INTSTITUTE 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

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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/](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](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):


2nd day (the 9th of April):


**Further reading**


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).


3d week: April 22-26:


*OUTSIDE AND INSIDE: Norway´s agreements with the European Union.
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

Internet: www.ceps.eu


*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


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


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


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


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


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


*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 recipé 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.

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)


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


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


6th week: May 13-17

5. The internantional 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.


*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)


*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


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


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


7th week: May 20-24.


*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: „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


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/

Copenhagen, August 2011.


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


**Politics**: [http://www.geopoliticsnorth.org](http://www.geopoliticsnorth.org)

Finland’s Arctic Strategy, analysis of:

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


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


(Further material on arctic issues will be supplied later)