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No.3/2000

THE BALTIC STATES

LES ETATS BALTES

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No. 3/2000

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Includes index.

'By advancing to the Eastern Baltic Sea, NATO has placed the fate of the Baltic littoral and the Baltic States at the head of the European security agenda. In an age where the European security agenda as a whole is in transformation and Russia's future is utterly uncertain, however, the fate of small states and nations along the periphery of these transformations becomes acute. This volume represents an attempt to understand where the West 'ends' and where Russia is going, and how the Baltic States can act to enhance their survivability and security.'

Bordering Russia : Theory and Prospects for Europe's Baltic Rim -
Aldershot, UK : Ashgate, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:185521959X

xii, 322 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ID number: 80015258 Type: M

Library Location: 327 /00983

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--BALTIC STATES
2. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--FINLAND
4. FINLAND--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
5. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--POLAND
6. POLAND--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
7. EU--ENLARGEMENT
8. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
9. NATO--BALTIC STATES
10. EU--BALTIC STATES

Added entry(s):

1. Mouritzen, Hans, ed.

Bibliography: p. 295-313. Includes index.

'A key dilemma in Western policy towards Russia in recent years is whether to admit into NATO and the EU all those countries who wish to join, or whether to respect Russian sensitivities and be more selective. The dilemma is at its peak for those countries bordering Russia : they are the ones who fear Russia the most, but whose integration into the West provokes Russia the most, a situation likely to strengthen Russian non-democratic forces. This is the dilemma that the present volume evolves around. Apart from stressing geopolitical fundamentals and the countries's historical experiences, the book is also future-orientated. Will Europe's Baltic rim become an outpost of the West with an iron curtain to its East, will it become an extensive 'grey zone', or will the countries become Western bridge-builders eastwards ?'

The CIS Market Atlas : Including the Baltic States and Georgia - Moscow :
Business International Moscow, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:0850586755

xiii, 310 p. : ill. ; 28 cm.

(Report ; Z102)

ID number: 80011744 Type: M

Library Location: 338.9 /00607

Subject(s):

1. CIS--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
2. ECONOMIC INDICATORS--CIS

'From basic information concerning demographics, infrastructure, labour and education, to more detailed analysis that includes consumer markets and services, living standards, foreign investment, individual industrial sectors and raw material resources of the republican economies, this atlas is an indispensable tool for anyone in business who needs to understand the CIS, the Baltic States and Georgia.'

Cooperation in the Baltic Sea Region - Washington : Taylor & Francis, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:0844817317

xiii, 185 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ID number: 80008610 Type: M

Library Location: 327 /00809

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--BALTIC STATES
3. ECONOMIC CONVERSION--BALTIC STATES

Added entry(s):

1. Joenniemi, Pertti, ed.

Includes index.

Die Beziehungen zwischen Russland und den baltischen Staaten - Wien : Bundesministerium fur Landesverteidigung, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:

71 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Informationen zur Sicherheitspolitik ; 23)

ID number: 80016156 Type: M

Library Location: 327 /01007

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--BALTIC STATES

Added entry(s):

1. Bundesministerium fur Landesverteidigung (AT)

2. Malek, Martin, ed.

Eesti Statistika Aastaraamat : 1999 = Statistical Yearbook of Estonia : 1999 - Tallinn : Eesti Statistikaamet, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:998574067X

383 p. : ill. ; 29 cm.

ID number: 80016160 Type: M

Library Location: 31 /00066

Subject(s):

1. ESTONIA--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS--STATISTICS
2. ESTONIA--STATISTICS

Added entry(s):

1. Eesti Statistikaamet (SU)

2. Statistical Office of Estonia (SU)

Includes index.

Estland - Letland - Litauen : "Den syngende revolution" i Baltikum - Kobenhavn : Sikkerheds- og Nedrustningspolitiske Udvalg, 1990.

ISBN/ISSN:

87 p. ; 30 cm.

ID number: 80004399 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00424

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--HISTORY--AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS
2. BALTIC STATES--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Estonia : Country Profile : 1999-2000 - London : Economist Intelligence Unit, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:

39 p. : ill. ; 27 cm.

ID number: 80016119 Type: M

Library Location: 338.9 /00545

Subject(s):

1. ESTONIA--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
2. ECONOMIC INDICATORS--ESTONIA

Added entry(s):

1. Economist Intelligence Unit (GB)

Ethnicity and Nationalism in Russia, the CIS and the Baltic States -

Aldershot, UK : Ashgate, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:185521914X

xvi, 386 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ID number: 80015893

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00651

Subject(s):

1. CIS--ETHNIC RELATIONS
2. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ETHNIC RELATIONS
3. NATIONALISM--CIS
4. NATIONALISM--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
5. BALTIC STATES--ETHNIC RELATIONS
6. NATIONALISM--BALTIC STATES

Added entry(s):

1. Williams, Christopher, 1959- , ed.

2. Sfikas, Thanasis D., ed.

Bibliography: p. 351-369. Includes index.

'This volume explores the Soviet response to the National Question, the nature of this legacy, and the likely impact of rising nationalism and ethnic conflict on the transition to democracy in the Russian Federation, the CIS and the Baltic States. It contains a comprehensive collection of specially commissioned studies from Western specialists and experts from the region itself which analyse ethnicity and nationalism in the post-Soviet phase from historical, political, sociological and philosophical viewpoints. Detailed profiles are provided for the Russian Federation, the CIS (Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine) and the Baltic States. Among the key issues analysed are : What is a nation ? Has national identity been transformed since the collapse of communism ? What new alliances or rivalries have developed since 1992 ? Is nationalism likely to impede or promote the emergence of democracy ? How do the post-Soviet states treat their ethnic minorities ? Is revenge being taken against the Russian Diaspora ? In seeking answers to these questions, contributors demonstrate that some countries have managed to escape their communist past; whereas others are still trapped by it. The implications of any successes and failures for ethnic conflict within and between various post-Soviet states are explained and solutions to past and present problems outlined.'

L'Europe centrale, orientale et balte : 1998 - Paris : Documentation

Francaise, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:2110039302

198 p. ; 24 cm.

(Notes et etudes documentaires, 1152-4790 ; 5068-69)

ID number: 80014779

Type: M

Library Location: 321 /00438

Subject(s):

1. CEE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. CEE--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
3. BALTIC STATES--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. BALTIC STATES--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Lhomel, Edith, ed.

2. Schreiber, Thomas, ed.

Bibliography: p. 191-192.

'Les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale ont partiellement atteint en 1997 les objectifs qui dominaient depuis quelques annees leur politique tant exterieure qu'interieure. Cinq d'entre eux (Republique tcheque, Pologne, Hongrie, Slovenie, Estonie) se sont vus admis a entamer les negociations d'entree dans l'Union europeenne, et les trois premiers font maintenant partie de l'OTAN. Dans les domaines de la defense et de l'economie se met donc en place une configuration nouvelle des alliances europeennes, qui ne va pas sans une hierarchisation percue par les non-admis avec une certaine amertume. Ce processus conforte des choix politiques - systeme pluraliste, reorganisation institutionnelle et administrative - mais n'exclut pas tensions et crises. Dans un dossier de synthese, Edith Lomel dresse un bilan des etapes de cette marche vers l'integration en Europe.'

L'adaptation a l'economie de marche et de la democratisation touche particulierement les medias. Les chronologies par pays portent sur l'annee 1997, a l'exception de celle des Etats baltes, qui prend en compte les trois dernieres annees. En annexe : la liste des gouvernements et les resultats electoraux. Une importante bibliographie et un tableau des principaux indicateurs macro-economiques pour l'ensemble des pays de la region terminent cet ouvrage.'

Latvia : Country Profile : 1999-2000 - London : Economist Intelligence Unit, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:

45 p. : ill. ; 27 cm.

ID number: 80015683 Type: M

Library Location: 338.9 /00545

Subject(s):

1. LATVIA--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
2. ECONOMIC INDICATORS--LATVIA

Added entry(s):

1. Economist Intelligence Unit (GB)

Latvijas statistikas gadagramata : 1996 = Statistical Yearbook of Latvia : 1996 - Riga : Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:9984060101

291 p. ; 30 cm.

ID number: 80013894 Type: M

Library Location: 31 /00066

Subject(s):

1. LATVIA--STATISTICS

Added entry(s):

1. Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia

Lithuania : Country Profile : 1999-2000 - London : Economist Intelligence Unit, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:

47 p. : ill. ; 27 cm.

ID number: 80015921 Type: M

Library Location: 338.9 /00545

Subject(s):

1. LITHUANIA--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
2. ECONOMIC INDICATORS--LITHUANIA

Added entry(s):

1. Economist Intelligence Unit (GB)

Lithuania under the Soviets : portrait of a nation, 1940-65 - New York : Praeger, 1965.

ISBN/ISSN:

ix, 299 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

(Praeger publications in Russian history and world communism ; 162)

ID number: 70005234 Type: M 00398253

Library Location: 947 /00017

Subject(s):

1. LITHUANIA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Vardys, Vytas Stanley, 1924- , ed.

Bibliographical references included in 'Notes' (p. 261-280)

Bibliography: p. 283-286.

Minorities in Europe : Croatia, Estonia and Slovakia - The Hague : T.M.C.

Asser Press, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:9067041173

x, 230 p. : ill.; 25 cm.

ID number: 80016417

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00665

Subject(s):

1. MINORITIES--CROATIA
2. MINORITIES--ESTONIA
3. MINORITIES--SLOVAKIA

Added entry(s):

1. Trifunovska, Snezana, ed.
2. Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen. Centre for Migration Law (NL)
3. T.M.C. Asser Instituut (NL)

Includes index.

'States having minorities on their territory have a duty to undertake all measures aimed at avoiding conflicts which might develop, but over and beyond that bottom line, they also have a duty to develop norms and guarantee systems which go hand in hand with the current international standards of safeguarding human rights, multiculturalism and pluralism. In this book three aspects of minority situations are highlighted : (a) political security, (b) internal legal and (c) economic aspects, in the case of three countries : Croatia, Estonia and Slovakia. These countries achieved independence as a result of the post-Cold War dissolution of their predecessor States. In all three, there is a relatively complex minority situation which is, inter alia, a result of changing State borders. Thereafter, all three have in the recent past undergone a transformation of their political system - from one party communist to multiparty democracy - and of their economic system - from centrally-planned State-ownership to a free-market economy - and, at this moment in time, are in the process of integrating into the Western European political, security and economic structures.'

Political, Economic and Military Security of the Baltic into the 21st Century : The Long View from the Region - Camberley, UK : Conflict Studies Research Centre, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:

var. pag. : ill.; 30 cm.

(G58)

ID number: 80014474

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01201

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Conflict Studies Research Centre (GB)

This is a collection of papers from a CSRC/SCSI conference held in May 1997.

Preventing Violent Conflict : Issues from the Baltic and the Caucasus - Baden-Baden : Nomos, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:3789053309

327 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

(Aktuelle Materialien zur Internationalen Politik ; 50)

ID number: 80015013

Type: M

Library Location: 327.5 /00369

Subject(s):

1. CONFLICT MANAGEMENT
2. CONFLICT MANAGEMENT--BALTIC STATES
3. CONFLICT MANAGEMENT--GEORGIA

Added entry(s):

1. Istituto Affari Internazionali (IT)
2. Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (DE)

Stability and Security in the Baltic Sea Region : Russian, Nordic and European Aspects - London : Frank Cass, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:0714649325

xiii, 287 p. : ill.; 25 cm.

ID number: 80016150 Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01250

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Knudsen, Olav F., ed.

Bibliography: p. 257-278. Includes index.

'This book emphasizes the region as such and its complex security challenges, seen in a longer-term perspective. Security is conceived of in the classical sense yet with a clear understanding of its links to the broader aspects. The book is divided into three parts, the first of which provides a framework of general insights and theories relevant to the region : asymmetric power relations, historical and geopolitical factors, worldviews and political culture. The second part deals with regional policies of specific governments : those whose policies are seen to have special significance (Russia, Germany, Poland, Sweden, Estonia). The third part focuses on intergovernmental institutions, in particular, those of the Nordic countries and the European Union, along with the WEU. Throughout the book, relations between the three Baltic states and Russia are, naturally, the centre of attention. The interaction of this conflict group both internally and with other states in the region is examined with regard to its Russian, Nordic and European aspects. The concluding chapter examines the issues in light of three philosophical traditions in the study of international politics.'

Toward Independence : The Baltic Popular Movements - Boulder, CO : Westview, 1991.

ISBN/ISSN:0813381444

vi, 166 p.; 22 cm.

ID number: 80006814 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00467

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--HISTORY--AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

Added entry(s):

1. Trapans, Jan Arveds, ed.
2. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (DE)

'This volume describes the development strategy and political aims of the Baltic independence movements. Contributors analyze the impact of the Baltic movements on popular politics in the republics of the Western USSR and on the perspectives of Soviet citizens and Western scholars and journalists whose work focuses on the Soviet Union.'

Transition in the Baltic States : Micro-Level Studies - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:0333677331

xv, 299 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80013843 Type: M

Library Location: 338.9 /00636

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
2. BUSINESS ENTERPRISES--BALTIC STATES
3. POST-COMMUNISM--BALTIC STATES

Added entry(s):

1. Hood, Neil, ed.
2. Killis, Robert, ed.
3. Vahlne, Jan-Erik, 1941- , ed.

'Much has been written in the recent past about both the speed and complexity of the transition throughout Central and Eastern Europe and parts of the former Soviet Union. The focus has invariably been on the macro scale and often from the perspective of a single discipline.'

This book on the Baltic States differs from others by concentrating on the micro level of change and doing so from a wide range of disciplinary perspectives. It does so in recognition of the fact that transformation processes are multiplex and require the linkages between the social, political, psychological, cultural and economic dimensions to be fully exposed and addressed if radical policy reform is to be soundly based.'

Transition Report : 1998 : Financial Sector in Transition - London :
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:1898802106

viii, 234 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

ID number: 80015334

Type: M

Library Location: 338.9 /00628

Subject(s):

1. CEE--ECONOMIC POLICY
2. CIS--ECONOMIC POLICY
3. BALTIC STATES--ECONOMIC POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (GB)
'Offering extensive coverage of macroeconomic developments and structural reform, this annual report makes essential reading for investors, policy-makers and researchers. The special theme of this year's Report is the financial sector in transition. The Report focuses in particular on the opportunities for expanding finance and on the factors that influence the performance of financial institutions. It also examines how government policies can promote the stable expansion of market-oriented finance in transition economies.'

The Transition to a Market Economy : Transformation and Reform in the
Baltic States - Cheltenham, UK : Edward Elgar, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:1858983932

viii, 280 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80013795

Type: M

Library Location: 338.9 /00635

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--ECONOMIC POLICY
2. POST-COMMUNISM--BALTIC STATES

Added entry(s):

1. Haavisto, Tarmo, ed.
The research reports in this volume originated at two seminars of the Nordic Economic Research Council. In Riga on 4-5 November, 1993 and in Bergen on 1-2 September, 1994. Includes index.
'The Baltic countries of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia were pioneers among the former Soviet republics in implementing political and economic reforms. Starting in 1988, the transition process in these three countries has been rapid and demonstrates the key role of economic issues in the reform process. In this book, a distinguished group of contributors assesses the current situation and highlights certain theoretical features of the transformation process. They conclude that the Baltic States have, for the moment, succeeded in their aim of stabilizing both the domestic price level and the exchange rate by a combination of responsible fiscal policy and adaptation of a pegged, undervalued exchange rate.'

Agrell, Wilhelm

Sikkerhedspolitiske kredslob i Norden og Ostersoomradet - Kobenhavn :
Sikkerheds- og Nedrustningspolitiske Udvalg, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:8760136790

78 p.; 22 cm.

ID number: 80008587

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01048

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. EUROPE, NORTHERN--NATIONAL SECURITY

Andersen, Erik Andre

Estland, Letland, Litauen - en landebeskrivelse - Kobenhavn : Sikkerheds- og Nedrustningspolitiske Udvalg, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:8760133902

62 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

ID number: 80008071 Type: M

Library Location: 321 /00526

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. BALTIC STATES--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Bibliography: p. 61-62.

Arter, David

Parties and Democracy in the Post-Soviet Republics : The Case of Estonia - Aldershot, UK : Dartmouth, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:1855214660

xviii, 283 p. ; 24 cm.

ID number: 80014197 Type: M

Library Location: 321 /00594

Subject(s):

1. ESTONIA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. DEMOCRACY--ESTONIA
3. POLITICAL PARTIES--ESTONIA
4. POST-COMMUNISM

Bibliography: p. 263-270. Includes index.

'This pioneering study focuses on the relationship between party-building and democracy-building in the European successor states of the former Soviet Union. It covers the three Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which have a history of sovereignty between the wars, and the three states of Moldova, Belarus and Ukraine, with virtually no previous history of independence. The central question is : 'How important are parties to the successful completion of the democratisation process in the post-soviet republics ? If a plethora of proto-parties may be regarded as a sine qua non of the transition to pluralist democracy, what role will the reduced number of amalgamated parties play in the democratic consolidation phase and, in particular the emergence of a democratic political culture ? The original empirical analysis, based on extensive elite interviews, concentrates on Estonia. At the time of the 1992 general election, Estonia was regarded as an 'anti-party system' in which parties were viewed with suspicion and not generally regarded as legitimate or at least efficient instruments of popular representation. The genealogy of the parties is traced and, following the 1995 general election, the 'anti-party system' model revisited. The conclusion speculates on a possible convergence between the party systems of Eastern and Western Europe.'

Bajarunas, Eitvydas

Les Etats baltes : securite et defense apres l'indépendance - Paris :

Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:

87 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 19)

ID number: 80012645 Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01149

Additional Author(s):

1. Haab, Mare
2. Viksne, Ilmars

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. BALTIC STATES--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale (FR)

'Des universitaires d'Estonie, de Lettonie et de Lituanie analysent ici les problemes que pose a leurs pays respectifs l'elaboration de leurs politiques de defense et de securite. Les auteurs examinent les

principaux defis de securite que ces republicues doivent relever, ainsi que la facon dont elles ont organise leurs forces de defense. Ils accordent une grande attention aux relations avec l'Ouest et avec les institutions occidentales, ainsi qu'a la menace residuelle encore posee par la Russie et aux possibilites qu'offre la cooperation entre les Etats baltes et les Etats scandinaves pour resoudre les difficultes liees a la securite regionale.'

Benton, Kenneth, 1909-

The Plight of the Baltic States - London : Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1985.

ISBN/ISSN:

23 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 180)

ID number: 70001306 Type: M 12848387

Library Location: 323 /00317

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--ANNEXATION TO USSR
2. BALTIC STATES--HISTORY--AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS
3. CIVIL RIGHTS--BALTIC STATES

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for the Study of Conflict (GB)

'A report of the proceedings of the Tribunal organised by the Baltic World Conference in Copenhagen in July 1985.'

Bilinsky, Yaroslav

Endgame in NATO's Enlargement : The Baltic States and Ukraine - Westport, CT : Praeger, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:0275963632

xvi, 148 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

ID number: 80015614 Type: M

Library Location: 495.3 /00053

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--BALTIC STATES
3. NATO--UKRAINE

Bibliography: p. 127-135. Includes index.

'In the first chapter the author briefly reviews some of the arguments contra and pro any kind of NATO's enlargement, while the second chapter deals with the specific problems of the Baltics and the third with the specific problem of Ukraine. A fourth chapter interprets the diplomatic events of May 1997 that bear on the Baltics and Ukraine, and a fifth chapter brings the story up to date until mid-1998.'

Blank, Stephen J.

NATO Enlargement and the Baltic States : What Can the Great Powers Do ? - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:

viii, 69 p. ; 23 cm.

ID number: 80014529 Type: M

Library Location: 495.3 /00040

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--BALTIC STATES
3. BALTIC STATES--NATIONAL SECURITY
4. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

'NATO's enlargement has brought it to the borders of the Baltic States who covet membership in NATO. However, admitting them into NATO is one of the most difficult problems for the Alliance because of Russia's unconditional opposition to such action and because of NATO's own internal divisions on this issue. Nonetheless, a new regime or system of security for the entire Baltic region must now be on the US and European agenda. The key players in such a process are Russia,

Germany, and the United States. Their actions will determine the limits of the possible in constructing Baltic security for the foreseeable future. In this study, Dr. Blank presents a detailed and extensive analysis of these three governments' views on Baltic and European security. Their views on regional security are materially shaped by and influence their larger views on their mutual relations and policy towards Europe. Their views also demonstrate the complexity of the issues involved in constructing Baltic, not to mention European, security. But because NATO enlargement is the most serious foreign policy and defense issue before Congress now, such an analysis can illuminate much of what is happening in the NATO enlargement process and why it has taken its current shape.'

Bleiere, Daina

Cooperation of the Baltic States with the Visegrad Countries : Security Aspects - Riga : [s.n.], 1995-1997.

ISBN/ISSN:

38 p.; 30 cm.

(NATO Research Fellowships Programme - Latvia)

ID number: 80014058 Type: M

Library Location: 80014058

NATO Fellowship Final Report.

Herd, Graeme

Crisis for Estonia ? : Russia, Estonia and a Post-Chechen Cold War -

London : Brassey's, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:

51 p.; 21 cm.

(London Defence Studies ; 29)

ID number: 80012504 Type: M

Library Location: 327 /00919

Additional Author(s):

1. Rongelep, Ene

2. Surikov, Anton

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--ESTONIA

2. ESTONIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. University of London. Centre for Defence Studies (GB)

'This paper seeks to examine the points of conflict between Estonia and the Russian Federation and asks the question : is Estonia facing a crisis now or is it likely to face one in the near future? The issues of troop withdrawal, the border demarcation dispute and the position of the Russian diaspora are assessed. The paper then examines the post-Chechen Russian political environment and attempts to explain the economic and political foundations of possible future Russian politics and policy in the build-up to the Parliamentary elections later in 1995 and the Presidential elections in 1996. The characteristics of a 'Cold Peace' and 'New Cold War' are analysed, and the paper concludes by arguing that in this new political environment both the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Estonia will be undermined and then possibly overturned.'

Jundze, Jautrite

Democratization of the Judicial System in the Baltic States in the Post-Socialism Period : Final Report - Riga : [s.n.], 1994-1996.

ISBN/ISSN:

41 p.; 30 cm.

(NATO Research Fellowships Programme - Latvia)

ID number: 80013298 Type: M

Library Location: 80013298

North Atlantic Treaty Organization Democratic Institutions Individual Fellowships Program 1994-1996.

Jundzis, Talavs

Baltic States : Cooperation on Security and Integration into the European Security System - Riga : [s.n.], 1994-1996.

ISBN/ISSN:

59 p.; 30 cm.

(NATO Research Fellowships Programme - Latvia)

ID number: 80013138 Type: M

Library Location: 80013138

Democratic Institutions NATO Fellowships Programme 1994-1996.

Jurgaitiene, Kornelija

Modern National Identity and the Challenge of Europeanization : The Case of the Baltic States - [s.l.] : [s.n.], 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:

69 p.; 30 cm.

(NATO Fellows)

ID number: 80011176 Type: M

Library Location: 80011176

Bibliography: p. 51-54.

Kalme, Albert

Total Terror : An Expose of Genocide in the Baltics - New York : Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951.

ISBN/ISSN:

xii, 310 p. : ill.; 21 cm.

ID number: 80009491 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00133

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--HISTORY
2. BALTIC STATES--ANNEXATION TO USSR

Added entry(s):

1. Arm, Walter, ed.

Karklins, Rasma

Ethnopolitics and Transition to Democracy : The Collapse of the USSR and Latvia - Washington : Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:0943875609

xxiii, 206 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80011011 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00556

Subject(s):

1. ETHNIC RELATIONS
2. USSR--ETHNIC RELATIONS
3. LATVIA--ETHNIC RELATIONS
4. DEMOCRACY--LATVIA
5. DEMOCRACY

Bibliography: p. 183-197. Includes index.

'Pluralism and nationalism are not irreconcilable according to the author of this in-depth study of the breakup of the Soviet Union that focuses on the ethnopolitics of Latvia. She demonstrates, using the example of Latvia, that the application of democratic practices within a multi-ethnic society makes possible the creation of a new kind of nationalism and respect for the human rights of ethnic groups.'

Kaslas, Bronis J., 1910-

La Lithuanie et la Seconde Guerre mondiale : recueil des documents - Paris : G.-P. Maisonneuve & Larose, 1981.

ISBN/ISSN:2706807954

xvi, 347 p., [1] folded leaf o

ID number: 70005101

Type: M 08952936

Library Location: 940 /00170

Subject(s):

1. WORLD WAR, 1939-1945--DIPLOMATIC HISTORY
2. WORLS WAR, 1939-1945--LITHUANIA
3. LITHUANIA--HISTORY--SOURCES
4. WORLD WAR, 1939-1945--INFLUENCE AND RESULTS

Bibliography: p. [317]-322.

Includes index.

Kilham, Edward L.

The Nordic Way : A Path to Baltic Equilibrium - Washington : Compass Press, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:0929590120

xvii, 300 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80012547

Type: M

Library Location: 327 /00920

Subject(s):

1. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--SCANDINAVIA
2. SCANDINAVIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USSR
3. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USSR
4. USSR--FOREIGN RELATIONS--BALTIC STATES
5. SCANDINAVIA--NEUTRALITY
6. BALTIC STATES--NEUTRALITY

Bibliography: p. 281-284. Includes index.

'Changes like the reunification of Germany in an integrating Western Europe, the disarray of the successor states following the disintegration of the Soviet empire, and the emergence of newly independent states on the Baltic and in Eastern Europe will allow a new freedom of maneuver and provide opportunities for new Nordic and Baltic initiatives to both East and West. Yet the model of reassurance and deterrence exercised toward the East by the Nordic countries during the Cold War will remain the best bet for both Nordic and Baltic countries as the new era evolves.'

Knudsen, Olav F.

Cooperative Security in the Baltic Sea Region - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:

viii, 58 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Paper ; 33)

ID number: 80015390

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01224

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)
'The Baltic Sea area has for centuries been a hub of international activity and exchange, embodied in particular by the Hanseatic League, with resulting conditions of intense cooperation and shared prosperity. It is therefore not surprising that, contrary to widespread fears, the situation in the region did not break loose after the bitter divisions imposed by the Cold War : in more ways than one, the region constitutes another 'mediterranean' area, with a potential for political solidarity and common security. In many of the countries on the shores of the Baltic the urge for European reintegration, in economic, political and security terms, has been particularly insistent; in others, less so. Which accounts for the fact that their international institutional statuses remain quite heterogeneous. This does not in itself diminish regional stability, while promoting differentiated formulas of convergence and cooperation that are conducive to overall security.'

Moshes, Arkady

Turn of the Century : Russia Looks at the Baltic Sea Region - Helsinki :
Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:9517690762

25 p.; 30 cm.

(UPI Working Papers ; 12)

ID number: 80015424

Type: M

Library Location: 327 /00987

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--BALTIC STATES
2. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS--BALTIC STATES
4. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FI)

'This paper seeks to analyse new trends in the Russian policy in the Baltic Sea region in the second half of the 1990s. In order to argue that a) Russia is increasingly becoming a part of the Baltic Sea region and b) the importance of the region for Russia is growing, it seems to be correct to focus on quantitatively measurable sides of Russia's regional relationships (trends in economic cooperation, intensity of political interaction, number of people-to-people contacts etc). The idea is not to show that there are no problems between Russia and the other Baltic Sea states, but that the cooperation is possible and is taking place notwithstanding the problems.'

Nekrasas, Evaldas

Legislature and the Executive in Foreign Policy Making - Vilnius : Bitas,
1994.

ISBN/ISSN:

39 p.; 21 cm.

ID number: 80010480

Type: M

Library Location: 327 /00866

Subject(s):

1. LITHUANIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Vilnius University. Institute of International Relations and
Political Science

'The research was made possible through a NATO "Democratic
Institutions Fellowships" award'.

Bibliography: p. 39.

Nodel, Emanuel

Estonia : nation on the anvil - New York : Bookman Associates, 1963.

ISBN/ISSN:

207 p.; 22 cm.

ID number: 70005235

Type: M 01624762

Library Location: 947 /00018

Subject(s):

1. ESTONIA--HISTORY

Bibliography: p. 197-204.

Raska, Eduard

The Development of the Training System of the Service Protecting the
Safety of the State and Citizens in Estonia : The Final Report -
Tallinn : [s.n.], 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:

39 p. : ill.; 29 cm.

ID number: 80010449

Type: M

Library Location: 355.2 /00184

Subject(s):

1. MILITARY EDUCATION--ESTONIA
2. ESTONIA--ARMED FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. NATO

'NATO. Institutional Fellowships Programme on Democratic Institutions'
'This paper analyses the requirements and opportunities of Estonia as a small state to develop national defense and police institutions from the aspect of developing a supporting school system.'

Raun, Toivo U.

Estonia and the Estonians - 2nd ed. - Stanford, CA : Hoover Institution Press, 1991.

ISBN/ISSN:081799131X

xix, 336 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ID number: 80007280 Type: M

Library Location: 947 /00046

Subject(s):

1. ESTONIA--HISTORY

2. ESTONIA--AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

Bibliography: p. 297-324. Includes index.

'In this comprehensive survey of Estonian history, Toivo Raun places recent events into historical perspective with up-to-date information on the era of 'glasnost' and 'perestroika', analyzing the striking process of rebirth, renewal and de-Sovietization. The book offers a balanced topical survey covering political history, the economy, social and demographic developments and cultural life. Attention is also paid to historiography and to differing interpretations of major issues'.

Stankevicius, Ceslovas V.

Enhancing Security of Lithuania and Other Baltic States in 1992-94 and Future Guidelines - Vilnius : [s.n.], 1994-1996.

ISBN/ISSN:

105 p. ; 30 cm.

(NATO Research Fellowships Programme - Lithuania)

ID number: 80013059 Type: M

Library Location: 80013059

Bibliography: p. 99-105.

NATO Individual Fellowship Programme 1994/96.

Steen, Anton

Between Past and Future : Elites, Democracy and the State in Post-Communist Countries : A Comparison of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:1859724728

xx, 389 p. ; 23 cm.

ID number: 80014257 Type: M

Library Location: 321 /00596

Subject(s):

1. ELITE (SOCIAL SCIENCES)--BALTIC STATES

2. POST-COMMUNISM--BALTIC STATES

3. BALTIC STATES--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Bibliography: p. 373-389.

'This study rests on the assumption that how elites develop following the breakdown of totalitarian regimes is particularly crucial to the prospects for democratic development and the kind of state policies to be pursued. The study is based on comprehensive and systematic interviews of the top elites in the Baltic states. The questions of 'what kind of democracy' and 'what type of policy' are studied by investigating four basic aspects of elite configurations : degree of elite continuity, the recruitment of elites, how elites interact, elite orientations towards basic values, politics and policies, and actual policy decisions. The main theory is that the more exposed the state is to internal and external tensions, the more elite control will be exercised. The way elites seek to control state development through recruitment, and their behaviour and attitudes will in turn constitute special patterns of democracy and policy choice.'

Tamulaitis, Gintaras

National Security and Defence Policy of the Lithuanian State - New York :

United Nations, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:9290450916

vi, 66 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

(Research Paper ; 26)

ID number: 80010622

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01102

Subject(s):

1. LITHUANIA--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. LITHUANIA--MILITARY POLICY
3. LITHUANIA--ARMED FORCES
4. LITHUANIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research

Trapans, Jan Arveds

Impatient for Freedom? : The Baltic Struggle for Independence - London :

Alliance, 1990.

ISBN/ISSN:0907967140

36 p. ; 25 cm.

(European security study ; 8)

ID number: 80004822

Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00435

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--HISTORY--AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for European Defence & Strategic Studies (GB)

Ulrich, Christopher J.

The Price of Freedom : The Criminal Threat in Russia, Eastern Europe and the Baltic Region - London : RISCT, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:

30 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 275)

ID number: 80010736

Type: M

Library Location: 343 /00037

Subject(s):

1. ORGANIZED CRIME--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. ORGANIZED CRIME--EUROPE, EASTERN
3. ORGANIZED CRIME--BALTIC STATES

Added entry(s):

1. Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism (GB)
'The democratisation of the countries of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has resulted in a huge increase in organised crime. This study serves as an overview of the types and nature of criminal activities which are now spreading at an unprecedented rate throughout Russia, Eastern Europe and the Baltic Region. It shows the variety and extent of organised crime, which includes vehicle smuggling, theft of works of art, political corruption, drug trafficking, prostitution, economic crimes such as money laundering and counterfeiting as well as straightforward smuggling of goods, people and raw materials - including nuclear-related materials.'

Vares, Peeter

The Baltic States Entering the European Union : Final Report - Tallinn :

[s.n.], 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:

116 p. ; 30 cm.

(NATO Fellows)

ID number: 80011041

Type: M

Library Location: 441 /00047

Subject(s):

1. EU--BALTIC STATES

NATO Research Fellowship.

Woff, Richard

The Armed Forces of the Soviet Union : Evolution, Structure and Personalities. Volume 2, Part 2. Section E : The Western Border Lands. Section F : The Baltic States - Portsmouth, UK : Carmichael and Sweet, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:1898644144

loose-leaf : ill.; 32 cm.

ID number: 80011550 Type: REF

Library Location: 355.2 /00192 REF

Subject(s):

1. FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS--ARMED FORCES

Yakemtchouk, Romain

Les republics baltes et la crise du federalisme sovietique - Bruxelles : Institut Royal des Relations Internationales, 1990.

ISBN/ISSN:

408 p.; 22 cm.

(Studia Diplomatica, 0770-2965 ; vol. 43, nos. 4/5/6)

ID number: 80009947 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00520

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--HISTORY--AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

2. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT--USSR

Added entry(s):

1. Institut Royal des Relations Internationales (BE)

Includes index.

'Le federalisme sovietique est en crise. Issu de la Revolution d'Octobre comme substitut et camouflage des structures unionistes, il n'a pas resiste aux bouleversements engendres par la Perestroika, plus specialement au reveil des nationalites qui reclament le respect du principe de l'autodetermination impliquant leur droit a la secession. Quelle que soit la volonte des dirigeants baltes de s'ouvrir au monde occidental, force est de reconnaitre que pendant un bon bout de temps ils seront lies a l'economie de l'URSS. Mais cela ne diminue en rien la legitimité de leurs aspirations a recouvrer le statut d'Etats souverains d'avant 1940. Une injustice historique avait ete commise a leur egard lors de la seconde guerre mondiale, et cette injustice doit etre reparee. C'est une question de dignite, de morale internationale'

PART II : MAGAZINE ARTICLES

DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES**

- Getting Ready for NATO : The Baltic States.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, Special Issue, 1999.

- Aalders, Gerard
Zweden en de Baltische republieken : van afzijdigheid naar actief beleid.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 45, nr. 8, augustus 1991, p. 466-470.

- Archer, Clive
Nordic Involvement and the Baltic States Security : Needs, Response and Success.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 7, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 43-62.

Since regaining their independence in 1991, the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have sought to bolster their security by applying for NATO membership. This article examines their security context and the security challenges they face. It shows the attempts by the Nordic states to address these problems by offering assistance to the three countries, by supporting them in international institutions and by introducing them to new concepts of security. Thus the Nordic states have tried to ease confrontation in the Baltic, and have created a Nordic project of some importance.

- Archer, Clive
Nordic Swans and Baltic Cygnets.
COOPERATION AND CONFLICT, vol. 34, no. 1, March 1999, p. 47-71.

Since 1991, Nordic assistance to the Baltic states, especially in the security field, has been considerable. The approaches of the four main Nordic states to this task are outlined and the reasons for such a high Nordic involvement examined. Structure-related conditioners have tended to provide opportunity for action, while the actor-related elements have mostly determined whether and which openings were taken up. These conditioners also explain the differences in the Nordic programmes, with interpretations of the countries' salient security environment being an important variable.

- Arter, David
Estonia after the March 1995 Riigikogu Election : Still an Anti-Party System.
JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 11, no. 3, September 1995, p. 249-271.

Survey data and the provisional results of the 1995 general election suggest that Estonia continues to display several features of the model of an anti-party system and that, in seeking to institutionalize themselves, parties face three main challenges : depersonalization and the generation of an identity distinct from the founding notable(s); organization and the development of voluntary membership structures; and stabilization and the creation of a stable and cohesive base of social support.

**This list contains material received as of April 2000 - Cette liste est arrêtée au 7 avril 2000.

- Asmus, Ronald D.
Nurick, Robert C.
NATO Enlargement and the Baltic States.
SURVIVAL, vol. 38, no. 2, Summer 1996, p. 121-142.

If all goes as planned, NATO will soon announce the first Eastern European candidate countries for new membership. It is highly unlikely that any of the three Baltic states will be on that list. Under these circumstances, the West needs a credible strategy for supporting Baltic security, stability and independence. Such a strategy should be based on six pillars : encouraging continued economic and political reform in the Baltic states themselves; enhancing Baltic defence cooperation; an expanded Nordic role; early accession of at least one Baltic state into the European Union; an 'open door' strategy on NATO membership; and new initiatives to manage relations with Russia.

- Baev, Pavel K.
Bear Hug for the Baltic.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 54, no. 3, March 1998, p. 78-79.

The stream of cooperative and disarmament initiatives launched by President Boris Yeltsin in Stockholm towards the end of last year was more than one of this habitual public relations exercises. It was an attempted departure from Russia's previous political course in the Baltic region. For at least five years Moscow has been so defensive and inflexible that most analysts had given up hope of positive development.

- Bayou, Celine
Les Etats baltes et l' Union europeenne : un nouveau depart.
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 1001, janvier 2000, p. 64-71.

La decision prise par l'UE lors du Sommet d'Helsinki de decembre 1999 de mener desormais des negociations avec l'ensemble des candidats, et non plus avec certains d'entre eux, a ete consideree par la Lettonie et la Lituanie comme reparant une injustice, depuis qu'en decembre 1997, l'Estonie avait ete la seule retenue pour s'engager immediatement dans le processus de pre-adhesion. Ce traitement differentie presentait le risque de creer un clivage entre des pays souvent solidaires face aux menaces exterieures et cooperant activement depuis le debut des annees 1990. De plus, des lors que l'un d'entre eux pouvait devenir membre de l'UE avant les autres, qu'advierait-il de la zone de libre-echange creee en 1993 ? Le changement de strategie europeenne est donc le bienvenu. Reste cependant a en convaincre des populations largement eurosceptiques.

- Bayou, Celine
Etats baltes : le dilemme de l' ancrage economique.
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 438, mars 1999, p. 35-53.

Tres soucieux de leur securite et de leur identite comme de la rupture avec un passe commun de domination sovietique, les trois Etats baltes cherchent a s'integrer dans des ensembles regionaux au nord et a l'ouest, leur but ultime etant l'entree dans l'OTAN et l'UE, qu'ils considerent comme seuls garants de leur independance, notamment vis-a-vis de leur voisin russe, avec lequel ils comptent entretenir des relations de bon voisinage, mais sans aller au-dela. L'Estonie, la Lettonie et la Lituanie ont signe un accord de libre-echange, mais ne forment pas vraiment un ensemble economique et sont plus concurrentes que complementaires, sur un marche par ailleurs tres restreint. Avec la Russie, leurs relations sont en cours de normalisation (frontieres, passage vers Kaliningrad) et les echanges restent importants, avec pour enjeu principal l'approvisionnement en energie et le transit du petrole russe par les ports baltes. Avec les pays nordiques (Danemark, Islande, Finlande, Norvege et Suede), les rapports sont tres diversifies selon les pays et obeissent a des logiques differentes, on ne peut donc parler a cet egard d'ancrage regional. Plus riches sont les initiatives des dix Etats de la region de la mer Baltique : trois Baltes, quatre Nordiques, Allemagne,

Pologne et Russie, ou vivent sur le littoral 55 millions d'habitants : Conseil des Etats de la Baltique, groupe d'interet des 'sept iles', Association des chambres de commerce, Union des villes ; un des principaux problemes est celui de la pollution de la mer, ou ont ete enfouies armes chimiques et nucleaires. Mais c'est en Union europeenne que les gouvernements baltes esperent le plus, malgre les sentiments mitiges des populations. Les echanges se sont notablement accrus, les trois pays beneficent du Programme PHARE depuis 1992, enfin les negociations pour l'adhesion de l'Estonie a l'UE ont debute en mars 1998. Par ailleurs, la recente proposition finlandaise de 'Dimension nordique', acceptee par la Commission europeenne pour acclereler la cooperation dans la region Baltique interesse au plus haut point Riga, Vilnius et Tallinn.

- Berzins, Indulis

Latvia's Membership : Good for Latvia, Good for NATO.

NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, Special Issue, 1999, p. 56-57.

Fifty years ago, in signing the North Atlantic Treaty, twelve nations committed themselves to safeguard their freedom, common heritage and civilisation, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberties and the rule of law. That commitment shaped the Western Europe we see today - a prosperous family of stable market economies. Strategic changes in the European security environment in the last decade meant the chances was re-opened also to the countries of Eastern and Central Europe to become prosperous, secure, and democratic following the paradigms developed in the West.

- Bildt, Carl

The Baltic Litmus Test.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 73, no. 5, September - October 1994, p. 72-85.

- Birkavs, Valdis

Co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region : Experience and Aspirations.

STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 50, no. 1, 1997, p. 59-63.

- Birkvas, Valdis

Latvia Between Madrid and Luxembourg and Beyond.

STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 50, no. 3, 1997, p. 43-50.

- Bitzinger, Richard A.

Neutrality for Eastern Europe : Problems and Prospects.

BULLETIN OF PEACE PROPOSALS, vol. 22, no. 3, 1991, p. 281-290.

- Black, J. L.

Russia and NATO Expansion Eastward : Re-lining the Baltic States.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 54, no. 2, Spring 1999, p. 249-266.

- Blank, Stephen J.

Russia and the Baltics in the Age of NATO Enlargement.

PARAMETERS, vol. 28, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 50-68.

- Butkevicius, Audrius

The Baltic Region in Post-Cold War Europe.

NATO REVIEW, vol. 41, no. 1, February 1993, p. 7-11.

- Canfield, Jeffrey L.
The Independent Baltic States : Maritime Security Implications.
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 4, Sequence 340, Autumn 1992, p. 55-81.

This paper addresses trends arising from the political independence of the three Baltic states that may have implications for maritime security dimensions of the Baltic region. It identifies both newly emergent issues and those with roots in history. Specifically highlighted are bellwether topics: regional security, salient commercial developments, issues of maritime borders and the unfolding drive to integrate these states within regional structures. These issues were selected to illustrate the diverse and pervasive effects of the Baltic independence process.

- Castel, Viviane du
Pays Baltes : un grand besoin de securite.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 52e annee, decembre 1996, p. 73-87.

- Clemmesen, Michael H.
Security and Defence Cooperation : a Step towards a Baltic Framework ?
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, Special Issue, 1999, p. 29-34.

The three Baltic states have developed a uniquely close and comprehensive co-operation in the Security and Defence field. This has taken place within a very short span of years, and it has been accomplished in spite of heavy handicaps in nearly all fields. The combined result is that in a couple of years time the armed forces of the Baltic states will have a higher level of NATO interoperability than any other force in the Central and Eastern Europe. It will actually be higher than the typical interoperability level of the forces of 'old' NATO members. The quick development of security and defence cooperation between Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia can be described from different perspectives. This one is built on impressions first as an outside observer, then as the in-region representative of a supporting state, and finally as a full participant.

- Coleman, Fred
The Kaliningrad Scenario : Expanding NATO to the Baltics.
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 14, no. 3, Fall 1997, p. 71-75.

- Dalbins, Juris
Baltic Cooperation : The Key to Wider Security.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 44, no. 1, January 1996, p. 7-10.

The twin pillars of Latvia's security posture consist of an effective and coordinated military capability on the part of the three Baltic States, backed up by integration into wider Western security structures. The most successful example of Baltic military cooperation is the recent formation of the BALTBAT peacekeeping battalion. Such cooperation would enable the Baltic States, at least in the short term, to mount a realistic self-defence, and thus make an important contribution to European stability. A serious military threat, however, would require the assistance of Western security organizations. In this context, it should not be overlooked that Baltic stability is an inextricable component of European security.

- Dalsjo, Robert
Are the Baltics Defensible ? : On the Utility of and Prospects for a Capability for Self-Defence.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 143, no. 4, August 1998, p. 40-44.

The Baltic Sea region may seem insignificant, but it encapsulates elements with major ramifications, both positive and negative, for Europe as a whole and for the relationship between Russia and the West. The

author here argues that on the one hand, there are optimistic scenarios which include an 'Ambergate' or 'New Hansa', teeming with trade and growth, while serving as a model of peaceful interaction. On the other hand, however, Russian opposition to Baltic aspirations for membership in NATO, and rumbling over Estonian and Latvian policies, accompanied by threats, indicate that the region still contains the seeds of serious conflict.

- Dauce, Françoise

L' espace Baltique-mer Noire : une zone tampon pour la Russie ?
PROBLEMES POLITIQUES ET SOCIAUX, no. 809, 25 septembre 1998, numero entier.

Depuis 1989, la presence strategique de la Russie en Europe s'est caracterisee par un reflux continu. Alors qu'elle a du rapatrier ses troupes non seulement d'Europe centrale et orientale mais aussi des nouveaux Etats independants, dans un mouvement inverse, l'Alliance atlantique s'est etendue tout d'abord a l'Allemagne reunifiee, puis a la Pologne, la Hongrie et la Republique tcheque. Quelles sont les perspectives geopolitiques ouvertes par cet elargissement de l'OTAN vers l'Est, elargissement accepte de mauvaise grace par la Russie en echange d'un pacte de partenariat privilegie ? La Russie a-t-elle aujourd'hui les moyens de s'opposer a la volonte de rejoindre l'OTAN manifestee par certains Etats de ce nouvel espace d'interposition qui s'etend de la Baltique a la mer Noire ? Quels leviers - politiques, diplomatiques, economiques - met-elle en oeuvre pour essayer d'y maintenir son influence ? Comment les Etats de l'espace Baltique-mer Noire s'organisent-ils pour faire prevaloir leur conception de la securite ?

- Eckerberg, Katarina

Environmental Problems and Policy : Options in the Baltic States :
Learning from the West ?
ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS, vol. 3, no. 3, Autumn 1994, p. 445-478.

- Fohrenbach, Gerd

Die Sicherheitskonzepte der baltischen Staaten.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 38. Jg., Heft 2, Marz -
April 2000, S. 139-143.

- Genschel, Dietrich

Zwischen Bangen und Hoffen : zur Sicherheit der Baltischen Staaten.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 47. Jg., Nr. 11, November 1998, S. 49-53.

- Geron, Leonard

Roads to Baltic Independence.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 47, no. 8-9, August - September 1991, p. 135-138.

- Graube, Raimonds

The Latvian Armed Forces Today.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, Special Issue, 1999, p. 63-68.

January 1991, the time of the barricades, can be considered as the beginning of Latvia's current (post WW II) Defence Forces. At that time, some 50 thousand people, converged on the Parliament building in Riga and stood, unarmed, in streets blocked by tractors, construction machinery and civilian trucks, against tanks and armored personnel carriers. The Latvians were lucky, for the bloodiest attacks by the Red Army on the unarmed civilians occurred in Vilnius, the capital of Latvia's Baltic neighbour Lithuania. The determination of the Baltic peoples in these critical days accelerated the collapse of the Soviet Union. The unsuccessful Coup d'Etat in August of the same year finally secured the freedom of the Baltic countries, but it quickly became clear that had the Coup not politicly fallen apart in Moscow, unarmed resistance would not

have been sufficient this time. For example, documents found in Russia have indicated that logistical arrangements had been made for 3 million arrest of 'un-reliable persons', Soviet Union wide, in the immediate aftermath of the Coup.

- Gray, Victor
Identity and Democracy in the Baltics.
DEMOCRATIZATION, vol. 3, no. 2, Summer 1996, p. 69-91.

The purpose of this essay is to consider the probable impact of issues related to ethnic and cultural identity on democratization in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Particular attention is given to the demographic make-up of the Baltic states, which are home to a high percentage of Slavs (mostly Russians but also Belarusians, Poles and Ukrainians) and to those factors which affect how these Slavs and the majority Balts : (1) identify themselves; and (2) identify with the new states in which they find themselves. The key question is the degree to which civic democracy can prosper in a newly emerging multi-ethnic state. The answer is important not only for the Baltic states but also for the other new multinational states that have emerged from the former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe in the past few years.

- Gylis, Povilas
Lithuania in Europe : Foreign and Security Policy.
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 49, no. 2, 1996, p. 57-63.

- Haekkerup, Hans
La cooperation autour de la Baltique : perspectives et initiatives danoises.
REVUE DE L' OTAN, vol. 43, no. 3, mai 1996, p. 14-18.

- Ham, Peter van
The Baltic States and Europe's Security Institutions.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 1, 1997, p. 138-159.

This article examines the policies of EU and NATO vis-a-vis the Baltic States, and pays also attention to the roles of the Western European Union and the OSCE in providing some form of security for this region. Underlying the analysis of the article are the following questions : (1) how do the Baltic States fit into Europe's evolving security framework ?; (2) what factors will influence future membership of the Baltic States in the EU/WEU and NATO ?; (3) how can the West contribute to consolidating the security of the Baltic States, short of offering them full membership of Europe's key security institutions ?

- Harjulehto, Mikko
Sicherheit fur die baltischen Republiken : Sicherheitspolitische Aspekte gegenuber Estland, Lettland, Litauen.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 46. Jg., Nr. 2, Februar 1997, S. 47-49.

The 'advocate of the Balts' - the Federal Republic of Germany - is an important protagonist in the political processes of the Baltic Sea area. In their quest for security, the Baltic republics seek the support of the West. However, there is presently no easy military solution in sight which could fulfil the Baltic need for security. Here, stability based on security policy in the Baltic Sea area is a central though short-term goal. Stability based on security policy is the fundamental prerequisite for a long-term objective : the integration of the Baltic republics into the Western cooperation structures.

- Herd, Graeme P.
A Helping of Alphabet Soup.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 7, July 1997, p. 185-186.

The Madrid summit this month will forge a new strategic relationship between NATO and former Warsaw Pact countries in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. It is almost certain that the Baltic states will not be part of this first round of NATO enlargement. It is frequently argued that these states are difficult to defend credibly, and with large Russian minorities and outstanding border demarcation disputes with Moscow, far too sensitive an area to be easily integrated into the NATO military command. So what alternatives are on offer ?

- Herd, Graeme P.
Russia's Baltic Policy After the Meltdown.
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 30, no. 2, June 1999, p. 197-212.

In the early and mid-1990s, Russian-Baltic relations were based on mutual exploitation of disputes, while Russia's Baltic policy was aimed at halting the encroachment of NATO towards the region. From early 1997, there emerged the rudiments of a new Russian strategy of counter-engagement - a combination of hard and soft security initiatives seeking to balance Western advances in the region. Following the August 1998 systemic shock, a paradigm shift in Russia's Baltic policy has begun to develop. The growing role of regional political elites and subfederal economic structures may lead to a widening of policy concerns and greater cooperation with Baltic neighbours. If the centre can maintain its ability to manage the process of decentralization within an ever-weakening Federation, Russia's Baltic policy will continue to evolve in a more diverse, multi-layered and complex manner. If, however, the federal centre and the regions continue to weaken, both Russia and its Baltic policy will lose coherence.

- Herolf, Gunilla
The Baltic Sea Region : a Grey Zone in the New Europe ?
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 51, no. 6, 1998, p. 25-36.

- Heuvel, Martin
Tot de laatste 'sovjetsoldaat' het land uit is : de Baltische democratieën na de coup.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 46, nr. 4, april 1992, p. 197-203.

- Hiden, John
The Baltic States since Independence.
RUSSIA AND THE SUCCESSOR STATES BRIEFING SERVICE, vol. 2, no. 4, August 1994, p. 3-25.

- Högrefe, Volker
Sicherheit in den baltischen Staaten.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 45. Jg., Nr. 4, April 1996, S. 43-44.

- Ischinger, Wolfgang
Nicht gegen Russland : Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit im Ostsee-Raum.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 53. Jahr, Nr. 2, Februar 1998, S. 33-40.

Von den Entwicklungen im Ostsee-Raum ist Deutschland stets unmittelbar betroffen und muss daher an der Gestaltung der Region aktiv mitwirken. In erster Linie muss es dabei um die Festigung von Sicherheit und Stabilität gehen - durch bilaterale Zusammenarbeit, durch Offnungsprozesse internationaler Organisationen, durch den Ausbau regionaler Kooperationsinstrumente und nicht zuletzt durch die Einbeziehung der Russischen Föderation als regionalem Machtzentrum von besonderem Gewicht.

- Jensen, Kurt B.
The Baltic Sea in the Post-Cold War World.
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 46, no. 4, Sequence 344, Autumn 1993, p. 29-41.

- Jonson, Lena
The Role of Russia in Nordic Regional Cooperation.
COOPERATION AND CONFLICT, vol. 26, no. 3, 1991, p. 129-144.

- Jundzis, Talavs
Defence Models and Strategies in the Baltic States.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 31, no. 1, January - March 1996, p. 25-37.

The Baltic States cannot hope to create large, modern armed forces. As these countries are relatively small and have limited capabilities, their defence requires mobilization of all possible resources. A system of 'total defence' would appear to be the most suitable approach, but extensive public debate must be held on the question and decisions taken in the respective parliaments. The Baltic States must orient their defence towards integration into a larger collective system of defence. This may be achieved by broadening inter-Baltic military contacts and by not precluding the formation of a unified Baltic military force.

- Kachia, Janri
Pays baltes : cap sur l'Europe.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 62, hiver 1993 - 1994, p. 329-341.

- Kachia, Janri
Pays baltes : le droit a l' Europe.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 75, printemps 1997, p. 165-180.

The debate surrounding the enlargement of the European Union and NATO creates a paradox for the Baltic states. More than Russian opposition, it is the hesitation and procrastination of the Europeans and the Americans that is behind their exclusion. By once again ignoring the request to join Europe made by these nations, and subjecting their inclusion to ambiguous, bureaucratic criteria - Europe is rejecting countries that helped defeat totalitarianism and have earned their place in Europe. Moreover, the West is sending Russia a message of fear and defiance that, far from bringing Moscow into the European fold, works against Europe's stated aims.

- Kempe, Iris
Meurs, Wim Van
A la frontiere russo-estonienne.
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 438, mars 1999, p. 54-67.

Une des limites orientales de l'UE sera dans un futur proche celle de l'Estonie avec la Russie. Pour eviter la creation de nouveaux cloisonnements, tout en assurant le controle de la frontiere, il est indispensable de mettre en oeuvre des cooperations et des politiques regionales d'ouverture. Or a ce jour, le probleme du trace de la frontiere n'est toujours pas resolu, le statut de la minorite russe, concentree au nord-est de l'Estonie, est equivoque, visas et droits de douane entravent la circulation des personnes et des biens, entre des regions russes et estoniennes par ailleurs peu developpees et reliees par un faible reseau de communications. Le gouvernement de Tallinn n'a pas de strategie regionale et il est par ailleurs plus enclin a se tourner vers l'Ouest que vers l'Est. Certains cercles russes, notamment de la region de Pskov, se soucient seulement du statut de leurs compatriotes au-dela de la Narva et en font un enjeu politique. Mais des deux cotes, des municipalites, chambres de commerce ou associations d'entrepreneurs commencent a prendre des initiatives communes et a etablir des echanges,

en exigeant aussi que des solutions pratiques soient apportées aux problèmes quotidiens des habitants de ces nouvelles régions frontalières.

- Kirch, Aksel
Russians as a Minority in Contemporary Baltic States.
BULLETIN OF PEACE PROPOSALS, vol. 23, no. 2, June 1992, p. 205-212.

- Kirch, Marika
Kirch, Aksel
Search for Security in Estonia : New Identity Architecture.
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 26, no. 4, December 1995, p. 439-448.

This article analyses ethnic relations between Estonians and Russians, and shifts in ethnic and national identity - factors relevant to the process of post-socialist transition in this newly independent state.

- Knudsen, Olav F.
Baltic Security : Domestic Factors.
ARMS CONTROL, vol. 14, no. 3, December 1993, p. 405-423.

- Knudsen, Olav F.
The Foreign Policies of the Baltic States : Interwar Years and Restoration.
COOPERATION AND CONFLICT, vol. 28, no. 1, March 1993, p. 47-72.

The article surveys and analyzes the foreign policies and relevant domestic political conditions of the Baltic states since 1918, emphasizing the period after 11 March 1990.

- Krohn, Axel
European Security in Transition : 'NATO Going East', the 'German Factor' and Security in Northern Europe and the Baltic Sea Region.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 4, no. 4, Winter 1995, p. 584-602.

The purpose of this article is to offer some structured assessments of the politics of the 'old' security actor, NATO, and the importance of transatlantic ties, as well as the politics of the 'new' central power, Germany. This article offers several options on possible future security developments for Europe and discusses present politics pursued by NATO and Germany with regard to their potential impact on Northern Europe and the Baltic Sea region.

- Kurth, James
The Baltics : Between Russia and the West.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 98, no. 630, October 1999, p. 334-339.

The Baltic nations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia remain under the shadow of Russia ten years after the first stirrings of independence.

- Lahelma, Timo
The OSCE's Role in Conflict Prevention : The Case of Estonia.
HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 10, no. 2, 1999, p. 19-38.

- Landsbergis, Vytautas
A Once-Sold Land Wishes to be Secure.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 143, no. 4, August 1998, p. 35-37.

After years of being part of the Soviet sphere of influence, the Lithuanians are now looking to the West and NATO for security. Now able to determine its own security arrangements, Lithuania is knocking on NATO's door which is opening slowly, and with reluctance. Vytautas

Landsbergis here makes the case for Lithuania's inclusion into the Western security framework. He cites the hardships which his people have had to endure, particularly during and following the Second World War. The Lithuanian people recently marked the 50th anniversary of the great deportation of Lithuanians carried out by the Soviets. In this they are both remembering a tragedy and celebrating their freedom of choice. He stresses that Russia should not see their seeking membership of NATO as a threat and urges Russia to continue building good relations between Lithuania and Russia as during the early 1990s when treaties were signed enabling Lithuania to make the security choices it is now exercising.

- Leonzi, Christophe

La transition économique dans les Etats baltes, une marche à trois temps vers l' Occident.

COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 403, octobre 1995, p. 3-16.

Après une analyse de l'héritage soviétique, l'auteur fait un bilan de la situation économique propre à chaque pays et des résultats des trois modèles de transition : troisième voie nordique, nationalisme économique, libéralisme hanseatique, reflétant les difficultés de repenser les liens entre économie et politique.

- Leshoukov, Igor

Russlands Politik gegenüber den baltischen Staaten : eine russische Ansicht.

INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 53. Jahr, Nr. 10, Oktober 1998, S. 39-45.

Westliche Erklärungsversuche der russischen Außenpolitik verlieren sich oft einseitig in der Unterstellung überkommener sowjetimperialer Denkmuster, die dem Charakter der russischen Beziehungen zu den baltischen Staaten nicht gerecht werden. So wird etwa die Minderheitenpolitik Moskaus gegenüber Estland und Lettland eher von pragmatischem Wirtschaftskalkül geprägt und instrumentalisiert als von grossrussischen Phantasien. Gerade deswegen aber sollte das Baltikum als 'Tor zum Westen' darauf bedacht sein, Russland nicht in ein einseitiges und isoliertes Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zu führen.

- Levits, Egil

The Baltics and the West.

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, vol. 5, no. 2, April - May 1991, p. 24-27.

- Lieven, Anatol

Baltic Iceberg Dead Ahead : NATO Beware.

WORLD TODAY, vol. 52, no. 7, July 1996, p. 175-179.

As NATO moves towards a decision to admit new members, due next year, the question of the security of the Baltic states is becoming not just important, but absolutely central to Western strategies and the West's relations with Russia. All of this should have been discussed three years ago, before it was decided to expand. Now it is said to be too late to stop the clock; and disturbingly, the main Western governments still seem to have no clear idea how to address the issue. Instead, the Balts are being treated to a game of pass-the-parcel between different Western institutions, all of them afraid that membership may be too hot to handle.

- Liulevicius, Vejas Gabriel

As Go the Baltics, So Goes Europe.

ORBIS, vol. 39, no. 3, Summer 1995, p. 387-402.

- Lucas, Hans-Dieter
The Baltic States in Europe : Problems and Prospects.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 48, no. 2, 1997, p. 127-136.

Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have a special position in the community of states which have emerged from the ruins of the Soviet empire : together with countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia they have belonged from time immemorial to Central Europe, but, unlike these countries, they were directly annexed by the USSR and, consequently, now suffer from its burdensome political, social and institutional legacy. This fact is compounded by an extremely vulnerable situation in the field of external security. The aggregation of factors explain why the Baltic States have a strong desire to belong to not only the European Union (EU) but also to NATO. Western countries, however, believe that they have to show special consideration for Russia with respect to any integration into the Atlantic alliance by ruling out NATO membership for certain former constituent regions of the Soviet Union.

- Lucas, Hans-Dieter
Prospects For Cooperation in the Baltic Sea Region.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 46, no. 1, 1995, p. 24-31.

- Maeder-Metcalf, Beate
Russische Minderheiten in den baltischen Staaten : das Engagement der OSZE.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 52. Jahr, Nr. 10, Oktober 1997, S. 39-44.

Ein mögliches Konfliktpotential vor allem in Lettland und Estland sind die Minderheiten russischer Herkunft. Die OSZE hat in Riga und Tallinn Langzeitmissionen eingerichtet, die eine stabilisierende regionalpolitische Funktion haben und Kontrollmöglichkeiten schaffen. Inzwischen sind Fortschritte bei der Integration von Minderheiten in beiden Ländern zu beobachten.

- Meri, Lennart
Estonia, NATO and Peacekeeping.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 42, no. 2, April 1994, p. 7-9.

- Meri, Lennart
The Security of Estonia.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 143, no. 2, April 1998, p. 1-4.

The author here outlines three key issues for his country : the role of NATO and Estonia's hopes of NATO membership; European security; and the relationship with Russia. He stresses that the inclusion of the Baltic States in the Alliance would not in any way weaken it, nor should it threaten Russia. Indeed, he sees the EU and WEU as providing an important security role and believes that this dimension should be expanded so that Europe has the capability to manage its own security concerns. Highlighting the imperative of bringing Russia into European security architecture, the author underlines his hopes for the continuing improvement of Estonian-Russian relations. He concludes by looking at the recent US-Baltic Charter which, regardless of the outcome of future alliance enlargements, sets out the importance of the Baltic security issue.

- Michalowski, Stanislaw
Baltic States' Security.
POLISH QUARTERLY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 7, no. 1, Winter 1998, p. 49-64.

This report looks at security in the region from the perspective of the three Baltic states. It reflects the key issues of security in the Baltic Sea region, including what are sometimes referred to as 'grey zones'. The

report also examines problems and expectations linked with security in the area as well as relationships between various security options and the new security conditions created by NATO's Madrid Summit and the 'Charter of Partnership' between the United States and the Baltic states. The validity of this approach is confirmed by the long-standing debate on security and cooperation in the Baltic Sea region in the context of Baltic states' security.

- Miszczak, Krzysztof
Baltische Republiken zwischen alten und neuen Beziehungen.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 43. Jg., Nr. 9, September 1994, S. 436-440.

- Morkvenas, Rimantas
Zalys, Vytautas
Lithuania's Security Concerns and Challenges.
ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 5, no. 2/3, 1999, p. 180-191.

- Mousson-Lestang, Jean-Pierre
Stabilite et securite en zone Baltique : le role de la Suede.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 54eme annee, no. 3, mars 1998, p. 109-117.

- Nishimura, Megumi
The OSCE and Ethnic Conflicts in Estonia, Georgia, and Tajikistan : A Search for a Sustainable Peace and Its Limits.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 8, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 25-42.

This article analyzes some of the experiences of the OSCE in Estonia, Georgia, and Tajikistan. Conflicts in these three countries followed the demise of the Soviet Union and had basic aspects in common : actual and potential border claims; the presence of a large number of national minorities whose ethnicity is shared with neighbouring kin-ethnic states; as well as conflicting claims of national self-determination and territorial integrity. By comparing and contrasting these cases, this article discusses the implications of the OSCE's approach and its limits in the context of the former Soviet Union, and offers some policy recommendations for the future OSCE's activities in this region. The central arguments are as follows : the OSCE has played a significant role in building a sustainable peace in the former Soviet Union where few European institutions have attempted to intervene; and that while being heavily influenced by Russian policies, the OSCE's activities in the CIS were not simple reflections of Russian interests.

- Nyberg, Rene
The Baltic Countries and the Northwest of Russia : A European Challenge.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 3, no. 3, Autumn 1994, p. 529-540.

- Oovel, Andrus
Estonian Defence Policy : Independence and International Cooperation.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 44, no. 5, September 1996, p. 7-10.

Estonia has embarked on a path leading towards association with European and Atlantic security structures. To this end, it is pursuing the principle that international cooperation and assistance can only be relied upon if Estonia clearly expresses its intention to defend itself and if it possesses the forces necessary for self defence. It accepts that defence cooperation must be based on the principle of equal participation and shared responsibility, thus each state belonging to a military alliance must contribute its fair share for the creation of a united defence.

- Oovel, Andrus
Estonian Defence Policy, NATO and the European Union.
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 27, no. 1, March 1996, p. 65-68.

The Estonian Defence Minister explains that a leading principle in the foreign and economic policies of his country has been a continuous and well founded affiliation with European structures, especially the EU. NATO is seen as the most efficient international means of providing for security and defending the principles of democracy. NATO's enlargement should be considered as a natural evolution which will lead to the creation of a stable network of states along the Western border of Russia. Concerned about its own security, Estonia finds it extremely important to participate, as do other Western states, in specific missions aimed at producing security.

- Park, Ausra
Strazzari, Francesco
Evolving Lithuanian Security Options in the Context of NATO, WEU and EU Responses.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 8, no. 2, Summer 1999, p. 103-129.

Lithuania's security orientation has evolved significantly since 1991. It has moved from prioritising Baltic and, then, Nordic, cooperation to focusing on partnership with Poland, and seeking NATO and European Union membership. Initially re-buffed by both, Lithuania has gradually sought to strengthen its de facto ties with NATO and WEU, and to build up its economic ties with the EU and its member states, in the belief that this provided a form of 'soft' security, and prepared the way for eventual membership of NATO and the EU.

- Petersen, Phillip
Security Policy in the Post-Soviet Baltic States.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 1, no. 1, Spring 1992, p. 13-49.

- Purlys, Vidamantas
Vilkellis, Gintautas
La cooperation entre les Etats baltes : une perspective lituanienne.
REVUE DE L' OTAN, vol. 43, no. 5, septembre 1995, p. 27-31.

La cooperation entre l'Estonie, la Lettonie et la Lituanie en matiere de securite et de defense n'en est qu'a ses toutes premieres phases, avec l'engagement d'un debat sur des arrangements trilateraux dans le domaine de la securite. Cet article analyse les perspectives de poursuite de ce processus a court et moyen terme et conclut que cette cooperation trilaterale ne devrait pas aboutir a limiter les relations bilaterales avec d'autres pays d'Europe occidentale, voire avec l'UE, l'UEO et l'OTAN. L'accession a ces institutions demeure d'ailleurs une des priorites de politique etrangere de ces trois pays.

- Romer, Jean-Christophe
Les Etats Baltes : entre nord, centre et est.
STRATEGIQUE, no. 55, 3e trimestre 1992, p. 97-114.

- Roosimagi, Urman
Internationally Recognised Armed Forces.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, Special Issue, 1999, p. 44-47.

Estonia is a small country with extensive historical experience that has taught us the country must be defended. Estonia began building its Defence Forces in 1991 and has made significant progress since. In less than ten years of existence, Estonia's military structures have evolved from an embryonic stage of development to the status of internationally recognised armed forces.

- Saudargas, Algirdas
Baltic Security is European Security.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 46, no. 4, Winter 1998, p. 4-7.

Lithuania has taken a leading role in advancing regional cooperation within the Baltic area as well as increasing links with Euro-Atlantic institutions. Through its chairmanship of the Council of Baltic Sea States, for instance, it is seeking to promote confidence among Baltic neighbours and is spearheading assistance to Russia's Kaliningrad region. According to Foreign Minister Saudargas, these regional efforts must be synchronised with broader pan-European endeavours because security and stability in the Baltic area is indivisible from overall European security.

- Skrastins, I.
The Armed Forces of the Baltic States : Current Status and Problems of Development.
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 8, no. 1, March 1995, p. 36-52.

- Skujins, Maris
Die strategische Lage der baltischen Staaten.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 34. Jg., Heft 6,
November/Dezember 1996, S. 643-650.

- Staden, Berndt von
Die Baltischen Staaten und Europa.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 46. Jahr, 9. Folge, 10. Mai 1991, S. 275-281.

- Staden, Berndt von
Minderheitenpolitik im Baltikum.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 48. Jahr, 22. Folge, 25. November 1993, S. 653-660.

- Stankevicius, Ceslovas
Lithuania on its way to NATO.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, Special Issue, 1999, p. 79-81.

Despite 50 years of suppression the Lithuanian nation has managed to preserve its Western identity. Since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from its soil in 1993, Lithuania has rejected the so-called East-West bridge or any buffer state model for its future. Lithuania resolutely chose irreversible reunification with the Euro-Atlantic community of democratic nations. This integration means Lithuania's return to its rightful place in the community of Western countries, which adhere to the shared values of freedom and democracy. It also reflects Lithuania's desire to belong to a community, which is determined and able to ensure security, stability and prosperity. In late 1993, all political parties represented in the Lithuanian Parliament arrived at a consensus on Lithuania's NATO membership. In 1994 Lithuania officially applied for the membership in the Alliance. Since 1996, NATO membership objectives have been introduced in Lithuania's laws as the only security arrangement capable of guaranteeing its security.

- Stockfisch, Dieter
Partnership for Peace : Maritime Erfahrungen in der Ostsee.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 48. Jg., Nr. 2, Februar 1999, S. 23-29.

The Baltic Sea area enjoys a remarkable renaissance of its cultural and economic heritage in form of international cooperation and thus picks up on the best times of European history (Hanse). There exists a dynamism in the economic, cultural, and military fields as well as in the protection of the environment which is exemplary in Europe. Therefore, the Baltic Sea area is, with reason, regarded as a model for a merged Europe with

legitimate chances for stability and security. And Russia is also part of that.

- Trapans, Jan Arveds

The Baltic States : Their Security and Defense.

EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 7, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 92-100.

The article analyses Baltic defence posture and risk situation. The geostrategic situation of the Baltic states suggests Russia is the main threat. However, assessing the situation realistically, Russia could probably project only limited military operations in the Baltic region in an opportune international situation. The Baltic states would counter a threat by a defensive posture similar to that of Finland. This demands close Baltic defence collaboration and a "Baltic interoperability". The author also argues Baltic defence establishments should not focus their attention solely upon an external military threat, because new security risks in the former Warsaw Pact area can constitute more immediate crisis situations.

- Uibopuu, Henn-Juri

Dealing with the Minorities : A Baltic Perspective.

WORLD TODAY, vol. 48, no. 6, June 1992, p. 108-112.

- Vertongen, N.

Estland op zoek naar veiligheid.

TRANSAKTIE, jg. 26, nr. 3, 1997, p. 406-428.

- Waeuver, Ole

Nordic Nostalgia : Northern Europe after the Cold War.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 68, no. 1, January 1992, p. 77-102.

- Walter, Gerd

Ostsee-Kooperation : eine Erfolgsgeschichte.

INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 53. Jahr, Nr. 2, Februar 1998, S. 47-53.

Auf nationaler, regionaler und lokaler Ebene ist im Ostsee-Raum ein dichtes Netzwerk von Gremien, Organisationen und Nichtregierungsinitiativen entstanden - ein 'Ostsee-Europa von unten'. In diesem Raum wird, so der Justizminister von Schleswig-Holstein, 'transnationale europäische Identität jenseits nationaler Befangenheit' produziert und eine stabile Ostsee-Region geschaffen, ohne die es kein stabiles Gesamteuropa geben könne.

- Wennersten, Peter

The Politics of Inclusion : The Case of the Baltic States.

COOPERATION AND CONFLICT, vol. 34, no. 3, September 1999, p. 272-296.

The author examines here the Baltic states' return to Europe through the prism of collective identity formation. He argues that the European Union during the 1990s has been articulating a 'politics of inclusion' vis-a-vis the Baltic states, a politics that is conducive to a strengthened independence for the latter. Inclusion in this sense is taken to mean an extension of a European political identity to incorporate the Baltic states. Emphasizing the social and discursive construction of identities - and consequently social reality - he introduces two conceptual categories, inside-inside articulations and inside-outside articulations, that may be used as points of reference when inquiring into the (re)construction of identities in world politics. By means of a discourse analysis of the foreign policy of the European Union towards the Baltic states, he provides a guide to the inscription of inside and outside as regards the European Self in contemporary European politics. He suggests that foreign policy is instrumental in writing state identities not only in relation to the state articulating

the policy, but also in relation to a collective of states. He thus attempts to theorize the formation of collective political identity at a supra-state level.

- Yakemtchouk, Romain
Les republics baltes et la crise du federalisme sovietique.
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 43, no. 4-5-6, 1990, numero entier.

- Yakemtchouk, Romain
Securite et droits de l' homme dans la Baltique.
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 46, no. 1, 1993, p. 15-28.

- Zaagman, Rob
Conflict Prevention in the Baltic Area : The OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities in Estonia, 1993-1999.
HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 10, no. 3, 1999, p. 30-44.

- Zaccor, A. M.
The Lithuanian Army : A Tool for Rejoining Europe.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 6, no. 1, Spring 1997, p. 100-113.

This article examines the mission, organization and activities of the Lithuanian Army. First it examines the strategic environment in which Lithuania finds itself. Then it examines the overall structure of this country's army and the key activities it has undertaken. It shows how dramatically the Lithuanian leadership has stressed the role of the armed forces as a tool of integration, and especially how it has de-emphasized a traditional defensive role for its armed forces. Hopefully this article provides the western reader with a greater understanding of how this country's small armed forces may contribute to western European and north Atlantic security.

- Zaccor, Albert M.
Lithuania's New Army.
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 7, no. 2, June 1994, p. 198-217.

- Zaccor, Albert M.
Problems in the Baltic Armed Forces.
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 8, no. 1, March 1995, p. 53-72.

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