations between the states. This transformation only provides an opportunity for the more institutionalized relations based on the legal norms.

Here, to counterbalance to these strictly official relations trust could be considered as a basis for the cooperation between Russia and Finland on bilateral level. The desire of the Russian side to use this opportunity is clearly reflected in the understanding of trust by the President Putin. We should learn from the long history of interaction and adopt this experience to the contemporary conditions.

The creation of trustworthy relations based on the positive experience of interaction seems to be more successful namely in the bilateral relations, as opposed to the multilateral relation when the legal component plays a very important role. This unofficial part of relations could provide the new opportunities for cooperation and allow to avoid the tragic mistaken.

The establishment of trustworthy relations between Russia and Finland should not be considered as a Russian attempt to realize its imperial ambitions. The throwback is absolutely impossible. The model of leader and dependent does not correspond to the current situation on international arena. Thus, trust of the equal partners to each other based on respect and mutual understanding is the most appropriate model for the successful development of Russian-Finnish relations.

## CONCLUSION

Category of trust deserves consideration in the course of analyze of interstate relations. The influence of trust on development of international relations is not obvious and can not be easy discovered but it doesn't mean that the aspect of trust should be disregarded. Trust is the crucial point concerning the issue of cooperation, and cooperation, in turn, has particular importance for the resolution of international problems and maintenance of peace.

Trust can be considered within the framework of the different theories of international relations. According to the main principles of any school the understanding of trust has its particular features. Compared to the other theories of international relations, trust plays the most important role for constructivists. In general, more attention is paid to such cognitive categories as trust by the adherents of the reflective approach.

A special methodology could be used for the investigation of trust, which implies the combination of qualitative content analysis and cognitive mapping. This methodology was applied to the consideration of the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish relations during the period since 2000 till 2008.

According to the research findings the changes of the level of trust in Russian-Finnish relations in the course of the long history of the states' interaction has the wavy character. The attitude of Finns to Russia varied from the outright Russophobia to the friendly partnership relations, or in terms of constructivism from the Hobbesian culture of anarchy to the Kantian one. The current state of Russian-Finnish relations rather corresponds to the transitional period between these two opposite variants.

The role of the leading politicians also consists in action on the behalf of the whole population of the states. They should express the attitude to the different problems, explain the official position of the state, identifies the intentions concerning the further development of relations with the other states. Therefore, the speeches of V. V. Putin, the President of the Russian Federation since 2000 till 2008 were chosen for the consideration of the problem of trust in Russian-Finnish relations.

The outcomes of research reveal that V.Putin, who represents the official position of the Russian Federation, is in whole satisfied with the existing state of affairs concerning Russian-Finnish

cooperation. But, relying on the long-term experience of interaction, he sees the good opportunities for the strengthening of cooperation between the states. In this connection, he is far from putting trust on the last place in the range of factors promoting this process. Quite the contrary, from his point of view namely by the means of trustworthy relations cooperation can be developed and strengthened for the mutual benefit.

The understanding of the existence of the cognitive constituent part and its importance for the positive development of interstate relation is one of the key factors for the successful cooperation. The Russian-Finnish relations exemplify and confirm this assumption.

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