

## CEBAST News

*A Newsletter from the Centre for Baltic Studies at the Øresund University*

*March 2005 - Vol. 4, No.1*

### **Editorial Note**

*Starting from this issue, Cebast News will be opened by an interview with a prominent figure in the research or policy-making sectors, focusing on the political, social or economic developments in the Baltic Sea Region and Northern Europe. To launch this series, we have approached Pertti Joenniemi, who is Senior Fellow at the Department of European Studies at the Danish Institute for International Studies.*

*As always, the Centre for Baltic Studies welcomes comments and criticism to the content as well as the structure of the newsletter. Letters should be sent to one of the addresses listed in the end of each issue.*

The Editor

**Cebast News (CN):** *Northern Europe has been a unique laboratory as far as regional cooperation and security interdependence are concerned. What are in your opinion the challenges ahead for regional security and cooperation, in the light of the 2004 EU and NATO enlargements?*

Pertti Joenniemi (PJ): After rather quick regionalisation, the challenge now seems to consist of making use of the achievement in a broader European context. So far the incentives have been largely intra-regional in character, but how will the EU's more active stance – as indicated by the formation of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) amounting in due time for example to a single financial instrument – impact the situation? Will Europe's North increasingly have to adapt to stimuli and guidelines arriving from the EU's Commission, this perhaps to a large extent quelling the intra-regional dynamics, or are the more local actors able to pursue active policies even under the new conditions? This would require that they to a considerable degree share and operate within a common frame, and this is a condition that seems to be basically absent. This is so as some countries stick predominantly to the traditional East-West frame, some are well on their way of moving over to the pursuance of politics grounded in an understanding that the key thing to influence is the way Europe unfolds while a third category appears to emphasise the divisions between a Europeanist and an Atlanticist Europe. Some are quite active using the formative moment to their benefit whereas some others have remained passive and defensive. My point here is that these rather diverse readings of the environment are not conducive to the formation of a shared framework of analysis and policy.

**CN:** *How are the various institutional arrangements in Northern Europe (the CBSS, the Nordic Council etc.) coping with these challenges?*

PJ: Since the years of the Cold War a rather rich patchwork of regional arrangements has emerged. In hindsight, this has been needed in order for Europe's North to catch up with other parts of

Europe as northern Europe was initially almost void of regionalisation. However, for the voice of the region to carry in a broader European context, an overhaul would now be required. In addition to better co-ordination and a clear-cut division of labour among the different bodies, an entity would be called for that looks into the needs of the region as a whole and furnishes it with a representative voice. Yet, sorting out between the existing arrangements and establishing a clear order is no easy task. For that to occur a distinct awareness concerning the need to do so would have to be there, and this is not the case. It seems, in general, quite futile to discuss restructuring and streamlining of the current regional patchwork unless the endeavour is backed up by a sufficiently common frame of analysis that grounds the view that a coherent outlook and common policies are really warranted.

**CN: *Over the past 15 years, the Nordic countries have constituted the political powerhouse of many developments in Northern Europe. How are they addressing the new post-enlargement situation in Northern Europe and in the European context at large?***

PJ: True, for quite some time the Nordics were punching above their weight, but this no longer seems to be the case. The EU Commission is - as indicated by the formation of the ENP - on its way of setting much more strict guidelines for regional policies, and all the non-Nordic actors of the region - Russia, Germany, Poland and the Baltic countries – are in a position to pursue active policies of their own if they so wish. The key country is in many ways Russia, although Russia still appears to be caught up by its division into a ‘false’ and ‘true’ Europe (with the Balts slotted into the category of ‘false’). Likewise, the renewed stress on centrality (rather than playing on the margins) appears to deduct from Russia’s possibilities of engaging itself in the regional game. With Russia’s constraints, the room available for Germany tends to remain scant, too. Poland, for its part, is actively using the formative moment, albeit the Polish interests appear to be increasingly focused in the direction of Ukraine and Belarus. Actually, the Eastern Dimension might soon overshadow the northern one with Poland capitalising on that international attention has recently clearly moved in the direction of Ukraine. Yet, for defensive reasons one might expect the Nordics to remain active. Some of the more creative thinking as well the policy initiatives (Paavo Lipponen and Göran Persson) to overhaul the structural conditions prevailing in Europe’s North still seem to come from the Nordic corner. The Nordics have formidable resources embedded in the Nordic Council as well as the Nordic Council of Ministers (with long tradition of co-operation, developed structures and established budgets) and this may be their cutting edge.

**CN: *What is in your opinion the role of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, as new EU and NATO member states, in the wider European context?***

PJ: The Balts appear to lean predominantly on an East-West frame in the policies and define themselves as Atlanticist rather than Europeanist, albeit the signifier ‘new’ (versus the ‘old’ Europe) is used in a socio-economic rather than a security-related context. It is understandable against this background, and in view of that security in the sense of *Realpolitik* is still high on their agendas, that they are not particularly active in the sphere of region-making. Yet, having also become members of the EU and having landed at the edge of the Union, they indeed comprehend that policies are needed to make them appear as interesting partners in the sphere of Europe-making. Increasingly their analysis appears to be there that Russia is – in this latter perspective – to be seen as a resource rather than a threat. One might expect that in due time the Balts are probable to move over to a more Europeanist frame of analysis, and that will bolster the prospects for regionalisation in northern Europe.

**CN: *What is the role of Russia in the Northern European context, and what are the lessons to be drawn in a broader European framework from Russia's presence in Northern Europe?***

PJ: Russia's presence in Europe's North is one of the few things that still make outsiders take an interest in the region. Otherwise it is 'done' as often articulated in the American discourse. Europe's North constitutes the prime area where Russia may at least endeavour to project itself as a 'true' European, albeit the opposite is taken to present as well in the sense of the Balts being sometimes depicted in the Russian discourse as 'false' Europeans, this making the region problematic for Russia. Interestingly, many of the proactive endeavours that Russia has taken in regard to Europe-making have had a regional focus and have played out in northern Europe (proposal regarding a Baltic Schengen, joint border administration with Finland, Kaliningrad turned into a pilot region etc.). They have not yielded results but it is nonetheless interesting that they have been made. It is important for the EU and the EU-countries of the region to define the position of Russia (it remains somewhat vague for example in the context of the ENP) and Russia has also itself to be more specific about how it wants to be positioned. Currently the approach favoured by both the EU and Russia itself appears to be the one of agreeing upon the four common spaces (i.e. Russia is positioned in the context of a specific set of criteria). With the obvious obscurity that is now there being solved in favour of distinct inclusion, the prospects for regionalisation in Europe's North will look far more bright. Yet, it has to be added that this is no easy task. Russia's ambitions and policies seem, in essence, to boil down to aspiring for a position of a semi-insider within the strongly EU-influenced order that is on its way of emerging in northern Europe (i.e. the gist of the policies are about status and recognition rather than security). In principle Russia seems to be prepared to accept the new order, albeit strives for a recognised and influential position within it. However, the EU-countries – and the EU itself – tend to define political order in a rather strict either-or fashion. Russia is hence offered the position of a near-outsider rather than semi-insider as the latter stance is interpreted as offering Russia the option of interfering unduly into the internal affairs of the EU. To sort out this tension stands out as a key challenge for the region. Agreement on the four common spaces might go some way in easing the situation but also some region-specific solutions are needed.



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## ***Baltic Agenda***

### **March**

#### ***CPMR seminar on the regional dimension in research***

On 11 March the Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions is organising a seminar on the regional dimension in research, with particular emphasis on the regional dimension of the European Research Area and the 7<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme. The Seminar will take place in Valencia, Spain, and will feature, among other speakers, Achilleas Mitsos, Director General of DG Research. Seminar programme available at

[http://www.cpmr.org/Documents/Recherche/Recherche\\_Sem\\_Valencia\\_11\\_04\\_05\\_ODJ\\_EN.pdf](http://www.cpmr.org/Documents/Recherche/Recherche_Sem_Valencia_11_04_05_ODJ_EN.pdf)

#### ***Seminar "Erika, Prestige, Baltic Carrier - Is Maritime Safety under Control? The example of the Baltic Sea Region?"***

On 16 March the German *Land* of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, in collaboration with Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein, will be organising a seminar in Brussels which will take stock of maritime safety more than 2 years after the Prestige incident and five years after the sinking of the tanker Erika. Programme and contact information for the event are available at:

[http://www.cpmr.org/Documents/Mer/Se\\_Mar\\_16\\_03\\_05\\_Bxl\\_PGM\\_EN.pdf](http://www.cpmr.org/Documents/Mer/Se_Mar_16_03_05_Bxl_PGM_EN.pdf)

### **April**

#### ***Conference "Go North!"***

This conference will take place on April 4-6 at the Senate Hall of the Humboldt University in Berlin. The event is organised within the context of the EU-project *BalticStudyNet*, a cooperation between the Humboldt University, the University of Copenhagen, and the University of Turku, Finland. As stated in the conference programme: "Its main aim is to map the existing contents and definitions of Baltic Sea Region (BSR) Studies in and outside the region as well as to set cornerstones for future developments of curricula and structures of international co-operation. Since the Erasmus Mundus-programme focuses on scientific contacts between EU- and third country-institutions, one main aspect of the conference will be to discuss third country politics in relation to the European North and to discover parallels and differences of existing approaches towards the

region – in politics as well as in educational programmes. Also, regional key issues will be discussed, both as singular aspects and in comparison to the Mediterranean as another European key area”. More information at [www.balticstudy.net](http://www.balticstudy.net).

***Conference: Sustainable Regional Development: Concept, Systems and Methods.***

The 2nd Nordic Conference on Decision Support (Network for Strategy Development and Problem Solving) will take place in Lund, Sweden on 18-19 April 2005. As stated in the conference website: “The overall aims of the conference are to describe, analyse and discuss the benefits and potentials of different concepts, approaches, methods and tools for improving the solutions and related policies in the fields of Sustainable Regional Development as well as their existing problems and challenges in the future”. Conference programme and information available at <http://www.decision-support.info/conf2004.html>

***Call for Papers: 6th Baltic Studies conference in Europe***

The 6th Conference on Baltic Studies in Europe will take place on 17 - 19 June 2005 at the Vidzeme University College, Valmiera, Latvia. The conference’s theme is “The Baltic Way in Europe. Revolution and Evolution”. As stated in the call for papers “The conference theme is focussed on the correlation of the revolutionary and evolutionary changes in the Baltic space within the period of hundred years since the revolution of 1905, a violent one, yet having had a very contradictory evaluation and very distinctive features in different Baltic states, regions and social groups, and in 2005 a whole century will have elapsed since the historic event. From the child of industrialization – *The Fifth Year* until information society – this is the Baltic way in Europe”. Abstracts proposals should be sent in by April 30<sup>th</sup>. More info at <http://www.va.lv/cbse/>

**May**

***Conference: “Enlarged European Union in the House of Europe: New Internal and External Problems”***

This event, organized by Institute of Europe, Kaunas University of Technology, will take place in Kaunas, Lithuania on 6 May 2005. The EU Jean Monnet Project of the Institute of Europe and the Lithuanian Ministry of Education support the Conference. As stated in the call for papers: “The aim of the conference is to present the newest scientific research results on the aspects of internal and external problems of the enlarged European Union. Papers are welcome on the following themes: Security and Stability in Europe; Boundaries of/in Europe; Northern Dimension; Common European market; Europe of Regions; Europe of Knowledge; Europe of People; Europe of Culture and Prosperity; European Studies”.

Call for Papers is available at: <http://www.euroi.ktu.lt/docs/conference.htm>

***AABS Grants and Book Prize:***

The Association for Advancement of Baltic Studies offers 3 grants and 1 book prize. The first grant is for “Emerging Scholars” (2000 USD); the second one is a Dissertation Grant for Graduate Students; the third one is a subvention grant (which supports the publication of scholarly books and book-length translations in any field of Baltic Studies). The book prize is awarded to “an outstanding English-language scholarly book in any field of Baltic Studies published in 2004 and 2005”. The deadline for the first 2 grants is May 25<sup>th</sup>. The other grant does not have a deadline. The deadline for nominations to the book prize is February 1<sup>st</sup> 2006. Details at <http://www.balticstudies-aabs.lanet.lv/>.

## ***Baltic News***

**November 2004**

### ***After EU enlargement: Changes and Challenges in the Baltic Sea Region***

This Conference took place at the Södertörn University College in Stockholm, Sweden on November 19 - 20, 2004 and was arranged by the Centre for German Studies at the Södertörn University College. The conference discussed the recent East expansion of the EU into the Baltic Sea region. The discussion focused not only on the contemporary perspective but also on the historical and cultural aspects of the enlargement.

In accordance with the objective of the Centre, special attention was given to Germany.

## **December**

### ***Guest Lecture: Democratisation and Civil Society in the Baltic Sea Region***

The last lecture within the context of the Baltic Sea Region Lectures Series organised by the Centre for Baltic Studies was given by Anders Uhlin, Associate Professor at Lund University, Sweden, on the 15 of December at the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen.

The lecture contributed to an understanding of local civil societies in Russia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, with a particular focus on relationships to local state structures and other social spheres and the participation of local civil society groups in transnational networks. It also provided an overview of the state of post-Soviet civil society in the beginning of the 21st century and examined to what extent and in what way civil society contributes to different aspects of democratisation in specific regions in post-communist Russia and the Baltic states

## **February**

### ***Conference: Baltic Metropolises - Major Poles of Innovation,***

This event, organised by the Baltic metropolises network, took place in Berlin on 10-12 of February.

The conference discussed the role of metropolises to create conditions for economic activity. This theme was dealt with a seminar on 'Baltic Micro- and Nanotechnology'.

More information on the conference and on the Baltic Metropolises network is available at [www.baltmet.org](http://www.baltmet.org)

### ***Conference: Political Cultures, Values and Identities in the Baltic Sea Region: Transcending East and West, Moving Towards a Common Agenda***

This event was organized by the German-Latvian Centre & Institute of Advanced Social and Political Research, University of Latvia (Prof. Juris Rozenvalds) in collaboration with the Baltic Sea School Berlin/Humboldt-University (Prof. Dr. Bernd Henningsen), International Science Center/Örebro University (Prof. Sten Berglund), Södertörn University College-Stockholm (Dr. Mai-Brith Schartau), the Centre for Baltic Studies/University of Copenhagen (Prof. Uffe Jakobsen). It took place in Riga, February 10 - 12, 2005, Riga. The conference dealt with the state of political cultures in the Nordic and Baltic countries, as well as the cultural preconditions for institutionalization of democratic values. More information on the event and on the proceedings is available at <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/BaltSeaNet/riga2005/index.html>.

### ***Conference: Democratic Role of the Regions***

This event was organised by the CPMR Baltic Sea Commission, and took place in Riga, Latvia on the 24-25 of February. The conference focused on "regionalization, the future role of the regions and on the instruments created for the regions supporting their development in the Baltic Sea Area", as stated in the conference programme. More info available at [www.cpmr.org](http://www.cpmr.org) by clicking on Geographical Commissions/Baltic Sea.

## **Baltic Publications**

The following BaltSeaNet working papers are available online at: [www2.hu-berlin.de/BaltSeaNet](http://www2.hu-berlin.de/BaltSeaNet)

Vol. 12: Mai-Brith Schartau (ed.)

*Energy Resources, Energy Policy and Democratic Development in the Baltic Sea Region*

Vol. 13 Olav F. Knudsen

*"Institutions" vs. "Power": Baltic Perspectives on Regional Security*

Vol. 14: Ragne Kõuts

*Social Integration in the Post-Socialist Society - The Case of Estonia*

Vol. 15: Indre Pikturniene

*The use of advertising strategies among Lithuanian innovative companies: pioneering versus following behaviour*

## **ERRATA CORRIGE**

In our piece on the first round of parliamentary elections in Lithuania contained in the issue n. 3:3 of *Cebast News*, we wrote that “less than 37% of eligible voters cast their ballots”. The figure does not account for the votes sent by mail. The total is therefore 46,08%. *Cebast News* thanks Mindaugas Jurkynas of Vilnius University for pointing out this issue.

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