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Algis Krupavičius

Political Science – Lithuania

Discussant: Algimantas Jankauskas

1. Analysis of the pre-1989 situation and of the years of transformation, 1989-1991

The rebirth and development of political science in contemporary Lithuania is a fascinating story, because of its close connection to the democratic changes and the restoration of the Lithuanian state at the end of the 1980s. The roots of contemporary Lithuanian political science are found in 1988 – a turbulent and decisive year in modern Lithuania's history.

However, a broader historical perspective is very important in understanding the development of even young academic disciplines, like political science in Lithuania. History here is significant in at least two ways: it is relevant to recognize even discontinuous roots in order to establish contemporary identities of the discipline, and “internalized history” helps to construct the contemporary discourse of the academic discipline.

The University of Vilnius, founded in 1579, is the oldest university in the Baltic region and was based on deep international academic traditions. The historical origins of studies in governance and politics here are an excellent example. First attempts to teach ideas of the state and governance were concentrated at the Faculty of Philosophy as early as the late 1670s, when the Department of Ethics was established here. Among the most prominent professors at that time were Modzelewski Zacharij, Pucilowski Kristup, and Boreysza Andrius. Theoretically, studies of politics were strongly oriented toward the works of Aristotle, Cicero, St. Thomas Aquinas, Bodin, and Lips. On the other hand, Machiavelli was among the most severely criticized authors, because to a large extent he denied traditional Roman Catholic values in politics. Moreover, Machiavelli greatly favored the republic over the monarchy, and the latter was the political reality of the united Polish-Lithuanian state (for more, see Plečkaitis, 2000: 25-46). From a methodological point of view, political philosophy and political history were two main approaches to deal with political phenomena.

Before World War II, there were two centers of political research and studies in Lithuania: Vilnius and Kaunas. During the 1920-39 Polish occupation of the Vilnius region, the Institute of Eastern European Research (IEER) was established in 1930 at the University of Vilnius. This institute, initially headed by Jan Rozwadowski, provided the academic basis for in-depth political research and studies in Vilnius during the 1930s. The library of the IEER comprised about 20,000 volumes at the end of the decade. The institute also developed a few periodical publications of its own, including *Balticoslavica* and *Annals of the Institute of Eastern European Research* (Pšibilskis, 1995: 168-169). After the Soviet occupation in 1940, the institute was dissolved and its traditions were lost to the academic context of Lithuania.

It was in this context that political science was formally launched in Lithuania. Alongside the IEER, a School of Political Science was founded at Vilnius University in the inter-war period. If the goal of the IEER was primarily the organization of research on countries “between the Baltic and the Black Sea”, the School of Political Science was responsible for studies in political science. In 1939, there were seven native Lithuanians among the students in politics (Pšibilskis, 1995: 172).

Efforts to establish a School of Political Science in Kaunas after the Poles occupied Vilnius are credited to Römeris Mykolas, Rector of Vytautas Magnus University (VMU). The VMU was founded in 1920 as the School of Higher Studies and was renamed the University of Lithuania in 1922. Later it became the principal center of academic investigations and studies in inter-war

Lithuania. In 1933, Römeris proposed the foundation of a School of Political Science. Later, a proposal was drawn up to establish a Higher School of Political Science, but unfortunately, this project was never implemented.

However, it would be an exaggeration to suggest that political studies and research did not exist at all in inter-war Lithuania. According to a bibliography of Lithuanian political thought prepared by Budzinauskas in 1993, more than 100 publications in the period 1920-40 can be considered writings in the field of political theory (Budzinauskas, 1993: 123-127). Among the most important contributors to political studies were professors of the VMU, such as Kazys Pakštas¹ and Stasys Šalkauskis in the study of geopolitics, Antanas Maceina and Vosylius Sezemanas in the field of theories of nationalism, and Mykolas Römeris² in theories of the state, constitutionalism, and representation. At the same time, moreover, various authors published a substantial number of academic works on political ideologies, political institutions and parties, and in the area of foreign policy.

After the Soviet Union's return to Lithuania in 1944, a centralized system of social and political sciences was introduced in the country. The Moscow authorities put political studies under exceptionally strict control, because this field was considered a major instrument of ideological indoctrination. All academic programs were strictly censored and centralized. The VMU was divided into several institutions of higher education in 1951, with the aim of destroying the pre-war historical heritage of academic life in independent Lithuania. The academic community suffered enormous losses due to Soviet repression and the emigration of Lithuanian professors to the West from 1944 on.

The only university able to survive during the Soviet occupation was the University of Vilnius³. It was no accident, therefore, that the academic community at the University of Vilnius in 1988 initiated the discussion about de-ideologizing social science studies. The first stimulus for the awakening of the academic community in Lithuania came through the *perestroika* policy initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985. During the first phase of the liberalization of the communist system, because of their social status and deeper knowledge of ongoing processes, members of the academic community in particular were permitted to express formerly prohibited ideas and to criticize "failures of the Soviet lifestyle". However, the major immediate impulse for discussion on the future of the social sciences was the changing socio-political situation within Lithuania after the establishment of the Sąjūdis movement in June 1988, when Lithuania, along with Estonia and Latvia, became the frontrunners of reform in the former Soviet Union.

In the autumn of 1988, an open discussion of the status and teaching of ideological academic subjects – *History of the CPSU* and *Scientific Communism* – began in Vilnius. Nevertheless, there were certain structural preconditions within the University of Vilnius. Along with the highly ideological departments on the History of the CPSU and Scientific Communism, the University had a few other departments in social sciences, such as the Department of Philosophy, the Department of History of Philosophy, and the Laboratory of Sociological Research, as well as the Faculties of History and Law. University of Vilnius had the advantage of having developed quite strong internal networks in the social sciences and humanities during the 1970s and 1980s.

Of course, some of most interesting questions, especially in retrospect, hinge on the evolution of Lithuanian political science – how it began and who was involved.

The leader and moderator of this discussion was Rolandas Pavilionis, Head of the Department of History of Philosophy at the time. Initially, the discussion developed in the departments of the university and among students who refused to attend the lectures of the most orthodox professors. But in only a few months, it spread like wildfire through all the institutions of higher education in the country. The discussion did not acquire real social and academic resonance until a pro-reform daily, *Komjaunimo tiesa* (Komsomol's Truth), published an article by Pavilionis titled "Social sciences and philosophy: how can we wake up from lethargy?" on October 14, 1988. Pavilionis argued that the two ideological disciplines – *History of the CPSU* and *Scientific Communism* – must be replaced by political science. In his words, the new curriculum could consist of a mixture

of law, civic education, and the political history of Lithuania, as well as the history of political ideas. He said that the reform of social sciences must be started immediately. The new socio-political situation and the legalization of the Sąjūdis movement were extremely favorable factors for speedy reform in the social sciences. The slogan “democracy now” in the environment of Lithuanian higher education meant, above all, change in the system of social sciences at the university.

Who comprised the camp of reformers? Among the leading figures were middle-aged professors of philosophy such as Pavilionis and Nekrašas from the University of Vilnius, as well as a group of young researchers and postgraduate students: Bielinis, Vitkus, Krupavičius, and some others who had finished their studies at various academic institutions in Moscow during the initial period of *perestroika*. It is interesting that this group was never formalized, nor did it have a clearly defined membership. All who were interested in reforming the social sciences were entitled to join the discussion at their own convenience. A free spirit of discussion dominated all the meetings, where formal academic titles were ignored. It was a radically new phenomenon compared with the earlier, highly centralized academic climate.

Another major group interested in the introduction of political science consisted of lecturers in the Faculty of Law at the University of Vilnius. This group sought to introduce political studies for students of law, a goal that was achieved in 1989. Very soon, all institutions of higher education were involved, and this produced a network of discussions on the status of the social sciences, but primarily on the prospects for political science throughout Lithuania.

Initially, the group or rather groups of reformers had very different views about the content of political science. This was based on their very different academic backgrounds, ranging from history, philosophy, and sociology to law and scientific communism; it also reflected a certain generation gap. The youngest but very active group of would-be political researchers was only 25-30 years old. Another important aspect was that the process of introducing political studies involved lecturers from the two ideological departments, History of the CPSU and Scientific Communism. At least some of them expected to survive in their academic positions during the reform, which they conceived as being moderate in scope; the idea of an official period of transition to the new configuration and curriculum of the social sciences was also suggested. But as it turned out, another approach was taken to the situation.

During the first phase of reform, in Autumn 1988 and early 1989, few practical results were achieved. First of all, Pavilionis coined the term “politology” (*politologija*), compounded from two Greek words, “politike” and “logos”, to refer to political science in Lithuania. The reasons why this term was chosen rather than “political science” (*politikos mokslas*) were never explained, though the younger generation of would-be researchers in politics argued for the latter. There is only one logical argument to explain the birth of “politology” instead of “political science”. The term “political science” sounded too much like the term “scientific communism”, which had been taught at Lithuanian universities before the reform. The term “politology” was new and stressed a rhetorical distance to scientific communism better than the term “political science” did. On the other hand, the term “politology” for political science already existed in some European languages, for example as “politicologie” in Flemish or “politologie” in Czech. Since the Lithuanian academic community was the *first* to start the reform of the social sciences in the former Soviet Union, the term “politology” traveled very quickly to the Russian language and to other languages of the former USSR.

From 1989 to 1991, major activities concentrated on the elaboration of curricula in political science. In addition to this main trend, serious organizational changes were implemented.

First, existing departments of history of the CPSU and scientific communism were merged and renamed departments of social sciences in 1989. The only exception was the University of Vilnius. Two new departments of political science and political history were established to replace the old ones. Not until mid-1991 did these departments merge into a single entity. Furthermore, old-guard professors were forced to leave the universities. In Autumn 1989, the number of

lecturers in these new departments decreased to less than half the level of the pre-reform period. The formal requirement to pass an exam on the history of the CPSU and scientific communism in order to graduate from the university was abolished.

Second, the previous highly centralized system of education in ideological subjects became extremely decentralized, so that every lecturer was absolutely free to choose the content of his or her courses. Since the new lecturers in politics had very different backgrounds and a majority had poor knowledge of Western political science traditions, this change has had a twofold effect on the quality of studies. On the one hand, it was a clear sign of the democratization of the academic environment, but, on the other hand, the content of would-be political science included concepts ranging from the post-Marxist “civil society” to international relations and “nuclear deterrence”. In brief, new political scientists had a desire to present to their students an enormous mixture of various socio-political ideas that were scarcely related to each other or to the broader experience of political science. During the years of political science’s early childhood, such a mixture was understood and interpreted as an indication of the lecturers’ professional maturity and broad knowledge of socio-political phenomenon.

The content of political science courses matured surprisingly quickly. By 1991, a certain stability in the political science curriculum had evolved. Introductory political science courses were based on Western standards of political science. At that time, the most popular university textbook was “*Power and Choice. An Introduction to Political Science*”, by Philip W. Shively. Elective courses were also introduced, including international relations, Lithuanian government and politics, and theories of democracy.

Lithuanian political science matured rapidly for several reasons. The first major input came from and through the exchange of ideas at Western colleagues’ seminars and visiting lectures at Lithuanian universities; especially active were professors of politics from the United States, such as Julius Šmulktys, Aleksandras Štomas, Tomas Remeikis, Richard Mills, and Stasys Vanagūnas and from Germany, Egbert Jahn. In 1991, Lithuanian-American professors established the Lithuanian Political Science Network in the US with the aim of helping Lithuania’s universities with textbooks and advice on organizing political studies in the most efficient way. Another source of innovation and support for the development of political science came from international grant organizations and programs such as the Civic Education Project; the Soros, the Fulbright, and other foundations; and individual Western European universities, especially in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Nevertheless, by 1991, the first phase of the institutionalization of political science was over and the academic community of Lithuania had accepted the new subject. The first professional publication of political scientists – *Politika* (Politics) – was launched at the initiative of Bielinis (University of Vilnius) in 1989. In 1991, it was renamed *Politologija* (Political Science).

1991 was not only the year when the restored Lithuanian state was internationally recognized, it was also a symbolic watershed in the institutional development of political science. In 1991, the period of initial formation of departments of political science was over, but no single entirely new institution had been created in the field.

2. Development of the discipline since 1992

Institutional development

1992 was uniquely important for the institutional development of political science in that the first really new institution, the Institute of International Relations and Political Science (Tarptautinių santykių ir politikos mokslų institutas), was established at the University of Vilnius. The Institute was founded on February 7, 1992 as the Institute of International Relations and was relatively unaffected by remnants of the past. On November 26, 1992, the Institute was renamed the IIRPS

(TSPMI). From 1992 on, the general development of political science was closely tied to the activities of the IIRPS.

Structurally, the IIRPS was based on an entirely new framework. Instead of a traditional departmental structure, the institute introduced an Academic Commission to coordinate studies and to draw up bachelor and master's studies programs, as well as a Research Commission to link research groups' activities at the IIRPS. At the beginning of 2000, there were functioning research groups on Political Ideas, Political Sociology, Public Administration, International Relations, Central and Eastern Europe, and European Integration. From 1992 to 1998, Kūris headed the IIRPS. In 1998, after Kūris was appointed a lawyer at the Lithuanian Constitutional Court, Lopata assumed leadership of the IIRPS.

The Institute's strategy in forming its own faculty was to recruit graduates oriented toward an academic career in the field of international relations and political science. Developing international cooperation enabled many of the young researchers in the IIRPS to get some training at Western universities. The initial faculty of IIRPS was recruited mostly from other departments of the University of Vilnius, such as the departments of political science, philosophy, law, economics, history, and geography; it included visiting professors from various Western universities. Not only because of its location in the capital city, the IIRPS was able to get greater support for the modernization of its programs of studies from national and international sources, especially through the assistance programs of the European Union⁴. However, without flexible management and internal dynamics, all these funds would simply have been wasted.

In 1994, the IIRPS started to support the publication of *Politologija*, and its faculty became major contributors to the journal. The research activities of the IIRPS include international relations, political parties and state institutions, and related fields. But the primary emphasis is on the post-communist states, transition to the rule of law, the role of nationalism, regional security, and foreign policy. The Institute has well-developed connections with leading public opinion research agencies, including the Baltic Surveys, the Social Information Center, and Vilmorus.

Since 1996, the IIRPS has significantly expanded its teaching areas by introducing MA programs in International Relations and Diplomacy, European Studies, Comparative Politics, Public Administration, and International Communication. To improve research and studies, infrastructure was established: its European Documentation Center and its American and Asian Studies centers.

The wave of institutionalization and specialization of political science in Lithuania since 1992 not only entailed the development of new institutions, but also the increasing stability and sustainability of structures, institutions, and human resources. Notwithstanding the leading role of IIRPS, there were at least a few other centers in political science in Lithuania. One was the Department of Political Science (Politologijos katedra) at the University of Klaipėda, founded in 1992 as the Department of Sociology and Political Science. In 1995, it was reorganized as two separate departments: sociology and political science. Nevertheless, the history of political studies in Klaipėda started in 1992, when a full four-year bachelor's program in politics was introduced. Since 1996, the department has MA degree studies with specializations in political theory and public administration. The faculty here was small (only six scholars in 2000), but, as at the IIRPS, very dynamic. Professors like Leonidas Donskis, Vaidutis Laurėnas, and Vytautas Valevičius played the role of *spiritus movens* here.

The next center of political studies and research in Lithuania is, of course, the Institute of Political Science and Diplomacy (Politikos mokslų ir diplomatijos institutas), including the Department of Political Science at the Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas. Political studies had a rather novel start in 1990-1992 in Kaunas, because the subject was based exclusively on visiting scholars from the West. The Department of Sociology and Political Science developed good connections with the University of Linköping (Sweden), and many lecturers in politics came through the Civic Education Project (CEP), along with visiting Lithuanian-American professors of politics. But in the following years, political science at the Vytautas Magnus University ran into

serious problems. These were related primarily to the absence of institutional arrangements and to the university administration's strategy of retain all former Marxism-Leninism lecturers who had converted to political science after 1989 (see more Vareikis, 2000: 114). Political science was placed under the umbrella of a joint department of sociology and political science, in which political studies were considered the little brother of sociology. A new and native faculty in political science was recruited very slowly, and visiting scholars were not integrated in the department's research activities. The situation improved in 1995, when the department introduced a master's program in collaboration with the University of Bergen (Norway). But problems of defining a research strategy for the institution remained, because the department employed the majority of its native scholars on a part-time basis.

The institutional framework of political science at the VMU changed significantly starting in 1997. The Department of Political Science was founded at the VMU in January 1997. In 1998, the Institute of Political Science and International Law was established here, and in 1999 it was renamed the Institute of Political Science and Diplomacy. However, a great opportunity for a breakthrough in political science at the VMU had already been missed. At the beginning of 2000, the Department of Political Science faced the same tasks as 3-4 years earlier: to develop a core of permanent staff, implement modern teaching technologies, and strengthen academic exchange with foreign universities.

Moreover, the Institute of Political Science and Diplomacy faces a strong competitor in the Policy and Public Administration Institute (Politikos ir viešojo administravimo institutas), Kaunas University of Technology (KTU). Despite the 1995 reorganization of the Department of Political Science as the Department of Public Administration, political science remained in a relatively strong position here. Political scientists at the KTU were able to publish nine major books between 1990 and 2000, including a textbook "The Contemporary State", edited by Matakas in 1999, which became in one of most popular publications among university students in the country.

In 1995, a shift to public administration at the KTU was initiated by Jasaitis,⁵ a graduate of West Point Military Academy (USA) with an MA in political science from the University of Kansas and a PhD in public administration from the University of Florida, who returned to Lithuania in 1992 as a visiting professor at Vytautas Magnus and Technology Universities in Kaunas. In the following years, he strongly advocated introducing public administration studies at the university level in Lithuania.

Finally, the Public Administration Department (Viešojo administravimo katedra) at the Kaunas University of Technology was established in 1995, becoming the first academic unit in the field in Lithuania. On the basis of the PA Department at the KTU, the Policy and Public Administration Institute (PPAI) was founded in 1999.

The institutional development of political science at KTU might be described as constant adaptation to a changing environment and a broad effort to develop research and training in the social sciences. An interdisciplinary approach and cooperation among various social science disciplines is a *modus vivendi* here.

The Department of Political Science and Sociology at the Vilnius Pedagogical University traces its roots from the year 1989. The Law University did not establish an independent Department of Political Science until September 1999, replacing the former Department of Philosophy and Political Science. Since 2000, political studies at the Lithuanian Military Academy seem to be expanding very rapidly after the establishment of a separate Department of Political Science. However, all these departments have a common feature: they are small.

Along with these centers of political science, there are departments of social science in all the larger institutions of higher education in Lithuania that teach political science courses and carry out some research, for example Vilnius Technical and Lithuanian Agricultural Universities. In addition, a few independent research institutions were founded in Lithuania since 1992. Among them are the Center of Strategic Studies, the Institute of Democratic Politics, the Center of

Political Information and Analysis, and the Center for Nonviolent Action. But due to lack of resources and lacking any connection to universities, most of them did not survive.

The maturation of the political science community

In 1988 and even in 1990, many “newborn” political scientists thought what they needed most of all was academic freedom. In 1991, these feelings changed substantially. It became clear that researchers in politics were losing contact with each other and were cut off within their small departments. In early 1991, at the initiative of political scientists from the universities of Vilnius and Kaunas, a group was formed to discuss the existing state of political science and to find ways to combat the tendency to isolationism at university departments. The outcome of these discussions was the founding of the Lithuanian Political Science Association (LPSA) in June 1991. Krupavičius (Kaunas University of Technology) was elected President of the LPSA. The regulations of the association set out two major goals: to reinforce the development of political research in Lithuania and to foster dialogue among researchers in Lithuania and with international organizations. The LPSA became the first independent professional organization of researchers in politics in the former USSR and in the Baltic States. In 1994, the LPSA joined the International Political Science Association and established working relations with a majority of Central European associations. Since 2000, the LPSA has been a member of the Central European Political Science Association.

In 1994, it became evident that the institutional basis of political science was sufficiently developed and that further evolution of the LPSA must be closely connected to existing institutions. In January 1995, the LPSA conference decided to transfer the staff of the organization to the Institute of International Relations and Political Science, University of Vilnius. Kūris was elected President of the LPSA.

The new institutional basis of the LPSA changed its internal situation considerably. First, it provided technical opportunities to communicate with political scientists in the country on a day-to-day basis. The LPSA continued to publish an information bulletin on a regular basis. Second, much more attention was paid to conferences as the most efficient instrument of communication among researchers in Lithuania. Third, to some degree it increased the informal staff of the LPSA.

Jankauskas (University of Vilnius) is current President of the LPSA, which has more than 80 members, including the absolute majority of political researchers based at Lithuanian universities, some political analysts from the mass media, and even a few politicians from mainstream political parties.

Communication is clearly the LPSA’s top priority. This function is implemented in a number of ways: by organizing the dissemination of information about international events and grants, the annual LPSA conference and seminars, and round tables; by publishing the journal *Politologija* in cooperation with the IIRPS; and by staging the annual competition for the best publication in political science. At the beginning of 2000, the LPSA created a webpage, <http://www.lpasoc.lt>, and changed the regulations of its best publication competition, introducing two annual awards, one in research and one in teaching. Among the winners for the best political science publication are Lopata, Žalys (1994-1995), Žėruolis (1996), Vilpišauskas (1997), Kūris (1998), Jokubaitis (1999), Vitkus and Novagrockienė (2000), and Matonytė and Laurėnas (in 2001). The best publications cover a broad range of topics including party politics, issues of political theory, and foreign policy problems.

However, the major annual event is the LPSA conference, an opportunity for the majority of political scientists in the country to meet each other and have face-to-face discussions. The LPSA is a non-profit organization; the most frequent sponsors of LPSA conferences have been the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, the Algirdas Brazauskas Foundation, and the Institute of International Relations and Political Science (as a co-organizer of conferences since 1994). The subjects of the LPSA conferences vary from year to year, but the general trend has been that approximately 3/4 of

the conference topics are domestic political issues (like *Democracy in Lithuania: Elite and Masses* (1995), *Interest Groups, Power and Politics* (1997), *Public Administration in Lithuania* (1998), *Political Science in Lithuania: Retrospective and Perspective* (1999), *Lithuania after the 2000 Seimas Elections*, (2000), *Political Culture in Lithuania: Stereotypes and Trends of Development*, (2001)), and 1/4 are foreign policy and international issues (*Lithuanian National Interests and Political System* (1994), *Lithuania and its Neighbours* (1996)). These new developments in the LPSA became possible only because Lithuanian political science improved both in quality and on the institutional level.

3. Core research areas, theoretical and methodological approaches

Some years ago, Almond noted that political science literature from “the ancients until the present day, demonstrates a unity of substance and method, cumulative in the sense of an increasing knowledge base and improving in inferential rigor. There is a pluralism in method and approach, but it is eclectic and synergetic, rather than isolating... This pluralism is not ‘isolating’, it is eclectic and interactive, governed ultimately by its uncompromising commitment to rules of evidence and inference.” (1996: 89) Priorities, differentiation, and theoretical and methodological advancement in various research areas comprehensively indicate a real level of development in the academic discipline.

From a theoretical and methodological point of view, the development of Lithuanian political research exhibits several phases:

- a period of getting familiar with basic theoretical and methodological approaches used by the Western community of political scientists and acquiring research identities,
- a period of exclusively normative, descriptive (qualitative), and case-based research,
- a shift from descriptive (qualitative), normative, and case-based research to empirical, quantitative, and comparative studies of political life. Certainly, these periods tend to overlap and the boundaries between them are not and never will be very clear. The first and the 1989 generation of Lithuanian political researchers were mostly autodidacts, i.e., without BA or MA degrees from political science departments at universities, so the formation of research identities took time.

The years 1990-1995 were a period of research identity formation in Lithuanian political science. Some of the main research interests during this period were:

- political science as a discipline,
- the political history of the Lithuanian state and its institutions,
- democracy and democratization as a case study of Lithuania and in a comparative perspective,
- the development of democratic political culture and political parties,
- electoral processes in Lithuania,
- Lithuanian and Baltic security and foreign policy.

This list reflects the research agenda of the Institute of International Relations and Political Science from 1993 to 1995. Major research projects there included studies on *Governmental Changes and Prospects for Democracy in Lithuania* (NATO Democratic Institutions Fellowship, 1993-1994), *Lithuanian Political Culture* (Friedrich Naumann Foundation, 1994-1995), *the Lithuanian Party System* (1994-1997), and *Lithuanian Security and Foreign Policy* (1995-1999).

Since 1996, IIRPS priorities have expanded into at least two relatively new areas – public administration and studies of Lithuania’s integration in the EU⁶. At the end of the 1990s, the IIRPS was a leader in research on international relations and EU integration.

In 1993, the IIRPS established a Scientific Council in political science, becoming the only institution in Lithuania that can grant a doctoral degree in politics. Vitkus presented the first PhD thesis to the Council on the issues of European integration in November 1993. From 1993 to 1999, seven doctoral theses in political science were defended at the Institute of International Relations and Political Science⁷. At the beginning of 2000, eleven students were studying in the IIRPS PhD

program. 72 percent of the PhD theses already defended focused on domestic political issues or on democracy and democratization, only 28 percent on international or European politics. However, current trends of PhD topics bring more variety: 10 percent concentrated on public administration and 32 percent on international relations, while European integration and the Lithuanian political system have had equal shares of 29 percent each (Lopata, 1999: 91).

Because of its history, the faculty of the Policy and Public Administration Institute (KTU) was predominantly oriented toward public policy research. However, this institution had three major research priorities: public administration, political science, and sociology. Research on political science here took a comparative approach and included the following topics: governmental institutions and history of the Lithuanian state, elections and electoral systems, parties and party systems, the political elite and political transformations, and political socialization.

Some topics of investigation that formally belong to the areas of public administration and sociology are closely connected to political science, like citizen participation in governance, the sociology of community development, and public participation.

Since 1996, in both Kaunas-based institutions – Vytautas Magnus University and KTU – only two PhD theses were defended, both in the field of political sociology⁸. In Spring 2000, as many as nine PhD students out of 26 enrolled in Public Administration and Sociology programs at the KTU decided to focus their dissertations on topics directly connected to political science⁹.

The major research priorities in Klaipėda were the following topics: the development of modern political resources in Lithuania with special attention to regional and local politics, political thought and political philosophy, and public administration (Laurėnas, 2000: 104- 105).

Methodological sophistication and the variety of theoretical approaches are a reflection of the infancy or maturity of a discipline. A survey of the most popular theoretical approaches at the country's eight institutions of political science showed that the historical (traditional descriptive) approach was still the most popular. Behaviorism, functionalism, and systems theory were second, third, and fourth. Neo-institutionalism was a close fifth. Less popular were organizational and rational choice theories, hermeneutics, and phenomenology. Marxism was clearly rejected, but the Lithuanian political science community has so far also rejected two others – game theory and existentialism. Unfortunately, there is no data on the use of quantitative and econometric methods in political studies. Nevertheless, simple observations of current trends suggest that, in the late 1990s, quantitative political research was expanding faster than ever before, and although it was not a prevalent way to deal with political phenomena and political data, it played a significantly increasing role.

Lithuanian political science emerged when the rational choice revolution was over and Western political science communities were entering the period of rapprochement based on neo-institutionalism. Despite strong Western influence on the formation of political science, this was one reason why methodological debates in Lithuanian political science have a compromise-oriented spirit. On the other hand, methodological debates are still low-intensity and low-profile, and perhaps some major methodological and theoretical disagreements have not yet manifested themselves. Another reason contributing to the lack of methodological debates is the relatively small size of the community. Post-modern political science is specialized, fragmented, and hybridized in every subfield. Lithuania's few experts are much more exposed to ongoing debates in various international research groups and networks than in the Lithuanian political science community.

Finally, we may turn to the most overt evidence of the vigor of Lithuanian political science, its published output and bibliographic analysis. The first significant book in political science was published in 1990: a collection of texts in political science titled *Studying political science*, edited by Vitkus. It is still the reference source for teachers in political science at Lithuanian high schools. Subsequent publications in political science can be divided into three groups:

- textbooks and other teaching material,
- publications arising from conferences and workshops, including the journal *Politologija*, and

- research publications.

Of course, since Lithuanian political science is still young, in recent years attention and efforts have concentrated on preparing teaching materials for university students. A textbook that has had a major influence on teaching political science is *Politologijos įvadas* (An Introduction to Political Science), written by Vitkus and published in 1992, although it was originally a textbook for students in the upper grades of Lithuanian secondary school. On the other hand, individual universities have published a number of textbooks of varying quality in the field since 1991. Among the best-known textbooks are *Šiuolaikinė valstybė* (The Contemporary State) (Matakas, 1999) published by Kaunas University of Technology, *Tarptautinių santykių istorija* (The History of International Relations) (Lopata, 1997), and *Politikos mokslo pagrindai* (The Basics of Political Science) (Novagročkienė, 2001).

Periodical publications and conference materials reflect the research interests of political scientists more adequately than textbooks. In this field, the leading institution is again the Institute of International Relations and Political Science. The most important source reflecting developments in Lithuanian political science is *Politologija*, the only research journal in the field in the Baltic states. From 1998 on, the IIRPS and the Political Research Center under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have also published a specialized journal on foreign policy and international relations, Lithuanian *Foreign Policy Review*.

Almost 70 percent of Lithuanian political science publications have been released since 1995, or during the last five to six years. During these years, political research has become more specialized, and there are clear signs that more extensive studies on various aspects of political reality will be presented in the future.

There is no perfect classification, and it is especially hard to classify a study and research area that is clearly moving toward multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches. In political science, plurality and diversity of approaches is a current reality; Klingemann and Goodin quite recently noted that there are several sciences of politics because “the truths of political science, systematic though they may be, are and seem inevitably destined to remain essentially probabilistic in form.” (1996: 9) A single volume in political science can combine many different approaches, since the content and understanding of politics are changing significantly. For example, the boundaries between domestic and international politics are blurring, and a volume on European integration published, say, in Germany might be classified as a publication on national/area studies or, no less likely, as a study of international relations.

Despite these difficulties of classification, during a decade of political science development in Lithuania, publication has been concentrated as follows: political philosophy – 25.1 percent (The leading institution here is the IIRPS, University of Vilnius. This area dominates in translated books); political science: methods and theory (including general textbooks) – 22.3 percent; and international relations – 19.8 percent (see Table 1). Trends in publication during last the 3 or 4 years show some new priorities: since 1997, most books on international relations have been related to European Union studies; national and area studies are very dynamic fields of interest among Lithuanian scholars; and last but not least, attention to public policy and public administration is increasing. But political economy and comparative politics remain underdeveloped research areas.

Certainly, books in political science mirror the developing specialization in the field. Since 1996, with minor exceptions, books have been published in eight major political science fields every year: Method and Theory, Political Philosophy and Comparative Politics, Political Sociology, Political Economy, National/Area Studies, International Relations, Public Policy, and Public Administration.

4. Public space and academic debates

Political scientists in Lithuania entered public debates very early. In 1992, the LPSA brought together 12 experts on political parties for a period of almost two months to study in detail the campaign and results of the 1992 Seimas elections. The tradition of evaluating the electoral campaigns and presenting forecasts has been continued during all parliamentary and local elections since 1992.

Until 1994, the IIRPS had a relatively low public profile. The first major public event organized by the IIRPS was the conference on “Lithuania’s national interests and its political system”, held December 16-17, 1994. The aim of the conference was simple and ambitious: to invite political scientists and Lithuanian politicians to discuss the country’s political problems together. The academic community, the decision-making institutions of Lithuania, and the national media warmly welcomed this event. Subsequently, the joint Lithuanian Political Science Association and IIRPS conferences became unique meeting places, permanent and established channels of communication between the political elite and political researchers. Now it is no surprise to see the top officials of the country, including the president and prime minister, at these events.

Discussions on elections, Lithuania’s integration in the EU and NATO, reforms in the public sector, and other highly sensitive public issues are hardly imaginable in the mass media without extensive comments by political scientists. In the last few years, the IIRPS has had a special weekly column on foreign and security matters in the largest Lithuanian daily, “Lietuvos Rytas”.

Since 1998, the IIRPS has become more involved in think tank activities, organizing the round table discussions of foreign and local experts, producing special reports on issues pertaining to Kaliningrad (Russia) and Belarus. In recent years, researchers from the Policy and Public Administration Institute (KTU) are constantly asked to give expertises to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Seimas’ committees on public policy and the public administration.

There are many signs that political science enjoys a high public profile in general. But the best evidence is that many official guests to Lithuania visit political science institutions. The IIRPS leads again here. Among its most prominent guests in the last few years were Romano Prodi (President of the EU Commission), Yevgenij Primakov (Prime Minister of the Russian Federation), Vaira Vyke-Freiberga (President of Latvia), and Prince Charles of England.

5. International cooperation and funding situation

The speedy development of political science in Lithuania would be impossible without strong international – Western – assistance and influence. From the very beginning, access to Western scholarships, grants, libraries, experience, and help with human and material resources was an extremely important element in building and shaping political science as a discipline in Lithuania.

There was no single pattern and/or experience in the development of international contacts. Along with various institutions’ conscious strategies, various “contingencies” like time, location, and personalities played significant roles here. The content of international cooperation has changed significantly during the decade since 1990.

During the years of the institutionalization of political science, the most important sources included the Nordic impact, Lithuanian-American professors of political science coming back or at least temporarily teaching at Lithuanian universities, and the EU TEMPUS project on “Political science in the Baltic states”, which was launched in 1992. In 1990, with financial support from the Nordic Council of Ministers, the universities of Aarhus, Oslo, and Umea started a project on “The politics of transition in the Baltic states” as the first international project involving not only researchers from Nordic universities, but also from Vilnius, Tartu, and Riga. The EU TEMPUS project and a substantial financial donation (\$100,000) from the Lithuanian-American Supreme

Committee of Lithuania's Liberation were two major factors for a fresh start of the Institute of International Relations and Political Science, University of Vilnius.

From 1996 to 1999, the IIRPS coordinated a TEMPUS/PHARE project on the Establishment of an MA European Studies Program with Thames Valley University (UK), Groningen (NL), Saarbrücken (Germany), and Nice (France). The IIRPS participated in research programs with institutions in Denmark, Estonia, Great Britain, Latvia, Norway, Poland, Sweden, and the USA.

Political science at the Vytautas Magnus University benefited from slightly different sources of international cooperation, i.e., primarily from the Civic Education Project, Fulbright scholars, and a bilateral agreement with the University of Bergen.

Initially, the Department of Public Administration at the KTU was supported by the US-Baltic Foundation. PhD program in public administration was designed and implemented in cooperation with Hamline University (USA). The majority of first-year doctoral students were able to spend a semester at Hamline University to observe public administration in an advanced democratic country and to take advantage of a Western university library and facilities, as well as to share the experience and expertise accumulated by the faculty. Many researchers of the Policy and Public Administration Institute have had the opportunity to study and to conduct research in the UK, Germany, Sweden, Finland, and the USA.

Institutions that helped in one or another way to develop political research and studies in Lithuania include the USAID, the US-Baltic Foundation, the National Democratic Institute, the United Nations Development Program, the EU TEMPUS program, and various international and national research funding organizations like the IREX, the DAAD, the Open Society Fund, the Swedish Institute, the ACLS, the SSRC, etc.

Since 1996, the IIRPS and LPSA have held a major international conference every two years. In 1996, it was the second symposium of the International Political Science Association on "The challenge of regime transformation: new politics in Central and Eastern Europe" on December 10-15. In 1998, the LPSA, Uppsala University, and the Institute of International Relations and Political Science organized the 2nd Baltic-Nordic Conference on Regionalism and Conflict Resolution. In June and July 2000, the IIRPS hosted an international summer school on the Consolidation of Party Systems in Central-East Europe, sponsored by the Higher Education Support Scheme and the Open Society Fund.

The increasing number of publications in English by Lithuanian scholars is also a significant factor in the internationalization of the field. The IIRPS and the LPSA carried out a major effort here by launching the Lithuanian Political Science Yearbook in 2000. *Lithuanian Political Science Yearbook, 1999* was distributed to the libraries of 50 major European and American universities.

To briefly summarize the changing agenda of international cooperation, during the first five-year period, or until about 1995, material aid (in shaping basic curricula, obtaining books and collecting libraries, installing computers and software, training in research methods, i.e., in developing basic study and research facilities and skills) and a donor-recipient relationship dominated international collaboration. Since the mid-1990s, Lithuanian political scientists and their institutions and organizations have joined such main international bodies of the profession as the IPSA and the ECPR and have become more involved in various research networks. During this phase of development of international cooperation, emphasis was placed on joint and collaborative research. As a result, the partnership between Lithuanian and Western counterparts became much more equal and mostly research-oriented.

Since 1998, new directions have emerged in international cooperation, including attempts to provide assistance to institutions of higher education and to building a democratic society in Belarus and the Kaliningrad region (Russia). Applied and research projects carried out by the IIRPS, Municipal Training Center (KTU) in these countries signal that Lithuanian political science is becoming a donor of knowledge and expertise to the less developed post-Soviet countries. The story of the early 1990s tends to repeat itself, but Lithuanian political science plays a very different and new role here.

To the degree that the major priorities of university-based political science are teaching and the organization of studies, but not research, the main funding source is the state budget. State subsidies come to various departments and institutes strictly in accordance with the number of students enrolled in their programs.

However, the ratio between state subsidies and external funding varied widely among institutions. For example, the Institute of International Relations and Political Science drew 62 percent of its budget from state subsidies, but as much as 38 percent from international and private sources (Lopata, 1999: 88). Most other institutions were much more dependent on state funding. In 2001, about 85 percent of the total income of the Policy and Public Administration Institute, Kaunas University of Technology, was based on state subsidies.

The ratio between state funding, on the one hand, and private, foreign, and international donations, on the other, was very different in the area of research. Till the mid-1990s, Western national and international institutions had the exclusive role of granting money for research projects. Since the mid-1990s, some modest research grants have been available through the Lithuanian State Science and Studies Foundation.

However, most research money (no less than 50 percent) came through various international cooperative projects. At the end of the 1990s, an increasing amount of funds started to come from various EU-related institutions, along with funding available from Scandinavian countries and US foundations.

6. Views on further development

Without a doubt, political science is one of most dynamic academic subjects in Lithuania. From the perspective of political science, the last decade of the 20th century was a breakthrough. The prestige of political studies is clearly increasing, because entrance into undergraduate and postgraduate studies in politics is highly competitive.

The number of students in political science is still significantly increasing. In a period of just one year from 1997 till 1998, the number of first-year students increased from 60 to 120 at the Institute of International Relations and Political Science, University of Vilnius. The total number of undergraduates in the only three institutions (IIRPS, Vytautas Magnus and Klaipėda universities) that offer a BA degree in political science exceeded 570 students at the beginning of 2000. Despite highly competitive entrance standards – in 1998, 15.48 applications were received for every student place at the IIRPS (Lopata, 1999: 89) – political science had prestige because of good job perspectives.

Certainly, jobs in the central and local civil service absorbed the majority of graduates in political science and public administration from 1995-2000. The process of state building, which included reforms of central and local government after 1990, broadly opened this part of the job market for young university graduates.

Data on IIRPS alumna (112 persons) between 1997 and 1999 shows that 15 percent of BA graduates were employed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 13 percent by the Seimas, 7 percent by the Ministry of Defense, 3 percent by the President's office, and 14 percent by other governmental institutions, while 8 percent found jobs in the mass media and the private sector and 34 percent in other businesses and non-profit organizations (Lopata, 1999: 90).

The same success story is true for MA graduates in public administration at the KTU. Of the 94 graduates from this program in 1996-1999, as many as 9 percent were employed by the central government, 12 percent by municipalities, 18 percent by science and education institutions, 31 percent by business firms, 24 percent by health care institutions, and 6 percent in the banking sector (Staponienė, 1999).

Graduates in politics from Lithuanian universities are successfully competing for international grants and fellowships. Especially during the last three or four years, research in politics has started to draw more national and international funds (unfortunately, there are no exact statistics),

and at the same time the new Lithuanian political elite is recognizing the need for political expertise.

But perhaps the most important development has been within political science itself. Western methods and models of conducting research were adopted in a very short period of time. The identity of political science in Lithuania was greatly developed through the intense internationalization of the discipline. Together, these factors strengthened the position of political studies and research in the Lithuanian academic community and among its counterparts in Central and Eastern Europe.

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- ¹ Kazys Pakštas graduated from Fordham University (USA) in 1918. From 1925 to 1939, he taught at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas. In 1939, he moved back to the United States and taught at the University of California at Los Angeles, as well as at the Universities of Duquesne, Maryland, and Steubeville's College.
 - ² Mykolas Römeris studied at Ecole libre des sciences politique in Paris in 1903-1905; he was appointed Rector of Vytautas Magnus University (Kaunas) in 1927-1928 and in 1933-1939.
 - ³ All the other universities in Lithuania were reorganized from various institutions of higher education that existed in the Soviet years after 1989. For example, Vytautas Magnus University was re-established in 1990, the University of Klaipėda was founded in 1992, and the University of Technology (Kaunas) was reorganized from the Polytechnic Institute of Kaunas in 1990.
 - ⁴ The IIRPS took part in three TEMPUS projects in 1992-1999: JEP-4923-92 Political science in the Baltic States (1992-1993), JEP-06106-93 Development of International Law/International Relations and Diplomacy Studies in Lithuania (1993-1994), and JEP-11289-96 European Studies MA program at the IIRPS (1996-1999).
 - ⁵ Ed Jasaitis died in April 2000 in the USA.
 - ⁶ The IIRPS has conducted the following major research projects since 1996: *Lithuanian Political Elite Research* (1996-1997); *Lithuanian Integration in the EU* (1997-2000); *Lithuanian Political Culture* (1999-2000).
 - ⁷ Vitkus, Gediminas (1993); Guogis, Arvydas (1994); Jankauskas, Algimantas (1995); Novagrockienė, Jūratė (1996); Žilinskas, Gintaras (1998); Bielinis, Lauras (1996); Šiliauskas, Saulius (1999). Three more people – Statkus, Slavėnas, and Degutis – received PhDs in political science from the University of Vilnius in 2000-2002.
 - ⁸ Palidaukaitė, Jolanta (1996); Matonytė, Irmīna (1999).
 - ⁹ Two of them studied political parties, four chose interest groups and citizen participation, and three others investigated inter-institutional relations and social policy issues.

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Table 1 Profiles of books in political science, 1990-1999

	Method and Theory (including text-books)	Political Philosophy	Comparative Politics	Political Sociology	Political Economy	National/ Area studies	International Relations	Public Policy and Public Administration	Translations
1990	1	1	1			2			2
1991	3	3				2	1		1
1992	6	6				4	6	1	9
1993	2	9	1	2		2	5		8
1994	3	4		2		3	4		4
1995	6	11	1	1		5	3		8
1996	8	6	2	1	1	11	3	2	7
1997	11	6		4		8	12	2	7
1998	6	10	3	2	4	5	10		13
1999	9	6	2	1		2	5	4	4
Total:	55 (22.3%)	62 (25.1%)	10 (4.0%)	13 (5.3%)	5 (2.0%)	44 (17.8%)	49 (19.8%)	9 (3.6%)	63 (25.5%)

Table 2 Number of academic staff, students, and diplomas, 2000

Institution	Number of						
	Staff				Students		
	Professors	Associate Professors	Lecturers	Researchers	Undergraduate	Graduate	PhD students
University of Law, Vilnius Department of Political Science		5	2		120 **	105 **	
Kaunas University of Technology, Policy and Public Administration Institute	2	7	2	1	50	28 Sociology 58 PA	3 PA 6 Sociology
Military Academy, Vilnius Department of Political Science	1	1	2		150 **		
University of Klaipėda, Department of Political Science		5	1		53	17	
University of Vilnius, Institute of International Relations and Political Science	3	18	15	3	365	86	15
Vilnius Pedagogical University, Department of Political Science and Sociology		3	2		100**	15	
Vilnius Technical University, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences	1	3	2				

Institution	Number of						
	Staff				Students		
	Professors	Associate Professors	Lecturers	Researchers	Under-graduate	Graduate	PhD students
Vytautas Magnus University, Department of Political Science	1	5 *	2		155	11	
Total:	7	47	28	4	993	320	24

* 3 of them part-time;

** number of students in introductory political science courses

Table 3 Main research orientations, linked to institutions, 2001

Institution	Method and Theory	Political Philosophy	Comparative Politics	Political Sociology	Political Economy	National/Area studies	International Relations	Public Policy
University of Law, Vilnius, Department of Political Science	X		X	X		X		X
Kaunas University of Technology, Policy and Public Administration Institute	X		X	X		X	X	X
Military Academy, Vilnius	X					X		
University of Klaipėda, Department of Political Science	X	X						X
University of Šiauliai						X		X
University of Vilnius, Institute of International Relations and Political Science	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Vilnius Technical University, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences	X		X	X		X		
Vilnius Pedagogical University, Department of Political Science and Sociology	X		X	X		X	X	X
Vytautas Magnus University, Department of Political Science	X	X	X				X	X
Total:	8	3	6	5	0	7	4	7

Table 4 Main theoretical and methodological approaches, linked to institutions, 2001

Institution	Behaviorism	Phenomenology	Existentialism	Hermeneutics	System Theory	Organizational Theory	Marxism	Rational Choice	Game Theory	Neo-Institutionalism	Historical Approaches	Functionalism
University of Law, Vilnius, Department of Political Science	X				X	X		X		X	X	X
Kaunas University of Technology, Policy and Public Administration Institute	X				X	X		x		X	X	X
Military Academy, Vilnius	x			x							X	x
University of Klaipėda, Department of Political Science					X					X	X	X
University of Šiauliai											X	
University of Vilnius, Institute of International Relations and Political Science	X	X						X		X		
Vilnius Pedagogical University, Department of Political Science and Sociology	X				x	x		x			X	
Vytautas Magnus University, Department of Political Science	X				X						X	X
Total:	5.5	1.0	0.0	0.5	4.5	2.5	0.0	2.0	0.0	4.0	7.0	4.5

Note: X= 1.0 points, or widely used approach; x= 0.5 points, or minor approach.

Table 5 Lithuanian Political Science: Journals and Periodicals, 2002.

Institution	Newsletter	Journal	Working Series
University of Law, Vilnius, Department of Political Science	The Law Academy's Newsletter	Public Policy and Administration (a journal since 2002, together with Kaunas University of Technology)	-
Kaunas University of Technology, Policy and Public Administration Institute	-	Social Sciences; Public Policy and Administration (a journal since 2002, together with University of Law)	Materials of Annual Conferences (in a process of development)
University of Klaipėda, Department of Political Science	-	-	-
Vilnius Pedagogical University, Department of Political Science and Sociology	-	-	-
University of Vilnius, Institute of International Relations and Political Science	-	"Political Science" (Politologija, quarterly, in Lithuanian), "Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review" (with Foreign Policy Research Center, two issues per year, in English)	The Institute publishes series of Studies Materials Materials of Annual Conferences Lithuanian Political Science Yearbook since 2000
Vytautas Magnus University, Department of Political Science	-	-	-

Table 6 Membership in national and international associations

Institution	National associations	International Associations
University of Law, Vilnius, Department of Political Science	Lithuanian Political Science Association	
Kaunas University of Technology, Policy and Public Administration Institute	Lithuanian Political Science Association	European Consortium for Political Research, European Thematic Network- Political Science, Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe (NISPAcee)*
University of Klaipėda, Department of Political Science	Lithuanian Political Science Association	
Vilnius Pedagogical University, Department of Political Science and Sociology	Lithuanian Political Science Association	
University of Vilnius, Institute of International Relations and Political Science	Lithuanian Political Science Association	IPSA, European Thematic Network- Political Science, Association of Lithuania Republic and Russian Federation Kaliningrad Region's academic institutions and non-governmental organizations, European Union Studies Association, European Consortium for Political Research
Vytautas Magnus University, Department of Political Science	Lithuanian Political Science Association	European Consortium for Political Research

* The Department of Public Administration is a member of the NISPAcee.