

Pauli Heikkilä

ESTONIANS FOR EUROPE

NATIONAL ACTIVISM FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION,
1922-1991



P.I.E. Peter Lang



Estonians for Europe provides a unique insight into nearly eighty years of the history surrounding European unification. Concentrating on Estonian aspirations for an integrative organization in international relations, the book illustrates a number of parallels and differences between commonly held narratives of twentieth-century European history.

Pauli Heikkilä is Research Fellow at the University of Tartu, Estonia. He defended his doctoral thesis at the University of Turku, Finland, in 2011 and has published extensively on the contemporary history of both Estonia and Finland.



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National Activism for European Unification since the 1920s until the End of the Cold War



P.I.E. Peter Lang

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This monograph at hand is based on my doctoral thesis defended at the University of Turku in May 2011. The introduction with the list of articles is available here: [<https://www.doria.fi/handle/10024/69598>] (all the links presented in this book have been verified on August 4, 2013). The thesis consisted of six separate articles and they have been greatly modified, but not totally rewritten, for this publication. While articles represent condensed studies written on a certain question, this monograph allows greater elaboration for reasoning and presentation. Additional material has been used, especially when extending the original time frame of the thesis, which ended at 1957, to the whole period of the Cold War. This period now includes the Soviet occupation of Estonia in full.

I am grateful to the two official opponents of my original doctoral thesis, Docent Pertti Grönholm and Professor Andres Kasekamp, for their insightful comments and remarks, many of which improved the development of the project which was eventually finalized in this book.

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Briefly returning to this book's beginnings, my dissertation project started many years ago through the European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students at the University of Tartu. With my doctoral dissertation defended, I was to again return to Tartu to pursue a post-doctoral project on Estonian emigrant groups. Hence, the final phase of this research project was supported by the European Union through the European Social Fund (Mobilitas grant No. MJD259). It was Dr. Olaf Mertelsmann who invited me to apply for this post and it has been a pleasure to work under his supervision ever since.

This "European" research demanded a lot of travelling to visit archives which, in sum, consisted of six (seven) countries. Through the course of this research, I gave a total of ten presentations at international conferences in places ranging from Toronto to Sofia, in Paris as well as in Berlin. I had the privilege of staying – free of charge – in the apartments of many wonderful people.

Besides travelling to foreign places, this research project demanded the reading of material in several different languages (English, German, French, Swedish and Finnish); I even had to learn a new language, Estonian. This book also carries references to books in Polish and Lithuanian, but solely to their English summaries. I would especially like to thank all of my foreign language teachers, not only for their valuable tuition, but for also inspiring my further studies; learning one language does not impair the learning of another one. Rather than mentioning everyone, the most significant examples of this are as follows: Marja-Leena Hellemaa for English, Tuula Takala-Nurminen for Swedish and German (both at the Kiukaisten lukio) as well as Katrin Jänese and Tiia Ristolainen for Estonian (both at the University of Tartu).

Nevertheless, despite the fact that I studied various languages, the text of my thesis has been greatly improved by various proofreaders. To list all of them would be impossible.

Vanhempani ovat tukeneet parhaansa mukaan pyrkimyksiäni ja ovat jälleen kiitoksensa ansainneet.

In Tartu, 50 kilometres from the EU-Russia border but 400 kilometres from the geographical centre of Europe.

Expanding the History of European Integration

The well-known Estonian geographer, August Tammekann, once defined Europe not in terms of politics but described the continent from the perspective of his own field of study; “In Europe, the sea penetrates everywhere, it is omnipresent, as opposed to the immense distance of wide inner Asia from the sea. For most of the year, the marine effect prevails in the European climate.”¹ For Tammekann, Europe was the land of the shore, between the soil and water.

Tammekann managed to avoid the question of nationalities in his concept of Europe. Europe, however, undeniably consists of nations. It is one question to ask which nations belong to Europe, and another – more difficult question – to ponder relations between Europe and its nations. The concept of Europe unites the nationalities of a wider Western civilization, and from another perspective, without nations Europe would be merely a dull and wide open sea.

The same metaphor of concurrence was used by another Estonian, writer Karl Ristikivi and, incidentally, a former student of geography: “*Meie ei tule kunagi tagasi siia randa. Aga nii kaua kui hingab meri, Sünnivad alati uued rannad*”. (We shall never return to this shore, but as long as the sea breaths, new shores are born.)² It is impossible to address in a universally comprehensive way how the concept of nationality has met with the concept of (supranational) Europe, because the details are in constant flux. At the same time, this predicament has always remained fundamentally the same. The tides of time may demand a different emphasis and sometimes retreat far away from to shore – only to return again as a devastating tsunami, as happened during the 1990s.

The nature of these encounters depends foremost on the nationality at hand and hence this study looks at the Estonian discussion on European unification. When the Estonians were talking of or imagining Europe, they instinctively included Estonia within it. The time period of this study covers the heyday of nationalism and nation-states starting from the peace

¹ Tammekann, 1942, pp. 199–211.

² Ristikivi, 1972, p. 7.

settlements of World War I and ending with the confrontations of the Cold War. The programmes for European unification during this period include the Paneuropean Union, the Nazi New Europe and its resistance ideas, as well as the European Movement.

In the meantime, Estonia's national history witnessed independent statehood (1920–1940), both Nazi (1941–1944) and Soviet (1940–1941, 1944–1991) occupations, and the subsequent emigration resulting from these occupations. This extensive change of external environment provides an excellent opportunity to underline the stability of the concept of Europe in the Estonian context. Estonian emigrants relied on European unification as a method to restore national sovereignty, and although they retreated from this stand during the late 1950s, they kept contact with, or at least their eye on, the developments of the European Movement and the European (Economic) Community long after.

Estonia eventually joined the European Union with nine other countries in 2004 – and adopted the Euro currency in 2011. Although Europe is politically united, it desires a cultural unity, the creation of which would benefit from a common history. Thus, there is an evident danger of presenting the Estonians participating in the European discussion as pioneers of the present situation of a post-Eastern enlargement European Union. To avoid this, this research brings forth the opposition voices and alternative opinions on European unification in the public discussion and relates this topic to the wider national discussion. Despite the variety between the international context and the national situation, this research addresses one principal question for the entire period: what were the reasons for Estonians either supporting or opposing European unification?

Three Programmes for Unification

The history of European integration has developed into a sub-field of historical research. However, it has also been strongly associated with the evolution of the European Union; a trend Jost Dülffer calls “the Christmas story of European integration”. Here the EU becomes complete in terms of both territory and depth, just as one candle is lit each week in December before full illumination is achieved on Christmas Day.³ It is clear that, before their own state becomes a member of the expanding Union, a citizen from outside the original six founding members finds it very difficult to relate to such an analogy.

The aim of the present research is to go beyond such teleology and institutional situations. This justifies the study of the discussions on

³ Dülffer, 2009, pp. 22–23; also Lane, 2005, pp. 201–202.

European unification that took place before actual membership had even become possible. Examination of these discussions, as well as of failed attempts and proposals, may hopefully reveal reasons for the founding of European institutions and, furthermore, the meaning of Europe today – a meaning which is not wholly bound to the European Union. Even past meanings have relevance for us, since, as Alan Milward, one of the leading historians of European integration has put it, “systematic procedures and the way citizens choose within them are defined by history.”⁴

Naturally, European unification has been a topic of discussion since the Middle Ages; these discussions have been documented in earlier research. The plans outlined then were mostly concerned with Central European matters and they gained only marginal interest by the north of the Baltic Sea.⁵ This research starts in the heyday of nation states: the aftermath of World War I. The dynastic empires of Eastern Europe were replaced by several nation-states but, at the same time, various plans for restoring unity on the continent also emerged. These contrary phenomena highlighted the question: how should nation-states, the new core elements of political order, act towards each other and in a larger environment? Clashes were inevitable because the discourse of Europe mostly remained at the elitist level of civilizations but the materialization of the idea in the new democratic politics required the support of the masses. The focus of this research is not so much on the cooperation between states but rather on the ideas stressing the interdependence of nations. This question has faded over time but is still relevant today and, hopefully, examples from the period in which it was a paramount question might be useful when presenting new ideas for the current discussion.

Spatially, this research has two focuses. On the one hand, it concentrates on the programme of unification of the European centre and, on the other, the Estonian reactions to and discussions on this programme. Thus, the core of this research is actually on the national interpretations of these initiatives. This twofold approach attempts to offer both a new perspective of the history of these European ambitions and Estonia's national history. The front cover picture is a view of Europe from space but from a non-traditional perspective. One way to look at the picture is to see Estonia at the front and Central Europe behind her in the distance. We can also simultaneously interpret the picture with only two dimensions; when Europe is on the top and Estonia is below her. Gradually, like all optical

⁴ Milward, 1994, p. 201, also pp. 197–198.

⁵ For example, Delanty, 1995; Mikkeli, 1998; Schmale, 2001.

illusions, we become accustomed to the double meaning, and it's hard to return to a single explanation.

Why the choice of Estonia? The peripheral aspect was evident from the beginning: i.e. how is a programme from the European core interpreted in a European borderland? Estonia was a most promising case because it actually has a double peripheral nature: it is not only far from the core but it also borders a significant, partly European neighbour, Russia. This factor was assumed as playing a considerable role in Estonia's European discussion.

There were several further indicators showing that Estonia could be a fruitful case for enabling study of European discussion. The academic literature on European history contains a number of interesting references to Estonia. *Europe: A History* by Norman Davies is a comprehensive and renowned work on the history of Europe, both east and west. Davies includes several caption boxes and one of them is titled "*Eesti*", Estonia in the indigenous language. Allegedly, Otto von Habsburg, then president of the Paneuropean Union, reminded his audience of the small European nation: "Don't forget the Estonians!... they are the best of the Europeans." Davies himself is sure that small nations can cope in the Union and that, reciprocally, they benefit the Union.⁶ In the actual research literature, Carl H. Pegg's *Evolution of the European Idea* thoroughly surveys the newspapers in several European countries, and also informs on the bold initiative in the League of Nations in 1931 by Estonians Jaan Tõnisson and Kaarel Robert Pusta to use governmental powers to enhance European, instead of national, thinking.⁷

The Paneuropean Union, led by Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, was the most important promoter of the unification of Europe during the interwar period. Anita Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler's *Botschafter Europas*⁸ represents a comprehensive introduction to the Paneuropean Union but concentrates on the Viennese perspective. Its archives were confiscated by the Red Army in 1945 and they are presently located at the Russian State Military Archives (RGVA) in Moscow.⁹ Some part of the original material has been copied to the Historical Archives of the European Union in Florence, Italy. The correspondence between the Estonians and the Viennese centre dealt mostly with daily matters and thus a list of Estonian members could not be found.

⁶ Davies, 1996, p. 944.

⁷ Pegg, 1983, p. 163.

⁸ Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, 2004.

⁹ [<http://www.sonderarchiv.de/>].

An initial glimpse at the primary sources gives indications of Estonian activity. The catalogue on Paneuropean Union in the Historical Archives of the EU includes two German-Estonian articles: “*Was bedeutet Pan-Europa für Estland*” (What Paneurope means for Estonia) by H.P. Lilienfeld-Toal in 1925 and “*Paneuropa, die Juden und Palästina*” (Paneurope, the Jews and Palestine) by P. Michelsohn, 1927.¹⁰ Regarding the latter, an unfortunate, yet usual, omission occurred: Philipp Michelson was actually from Estonia’s neighbouring country, Latvia. Hans-Paul Lilienfeld-Toal was a Baltic German, who had already left Estonia for studies in Germany. His short letter mainly supports the initiatives of Coudenhove-Kalergi and mostly ignores the Estonian situation.

Public sources have been more important for studying the Paneuropean Union, as Coudenhove-Kalergi himself underlined the importance of propagating his idea through the available mass media. In addition to his own publications, books, and journal (titled *Paneuropa*), he wrote effortlessly to national newspapers. Roughly a dozen writings by Coudenhove-Kalergi appeared in Estonian newspapers over the years¹¹ and many others introduced his ideas. Eventually Estonians were inspired to express their own opinions on the theme. As my method, I first consulted the catalogues of newspapers in the Estonian National Library in Tallinn and the Estonian Literature Museum in Tartu. Thus, I could locate the relevant events (European conferences, local speeches, etc.) while re-examining the newspapers from the relevant periods.¹²

Estonian historians have shed light on their previous European discussion, including the prospects for unification. It is worth mentioning Toomas

¹⁰ HAEU.PAN/EU 12: Book and printed material (extracts), on Paneurope [<http://www.warc.eui.eu/pdf/inv/inv-pan-eu.pdf>]; H.P. Lilientfeld-Toal, “Was bedeutet Pan-Europa für Estland?”

¹¹ Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Ilueetika,” in *Agu* 1923:32, pp. 1031–1034; Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Paneuroopa,” in *Päevaleht*, 7.10.1924, p. 2; Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Pan-Euroopa Locarno eest!” in *Päevaleht*, 4.9.1927, p. 2; “Kõik eurooplased on sugulased,” in *Päevaleht*, 7.1.1928, p. 2; “Pan-Euroopa rahuprobleem,” in *Päevaleht*, 7.1.1928, p. 3; Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Austria-Saksa ühinemine. (Anschluss),” in *Postimees*, 12.9.1928, p. 3 and 13.9.1928, p. 3; Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Kas sõjaline või majanduslik julgeolek?” in *Päevaleht*, 4.4.1929, p. 2; Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Atlantis,” in *Päevaleht*, 24.7.1930, p. 2; Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Kõigile eurooplastele!” in *Päevaleht*, 1.8.1930, p. 2; “Euroopa föderaalne rigid,” in *Päevaleht*, 3.5.1930, p. 3; Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Piits, nälg, preemia,” in *Päevaleht*, 26.4.1931, p. 9; Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Euroopa võitlus vabaduse eest,” in *Postimees*, 20.5.1931, p. 2; “Elu käsud,” in *Vaba Maa*, 24.12.1931, p. 8; Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Kakskümmend aastat soda,” in *Päevaleht*, 28.7.1934, p. 2; Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Euroopa ja Nõukogude-Vene,” in *ERK* 1934:11/12, pp. 193–195; Coudenhove-Kalergi, “1935 – sõda või rahu?,” in *Vaba Maa*, 1.1.1935, p. 2.

¹² Newspapers are available online at [<http://dea.nlib.ee/>].

Karjahärm's project (with Väino Sirk) on Estonian cultural life from the dawn of nationalism during the 19th century onwards. In particular, the separate publication, *Unistus Euroopast* (A Dream of Europe), comprehensively introduces Estonian opinions on European culture. Here Karjahärm states that Paneuropean discussion did not reach a very fundamental level,¹³ but he has limited his research to journals, whilst the actual discussion took place in newspapers with justifications placed both for and against. Perspectives applied to this issue ranged from those of human psychology to military security.

Coudenhove-Kalergi's Paneuropean Union was partly a reason for the French Prime Minister Aristide Briand making an official proposal for the study and establishment of a European Federation within the League of Nations in 1930. Here, official sources from the various foreign ministries become crucial. In order to study potential cooperation in drafting the national replies to Briand, I did not limit myself merely to the archives of the Estonian foreign ministry but also consulted the respective Finnish and Swedish archives. The anthology on the Briand Memorandum in 1998 has only one reference to Estonia – and completely ignores Sweden and Finland.¹⁴

Baltic collaboration had been vitally important in gaining independence immediately after World War I and a comparison between continental unification and international cooperation within a more limited area was also relevant in the public discussion afterwards. Preliminary quantitative analysis on Estonian newspapers indicated a strong negative correlation between the European and Baltic ideas. According to the catalogues of the Estonian National Library and the Literary Museum, interest in the Baltic states decreased considerably after 1927 and reached a low point in 1931.¹⁵ At the same time, articles dealing with the question of Europe were at their most frequent.¹⁶ The interest in the immediate neighbourhood seemed to

¹³ Karjahärm, 2003, p. 55.

¹⁴ Fleury and Jilek, 1998.

¹⁵ The catalogue of the Estonian Literary Museum in Tartu has a category 32(474), entitled "Balti riikide välispoliitiline olukord ja välispoliitika. Eesti suhted mõlema Baltiriikidega. Teiste riikide poliitika Baltimaade suhtes – Balti küsimus. Balti Liit" (Foreign policy situation and foreign policy of the Baltic states. Estonian relations with both of the Baltic states. Other countries' policies towards the Baltic states – Baltic question. Baltic Union); the National Library in Tallinn has a category 327 E:474 – "Eesti Baltimaade poliitilised suhted" (Estonian political relations with the Baltic states). The numbers of references in these categories by year are as follows: 1925, 75; 1926, 85; 1927, 75; 1928, 22; 1929, 27; 1930, 18; 1931, 11; 1932, 25; 1933, 58; 1934, ~130.

¹⁶ The newspaper sources for my research on the discussion on the European unification in Estonia during the same period consist of the following numbers of articles per year: 1925, 3; 1926, 5; 1927, 24; 1928, 6; 1929, 17; 1930, 31; 1931, 43; 1932, 16; 1933, 11; 1934, 5.

have reached the ultimate bottom in the late 1920s, when the discussion of European unification was at its peak. Although these catalogues cannot be considered as reliable indicators of actual publicity in newspapers, this preliminary exploration was enough to justify a closer look into the articles on Baltic and European imaginations.

The idea of European unification vanished soon after Briand's proposal and was resurrected as a counter-proposal for Nazi Germany's idea of New Europe. Like many exiled politicians from occupied Europe, Estonian Aleksander Warma pondered how to first restore his country's independence and then establish a more safe European system for all nations. In December 1942, he provided the U.S. State Department with a paper titled "Questions relating to the consolidation of peace in post-war Europe". The plan has been published in Warma's posthumous memoirs and his archives in the Baltic Archives at the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm include correspondence related to the plan. Curiously, previous research has ignored Warma's plan. Even in the Estonian literature the proposal for a Baltoscandian Federation made by Lithuanian Kazys Pakštas in the U.S. is more widely known than the European draft by Warma.¹⁷ Like in any other European country, World War II has been extensively studied by Estonian scholars, but so far with only little emphasis on political resistance.

The chapter presents the main points of this plan and sets it into a context of similar plans for European unification drafted in Europe during World War II. The published source material on U.S. post-war planning (the so-called Notter File) reveals simultaneous thinking among the Western allies. Nevertheless, despite being written in isolation and, therefore being an original piece of thinking, Warma's plan is also an illustration as to how regional thinking was an essential element in post-war planning everywhere.

Generally speaking, my goal has been to overcome World War II as the ultimate point of departure for a new international order and, in this case, European integration. Estonian émigrés continued to emphasize their European connections during the Cold War. In Sweden, they were organized as the Estonian National Council. The archive of the Council has been brought to the Estonian National Library in Tallinn but the personal collections of the leaders are still in the Baltic Archives. The exile community rapidly established newspapers of which *Eesti Teataja* worked closely with the Estonian National Council and *Välis-Eesti* gave opposition voices

¹⁷ Karjahärm, 2003, p. 58; Raig, 2008, p. 58.

a place for publication.¹⁸ Both newspapers were nevertheless edited independently. There were, of course, other Estonian newspapers in Sweden, not to mention publishing activities elsewhere. The aforementioned were the largest of them and both present alternative opinions on European integration.

Historical research on the Estonian diaspora after the Soviet incorporation and World War II are taking shape only gradually. Two recent biographies of Estonian emigrants only briefly mentioned their connections to the idea of European unification.¹⁹ *Töotan üstavaks jääda...* (I swear to remain faithful...) ²⁰ is an extensive collection of the history of the emigrant politics that barely mentions the foreign policy, an aspect that certainly merits more research. On the positive side, the book includes biographical data on exiled politicians. Regarding other personalities, information has been completed in, for example, contemporary encyclopedias and current reviews.²¹

In Europe, the Estonian National Council collaborated mostly with the European Movement (EM). It was a joint organization of six various groupings aiming for unification. Its correspondence is nowadays located in the Historical Archives of the European Union. When studying the promotion of national interests in international organizations, it is crucially important to look at the relationship between the sources of both parties in order to put national aspirations and influence within the context of the organization. Considering the magnitude of the organization, historical research has been minimal. There has been only one dissertation written on the EM, which nevertheless ignores the role of emigrant groups on the movement's agenda.²²

Emigrants, and also in this case the Estonians, indeed had difficulties establishing relations with the EM. The primary achievement of the EM was the Congress of Europe in The Hague in May 1948. At the outset, the Estonians sent Arvo Horm as their delegate and he delivered a declaration with Lithuanian Juozas Lanskoronskis on behalf of the Movement for a Baltic Federation. However, the list of participants in the Congress

¹⁸ Valmas, 2003, pp. 32–37.

¹⁹ Tamman, 2011, p. 193; Ant, 2012, pp. 270–271.

²⁰ Orav and Nõu, 2004.

²¹ For example *Eesti biograafiline leksikon* (1926–1929) and *Eesti entsüklopeedia* (1932–1934) on the former and Mulla, Triin *et al.* (eds.), *Eesti välisteestlus. Biograafiline leksikon 1918–1991*, Tallinn, Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006, on the latter.

²² Rebattet, 1962.

of Europe does not include either of them. It took a long year and a half before the Estonians became members of the EM in January 1950.

As Estonians were now participating enthusiastically in the EM, the organization itself set about searching for a role after the foundation of the Council of Europe and with even greater vigour related to the Coal and Steel Community when the real integration began to take shape. However, emigrants from Eastern Europe found themselves marginalized even within the EM and gradually Estonians started looking for alternative forums to promote their national cause; they nevertheless paid attention to various forms of European unification and kept attending European meetings, this research follows this gradual fading all the way until 1980s, when the post-CSCE effects started to show in the actual situation in Estonia and consequently also in Estonian emigrant attitudes. Warma declared publicly this change in their foreign policy in 1957, the year in which the narrative on European integration usually begins. I do not know what could better illustrate the contrasts and diversity in the history of European integration.

Three Dimensions of International Politics

The current European institutions and associations, such as the EU and the Council of Europe or even UEFA and the EBU, unintentionally give description to Europe. Earlier “Europe” was an idea, which had to be, or could be, defined ad hoc. To underline this difference, I primarily speak here about unification. The term integration was used rarely in my sources. This happened for the first time in 1957, but not in relation to the EEC. Heinrich Laretei visited a conference of the Assembly of Captured European Nations in Strasbourg and he considered its main focus on the liberation of Eastern Europe as being essential to “integration, i.e. to create some kind of United Europe”.²³

In addition to Alan Milward, René Girault was one of the founding historians of European integration. His project, “*La puissance en Europe*”, was intended to look at the concept of power in four Western European countries over ten year intervals. Following the classical definition by Pierre Renouvin,²⁴ Girault divided power into six aspects: military, economic, colonial, political, public opinions, and decision-makers.²⁵ In my study, only three divisions are used: economic, diplomatic, and cultural.

²³ Laretei, Heinrich, “EIRE konverentsi kokkuvõte,” in *Välis-Eesti*, 12.5.1957, p. 2. On the development of European watchwords, see Stråth, 2000, p. 385.

²⁴ Renouvin and Duroselle, 1967.

²⁵ Dülffer, 2009, pp. 27–28. Dülffer probably instinctively uses the same tripartition.

These dimensions establish the disposition of this book. First, the book is chronologically divided according to three programmes and within these chapters the disposition runs along – more or less – the three dimensions with apparent emphasis on diplomacy; the federalist approach was without question the most prominent during this period.

This triangle defines the concept of unification. International cooperation takes place – or it can be imagined to take place – within these dimensions but to call such cooperation integration or unification, it has to contain all three dimensions. This is why Nordic cooperation does not qualify as unification. Although it has a strong cultural and even economic basis, it lacks a joint diplomatic institution: Nordic ministers meet regularly but make their decisions individually and independently.

Diplomacy refers to declarations and decisions by politicians on joint institutions, economic agreements, trade and other commercial actions. The third dimension is culture which includes the exchanges of immaterial goods, visions, hopes, and fears. This dimension largely defines the territorial borders of a unified area. Several approaches to unification can be found on the sides of the triangle. A federalist would stress diplomacy between the countries of a common culture, subsequently neglecting economic questions. The functionalists of the Coal and Steel Community presumed a cultural unity as a result of the primary economic cooperation. The approach of a strong political organization and economic interdependence with minor emphasis on common culture seems to reflect the attempts of the Fascist states within their idea of the New Europe.

The triangular definition was also used by Estonian contemporaries and the three corners were elementary also in Immanuel Kant's plan for "Eternal Peace" within a federation of sovereign states held together by preliminary articles. Enlightenment philosophers had faith in commerce for bringing nations together but their opinions of immaterial features varied. Kant himself spoke of the cosmopolitan right of universal hospitality and believed differing customs would eventually become similar. Others, such as Johann Gottfried Herder, took as granted the toleration and value of local customs.²⁶

As my research considers the time before the formation of formal European institutions, it deals mostly with mental concepts: how should unification start; what should be the first step and how that step could affect – or spill over to –, other dimensions? For the same reason, actual

²⁶ Pagden, 2002a, pp. 17–18; Tully, 2002, pp. 331–332, 343–344.