

EUROPEAN STUDIES IN LITHUANIA: SHORT-LASTING FASHION OR PROMISE UNFULFILLED?

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Abstract

The article introduces the main scientific research conducted in Lithuania after restoration of its Independence until present in the area of European integration and Lithuania's integration into the European Union, provides the assessment of their status quo and forecasts the issues of European studies that are most likely to attract scholars' attention in the future. The principal goal of this study is to assess from the point of view of the academic community member the status of the European political and economic studies, conducted research works and their developments while concurrently raising several problem issues. Firstly – what were the reasons which predetermined prevailing research trends and to what extent the themes and methods of analysis which dominate in them correspond to the general tendencies of the European studies in the Western academia. Secondly, to assess changes that took place in the European studies during this period of about seventeen years which while being parallel to the development of political science (and other social sciences) in Lithuania also was concurrent with radical changes in relationships between Lithuania and the EU from the recognition of the Independent State of Lithuania and establishment of official relationship with the EU until Lithuania's accession to the EU and participation in its activities. This is inevitably related with the issue of relationship between scientific research and practical policy, and also academic and practical activities of analysts themselves, which are still closely interrelated. Thirdly, in addition to evaluating the academic trends and results, to assess the work which still has to be done thus providing the basis for defining future research guidelines while maintaining the focus on pending material issues of the European policy agenda of Lithuania and practical needs for analytical evaluations. This analysis is based on assumption that such academic self-reflection is useful both to researchers of European studies (scientists, students) and institutions planning and commissioning such studies

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Introduction

The fiftieth anniversary of activities of the European Union celebrated this year is a good occasion to assess the European studies in Lithuania. Self-reflection is useful to all professions, all the more if it is focused on the reflection of the Lithuanian and European policy (whether understood as *polity*, *policy* or *politics*). The period of development of European studies in Lithuania is much shorter than in the USA or old Member States of the EU, and the number of scientific research carried out in Lithuania is considerably smaller, however, the this overview of the research provides sufficient material for summarising and assessing possible trends of future European studies.

This article is aimed at achieving several goals. First – providing an overview of scientific publications in the main periodicals, published monographs and defended doctor's dissertations to distinguish the dominant research trends proposing the reasons behind them and to compare them with the European studies in the Western academia. In other words, a certain map is developed which might be useful to those who are interested in already written papers and those who are researching current European issues (of the European Union and its Member States). This would be the first assessment of the European studies in Lithuania of such type.

Second, to evaluate the trends of the European studies during this almost seventeen-year period which while being parallel to the development of political science (and other social sciences) in Lithuania also was concurrent with radical changes in relationship between Lithuania and EU from the recognition of the Independent State of Lithuania and establishment of official diplomatic relationship with the EU until Lithuania's accession to the EU and participation in its activities. This is inevitably related with the issue of relationships between scientific research and practical policy, and also academic and practical activities of analysts themselves, which are still closely interrelated.

Third, to assess the work completed and the research which is likely to dominate or the European agenda issues that are likely to deserve academic attention. This might provide the basis for defining future research guidelines while maintaining the focus on pending material issues of the European policy agenda of

Lithuania and practical needs for analytical evaluations. Overall, this analysis is based on the assumption that such academic self-reflection is useful both to researchers of European studies (scientists, students) and institutions planning and commissioning such research.

This analysis is based on the review of the main scientific periodical publications (first of all *Politologija* (Political science) as well as *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review*, *Viešoji politika ir administravimas* (Public Policy and Administration), *Pinigų studijos* (Monetary Studies) and monographs published in Lithuania. The article focuses on political science (and to some extent, economics and law) studies of European integration. It should be noted that this analysis does not aim at the review of all papers published in Lithuania on the subject of European integration, or all works on relationships between Lithuania and EU published in academic publications in the West. The aim is to assess general tendencies rather than statistical precision. Also, this review is first of all based on assessment of the works of VU IIRPS scientists. However, as they represent the authors of the absolute majority of European studies published in Lithuania, this should present quite accurately the trends and current state of European studies in Lithuania.

Finally, it should be noted that for the purposes of this analysis, the European studies are understood as academic research which treats EU as both an independent and dependent variable, i.e. the analysis covers either EU's impact on Lithuania and other countries, their national policy and institutions, or the impact of the countries themselves on decisions taken by the EU (policy content or institutional reform). The emphasis is on the EU and its relations with Member States, applicant countries and neighbours, rather than on individual States in Europe. Moreover, the analysis does not cover the European study programmes taught in universities, or their content, but is limited to scientific research published in academic publications.

Arguments

Further provided are the main arguments of the article which are developed below by analysing scientific works of the European studies in Lithuania.

First, European studies in Lithuania are directly linked with two factors – development of practical (political, legal and economic) relations between Lithuania and EU as well as emerging (reviving) social sciences and their development. The former predetermined the object and theme of studies, and the latter – research methods and quality of discourse.

Second, focus of European studies in Lithuania on current issues of practical policy reflects the tendencies of European studies in the Western academia – their numbers depend upon visibility of EU and themes – upon decisions taken by EU and issues dominating its agenda.

Third, community of European integration analysts dealing only with academic research has not yet emerged in Lithuania. The absolute majority of scientists engaged in studies of European integration reconcile scientific research with activities in governmental institutions or consulting work.

The article excludes normative assessments as to the advantages and disadvantages of combining such scientific and consultation activity or work in governmental institutions. Nevertheless, it can be stated that this combination also contributes to the dominance of practical policy issues dominating in the European studies.

1. EU studies in Lithuania

1.1. Publications in periodicals

As a rule, development of studies in scientific research first of all takes place during scientific conferences, followed by their publication in scientific journals and finally those studies that attract attention of publishing houses are issued in the form of monographs or collective volumes. As similar tendencies are also observable in Lithuania, analysis of the main periodical scientific publications and published books, including conference material, provides quite a good reflection of the objects researched by scientists interested in the European studies. It should be noted, that before starting to analyse academic publications it's

worth recalling that the almanac *Europe* of the Lithuanian Liberation Movement *Sajūdis* edited by Romualdas Ozolas¹ was issued in Lithuania in 1989. This almanac comprised articles of journalistic nature in which philosophical, political, cultural articles were published from the interview on the outline of Europe with Jurgen Habermas to reprinted texts of Imanuel Kant and James Joyce. Unfortunately, this almanac which started covering issues of Lithuania's place in Europe, however, very carefully yet, without raising the question about Lithuania's membership in the European Union, did not become a periodical publication. This issue emerged on the political agenda of Lithuania only after several years of restoration of Lithuania's independence.

Politologija ("Political science" in English) is probably the main academic journal in which the greatest majority of works of the Lithuanian scientists devoted to the European studies are published. Since 1989, when its publishing was started (at first it was published under the title of *Politika* (Policy) and subsequently was renamed to *Politologija* (Political Science); before publication of the latest issue of 2007, which, by the way, was the first publication devoted to the EU related themes, 47 issues of *Politologija* have been published. About 25 articles on the subject of European studies were published in these issues. Analysis of publications by their themes reveals a sufficiently distinct tendency – themes of studies reflect the issues prevailing within the political agenda of Lithuania and EU. To illustrate this several stages of the European Union studies can be distinguished.

From the establishment of diplomatic relations between the EU and Lithuania until the start of accession negotiations (in 2000). Less than ten articles on the subject of European studies were published during this period predominated by analysis of treaties concluded by the EU and Lithuania, in particular association policy, and works on general themes of European integration (e.g., European security). The greatest attention is paid to the prospects of Lithuania's integration into the EU, assessment of the processes of European integration and of participation of the Central and Eastern European countries in these processes².

¹R. Ozolas (compiler), *Europa. 1988 Lietuvos Persitvarkymo Sąjūdžio Almanachas* (Europe. 1988 Almanac of the Lithuanian Liberation Movement *Sajūdis*). Vilnius: Mintis, 1989.

² See, for example, R. Vilpišauskas, "Europos Bendrijų politika Vidurio ir Rytų Europos šalių atžvilgiu: asociacijos politikos formavimas ir raida" (Policy of European Communities towards countries of the Central and Eastern Europe: association policy formation and development) *Politologija*, 1996, No. 2 (8), p. 13-30; R. Vilpišauskas, "Europos Bendrijų politika Vidurio ir Rytų Europos šalių atžvilgiu: pasirošimo narystei sampratos formavimas" (Policy of European Communities towards countries of the Central and

From the start of EU and Lithuania's membership negotiations until joining the EU (2000–2004). During this period the number of works dealing with EU accession and the impact of EU membership considerably increased. These works elaborated on legal matters of EU membership, impact of membership on agricultural, regional and cohesion policy as well as foreign policy of Lithuania (e.g., relationship with Kaliningrad Region, which became one of the issues specific to Lithuania's EU membership negotiations). In addition to dealing with separate areas of domestic and foreign policy of Lithuania, the above-mentioned works on the basis of europeanization literature which was becoming increasingly popular in Western studies analysed Lithuania's europeanization, its sources, instruments and implications. A couple of works were also devoted to the analysis of the referendum on the EU membership which completed the process of EU accession³.

From the EU accession until present (2004–until present). During several years after Lithuania's accession to the EU the research on the EU impact continue to dominate. To a certain extent they are devoted to the EU and Lithuania's foreign policy matters, for example, security and defence policy. In addition, the above-mentioned works analyse the countries (e.g., the Ukraine), participating in the EU Eastern Neighbourhood Policy, which since Lithuania's accession to the EU practically became the priority European policy area of the most inten-

Eastern Europe: formation of pre-accession concept) *Politologija*, 1997, No. 1 (9), p. 3-15; K. Maniokas, "Lietuvos ir Europos Sąjungos asociacija" (Association of Lithuania and European Union), *Politologija*, 1997, No. 1(9), p. 32-55; A. Gričius, Europos Sąjungos plėtimasis ir Baltijos šalių saugumas (European Union enlargement and security of the Baltic States), *Politologija*, 1997, No. 2(10), p. 82-97.

³ See, for example, Ž. Šatūnienė, "Lietuvos narystė bendrojoje žemės ūkio politikoje (BŽŪP): politinės ekonomijos" (Lithuania's membership in the common agricultural policy (CAP): aspect of political economy), *Politologija*, 2001, No. 1(21), p. 1-33; I. Stanytė-Toločkienė, "Kaliningrado sritis ES plėtros požiūriu" (Kaliningrad Region within the EU enlargement), *Politologija*, 2001, No. 2(22), p. 26-68; G. Vitkus, "Referendumai dėl narystės Europos Sąjungos: patirtis, problemos ir pamokos Lietuvai" (Referendums on Lithuania's membership in the European Union: experience, problems and lessons), *Politologija*, 2002, No. 1(25), p. 3-21; K. Maniokas, "Europeizacijos sąvoka ir jos vieta Europos integracijos teorijose" (Concept of Europeisation and its role in theories of the European integration), *Politologija*, 2002, No. 2(28), p. 1-26; H. Brožaitis, V. Nakrošis, "Europos Sąjungos regioninės politikos padarinių Lietuvos viešajai administracijai" (Effects of the European Union regional policy on public administration of Lithuania), *Politologija*, 2003, No. 2(30), p. 3-40; L. Mažylis, "Lietuvos referendumas dėl narystės Europos Sąjungoje" (Referendum of Lithuania on its membership in the EU), *Politologija*, 2004, No. 2(34), p. 1-37.

sive diplomatic activities of Lithuania⁴. Concurrently a new tendency of studies is observed – analysis of political integration processes taking place in the EU, for example, negotiations on 2007-2013 financial perspective in which Lithuania also participates, as well as application of new European Union Member States policy coordination instruments, such as, for example, open coordination method, in Lithuania⁵. Consequently, analysis covers not only EU impact on Lithuania and its domestic and foreign policy, but also participation of Lithuania as a Member State of the EU in the common decision-making process, representation of national interests and role of non-governmental actors.

Similar themes are also elaborated in the latest issue of 2007 of Political Science journal devoted to the fiftieth anniversary of the EU. The issue deals with matters of the EU neighbourhood policy and support to acceding EU Member States through exchanges of good practices and other instruments of europeization, also of negotiations on financial perspective, EU CAP reform and its implications for Lithuania, as well as with Lithuania's European domestic policy matters – implementation of the EU law, attitudes of Lithuanian population towards EU. These trends of studies reflect both topical matters of the European agenda of Lithuania as well as theories of international relations and comparative policies which currently are predominating in the literature.

⁴ See, for example, V. Sirutavičius, R. Lopata, "Ukraina prieš oranžinę revoliuciją ir po jos: demokrati-zacijos ir euroatlantinės integracijos perspektyvos" (Ukraine before and after The "Orange Revolution: perspectives of democratisation and Euroatlantic integration), *Politologija*, 2005, No. 4(40), p. 3-35; G. Miniotaitė, „Europos nornmatyvinė galia“ ir Lietuvos užsienio politika" (Normative Power Europe" and Lithuania's foreign policy), *Politologija*, 2006, No. 3(43), p. 3-19; A. Molis, "Europos saugumo ir gynybos politikos ateities scenarijai bei mažųjų valstybių interesai" (European security and defence policy: future scenarios and interests of the small states), *Politologija*, 2006, No. 4(44), p. 54-83.

⁵ A. Slabokaitė, "Nacionalinių interesų sankirta derybose dėl Europos Sąjungos finansinės perspektyvos 2007-2013 metais" (Conflicts of national interests in the negotiations on 2007-2013 EU financial perspective), *Politologija*, 2006, No. 4(44), p. 84-104; J. Vilčinskas, D. Vijeikis, "Lietuvos grupių interesai Briuselyje: kelionėje be interesų grupių" (Interests of Lithuanian groups in Brussels: in the journey without groups of interest), *Politologija*, 2007, No. 1(45), p. 95-143; V. Nakrošis, R. Vilpišauskas, "Kodėl neveiksmingas Europos Sąjungos atvirasis koordinavimo metodas: silpnas iš prigimties ar dėl netinkamo taikymo Lietuvoje" (What are the reasons of ineffectiveness of the EU open coordination method: weakness by nature or inadequate application in Lithuania), *Politologija*, 2007, No. 3(47), p. 44-70; V. Nakrošis, E. Barcevičius, "Europos Sąjungos Lisabonos strategijos įgyvendinimas Lietuvoje: tarp Vilniaus ir Briuselio" (Implementation of the EU Lisbon strategy in Lithuania: between Vilnius and Brussels), *Politologija*, 2007, No. 3(47), p. 71-111.

Similar tendencies of the European studies are also observable in other scientific publications. For example, about 13 works on the subject of EU were published in the *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review* issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania and VU IIRPS since 1998. Part of them comprised English versions of articles published in *Politologija* or other Lithuanian publications; however, certain issues of this journal were devoted to separate themes of the European Integration and foreign policy of Lithuania, for example, the concept of enlarged Europe (2002, Issue 2) or transatlantic relationship and analysis of EU enlargement (and other factors) implications for them (2003, Issue 1-2). Such special thematic issues combining academic research and statements of Lithuanian and foreign politicians are probably one of the main features of this journal.

Another journal characterised by thematic integrity is *Pinigių studijos* (Monetary studies) issued since 1996 by the Bank of Lithuania. Many articles about adaptation of Lithuania's financial system to the EU regulatory norms, preparations for euro introduction and general analysis of economic implications of Lithuania's membership in the EU were printed in this publication under the heading of integration⁶. Certain articles of the magazine *Ekonomika* (Economics) issued by VU are also devoted to the matters of Lithuania's membership in the EU, but they are of lesser thematic integrity and are predominated by analysis of competitiveness, impact of EU redistributive and regulatory policy instruments on Lithuania.

It should be noted that comparative policy approaches have been applied in the EU studies for quite a long period already, but the publication *Viešoji politika ir administravimas* (Public policy and administration) issued since 2002 by Mykolas Romeris University and Kaunas Technology University published only a few articles on the EU related themes in more than twenty issues of the

⁶ For example, G. Nausėda, "Nacionalinės valiutos atsisakymas: privalumai ir trūkumai" (Giving up the national currency: advantages and disadvantages), *Pinigių studijos*, 1999, No. 2, p. 17-24; R. Vilpišauskas, "Lietuvos integracija į Europos Sąjungą: poveikis ekonominei politikai ir reguliavimui" (Lithuania's integration with the EU: impact on the economic policy and regulation), *Pinigių studijos*, 1999, No. 4, p. 29-45; S. Kropas, "Centrinės bankininkystės konvergencija stojant į Europos Sąjungą" (Convergence of central banking upon accession to the EU), *Pinigių studijos*, 2001, No. 2, p. 5-14.

journal in which the issues of domestic public policy and administration of Lithuania or other European states predominate.

Overall, the approaches of international relations prevailed in the European studies in Lithuania from the very outset of such studies, however, as the European research was developed in Lithuania and after the start of negotiations on the EU membership, which directly impacted on particular public policy areas and institutions, the use of approaches of comparative politics, for example, europeanization approach, analysis of activities of interest groups and regulatory policy also started.

1.2. Monographs and other scientific works

The list of 94 publications is displayed by entering the words “European Union” into the Vilnius University database of publications. In addition to monographs this list comprises separate articles printed in academic journals, conference reports and teaching material. Meanwhile, the number of monographs of scientific value or collective European studies published in Lithuania is quite small – about 10-15 works.

Several monographs are doctor’s dissertations which earlier were published in a shortened form in academic journals. It should be noted that from the very start of VU IIRPS activities until present five doctor’s dissertations on the theme of the European studies were defended (also including the dissertation of Gediminas Vitkus on regional integration theories). These dissertations make up 20 per cent of all dissertations defended at IIRPS. Three out of five dissertations devoted to the subject of EU studies treat EU as an independent variable – analyse its influence on Lithuania’s foreign and domestic policy and institutions⁷. Two of them later were published in the form of monographs.

⁷Dissertation of Ramūnas Vilpišauskas “Regional integration: cooperation of the Baltic states in the context of EU integration” (defended in 2000), Dissertation of Klaudijus Maniokas “Accession to the EU of the Central and Eastern European countries: EU enlargement and europeisation” (defended in 2002) and dissertation of Vitalis Nakrošius “Adaptation of Lithuania to the European Union cohesion policy: institutional and public policy change” (defended in 2004). In addition, the first dissertation defended at the institute by Gediminas Vitkus was devoted to integration theories (“Development of international integration theories”, defended in 1993), and dissertation defended in 2007 by Margarita Šešelgytė “Problem of common defence identity of the European Union”.

The impact of changes in political agenda and, in particular, relationship between Lithuania and EU on the themes under consideration can also be seen from the analysis of scientific studies published in Lithuania. It should be noted that as the number of prepared monographs is considerably smaller than articles published in periodical publications their classification into separate periods is not useful in analytic terms. The general tendencies, however, are similar. Until negotiations on the EU membership, the works concerning Lithuania's integration in the EU analysing the association with EU and accession strategy issues predominated. The publication *Lithuania's integration into the European Union: summary of the study on the status, perspectives and impact* issued in 1997, which was prepared by the group of authors on the initiative of the European Integration Studies Centre (EISC), might be considered the main scientific publication of that time.⁸ This book of obvious interdisciplinary nature was important not only because it covered the analysis of Lithuania's association with the EU and prospects of its EU membership, but because of the attempts to assess membership implications in particular areas of public policy already at that time. Also, until opening of Lithuania's negotiations with the EU, several collective works were published on the initiative of EISC, which analyse political, economic and legal issues of Lithuania's integration into the EU⁹.

⁸ K. Maniokas, G. Vitkus (compilers) *Lietuvos integracija į Europos Sąjungą: būklės, perspektyvų ir pasekmių studija* (Lithuania's integration into the European Union: summary of the study on the status, perspectives and impact). Vilnius: Europos integracijos studijų centras, 1997.

⁹ *Lietuvos integracijos į Europos Sąjungą strategija: tarptautinės konferencijos medžiaga*, (Strategy of Lithuania's integration into the EU: material of the international conference), Vilnius, 1995, 15-16 December / [chief editors: K. Maniokas, G. Vitkus; material prepared by: European Integration Studies Centre]. Kaunas: Naujasis lankas, 1997. *Lietuvos integracija į Europos Sąjungą: pasiekimai ir problemas* (Lithuania's integration into the EU: achievements and problems) [R. Vilpišauskas, V. Nakrošis, V. Miškinis ... et al.]; European Integration Studies Centre. Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2000; *Stojimas į Europos Sąjungą ir Konstitucija: seminaro medžiaga, 1999 06 29-30: 420-osioms Vilniaus universiteto metinėms*, Europos teisės departamentas prie LR Vyriausybės, Europos komitetas prie LR Vyriausybės, Vilniaus universiteto Teisės fakultetas, Europos Sąjungos studijų asociacija – Lietuva.; (Accession to the EU and Constitution: workshop material, 29-30 June 1999: for the 420th anniversary of Vilnius University, European Law Department under the Government of the RoL, European Committee under the Government of the RoL, Law Faculty of Vilnius University, European Union Studies Association, Lithuania) Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2000; *Europos Sąjungą: Institucinė sąranga ir politikos aktualijos*, Europos integracijos studijų centras ("European Union: institutional structure and current policy issues", European Integration Studies Centre); [project manager A. Gričius; project executors: D. Žeruolis ... et al.], Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2000 .

Later, from the beginning of the EU membership negotiations, the impact of EU on Lithuania in separate policy areas and Europeanization themes were analysed. The collective volume *Lithuania's Road to the European Union. European association and Lithuania's accession negotiations* prepared by a group of scientists and analysts who participated in the negotiations, which however was published already after completion of the negotiations and Lithuania's accession to the EU, and which later was translated into the English language, might be considered the main publication¹⁰. Until now it represents probably the most detailed analysis of the EU negotiations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe published in English language, which is worth attention of representatives of other countries seeking EU accession and is also of scientific value for those who are interested in the international negotiations and process of EU enlargement.

Other scientific papers published during the recent years dealt with the institutional and political changes taking place in the EU, for example, the process of drafting the Constitution for Europe, and its contents¹¹, EU neighbourhood policy¹², EU impact on the public policy process in Lithuania or particular stages of policy circle (e.g., implementation)¹³. Although this analy-

¹⁰ K. Maniokas, R. Vilpišauskas, D. Žėruolis (editors), *Lietuvos kelias į Europos Sąjungą. Europos susivienijimas ir Lietuvos derybos dėl narystės Europos Sąjungoje* (Path of Lithuania to the European Union. European association and negotiations of Lithuania on EU membership), Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2004.

¹¹ *Konventas, Konstitucija ir Europos Sąjungos ateitis, 2002-2003*, Europos integracijos studijų centras ("Convent, Constitution and the future of the EU. 2002-2003", European Integration Studies Centre), [editorial board R. Kalonaitis (chief editor) ... [et al.]. Vilnius: UAB Firidas, 2004. *European Union and Ukraine: Lithuanian perspective*, J. Daniliauskas, R. Lopata, V. Sirutavičius, Ž. Šatūnienė, R. Vilpišauskas; [translated from the Lithuanian to the English language by A. Matulytė]; Ukrainos institutas, Vilniaus universiteto Tarptautinių santykių ir politikos mokslų institutas (Ukraine Institute, Vilnius University Institute of International relations and Political Science), Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2003; *European Union and its new neighbourhood: volume of papers*, Mykolas Romeris University; [editorial staff: H. Kobeckaitė ... [et al.]. – Vilnius: Publishing House of Mykolas Romeris University, 2005.

¹² *European Union and Ukraine: Lithuanian perspective* / J. Daniliauskas, R. Lopata, V. Sirutavičius, Ž. Šatūnienė, R. Vilpišauskas; [translated from the Lithuanian to the English language by A. Matulytė]; Ukraine Institute, Vilnius University Institute of International relations and Political Sciences, Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2003; *European Union and its new neighbourhood: volume of papers* / Mykolas Romeris University; [editorial staff: H. Kobeckaitė ... [et al.]. – Vilnius: Publishing House of Mykolas Romeris University, 2005.

¹³ R. Vilpišauskas, V. Nakrošis, *Politikos įgyvendinimas Lietuvoje ir Europos Sąjungos įtaka* (Implementation of Policy in Lithuania and impact of the European Union), Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2003; R. Vilpišauskas, V. Nakrošis, *Ko verta politika? : viešosios politikos vertinimas Lietuvoje ir Europos Sąjungoje* (Value of policy: assessment of public policy in Lithuania and European Union [teaching aid]), Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2005.

sis does not cover teaching materials (textbooks), but the Encyclopaedic Directory *European Union*, the third edition of which is under preparation now, is worth mentioning here¹⁴.

Finally, the *Lithuanian Annual Strategic Review* published by the Military Academy of Lithuania and VU IIRPS since 2003 and the *Lithuanian Political Science Yearbook* issued by VU IIRPS since 2000 (both can be read in English) where a great number of articles on the subject of EU were published should be mentioned here¹⁵. However, except a few cases, these articles usually were translations of works written and published in the Lithuanian language or papers drafted during scientific internship abroad.

By the way, the authors of many above-mentioned publications devoted to the European studies are scientists of VU IIRPS. VU IIRPS separately or jointly with other institutions (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Military Academy) form the institutional environment in which most analysts of European studies work in Lithuania. The European Integration Studies Centre established more than ten years ago by VU IIRPS and MoFA organised numerous scientific discussions before accession of Lithuania to the EU and issued a number of joint studies mentioned above. Other publishing activities of EISC, which should be mentioned here, is for example, publication of documents highlight-

¹⁴ G. Vitkus (compiler) *Europos Sąjunga. Enciklopedinis žinyras* (European Union. Encyclopaedic Manual), Vilnius: Eugrimas, 1999.

¹⁵ For example, A. Gricius, K. Paulauskas, "Europos Sąjungos bendroji užsienio ir saugumo politika ir Lietuva" (Common foreign and security policy of the European Union and Lithuania), *Lietuvos metinė strateginė apžvalga 2003*, Vilnius: Lietuvos karo akademija, 2004, p. 75-102; R. Vilpišauskas, "Glaudesnio bendradarbiavimo perspektyvos ir pasekmės Lietuvai" (Perspectives and consequences of closer cooperation in EU for Lithuania), *Lietuvos metinė strateginė apžvalga 2003*. – Vilnius: Lietuvos karo akademija. – 2004. – P. 131-148; V. Nakrošis, "Lithuania's Administrative and Political Adaptation to the European Union", *Lithuanian Political Science Yearbook 1999*. – Vilnius: Institute of International Relations and Political Science, 2000, p. 117-152; K. Maniokas, "Methodology of the EU Enlargement: A Critical Appraisal", *Lithuanian Political Science Yearbook 1999*, Vilnius: Institute of International Relations and Political Science, 2000, p. 182-210; R. Vilpišauskas, "Regional Integration in Europe: Analyzing Intra-Baltic Economic Cooperation in the Context of European Integration", *Lithuanian Political Science Yearbook 1999*, Vilnius: Institute of International Relations and Political Science, 2000, p. 211-265; R. Vilpišauskas, "The Political Economy of Transatlantic Relations: The Implications of EU Enlargement", *Lithuanian Political Science Yearbook 2003*, Vilnius: Institute of International Relations and Political Science, 2004, p. 141-160; K. Maniokas, "Lithuania's European Policy and its Co-ordination", *Lithuanian Political Science Yearbook 2003*, Vilnius: Institute of International Relations and Political Science, 2004, p. 161-187.

ing the development of relationship between Lithuania and EU and its main dates¹⁶. However, after the start of negotiations of Lithuania with the EU and in particular after accession into the EU, academic and publishing activities of EISC were less visible. From Lithuania's accession to the EU they were partly compensated by activities of the Centre for Strategic Studies (CSS) attracting students graduating from IIRPS, irrespective of its specifics, which is limited publication of performed studies and prepared analyses. Moreover, the European studies represent only one of the foreign policy areas of Lithuania analysed by the Centre, whereas its routine analyses are more focused on the neighbouring countries of the EU.

Activities of such consulting institutes as the Public Policy and Management Institute (PPMI), or European Social, Legal and Economic Projects (ESLEP) established by analysts who participated in Lithuania's negotiations with the EU work mostly in the area of studies commissioned by public authorities, as well as of the Lithuanian Free Market Institute (LFMI), especially before Lithuania's membership in the EU, when LFMI was actively involved in the network of analysts of the Bertelsmann Foundation aimed at analysing the enlargement of the EU are also worth mentioning here. It should be noted that these consulting bodies were either established by analysts who cooperate with, or are employed by, VU IIRPS, and who work for such bodies. The main activities related with the EU studies in combining academic work with consulting assignments focused on the improvement of practical policy are carried out within this institutional network. Kaunas University of Technology has set up the Institute of Europe and other institutions also have branches that engage in the European studies, but their academic activities are either narrowly specialised or more oriented towards organising educational material.

To summarise the above, the analysis of EU themes in academic publications in Lithuania reveals clear direct connection between political agenda of Lithuania and EU and the subjects of academic studies. The present article will further highlight that this is also consistent with the tendencies of scientific works

¹⁶ Europos integracijos studijų centras, "Lietuvos ir Europos Sąjungos santykių dešimtmetis. Faktai ir dokumentai. 1990-1999" (European Integration Studies Centre, The decade of relationships of Lithuania and European Union. Facts and Documents. 1990-1999), Vilnius: Eugrimas, 2001.

of scientists from North America and old Member States of the EU. Also, in line with the trends in Western academic community, analytic models of both international relations and comparative politics as well as of the particular sub-disciplines, such as political economy, political analysis are used for the purpose of studies conducted in Lithuania.

However, one feature of the European studies is specific to Lithuania- they are mostly one-case studies, i.e. practically limited only to the analysis of the case of Lithuania (except for certain cases when analysis covers all Baltic States or some other countries). In other words, systematic comparative studies of the EU Member States are not undertaken in Lithuania neither for the purpose of analysing the impact of the EU on public policy and institutions of the countries, nor the impact of individual Member States on political processes of the EU. The principal reason is relatively low participation of Lithuanian scientists in the international networks. As a result Lithuanian scientists have less possibilities to publish their articles in the main periodicals of the European studies, for example, in the *Journal of Common Market Studies* or *Journal of European Public Policy*, and quite rarely manage to submit their work to the main publishing houses printing books in the English language. Nevertheless, some works of the Lithuanian authors were published in collective volumes, but such cases are the result of personal initiatives and networking with scientists from other countries, rather than from a systematically functioning research system in Lithuania¹⁷.

Unfortunately, meanwhile there is no possibility to identify Lithuanian scientists whose works are cited most often, because attempts to find the citing index of such type were not fruitful. The most often cited works of the Western scientists devoted to the analysis of EU are indicated in the next chapter which introduces the main trends and characteristics of the European studies in North America and incumbent Member States of the EU.

¹⁷ For example, scientific work of R. Vilpišauskas and V. Nakrošis at the European University Institute, 1999, research by K. Maniokas at the Oxford University, etc., as well as participation in the events organised by the European Studies Associations of North America and Europe.

2. Transatlantic European studies

It would be useful to assess European Studies in Lithuania in a wider context, i.e. development of EU studies in the Western academia. The question of the development of European studies, theories and approaches applied and objects of analysis has been analysed in many studies, the following part of the article will mostly rely upon the study by John Keeler *Mapping EU Studies: The Evolution from Boutique to Boom Field 1960-2001*¹⁸ presented several years ago. This choice is based not only on exclusive comprehensiveness of this study in terms of time, but also on the analysis of themes of doctor's dissertations and periodical publications which are wider than usual reviews of the European integration theories and scientific works.

Perhaps the most important observation with regard to the European studies in USA and old Member States of the EU is direct relationship between the functioning of the EU, "ups and downs" of the integration and scholarly attention to the EU. According to Thomas Diez and Antje Wiener "for many scientists the principal goal of integration analysis is to achieve better understanding of EU institutions"¹⁹. However, the authors emphasise that EU analysis cannot be limited to mere discussion of empirical facts, it is also necessary to analyse and assess theories of integration, identifying its causes, process, consequences and formulating forecasts. Nevertheless, even though quite intensive discussions on advantages of different theories when explaining certain episodes of the EU history took place²⁰, it must be admitted that the European studies from the very beginning of establishment of the European Communities reflected the status of the European integration and the larger part of works was aimed at providing the best possible interpretation or at least understanding of what is happening within the EU and relationship between the Union and Member States.

J. Keeler's study deals with doctor's dissertations defended in the USA during the period of 1960-2001, which analysed the Western Europe, as well as 24

¹⁸ J. T. S. Keeler, "Mapping EU Studies: The Evolution from Bourique to Boom Field 1960-2001," Paper prepared for delivery at the Ninth Biennial International Conference of the European Union Studies Association (EUSA), Austin, Texas, March 31-April 2, 2005.

¹⁹ Th. Diez, A. Wiener, "Introducing the Mosaic of Integration Theory", *European Integration Theory*. Th. Diez, A. Wiener (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. -P. 3.

²⁰ The best illustration of such disputes which sometimes were particularly heated probably are discussions of Andrew Morvcsik, the author of liberal intergovernmental with his opponents as regard the advantage of this theory compared with competing interpretations of integration in the second half of the last decade.

most outstanding periodical scientific magazines of political sciences, international relations and public policy. On the basis of analysis of the number and themes of the defended doctor's dissertations and articles published in periodicals, J. Keeler identifies in his opinion three distinct "eras" or periods of EC/EU studies: the development or launch era, the doldrums era and the renaissance/boom era²¹.

During the European studies development period the interest of scientists in the integration studies firstly emerged due to the establishment of the European Communities and results of the first successful years of existence upon the enlargement of the number of integrated areas. At that time the theory of neofunctionalism, one of the most well-developed theories, which probably had the greatest impact on the European integration analysis, was developed and very soon its alternative emerged from discussions with this theory – the inter-governmental approach of Stanley Hoffmann (which subsequently developed into the liberal intergovernmentalism, which was finally consistently introduced during the renaissance period by Andrew Moravcsik, and later in his EU study *The Choice for Europe* returned back to certain statements of neofunctionalism).

The dark ages of the European studies are associated with the "empty chair crisis" in the EC, which started stagnation of integration which lasted from 1965-66 until mid-1980s, accompanied by concurrent lessening of scientists' interest in the European studies. At that time when the theoretical discussions declined, Ernst Haas, the originator of neofunctionalism declared that the theory of integration was obsolete, and smaller numbers of publications on the themes of the European integration were published. Some analysts, however, argue that material changes both in the EC and its analysis also took place in 1970s, in particular in the area of legal decisions, which subsequently provided instruments for new integration projects²². Nevertheless, quantitative analysis of published scientific works reflects reduced interest in the European integration, excluding publications specialising only in EU studies.

²¹ Opt. cit., p. 5.

²² J. Caporaso, J. Keeler "The European Union and Regional Integration Theory", *The State of European Union*, C. Rhodes (ed.). Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, 1995, -P. 29-62.

Renaissance of the European studies, like during the previous two periods, was caused by political changes, and first of all by the adoption of the Single European Act and the Single Market Programme in the middle of the 1980s. This breakthrough of the European integration reanimated the interest of Western scientists in the European studies. Creation of the Single market followed by the establishment of the European and Monetary Union caused a new wave of works elaborating on the European integration. Part of them turned back to the previously popular neofunctionalism accompanied by parallel development of liberal intergovernmentalism. Moreover, theories of international relations which analysed the causes of integration and which predominated until that time from the middle of the last decade were challenged by the comparative politics theories explaining how the decision-making process takes place in the EU, what is the impact of EU on the public policy of its Member States and their institutions and what predetermines such impact. The past two decades like never before were characterised by abundance of theoretical interpretations in analysing the EU. By the way, discussions between the “grand” integration theories seemed to calm down in recent years and at present the scientists have reached the agreement that different theories can explain or describe different aspects of the EU and consequently can successfully coexist. Moreover, the number of constructivist works about EU increased during the previous decade; however social sciences analysing the EU seem to be predominated by positivistic studies.

According to J. Keeler, during the first two stages of integration studies several themes deserved the greatest attention of scientists – European integration, relationships between the EU and its Member States and EC foreign policy. While during the third period after revival of interest in the EU some more new themes of analysis emerged – Economic and Monetary Union, EU institutions, Single market and multi-level governance. The great majority of studies were devoted to these subjects, but in general diversification of themes of European studies increased during past decades. It should be noted that even though during five decades of existence of the EC, the number of its Member States increased several times, serious interest in the analysis of EU enlargement emerged only with the EU enlargement to the Central and Eastern Europe and enlargement of the EU became one of the most popular themes of both practitioners and theoretical discussions.

Returning to J. Keeler's observations regarding European studies attention should be paid to several interesting facts. Keeler argues citing Glenda Rosenthal that "European scholars have looked to the US for leadership, ideas and conceptual tools in this field of study"²³. Though during last decades this gap diminished given the growth of movement of scholars across the Atlantic, participation in joint projects and Europeans departing for temporary assignments at the EU centres at the universities of the USA or Americans arriving to the European University Institute in Florence, it seems however that until present greater attention of USA scholars is paid to theories and general explanations of integration, while the Europeans tend more to engage in descriptive studies.

J. Keeler also introduces the most frequently cited works of the European integration. Until 1988 the most often cited work was S. Hoffmann's response to neofunctionalists *Obstinate or obsolete*²⁴. Between 1988 and 2001 the first place among the most often cited works is occupied by Joseph Weiler's article *The Transformation of Europe* and Andrew Moravcsik's article introducing liberal intergovernmentalism *Preferences and power in the European Communities*²⁵.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the fact that financing of EU centres in the USA universities and other type of financial support to scientists studying in the EU had considerable impact on the development of scientific studies in this area. Financing particularly consolidated mutual networks of transatlantic academic community, organisation of joint research projects, dissemination of ideas in conferences and during short-term study visits. Alongside development of new technologies and internet sources of EU studies, intensifying academic relationship between academic communities of North America and Europe became one of the factors conducive to the development of European studies²⁶.

²³ Opt cit, p. 24.

²⁴ S. Hoffmann, "Obstinate or Obsolete: The fate of the nation state and the case of Western Europe", *Daedalus*, 1966, No. 95(3), -P. 862-915.

²⁵ J. Weiler, "The Transformation of Europe," *Yale Law Journal*, 1991 – 2403; A. Moravcsik, "Preferences and Power in the European Community," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 1993, -P. 473-524.

²⁶ See, for example, M. Baun, P. Wilkin, "Web-Teaching the EU: Online Sources and Online Courses," *The State of the European Union*. Vol. 6. T. Borzel, R. Cichowski (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, -P. 334-354.

3. Trends of EU studies of the transatlantic community and Lithuania

Analysis of recent trends of the European studies and forecasting the tendencies and subjects of studies which are likely to dominate in future in Lithuania calls for continuing the analysis of discussions of a wider academic community of analysts interested in the EU. The number of thematic sessions of conferences hosted every two years by the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) is a good illustration of the most recent thematic tendencies in the world of European studies. The table below specifies the number of sessions of the most recent EUSA conference organised in spring 2007 in Montreal by separate themes²⁷.

Table No. 1. Number of sessions of EUSA conference in Montreal

Democracy	7
Economics, political economy	13
Enlargement	11
Europeanization	6
External relationships	20
Governance	15
Institutions	12
Law, courts	3
Parties, interest groups	7
Public policy	13
Integration theories	8
Voting, public opinion	3

Source: EUSA Review, p. 1.

²⁷ L. Hooghe “EUSA Conference: Can big be beautiful?” *EUSA Review*, Vol. 20, No. 3, Summer 2007, -P. 1-24.

EUSA conferences may be considered the most important world's forum of scientists analysing EU, therefore works presented in them can be treated as the illustration of research trends of general European studies. As we can see from the list of sessions specified above, subjects predominating at present include EU external relationships and governance, public policy and economics. By the way, last year's EUSA conference was attended by 650 participants, who introduced 500 works during 120 sessions. This tenth conference was the largest of all EUSA conferences organised until present and it also can be considered a sign of continuously growing interest of scholars. However, scientists from the new Member States of the EU are still insufficiently represented and therefore they are often attended by students from countries of Central and Eastern Europe undertaking PhD studies at universities of the USA.

Going back to the current issues of the European studies in Lithuania it can be expected that in the coming years the greatest attention of analysts will be devoted to several subjects. Themes of studies like before (and like in other countries) will be defined by practical policy changes in Lithuania and EU agenda. In the first instance it is the European energy policy and interests of Lithuania. The second important theme continuously emphasised in the political discourse of Lithuania is the EU neighbourhood policy and the role of Lithuania. After Lithuania's accession to the EU both these themes became dominant in the European (and foreign) policy of Lithuania. This happened as a result of diplomatic efforts of Lithuania responding to external events (problems in the supply of energy sources) and having revised Lithuania's foreign policy goals after accession into the EU. These themes are likely to dominate in the future and should deserve greater attention of analysts. The neighbourhood policy is being analysed already now through the transfer of the best practice of Lithuania to the Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia or Balkan Countries where Lithuanian analysts are working too.

Another important theme arising from domestic political priorities of Lithuania is the reforms of the country's public sector and use of EU policy coordination instruments in implementing them. Upon Lithuania's accession to the EU, in particular during EU membership negotiations a major part of public sector resources was allocated for this purpose. Consequently, other relevant spheres of

policy, such as university education and research, health care and adapting these systems to the European and global processes of integration deserved relatively smaller resources (including political attention). After accession to the EU more attention can be paid to the matters of reform of these previously partly ignored areas. This is already happening to a certain extent, however, insufficiently. In future these matters are likely to prevail in all discussions with practices of other EU Member States being used more and more intensively for this purpose. To a certain extent it is reflected in the articles of the *Politologija* issue covering the use of Open Coordination Method in Lithuania. In the future, the connection between domestic reforms of Lithuania (to be more precise, their lack and stagnation existing in the public sector after the accession to the EU) and European policy of Lithuania, in particular in the Eastern neighbouring countries may become more and more obvious. In the long run, due to its experience of unsuccessful public sector reforms Lithuania might lose attractiveness to Eastern neighbours of the EU and which might hinder Lithuania's active neighbourhood policy. In other words, the record of non-reforms since the EU accession, might reduce the credibility of Lithuania's active attempts at assisting reforms in Neighbourhood countries and their integration into the EU.

Finally, some European studies in Lithuania will depend upon political processes and decisions made in the EU. EU budgetary review has already stimulated discussions on this subject in Lithuania and resulted in the preparation of the first study. This issue obviously arising from EU agenda will also be discussed in Lithuania during several coming years. Another theme – EU internal market (and related external economic policy) – is one of priority themes identified in the strategic documents of Lithuania, but in this case official declarations differ from practical policy and attention paid to these matters. Therefore, if irrespective of importance of establishment of the EU internal market to Lithuania this issue within the political agenda will be further limited to the projects of infrastructure (energy, transport), and provision of services, movement of people will be ignored, these issues are likely to lack attention on the part of analysts too.

Conclusions

Summarising this assessment of the European studies in Lithuania several most important observations can be provided. First of all it is likely that future trends of the European studies in Lithuania will also be predetermined by topical issues of the policy of Lithuania (and EU) and sources of financing (education reform, commissioned studies). If the education reform does not take place during the nearest coming years and the situation in higher schools does not materially change (in terms of continuous project financing and quality of work), it is possible, that the European studies and research will be mostly financed by public authorities (and to a certain extent – available resources of universities).

Due to relatively low participation in the international academic networks European studies will be further focused on the case analysis of Lithuania. As in Lithuania scholars studying in the EU as a rule also engage in consulting activity or engage in public service, insufficient time is paid to the contacts with academic community of other countries. This, in its turn, means that in future analyses will also be mostly focused on topical issues of the European policy, which will preclude wider dissemination of Lithuanian research in foreign academic publications (issued in the English language).

Preparations of Lithuania for the EU Presidency and related analysis of the national interests of Lithuania and their representation in the EU might provide the main impetus to the European studies. It is likely to be the first stimulus after EU accession to carry out a significant reassessment of Lithuania's interests in the EU, and this will be impossible without serious analysis of the EU and place of Lithuania in it. But scientific research exclusively oriented towards the EU Presidency of Lithuania might in the first instance call for the analysis oriented towards practical institutional needs and definition of Lithuania's interests in the EU.

Such research is of course very significant, however, in the context of the long-term perspective a question should be asked whether European studies in the future should also be almost exclusively focused only on practical policy needs? Until now there were too little discussions on essential issues of the

EU and Lithuania's place in it arising from practical policy analysis or disputes of medium-level theories. Upon establishment of Lithuania's positions within the authorities of EU and deliberating the Reform Treaty the essential discussion on the matters of achieved status of integration and EU relationship with Member States and their institutions would be useful. By the way, after several years sufficient time would have passed already for making the first and more detailed evaluation of Lithuania's experience in the EU linking initial expectations related with membership with social processes taking place since the EU accession and analysing the matters of political, economical and cultural participation of Lithuania in the EU. In other words, the European studies should provide sufficient space for scientific research of different level and nature from those focused on assessments of practical issues of political agenda and analysis for policy improvement to constructive studies raising fundamental (including value) questions.

However, the number of Lithuanian scientists of different profile interested in the European matters "who will fill this space" will depend upon further existence of the academic community engaged in the European studies and upon the nature of activities – attention devoted to purely academic research, and contacts with communities of EU researchers from other countries. The relevance of the issue of financing of studies in the future is not likely to diminish. Naturally, if the reform of education, which can create conditions for ongoing academic activities in implementing continuing projects awarded by way of tender is not carried out, the themes of European studies will depend mostly upon orders of public institutions focussed on the practical policy needs. In the event of the failure to implement the reform of higher education and research, European studies in Lithuania might another (another) field of unused possibilities or promises unfulfilled.