

**B303/D300/U320/W405**  
**Nordic and Baltic States in the European Union**  
**Spring 2007**

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Office hours: T 1-2, R 10-11 (GB 234)

This course focuses on the process and impact of EU enlargement in the northern European and Baltic Sea region. It assesses the experience of about one-quarter, i.e., six of the twenty-five current EU members, including Denmark (member since 1973), Sweden (1995), Finland (1995), Estonia (2004), Latvia (2004), and Lithuania (2004). The topics covered in the class will include the following: historical background and campaigns for EU membership; public opinion regarding EU membership and differing Nordic and Baltic perspectives; the role of small states in the EU; national vs. regional and European identities; constitutional issues, especially structural and administrative questions raised by the EU expansion process; the impact of EU membership on economic development, society, domestic and foreign politics, and cultural life; economic integration and the single currency issue; transnational migration and labor mobility; and minority issues. Among the questions addressed in this class are the following. What is distinctive about Nordic and Baltic perspectives on the EU? Why do Scandinavians have the reputation of being “reluctant Europeans”? What role can small states play in a 25-member organization, seemingly dominated by large countries? What are the implications of EU membership for state sovereignty? To what extent has EU membership solved the security dilemmas of the Nordic and Baltic states? Are there clear socioeconomic winners and losers in the societies during the EU era? Is EU membership a threat to national cultures?

The written requirements of the class will be as follows: a midterm exam, a final exam (both of the essay type), and a 6-8-pp. paper, due April 24. The topic for the paper, on an issue related to the focus of the class, will be chosen by the student, with instructor approval. Oral participation is encouraged, and a strong performance in this area will enhance a student's grade.

**Week 1**            January 9, 11

1. Introduction
2. Physical Setting

W. R. Mead, An Historical Geography of Scandinavia (London, 1981), 9-23

**Week 2**            January 16, 18

3. The Nordic Countries in Historical Perspective

Mikael af Malmborg, “Sweden in *Norden* and Europe—From Kalmar Union to European

Union,” Sven Tägil, ed., Europe: The Return of History (Lund, Sweden, 2001), 511-543

4. Denmark, Sweden, and Finland Since World War II

Bengt Hagtvet and Erik Rudeng, “Scandinavia: Achievements, Dilemmas, Challenges,”

Daedalus, 113, no. 2 (1984), 227-256

Stein Kuhle, “The Scandinavian Welfare State in the 1990s: Challenged but Viable,”

West

European Politics, 23 (2000), 209-228

**Week 3**            January 23, 25

5. The Baltic States in Historical Perspective

Alfred Erich Senn, The Emergence of Modern Lithuania (New York, 1959), 1-18

Toivo Raun, "The Latvian and Estonian National Movements, 1860-1914," Slavonic and

East European Review, 64 (1986), 66-80

Joseph Rothschild, East Central Europe Between the Two World Wars (Seattle, 1974),  
367-381

6. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania Since World War II

Rein Taagepera, "Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia 1940-1980: Similarities and Differences,"

Baltic Forum, 1, no. 1 (1984), 39-52

Toivo Raun, "The Baltic States After the Collapse of the Soviet Union," Hungarian Studies,

14 (2000), 275-284; 15 (2001), 163-165

**Week 4**            January 30, February 1

7. Overview of the History of the EU

Alasdair Blair, The European Union Since 1945 (New York, 2005), 3-63

8. Structure and Major Institutions of the EU

Blair, European Union, 64-90

**Week 5**            February 6, 8

9. Background to Nordic Membership in the EU

Andrew C. Twaddle, "EU or Not EU? The Swedish Debate on Entering the European Union," Scandinavian Studies, 69 (1997), 189-209

Tapio Raunio and Teija Tiilikainen, Finland in the European Union (London, 2003),  
21-42

10. The Debate over EU Membership in the Baltic States

Evald Mikkel and Geoffrey Pridham, "Clinching the 'Return to Europe': The Referendums

on EU Accession in Estonia and Latvia," West European Politics, 27 (2004), 716-748

**Week 6**            February 13, 15

11. Reluctant Europeans? Euroskepticism in Scandinavia

Sieglinde Gstöhl, Reluctant Europeans: Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland in the Process

of Integration (Boulder, Colo., 2002), 211-224

Catharina Sørensen, "Denmark, the EU and Public Opinion—Scepticism Mixed with Pro-

- Integrationist Sentiments?," M. Herslund and R. Samson, ed., Unity in Diversity (Copenhagen, 2005), 133-157
12. The EU Pro and Con: Public Opinion in the Baltic States  
Simon Hix, The Political System of the European Union (New York, 2005), 147-174

**Week 7** February 20, 22

13. Nordic and Baltic Views of the EU Structure and Constitution  
Piret Ehin, "Estonia and the Crisis of European Construction," Estonian Foreign Policy Yearbook (2006), 9-27
14. The Role of Small States in the EU  
Ulf Sverdrup, "Compliance and Conflict Management in the European Union: Nordic Exceptionalism," Scandinavian Political Studies, 27 (2004), 23-43  
Rikard Bengtsson, et al., "Silencer or Amplifier? The European Union Presidency and the Nordic Countries," Scandinavian Political Studies, 27 (2004), 311-334  
Christine Ingebritsen, "Learning from Lilliput: Small States and EU Expansion," Scandinavian Studies, 76 (2004), 368-384

**Week 8** February 27, March 1

15. Midterm exam–February 27
16. Domestic Politics in the EU Era  
Erik Damgaard, "Conclusion: The Impact of European Integration on Nordic Parliamentary Democracies," T. Bergman and E. Damgaard, eds., Delegation and Accountability in European Integration (London, 2000), 151-169

**Week 9** March 6, 8

17. Small States in a Globalized World  
Eric S. Einhorn and John Logue, Modern Welfare States: Scandinavian Politics and Policy in the Global Age (Westport, Conn., 2003), 325-50
18. Impact of EU Membership on Foreign Policy  
Hanna Ojanen and Kristi Raik, "The Strategic Impact for Northern Europe and the Baltics,"  
E. Brimmer and S. Fröhlich, eds., The Strategic Implications of European Union Enlargement (Washington, DC, 2005), 27-52  
Raunio and Tiilikainen, Finland in the European Union, 129-145

**Week 10**      March 20, 22

19. Hard vs. Soft Security: NATO and the EU  
 Christopher S. Browning and Pertti Joenniemi, "Regionality Beyond Security? The Baltic Sea Region After Enlargement," Cooperation and Conflict, 39 (2004), 233-253  
 Hanna Ojanen, "The EU and NATO: Two Competing Models for a Common Defense Policy," Journal of Common Market Studies, 44 (2006), 57-76
20. Economic Integration and the Euro-Outsiders  
 Martin Marcussen, "Denmark and European Monetary Integration: Out But Far From Over," Journal of European Integration, 27 (2005), 43-63  
 Brian Ardy, et al., Adjusting to EMU (New York, 2006), 225-239

**Week 11**      March 27, 29

21. Economic Integration and the Euro-Insiders  
 Ardy, Adjusting to EMU, 207-224, 265-286
22. Winners and Losers in Society During the EU Era  
 Readings TBA

**Week 12**      April 3, 5

23. Transnational Migration and Labor Mobility  
 Harlan Koff, "Security, Markets and Power: The Relationship Between EU Enlargement and Immigration," Journal of European Integration, 27 (2005), 397-415  
 Einhorn and Logue, Modern Welfare States, 174-190
24. EU Impact on Ethnic Minorities  
 Reetta Toivanen, "The Saami People and Nordic Civil Societies," N. Götz and J. Hackmann, eds., Civil Society in the Baltic Sea Region (Aldershot, 2003), 205-216  
 Nils Muiznieks and Ilze Brands Kehris, "The European Union, Democratization, and Minorities in Latvia," Paul J. Kubicek, ed., The European Union and Democratization (London, 2003), 30-55

**Week 13**      April 10, 12

25. Identities—National, Regional, European I  
 John Hutchinson, "Enduring Nations and the Illusions of European Integration," W. Spohn and A. Triandafyllidou, eds., Europeanisation, National Identities and Migration (London, 2003), 36-51  
 Lee Miles, "Scandinavian Regionalism: The Case of Sweden," P. Wagstaff, ed., Regionalism in the European Union (Exeter, 1999), 130-139
26. Identities—National, Regional, European II

Teija Tiilikainen, "Finland—An EU Member with a Small State Identity," Journal of European Integration, 28 (2006), 73-87

Klas-Göran Karlsson, "Europe's Eastern Outpost? The Meanings of 'Europe' in Baltic Discourses," M. af Malmborg and B. Stråth, eds., The Meaning of Europe (Oxford, 2002), 169-190

**Week 14**      April 17, 19

27. A Nordic-Baltic Community in the Making?

Mikko Lagerspetz, "How Many Nordic Countries? Possibilities and Limits of Geopolitical

Identity Construction," Cooperation and Conflict, 38 (2003), 49-61

Annika Bergman, "Adjacent Internationalism: The Concept of Solidarity and

Post-Cold War Nordic-Baltic Relations," Cooperation and Conflict, 41 (2006), 73-97

28. Civil Society in the Nordic and Baltic Regions

Christine Ingebritsen, "The Scandinavian Way and Its Legacy in Europe," Scandinavian

Studies, 74 (2002), 255-264

Kristi Raik, "Civil Society and EU Integration of Estonia," Risto Alapuro, et al., eds., Beyond Post-Soviet Transition (Helsinki, 2005), 208-236

**Week 15**      April 24, 26

29. EU Impact on Education and Culture

Ian Bache, "The Europeanization of Higher Education: Markets, Politics or Learning?,"

Journal of Common Market Studies, 44 (2006), 231-248

Carol Henriksen, "The Scandinavian Languages and the European Community,"

Scandinavian Studies, 64 (1992), 685-698

30. The EU in the Baltic Sea Region Today and Prospects for the Future

Michael Newman, "After the 'Permissive Consensus': Still Searching for Democracy," J.

Richardson, ed., European Union: Power and Policy-Making (New York, 2006), 377-397