

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, **Vilnius University**

Spring Term 2013

April 8 – May 30

**SMALL NATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM
IN THEORY AND PRACTICE – SEVEN CASE STUDIES**

Lecturers:

Dr. Baldur Thorhallsson, professor of political science and head of the center for small state studies, institute of international affairs at the University of Iceland

&

Mr. Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson, M.A.(econ.), fr. minister of finance & minister for foreign affairs and external trade of Iceland

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- The course will be conducted in English

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

This course is designed to introduce students to the Small State Studies. It consists of two parts: the first part taught by Dr. Thorhallsson will provide a theoretical background to the small state studies and the second part taught by Mr. Hannibalsson will discuss seven case studies illustrating the theory with practical examples. It is an elective course for Bachelor students of Political Science Studies Programme, Master students of Eastern and Central European Studies Programme, Master students of European Studies Programme. The evaluation

strategy of the course will reflect different requirements for Bachelor and Master level students.

COURSE READINGS

Most of the course readings are available to the enrolled students via Vilnius University Virtual Learning Environment (<https://vma.esec.vu.lt/>), or room 201. These readings are marked with a symbol *. The rest of the readings can be found online or at Vilnius University libraries. Students are expected to acquaint themselves with the readings available at Virtual Learning Environment for their tutorials.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Participation in Lectures and Tutorials

Since this is an intensive course participation in both lectures and tutorials is compulsory. Students are not allowed to miss more than 3 classes (either lectures or tutorials) throughout the course. Missing more than 3 classes without University's approval (in cases of illness or University approved study trips) will result in loss of points that will negatively affect the final grade of the course. Knowledge of course readings and active participation in class discussions will comprise:

- 40% of final evaluation for Bachelor level students
- 20% of final evaluation for Master level students

Essay

Master students attending the course are required to write an essay (max. 15 000 characters with spaces) on the topic of their choice. Essays have to be prepared according to the methodical requirements of the IIRPS VU <http://www.tspmi.vu.lt/en/studies/methodical>. Essays are to be submitted to

room 201 at the end of the course (the deadline will be confirmed in due time during the course). The evaluation of an essay will comprise:

- 50 % of final evaluation for Master level students.
- Bachelor level students **are not** required to write an essay

Exam

At the end of the course students will sit in an exam. The exam will be a comprehensive in-class exam with three questions regarding the topics covered during the course. The exam is scheduled for the 30th of May, it will take 1 hour and 30 min. The evaluation of an exam will comprise:

- 60 % of final evaluation for Bachelor level students
- 30 % of final evaluation for Master level students.

Students who either fail to attend the course, or fail an exam or Master students who fail to submit an essay will not pass the course.

COURSE OUTLINE

I.

- 1. Dr. Thorhallsson will start the first week (April 8 – 12) by presenting the theoretical framework and introducing the basic literature. (4 lectures and 2 tutorials: 4L+2t=6 teaching hours. Please refer to the course schedule for more detailed information).**

1st week: April 8-12

Theoretical framework

The first part of the course provides a theoretical understanding of the position of small states in the international system. It offers an introduction to the small state literature and deals with questions such as: What is a small state? Do small states

differ from large states? Can small states stand on their own or do they need political and economic shelter, provided by larger states and/or international institutions? Can we use the concept of „size“ (size of states) as an analytical tool?

Articles (all papers provided online) to be read before the course starts.

1st day (the 8th of April):

**Nansen, Frithjof* (1918): „The Mission of the Small States“. The American Scandinavian Review, 6 (1), pp. 9-13.

**Archer, Clive and Nugent, Neill* (2002): „Introduction: Small States and the EU“ in current politics and economics of Europe, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp.1-10.

**Vital, David* (1967): „The Inequality of States – A Study of the Small Power in International Relations. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

**Olafsson, Björn* (1998): „Introduction and Definition of Small States“, in Small States in the Global System (Ashgate)

2nd day (the 9th of April):

**Keohane, Robert P.* (1969): „Lilliputians’ Dilemmas: Small States in International Politics, in International Organizations, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 291-310.

**Thorhallsson, Baldur* (2006): „The Size of States in the EU: Theoretical and Conceptual Perspectives“, in Journal of European Integration, Vol. 28, No.1, pp 7-31.

**Thorhallsson, Baldur* (2011): „Domestic Buffer vs. External Shelter: Viability of Small States in the New Globalized Economy“, in European Political Science, Symposium, European Consortium for Political Research, vol.10, 2011, pp. 324-336.

Further reading

Bailes, Alyson J.K. (2009a): „Does a Small State need a Strategy?“ Occasional Paper 2-2009 of the Center for Small State Studies, University of Iceland (http://stofnanir.hi.is/ams/sites/files/ams/Bailes_Final_o.pdf)

Thorhallsson, Baldur: Small States in the UN Security Council: Means of Influence? *Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 7(2012), 135-160, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Ólafsson, Björn G.: „Political Power and Independence“ (pp.48-65) – Real Independence vs. Nominal. Ashgate, 1998.

Neumann, Iver B., & Gestöhl, Sieglinde: „Lilliputians in Gulliver’s World? Small States in International Relations (ed.Ingebritsen i.a.), University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2006.

Cooper, Andrew F.&Shaw, Timothy M.:“The Diplomacies of Small States. Between Vulnerability and Resilience. International Political Economy Series. Palgrave, 2009.

Wivel, Anders (2005): „The Security Challenge of Small EU Member States: Interests, Identity and the Development of the EU as a Security Actor“. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2005, Vol. 43, Nr. 2 (pp.393-412)

II.

SEVEN CASE STUDIES

Mr. Hannibalsson will give 30 teaching hours in all (18L=lectures, 12T=tutorials) from April 15 until May 29. Mr. Hannibalsson will introduce case studies on the following major topics, drawing on his active participation and long political experience. Please refer to the course schedule for more detailed information.

2nd week: April 15-19.

1. The Law of the Sea Convention: Vital economic interests of small (coastal) states vs. traditional military interests of naval powers (2L+1T).

**Guðni Th. Jóhannesson: Sympathy and Self-Interest: Norway and the Icelandic Cod Wars. Institut for Forsvarstudier, Osló, 2005*

**Ronald P. Barston and Hjálmar Hannesson: The Anglo-Icelandic Fisheries Dispute. International Relations 4/6, 1974 (pp.559-648).*

**Valur Ingimundarson: Fighting the Cod War in the Cold War: Iceland's Challenge to the Western Alliance in the 1970s. The RUSF Journal, 148, 3, June, 2003 (pp. 8894).*

**Strupp, K. & Hans-Jürgen Schlochauer: The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea – Official Text. N.Y., 1983.*

**Nordquist, Myron H.: UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. A Commentary. Vol. 1-v, Dordrecht, 1985 – 93.*

**Rothwell, D.R., & Stevens T.: The International Law of the Sea. Hart Publishing, 2010. – Selected chapters*

Guðni Th. Jóhannesson: Troubled Waters: Cod Wars, Fishing Disputes and Britain's Fight for the Freedom of the High Seas, 1948-64. Studia Atlantica 11. Hull: North Atlantic History Association, 2007.

Churchill, R.R. & Lowe, A.V.: The Law of the Sea (3rd. Ed.) Manchester University Press, 1999

Andrew Welch: The Royal Navy in the Cod Wars. Britain and Iceland in Conflict, 1958 – 61, 1972- '73, 1975 - '76. Liskeard, Cornwall: Maritime Books, 2006.

Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson: Fiske og havrett i Nord. Den Norske Atlanterhavs komité. Det Sikkerhetspolitiske Bibliotek nr. 8, 1996.

Churchill R & Ulfstein G.: Marine Management in Disputed Areas. The Case of the Barents Sea. London 1992.

Habeb, William: Power and Tactics in International Negotiations: How Weak Nations Bargain with Strong Nations. Baltimore, 1988 (pp. 100-128)

Sir Andrew Gilchrist: Cod Wars and How to Lose them. Reykjavík, 1977.

3d week: April 22-26:

2. The EEA-agreement (1989-94): The Nordic and the Alpine States' Negotiations with the EU. The largest Free-trade area in the world (3L+2T).

*OUTSIDE AND INSIDE: Norway's agreements with the European Union. Report by the EEA-Review Committee, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo, Jan. 2012.

Ch.1. Main message and overview, Ch.3. Norway's agreements with the EU.

Ch. 13. Other parties' views on Norway's agreements with the EU. Ch 26.

Europeanization of Norway 1992-2011. Ch.27. Norway's European dilemma.

Ch. 28. The way forward.

Available online:

[http://www.regjeringen.no/pages/36798821/PDFS/NOU201220120002000
EN_PDFS.pdf](http://www.regjeringen.no/pages/36798821/PDFS/NOU201220120002000_EN_PDFS.pdf)

*Pelkmans, J. & Böhler, P.: The EEA Review and Liechtenstein's Integration Strategy. Center for European Policy and Studies (CEPS), Brussels, 2013.

Internet: www.ceps.eu

**Sverdrup, U. & Melsæther, J.K.* : The Parliamentary Challenge in the EU and the EEA: An Increasing Gap.

*EFTA (2002): The European Economic Area: Decision shaping and Participation in Committees.
(<http://secretariat.efta.int/Web/Publications/EFTABulletin/June2002.pdf>)

*EFTA Bulletin: 15 years of the EEA (2009). Available online:
<http://www.efta.int//media/Files/Publications/Bulletin/eeadecisionshaping-bulletin.pdf>

**Graver, Hans Petter*: Mission Impossible: Supra Nationality and National Legal Autonomy in the EEA-agreement“, in European Foreign Affairs Review, 2002 (pp. 73-90).

Hannibalsson, J. B.: Delors' Baby - The Raison d'être of the EEA Available online: www.jbh.is

Eiríkur Bergmann: Iceland and the EEA, 1994-2011. Europautredningen, Rapport no.7.

EFTA 1960-2010: Elements of 50 years of European History (eds. Kaare Bryn & Guðmundur Einarsson), EFTA, 2010.

Sverdrup, Ulf: 15 Years of EEA, 1994-2009 – Some Experiences and Lessons (ch. 15 in Elements of 50 years...)

The EEA and EFTA in a new Europe: Conference papers of the EFTA parliamentary and the EFTA consultative committees, Reykjavík, Oct. 21, 2004.

Arnórsson, A: Ten Years with the EEA: Expectations and Experiences.

Emerson, M: The Future of the EEA – With a United States of Europe or a New Medieval Empire.

Thorhallsson, B.: Can Small States Influence Policy in an EU of 25 Years?
Web: <http://secretariat.efta.int./reykjavik04>

Jóhanna Jónsdóttir: Europeanization and the EEA. – Iceland's Participation in the EU's Policy Process. Routledge, 2013

Elvira Mendez Pinedo: EC and EEA Law. Europa Law Publishing, 2009. (www.fsc.org Cert no.Cu-COC-803615).

Wallis, Diana: Forgotten Enlargement. Center for Reform. London 2002. (www.cfr.org.uk)

Halvard Haukeland Fredriksen: Watching the Rendez-vous from the Sidelines – Norway, the EEA-agreement and the EFTA Court. In „Rendez-vous of European Legal Cultures“, eds. Skodvin, Knut Einar & Sunde, Jörn Öyrehagen. Bergen, 2010 (pp. 97-110).

An Introduction to the European Economic Area and other EFTA activities. EEA info kit, Sept., 2004 – web: <http://secretariat.efta.int/>

4th week: April 29 – May 3

- 3. The Nordic Model and the Nordic States within the International System. The Major Characteristics of the Nordic Socio-economic Model and its Reflection in their International policy and performance (2L+1t).**

**Wooldridge, Adrian*: Northern Lights. Special report in the Economist on the Nordic countries, Feb.2, 2013.

Hannibalsson, J. B.: Wooldridge refuted Feb. 17, 2013 Available online: www.jbh.is

**Beddoes, Zanny Minton*: For Richer, for Poorer. Special report in the Economist on global inequality. Oct. 13., 2012.

**Ingebritsen, Christine*: Norm Entrepreneurs. Scandinavia's Role in World Politics (pp.273-'85), in Small States in International Relations (ed. Ingebritsen i.a.), University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2006.

**Ingebritsen, Christine*: Learning from Lilliput (pp. 286-92) Same source.

**Alestalo and others*: The Nordic Model – Conditions, Origins, Success and Challenges. 2009.

*Globalization and the Erosion of the Nordic Model: a Swedish-Finish comparison.

**Greve*: What Characterizes the Nordic Welfare State Model?

**Kalle Moene*: How the Nordic Model Combines Capitalist Dynamics and Worker Security.

*The Nordic Model: Sustainable or exportable?

*The Nordic Model: A recipe for European Success?

The Nordic Welfare State goes to China! Fudan University Press, 2010.
(email: pauli.kettunen@helsinki.fi)

Joakim Palme: Challenges to the Nordic Model.

Pontusson, Jonas: Inequality and Prosperity – Social Europe vs. Liberal America (2005). A Century Foundation Book. Cornell University Press (www.cornellpress.cornell.edu).

5th week, May 6-10

4. Small States within the EU: Policies, Strategies, Challenges and Opportunities (2L+2T)

**Archer, Clive and Nugent, Neill*: Introduction: Small States and the European Union (Current Politics & Economics of Europe, Vol. 11, nr. 1 (pp. 1-10)

**Panke, Diana*: Small States in the European Union: Coping with Structural Disadvantages (2010). Ashgate – www.ashgate.com.

**Grön, Caroline Howard & Wivel, Anders*: Maximizing Influence in the EU after the Lisbon Treaty: From Small State Policy to Smart State Strategy. Journal of European Integration, (Vol.53, N. , pp. 523-539) Sept. 2011. Routledge.

**Thorhallsson, Baldur*: The Size of States in the EU: Theoretical and Conceptual Perspectives. Journal of European Integration, Vol. 28, No.1, pp. /-31, March, 2006

**Bailes, Alyson J.K. and Thorhallsson, B.*: Instrumentalizing the European Union in Small State Strategies. Journal of European Integartion, 2012, pp. 1-17, first article.

*Oxford Analytics (Global Strategic Analysis): Europe: Small States prefer partial EU integration.

Steinmetz, Robert & Wivel, Anders (ed): Small States in Europe: Challenges and Opportunities. Ashgate, 2010 – www.ashgate.com FSC www.fsc.org Cert.no.SGS-COC-2482.

Wivel, Anders: From Small State to Smart State: Devising & Strategy for Influence in the EU, ch. 2 (pp.15-29) in same.

Bulmer, S. & Lequesne, C.: The Member States of the European Union. Oxford University Press (2005) – www.oup.com

Thorhallsson, B.: Can Small States Influence Policy in an EU at 25? The EEA and EFTA in a New Europe – conference papers (2004).

6th week: May 13-17

5.The international financial crisis: Small states' capacity for withstanding stress. Are small states better off on their own or within an alliance? The case of Iceland, Ireland and the Baltic countries.

**Hreinsson, P, Gunnarsson, T & Benediktsdóttir, S:* „Causes of the Collapse of the Icelandic Banks – Responsibility, Mistakes and Negligence“, Report prepared by the Icelandic Special Investigation Commission, (SIC), March 9, 2009.

**Zoëga, G. & Halldórsson, Ó.G.:* Iceland's Financial Crisis in an International Perspective. (pp. 1-45). Dpt. of Economics, University of Iceland. (JEL:E65, E42, E44)

**Zoëga, G.* The Financial Crisis: Joblessness and Investmentness. Center on Capitalism & Society Working paper, No. 62, July, 2010.

**Ólafsson, Th. Tjörvi & Pétursson, G..* Weathering the Financial Storm: The Importance of Fundamentals and Flexibility. The Euro area and the Financial Crisis, eds. Beblavyi, Miroslav, Cobham, David & Odor, Ludovit. Cambridge University Press, 2011. (see: <http://www.cb.is/lisalib/getfile.aspx?Itemid=8138>, specially p. 39)

**Hannibalsson, Jón Baldvin:* The International Financial Crisis: the Case of Iceland – Are there Lessons to be learnt? Working papers on global financial markets, no. 3, Jan., 2009. (www.gfinm.de)

**Hannibalsson, J.B.:* What's wrong with Europe? And by the Way: Why don't you Fix it? Keynote-speech at the Baltic Assembly, Nov. 8, 2012. (www.jbh.is).

- **J.B. Hannibalsson*: It's All About Equality, Stupid. TMM, 2011.
(<http://www.jbh.is/prenta.asp?id=228>)
- **J.B. Hannibalsson*: To Be or Not to Be: A Republic at a Crossroads. – The first decade of the 21st C. in retrospect. Grapevine, Reykjavík, 2011
(http://www.grapevine.is/Media/PDF/Grapevine_01_2011.pdf)
- **Hannibalsson, J.B.*: Iceland and the Current Economic Crisis: Political Implications and the Way Forward. 4th Kalevi Sorsa Research and Policy Days, Helsinki, Nov. 6-7, 2009 (www.sorsafoundation.fi or www.feps-europe.eu).
- **Hannibalsson, J.B.*: Iceland and the European Union, August 2009.
Available online: (www.jbh.is)
- **Buiter, Willem & Siebert, Anne*: “The Icelandic Banking Crisis and What to Do about it: The lender of last resort theory of optimal currency areas”. CEPR policy insight no. 26, CEPR, 2008
- **Gylfason, Th., Holmström, B., Korkman, Sixten, Söderström, S., Vitriala, V.*: Nordics in Global Crisis: Vulnerability and Resilience. The Research Institute of the Finnish Economy, ETLA, Talonstieto Oy.
- **Wade, Robert and Sigurgeirsdóttir, Silla*: Lesson from Iceland. New Left Review 65, Sept./Oct., 2010.
- **Thorhallsson, B. & Kirby, P.*: Financial Crisis in Iceland and Ireland: Does European Union and Euromembership Matter? JCMS – Journal of Common Market Studies.
- **Thorhallsson, B.*: Domestic Buffer vs. External Shelter: Viability of small States in the New Globalized Economy, July, 2011
(<http://notendur.hi.is/baldurt/indexenska.htm>)
- **Thorhallsson, B. & Kattel, R.*: Neo-Liberal States and Economic crisis: Lessons for Democratic Corporatism. Journal of Baltic Studies, 2012.
(<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01629778.2012.719306>)

**Thorhallsson, Baldur: The Icelandic Economic Collapse: How to Overcome Constraints Associated with Smallness? European Political Science, 2012.*
(www.uni.hi.is/baldurt/)

**Thorhallsson, B. & Rebhan, Christian: Iceland's Economic Crash and Integration Takeoff: An End to European Union Scepticism? Scandinavian Political Studies, vol. 34 – no. 1, 2011.*

The Economist: Special report on offshore finance, Feb. 16, 2013 Available online: (www.economist.com/rights).

The Economist: Special report on global inequality, Oct. 13, 2012 Available online: (www.economist.com/rights).

Iceland's application for membership of the European Union: An Overview (Sept. 23, 2009). Icelandic Ministry for Foreign Affairs. (<http://eu.mfa.is/>)

Reinhart, G & Rogoff, K. This Time is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly. Princeton V.P. 2009.

Roubini, Nouriel & Nihm, Stephen: Crisis Economics, a Crash course in the Future of Finance (2011). Amazon kindle edition.

Iceland: From Crisis to Recovery: an interview with Mr. J.B. Hannibalsson by Witold Bogdansky, July 20, 2009 (www.jbh.is).

Hannibalsson, J.B.: The Future of Enlargement: The EFTA and EEA Experience – Raison d'être and Future Prospects. The European Strategy Forum. Dubrovnik, Nov. 25-27, 2010

Siebert, Anne: Overbanked and Undersized: Lessons from Iceland. Preludes to the Icelandic Financial Crisis. Eds. Aliber, R. & Zoëga, G, London, Palgrave, 2010.

Thorhallsson, B.: The Corporatist Model and its Value in Understanding Small European States in the Neo-Liberal World of the 21st Century: The case of Iceland. European Political Science, 9, 2010.
(<http://notendur.hi.is/baldurt/indexenska.htm>).

7th week: May 20-24.

6. Iceland and the Baltic Nations' Struggle for Restoration of Independence (1988-91): The Solidarity of Small Nations vs. the Hidden Agenda of Major Powers (4L+2T).

**Guðni Th. Jóhannesson*: „Nordic Support for Baltic Independence, 1990-1991“. Unpublished thesis.

**J.B. Hannibalsson*: Speech on the Baltic issue. Conference of European and N-American foreign ministers on human rights, Copenhagen, June 1990.

**Spohr Readman, Kristina* (2006): Between Political Rhetoric and Realpolitik Calculations: Western Diplomacy and the Baltic Independence Struggle in the Cold War Endgame. *Cold War History*, 6 (1).pp.1-42.ISS1468-2745.
Available at:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/14682740500395402>

**Spohr Readman, Kristina*: The Baltic Question in West-German Politics, 1949-90. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, vol. 38, no. 2, June 2007, pp. 153-178.

**J.B.Hannibalsson*: Western Policies towards the restoration of independence of the Baltic countries. Vilnius Round-Table, March 12. 2006.(www.jbh.is)

J.B. Hannibalsson: „Breaking the Silence“: The issue of the independence of the Baltic States on the International Agenda, 1987-1991. International conference on the Baltic road to freedom, Riga, March, 2005. Available online: www.jbh.is

J.B.Hannibalsson: „Solidarity of Small Nations“. Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University, March 9, 2010. Available online: www.jbh.is

J.B.Hannibalsson: „Moment of Truth“. Council on foreign relations, New York, 2005 Available online: www.jbh.is

Hannibalsson, J.B.: You owe it to them. Speech in Seimas (13.01.11) to commemorate the martyrs of Jan. 13, 1991 available online: www.jbh.is

Hannibalsson, J.B.: A Letter to Mr. Kazickas, Jan. 2, 2008 available online: www.jbh.is

Hannibalsson, J.B.: Solidarity of Small Nations, 11.03.10. Available at: www.jbh.is

Hannibalsson, J.B.: Economic Diplomacy in the Context of Globalization. Vilnius City Hall, May 27, 2003.

Bogdanas, Ramunas: The Icebreaker „Iceland“ and her Captain. Vilnius (?), 2010.

Puke, Ieva & Goba, Kaspars: „Hannibalsson’s Political Saga“. Baltic Outlook, August/Sept, 2003.

Diplomatia: Why, Iceland? – An interview with Mr. Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson. Tallinn, July/August, 2009.

Hannibalsson, J.B.: „Twenty years of Estonia’s Restored Independence. An End of an Era“. Tallinn, August 20.2011.

Baltic Way to Freedom: Non-violent Struggle of the Baltic States in a Global Context (Riga: Zelta gauds, 2005).

8th week: May 27-30.

7. Climate change & the melting of the Arctic: The coming grab for resources. Can small nations hold their own in co-operation or competition with the Major powers? (3L+2T).

Key aspects of Arctic affairs:

- Rapidly changing natural environment: warming climate, much more rapid than global average; retreating sea-ice and glaciers.
- **New threats:** warming affects species and ecosystems; ocean acidification; oil spills and pollution; loss of wilderness; pressure on traditional cultures.
- **New opportunities.** Access to oil, gas and minerals; opening of new sea lanes; fisheries in the Arctic ocean?
- Brief history of international co-operation: (1) Neglected wilderness (2) Cold War frontier (3) Thaw-development of the Arctic Council (4) Future: competition for the resources and exploitation or – peaceful development and sustainable use?
- **Arctic Council:** History, organization, issues, current and future developments: Member states and „permanent participants“. (Organizations of indigenous people); observers; declaration; structure (biennial ministerial meetings), senior Arctic officials, 6 working groups, newly established secretariat; issues: environmental monitoring, climate change, pollution prevention, oil and gas development, shipping and marine issues; current strengthening; is the AC turning into the main vehicle for co-operation and management of the Arctic area?

Reading material:

The Economist: Survey of the Arctic, June 16, 2012 (Available online)

Webpage: <http://highnorth.wit.no/>

*Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (2011). „Denmark, Greenland and the Faroe Islands: Kingdom of Denmark’s Strategy for the Arctic 2011- 2020“.

Copenhagen, August 2011.

*Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway (2009): „The Norwegian Government’s High North Strategy“.

*Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden (2011): „Sweden’s Strategy for the Arctic Region“, Press release, My 12, 2011.

*„Finland’s Strategy for the Arctic Region“ Prime Minister’s Office Publication, 8/2010

*European Parliament (2010c): EU Competencies Affecting the Arctic“ by *Timo Koivurova, Kai Kokko, Sebastien Duyck, Nikolas Sellheim, Adam Stepien*.

**Heininen, Lassi* (2010a): „Post-Cold War Arctic Geopolitics: Where are the Peoples and the environment“? *Arctics geopolitics and autonomy*, eds. M. Bravo & N. Triscott. Arctic perspective cahier no. 2, 89-103.

**Heininen, Lassi* (2011): „Arctic Strategies and Policies – Inventory and Comparative Study“, Northern Research Forum 2011 (updated April 2012).

*Althingi 2011: „A Parliamentary Resolution on Iceland’s Arctic Policy“. March 28, 2011.

**Bergh, Kristofer*: The Arctic Policies of Canada and the United States: Domestic Motives and International Context. SIPRI Insights on Peace & Security, No. 2012/1, No. 2012/1, July 2012.

Arctic Council: A short description and history: <http://www.arcticportal.org/arctic-council> official website: www.arctic-council.org.

Shipping: A brief update: <http://arcticportal.org/news/21-shipping-news/965-central-arctic-route-in-use-by-2050>

Politics: <http://www.geopoliticsnorth.org>

Perspectives from EU, China, Arctic States and other actors:

http://www.arcticfrontiers.com/index.php?option=com_docman&task=catview&gid=289&itemid=306&lang=en

Finland's Arctic Strategy, analysis of:

http://www.geopoliticsnorth.org/index.php?option=vom_content&view=article&id=252:june-2010-finland-recently-preceded-its-first-arctic-strategy-&catid=38:finland&itemid=106

„Sweden's Chairmanship Program for the Arctic Council 2011-2013“, available at:
<http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/14766>

European Commission (2006): Northern Dimension Policy, framework document, available at http://eeas.europa.eu/north_dim/docs/frame_pol_1106_en.pdf

European Commission and EU high representative (2012): „Developing a European Union Policy towards the Arctic Region; Report on progress and next steps“. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/maritimeaffairs/policy/sea_basins/arctic_ocean/documents/join_2012_19_en.pdf

EU Council of Ministers (2009): Council Conclusions on Arctic issues, December 8, 2009. (available online)

European Parliament (2008): Resolution on Arctic Governance, Oct. 9, 2008.(available online)

European Parliament (2010b): „Report on a Sustainable EU Policy for the High North“(2009/22114(INI)). (available online)

Neumann, Antje & Rudjoff, Bettina (2008): „Impacts of EU Policies on the High North. The cases of Climate Policy and Fisheries“. Directorate general for external policies. Policy Department. European Parliament. AFET, August, 2010. (available online)

Utanríkisráðuneytið (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iceland) (2009). Ísland á Norðurslóðum“ („Iceland in the High North“), available at http://www.utanrikisraduneyti.is/media/Skyrslur/Skyrslan_Island_a_nordurslodum.pdf

Faremo, Grete (2010): „The Strategic Challenges in the Arctic and the High North“. Speech for the Atlantic Council, Washington D.C., Oct. 28, 2010. (available online)

Bailes, Alyson J.K. & Heininen, Lassi: Strategy Papers on the Arctic or High North: A comparative study and analysis. Center for Small States Studies. Institute of International Affairs, University of Iceland, 2012.

Heininen, Lassi (1992): „National approaches to the Arctic“. In: Vulnerable Arctic: Need for an Alternative Orientation? Ed. Jyrki Käkönen. Tampere Peace Research Institute. Research Report no. 47.

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(Further material on arctic issues will be supplied later)