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PART I : BOOKS

PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES 1

Contemporary Ukraine : Dynamics of Post-Soviet Transformation - Armonk, NY
: Sharpe, 1998.
ISBN/ISSN: 0765602237
xxi, 290 p. : ill.; 24 cm.
ID number: 80015728 Type: M
Library Location: 321 /00608
Subject(s):
1. UKRAINE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. UKRAINE--ECONOMIC POLICY
3. UKRAINE--NATIONAL SECURITY
4. STATE SUCCESSION
Added entry(s):
1. Kuzio, Taras, ed.
Bibliography: p. 267-277. Includes index.
'Although this book deals with all four of Ukraine's transitions, it is more conveniently divided into five parts. Part A lays out the complicated legacies that Ukraine inherited from external domination and totalitarianism and their impact on nation and state building. Part B continues this discussion by focusing on the legacy of regionalism and its influence upon Ukraine's national identity (or identities, as Ukraine has not one but a number of political subcultures). Parts C and D survey the difficulties Ukraine has encountered in undertaking democratization and marketization. Part E includes two chapters devoted to Ukraine's security policies. The central theme running throughout this book points to an important conclusion : that Ukraine's four transitions of nation building, state building, democratization, and marketization cannot be discussed in isolation from one another. They are all intimately bound together, and it would be unwise for Western policy makers and scholars to ignore this crucial facet of Ukraine's post-Soviet transformation process.'

Magt og normer i international politik - København : Sikkerheds- og
Nedrustningspolitiske Udvalg, 1994.
ISBN/ISSN:
144 p.; 22 cm.
ID number: 80010739 Type: M
Library Location: 341.2 /00226
Subject(s):
1. STATE SUCCESSION
2. BOUNDARIES
3. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

Making a New Nation : The Formation of Slovenia - Aldershot, UK :
Dartmouth, 1997.
ISBN/ISSN: 1855216566
vi, 330 p. : ill.; 23 cm.
ID number: 80013742 Type: M
Library Location: 321 /00586
Subject(s):
1. STATE SUCCESSION
2. SLOVENIA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. SLOVENIA--ECONOMIC POLICY
4. SLOVENIA--HISTORY
Added entry(s):
1. Fink-Hafner, Danica, 1959- , ed.

1 This list contains material received as of October 2000. Cette liste est arrêtée au 3 octobre 2000.

2. Robbins, John R., 1935- , ed.

Bibliography: p. 314-330.

'The transition from socialism now underway in Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union involves the radical reform of both political and economic systems and this has proved a difficult undertaking, with persistent failures and disappointments. The process has been further complicated in many cases by an act of secession which has brought the simultaneous requirement of establishing a new state. One of the most successful countries in all three respects is Slovenia. It is also the only component republic of the ex-Yugoslavia not to confront continuing problems of ethnic challenge, deep political conflict and economic debility. This book provides a comprehensive account of the process by which Slovenia achieved statehood and then set about the task of attaining political stability and economic viability. Apart from constituting an interesting case study in itself this book will provide comparative material for analytical studies of the transition process.'

The National Security of Small States in a Changing World - London : Frank Cass, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:0714647861

viii, 217 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80014200 Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01194

Subject(s):

1. STATES, SMALL--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Inbar, Efraim, 1947- , ed.

2. Sheffer, Gabriel, ed.

Includes index.

'In this volume, scholars from a variety of disciplines address the following essential questions : what are the linkages between systemic features and the small states' environment; does the emerging international system augur well for small states; what can be expected of allies, big and small; what are the interactions between small states and regional organizations; what national strategies best serve the precarious survival of small states; and what are the appropriate defence policies in the changing technological and political environment ?'

De nationale staat : onhoudbaar maar onmisbaar ? : het perspectief van Europese integratie en mondialisering - Assen : Van Gorcum, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:9023232208

154 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80013603 Type: M

Library Location: 321 /00585

Subject(s):

1. STATE, THE

2. EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Added entry(s):

1. Staden, A. van, ed.

2. Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen Clingendael (NL)

'Alle twaalf opstellen in deze bundel hebben de positie van de nationale staat tot onderwerp. De klassieke natie-staat ziet zich anno 1996 geplaatst voor verschijnselfen als europeanisering en mondialisering. Leiden deze uitdagingen tot drastische uitholling van de traditionele functies van de staat, zoals het geweldsmonopolie, regelgeving en belastingheffing, en autonoom sociaal-economisch beleid ? Of scheppen ze nieuwe kansen voor overleving van een staatsvorm die toch allereerst een historisch gegroeide Westerse constructie is ? Of is er nog en derde mogelijkheid, het ontstaan van mengvormen in een 'geglobaliseerde' wereld ? Moeten we wel zo rouwig zijn om het eventueel verdwijnen van de traditionele staatsnatie ? En hoe verhoudt zich deze problematiek tot de mondiale evolutie van het kapitalisme enerzijds en de verbreding en verdieping van de Europese Unie anderzijds ? Op deze vragen proberen de auteurs van dit boek een

antwoord te geven.'

Politiques nationales envers les jeunes Etats - Paris : Colin, 1964.

ISBN/ISSN:

347 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques ; 131)

ID number: 80009695 Type: M

Library Location: 325 /00006

Subject(s):

1. STATES, NEW
2. DECOLONIZATION
3. COLONIES

Added entry(s):

1. Meyriat, Jean, ed.
2. Centre d'Etude des Relations Internationales (FR)
3. Duroselle, Jean-Baptiste, 1917- , ed.
4. Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques (FR)

Includes index.

Small States and the Security Challenge in the New Europe - London :

Brassey's, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN: 857531531

xxiii, 247 p.; 21 cm.

(Brassey's Atlantic Commentaries ; 8)

ID number: 80012903 Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01161

Subject(s):

1. STATES, SMALL--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Bauwens, Werner, ed.
2. Clesse, Armand, ed.
3. Knudsen, Olav F., ed.

'This book raises the question of the long-term security of the small state. It asks specifically how that quandary is manifested in Europe after 1989. The overall argument is that small states are becoming increasingly prominent - to some extent also problematic - actors in post-Cold War European politics. This is partly a consequence of the diminished ambition, even bordering on reluctance, of great powers to assert their will. Partly it is the consequence of a confluence of other factors : there used to be a loose, tacit consensus on the respective roles of great powers and smaller states. That is no longer so. The transition from an actively supervised bipolar system to a nearly non-polar international system has been a slippery slope. It is as yet far from clear what the final outcome will be. The collapse of Yugoslavia and of the Soviet Union demonstrate the intractability of issues involving small states, in particular as those issues concern secession, independence and physical survival. The experience of the states liberated by the dissolution of communist power in Eastern Europe also demonstrates the hard lessons of survivability in economic terms. Indeed, the irony is that the answer to both the security problem and the economic dependence of small states is now widely perceived in these states themselves as being dependent on their participation in integration and at least the partial relinquishing of sovereignty.'

State-Building in Russia : the Yeltsin Legacy and the Challenge of the Future - Armonk, NY : Sharpe, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN: 076560275X

xiv, 234 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80016151 Type: M

Library Location: 321 /00612

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. STATE SUCCESSION

3. DEMOCRACY--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. Smith, Gordon B., ed.

Includes index.

'While attention has been focussed on Russia's progress in democratization, we have lost sight of the conspicuous fact that the state was not so much surrendering power to civil society as it was disintegrating. The challenge of a new democracy, the author argues, is the creation of effective and authoritative political institutions. Focusing on Yeltsin's Russia, this book examines this question with reference to democratisation, national identity, legal reform and law enforcement, constitutionalism, state-society and external relations, public perceptions and attitudes, social policy, market vs. symbolic employment, and interethnic relations.'

Al-Ebraheem, Hassan Ali

Kuwait and the Gulf : small states and the international system -

Washington : Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1984.

ISBN/ISSN:0709905270

117 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ID number: 70001421 Type: M 12446068

Library Location: 327 /00481

Subject(s):

1. STATES, SMALL--CASE STUDIES

2. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS--CASE STUDIES

3. KUWAIT--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Georgetown University. Center for Contemporary Arab Studies (US)

Includes index.

Bibliography: p. 106-113.

Bach, Jonathan P. G.

Between Sovereignty and Integration : German Foreign Policy and National Identity after 1989 - Munster : LIT, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:0312219229

226 p.; 21 cm.

ID number: 80016062 Type: M

Library Location: 327 /01001

Subject(s):

1. GERMANY--FOREIGN RELATIONS

2. GERMANY--HISTORY--UNIFICATION, 1990

3. SOVEREIGNTY

Bibliography: p. 203-222. Includes index.

'In this first full-length US study of German foreign policy since unification, Bach explores how different understandings of national identity influence and shape policy, in particular, the decision to send German troops to join the peacekeeping mission in Bosnia.

Placing the German debates in social and historical context, he identifies major narratives within the German foreign policy community from which emerge divergent interpretations of national identity. Through a discursive analysis of parliamentary debates, Bach highlights how the emergence of a 'normal' foreign policy is caught between competing understandings of the nation and the ambiguous role of the state, as both increasingly confront the uncertain trajectories of integration and globalization. Mixing theoretical and empirical analyses, Bach charts the tension between universalism and particularism in German foreign policy and national identity from Germany's first unification to its most recent. The implications reach beyond Germany to shed light on the paradoxical relationship between politics, policy and identity amidst changing conceptions of state, nation, and the international system.'

Carrillo, Santiago

Eurocommunisme et Etat : essai politique - Paris : Flammarion, 1977.

ISBN/ISSN:208060967X

251 p.; 20 cm.

ID number: 80011886

Type: M

Library Location: 329 /00231

Subject(s):

1. STATE, THE

2. EUROCOMMUNISM

Crawford, James, 1948-

The creation of states in international law - Oxford, UK : Clarendon Press, 1979.

ISBN/ISSN:0198253478

xxvii, 498 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 70002522

Type: M 04593287

Library Location: 341.2 /00185

Subject(s):

1. SOVEREIGNTY

2. STATE SUCCESSION

3. STATES, NEW

Originally presented as the author's thesis, Oxford, 1976.

Bibliography: p. [437]-479.

Includes index.

Hawrylyshyn, Bohdan

Road maps to the future - Oxford, UK : Pergamon Press, 1980.

ISBN/ISSN:0080261159

xv, 193 p.; ill.; 22 cm.

ID number: 70001008

Type: M 07056097

Library Location: 301 /00027

Subject(s):

1. SOCIAL SYSTEMS

2. SOCIAL INDICATORS

3. SOCIAL EVOLUTION

4. STATE, THE

Includes bibliographical references.

Krasner, Stephen D., 1942-

Sovereignty : Organized Hypocrisy - Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:069100711X

264 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80016505

Type: M

Library Location: 321 /00619

Subject(s):

1. SOVEREIGNTY

Bibliography : p. 239-254. Includes index.

'The acceptance of human rights and minority rights, the increasing role of international financial institutions, and globalization have led many observers to question the continued viability of the sovereign state. Here a leading expert challenges this conclusion. The author contends that states have never been as sovereign as some have supposed. Throughout history, rulers have been motivated by a desire to stay in power, not by some abstract adherence to international principles. Organized hypocrisy - the presence of long-standing norms that are frequently violated - has been an enduring attribute of international relations. Political leaders have usually but not always honored international legal sovereignty, the principle that international recognition should be accorded only to juridically independent sovereign states, while treating Westphalian sovereignty, the principle that states have the right to exclude external authority from their own territory, in a much more provisional way. In some instances violations of the principles of sovereignty have been coercive, as in the imposition of minority rights on newly created states after the First World War or the successor states of Yugoslavia

after 1990; at other times cooperative, as in the European Human Rights regime or conditionality agreements with the International Monetary Fund. The author looks at various issue areas to make his argument : minority rights, human rights, sovereign lending, and state creation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Differences in national power and interests, he concludes, not international norms, continue to be the most powerful explanation for the behavior of states.'

Kuzio, Taras

Ukraine : State and Nation Building - London : Routledge, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:0415171954

xiii, 298 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

ID number: 80016262 Type: M

Library Location: 321 /00614

Subject(s):

1. UKRAINE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

2. STATE SUCCESSION

Bibliography: p. 284-291. Includes index.

'The collapse of the Soviet Union has left many of its former states struggling to forge new political nations out of the legacy of communist rule. Ukraine is no exception and its transition to independent state led many in the West to predict its collapse into ethnic conflict. The author focuses on post-Soviet developments in Ukraine, analysing the role of nationalism in the forging of a new political nation out of the inherited quasi-state of the former Soviet Union. He examines the new elites of Ukraine, their views and role in the state and nation building project. He also explores other important aspects of the transition to an independent state such as borders, symbols, myths and national histories. The book uses primary sources and interviews with leading members of Ukrainian elites to survey the ongoing debates surrounding the transformation of Ukraine into an independent state. It also compares the Ukrainian experience with that of other emerging nations within a theoretical framework. The study finds that the threat of ethnic conflict and separatism has been exaggerated and that Ukraine can build an inclusive political nation based upon civic and ethnic Ukrainian attributes.'

Paret, Peter

Clausewitz and the State - Oxford, UK : Clarendon Press, 1976.

ISBN/ISSN:0198225040

viii, 467 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ID number: 70004866 Type: M 02466849

Library Location: 92 CLAU/00001

Subject(s):

1. CLAUSEWITZ, CARL VON, 1780-1831--BIOGRAPHY

2. STATE, THE

3. WAR

Bibliography: p. [445]-459.

Includes indexes.

Woodhouse, Christopher Montague, 1917-

The New Concert of Nations : A Background Book - London : Bodley Head, 1964.

ISBN/ISSN:

103 p.; 20 cm.

ID number: 80009565 Type: M

Library Location: 323 /00079

Subject(s):

1. STATES, NEW--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

PART II : MAGAZINE ARTICLES **DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES 2**

- Sovereignty at the Millennium.
POLITICAL STUDIES, vol. 47, no. 3, 1999, Special Issue.
- What Future for the State ?
DAEDALUS, vol. 124, no. 2, Spring 1995, Whole Issue.
- Barsa, Pavel
The Limits of the Nation State.
PERSPECTIVES, no. 14, Summer 2000, p. 5-26.
- Bergh, G. van Benthem van den
Het raadsel van de natie.
TRANSAKTIE, jg. 27, nr. 2, 1998, p. 175-190.

Wat zijn 'naties' eigenlijk en hoe is de legitimiteit van hun aanspraken te beoordelen ? Ondanks de grote aandacht voor nationalistische verschijnselen is deze vraag tot nu toe niet bevredigend beantwoord. Als de kracht van de natie zo groot is, dan is het opvallend dat in gevastigde staten zo weinig nationalistische bewegingen zijn. De centrale stelling in dit artikel is dat naties niet als werkelijk bestaande eenheden kunnen worden gezien. Wetenschappelijk gezien bestaan naties niet, maar toch bestaan ze. Dat is het raadsel dat dit artikel beoogt op te lossen.

- Boniface, Pascal
La proliferation etatique.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 21, no. 84, hiver 1998 - 1999, p. 975-985.
- Boniface, Pascal
La proliferation etatique : un defi strategique majeur.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 37, printemps 2000, p. 59-66.

Phénomène important des relations internationales au XXe siècle, l'augmentation continue du nombre d'Etats suscite de nombreuses interrogations. Jamais par le passé la communauté internationale n'avait compté autant d'entités souveraines - 185 Etats au total -, et la fin de la guerre froide n'a fait qu'accentuer cette tendance, avec notamment l'éclatement de l'Union soviétique et de la Yougoslavie. L'état d'instabilité qui caractérise aujourd'hui la scène internationale donne ainsi toute sa signification au concept de prolifération étatique, qui, au même titre que la prolifération nucléaire, fait peser un sentiment d'in sécurité sur la planète. En outre, si de nombreux facteurs sont à l'origine de ces mouvements sécessionnistes, le facteur économique semble tenir une place toute particulière dans ce processus. Ce dernier apparaissant d'ailleurs comme une réalité dont il est difficile de prévoir l'évolution et qui s'accompagne souvent de violence, voire, parfois, de guerres.

- Boniface, Pascal
The Proliferation of States.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 21, no. 3, Summer 1998, p. 111-127.
- Bosco, David L.
Reintegrating Bosnia : A Progress Report.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 21, no. 2, Spring 1998, p. 65-81.

2 This list contains material received as of October 2000. Cette liste est arrêtée au 3 octobre 2000.

- Chandler, Andrea
Statebuilding and Political Priorities in Post-Soviet Ukraine : The Role of the Military.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 22, no. 4, Summer 1996, p. 573-597.

This article explores the development of military institutions in independent Ukraine, from the breakup of the USSR in 1991 until late 1994. Under Ukraine's first president, Leonid Kravchuk, Ukraine's leaders placed a strong priority on developing the armed forces in order to safeguard independence. For political and social reasons, this was initially seen by the elite as a desirable and beneficial approach to statebuilding, given Ukraine's difficult circumstances. However, the prioritization of the military brought political controversy, and economic weaknesses made an independent Ukrainian armed forces more difficult to sustain in the long term. The lesson is that while leaders of new states may feel a need to choose statebuilding priorities, an emphasis on military development must nonetheless consider the influence of social and economic factors.

- Cohen, Lenard J.
Whose Bosnia ? : The Politics of Nation Building.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 97, no. 617, March 1998, p. 103-112.

- Crozet, Yves
Mondialisation de l' economie et renouvellement du concept economique de nation.
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 29, no. 2, juin 1998, p. 225-238.

Avec l'acceleration de la mondialisation des economies, les nations semblent de plus en plus impotentes. A l'exception des plus grandes, elles n'auraient plus de reelles marges de manoeuvre, notamment dans leurs politiques economiques. Ce constat doit pourtant etre plus que nuance car la mondialisation ne signifie pas le crepuscule des nations. Mais pour relever le defi de la mondialisation, elles doivent aujourd'hui redefinir les mecanismes de solidarite qui les caracterise. En effet, face a la dynamique des inegalites que developpent les marches, quel principe d'equite retenir ? En se concentrant sur le cas francais, cet article montre que c'est en rendant plus explicite le modele de solidarite choisi, en limitant explicitement les avarices micro-economiques que la nation peut defendre a la fois sa cohesion interne et sa position externe.

- Dijkstra, Gerrit
Bosnie en Herzegovina : tussen onafhankelijke staat en internationaal protectoraat.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 53, nr. 7-8, juli - augustus 1999, p. 402-408.

The author analyzes the functioning of the present Bosnian state, in particular the institutions created in the Dayton agreement. The author comes to the conclusion that most of these institutions hardly exist in practice. Because of the lack of consensus between the three constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina it is hardly possible to reach agreement on most issues. The country is virtually ruled by the so-called High Representative. Bosnia and Herzegovina has the features of both an independent state and a protectorate run by the international community.

- Dubien, Arnaud
Ex-URSS : un espace en recomposition.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 37, printemps 2000, p. 107-114.

L'effondrement de l'URSS, en decembre 1991, a donne lieu a l'emergence sur la scene internationale de quinze nouveaux Etats independants. Entites fragiles, plusieurs d'entre eux ont vu leur integrite territoriale remise en cause par des mouvements secessionnistes. Les tendances centrifuges ayant affecte l'espace postsovietique au debut des années 90 semblent toutefois avoir perdu de leur vigueur, la guerre en Tchetchenie constituant une exception. Et si l'on ne peut exclure de

nouvelles fragmentations, notamment en Transcaucasie, il paraît douteux que de nouveaux Etats indépendants, reconnus comme tels par la communauté internationale, voient le jour dans un avenir prévisible en ex-URSS.

- Duculescu, Victor
The Succession of States : New Angles.
ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 1, no. 1-2, 1995, p. 103-115.

- Dunn, John
Contemporary Crisis of the Nation State ?
POLITICAL STUDIES, vol. 42, 1994, Special Issue, Whole Issue.

- Enriquez, Juan
Too Many Flags ?
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 116, Fall 1999, p. 30-49.

In Africa, Asia and Europe, nations are splintering at an unprecedented rate. So far, the Western Hemisphere has been immune to these secessionist impulses. But the borders of the Americas may not be as stable as they seem.

- Frost, Mervyn
Migrants, Civil Society and Sovereign States : Investigating an Ethical Hierarchy.
POLITICAL STUDIES, vol. 46, no. 5, December 1998, p. 871-885.

Many actors in global politics profess both a commitment to basic human rights and to a system of sovereign democratic states. There are clear tensions between these commitments which become apparent when seeking ethical answers to the increasingly urgent problem of migrants who cross state boundaries in pursuit of better life chances elsewhere. Is it possible to achieve a coherence between a commitment to individual human rights and to sovereign democratic states ? It is argued that a neo-Hegelian constitutive theory of individuality provides a useful guide to our thinking about this matter.

- Gottlieb, Gidon
Nations Without States.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 73, no. 3, May - June 1994, p. 100-112.

Most of today's national and ethnic conflicts cannot be settled by a revision of boundaries. Self-determination must be supplemented by a new scheme that is less territorial in character and more regional in scope. A "states-plus-nations" approach would create special functional zones across state boundaries and national home regimes in historical lands. It would recognize the rights and status of stateless national communities and differentiate between nationality and state citizenship.

- Hamdouni, Said
Les accords de Dayton et le statut de la Bosnie-Herzégovine.
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 29, no. 1, mars 1998, p. 53-69.

Au-delà des contingences politico-médiaques, l'analyse de la nature juridique de la Bosnie-Herzégovine, au travers des accords de Dayton, fait ressortir un montage institutionnel qui déroge à la configuration juridique de l'Etat au sens du droit public. Le caractère atypique de cet Etat résulte de son organisation qui ne s'inspire ni du modèle classique de l'organisation de l'Etat (Etat unitaire, Etat fédéral) ni même du statut de l'Etat divise. La vulnérabilité du statut de la Bosnie-Herzégovine provient de l'ambivalence des dispositions juridiques relatives au fonctionnement des institutions étatiques. En effet, les accords de Dayton ont engendré une pluralité d'ordres juridiques qui pose, au plus haut niveau, le problème de leur ordonnancement tant sur le plan vertical qu'horizontal.

- Heller, Mark A.
Towards a Palestinian State.
SURVIVAL, vol. 39, no. 2, Summer 1997, p. 5-22.

The debate about a Palestinian state has been settled. An embryonic state already exists, and a more fully formed state will necessarily be part of any peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. What remains to be decided are its form and content. Israel should be as generous as possible in its attitude to the territorial and functional components of Palestinian statehood, but it needs to incorporate the major settlement blocs in the West Bank, retain military control of the Jordan Valley and insist on some restrictions on Palestinian sovereignty. The alternatives to this approach are few and far less promising.

- Helman, Gerald B.
Ratner, Steven R.
Saving Failed States.
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 89, Winter 1992 - 1993, p. 3-20.

- Hippel, Karin von
Democracy by Force : A Renewed Commitment to Nation Building.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 23, no. 1, Winter 2000, p. 95-112.

By properly employing issues of security, cooperation, and democratization, the international community can effectively build stable nations in troublesome regions. The lessons learned from recent US interventions enable the world community to adopt a realistic and efficient plan for such action.

- Inbar, Efraim
Sandler, Shmuel
The Risks of Palestinian Statehood.
SURVIVAL, vol. 39, no. 2, Summer 1997, p. 23-41.

Even if a Palestinian state is inevitable, its potential dangers should not be overlooked. The principle of self-determination, its merits notwithstanding, has historically played a major role in causing international disorder and conflict. A Palestinian state will be born in the still unstable and violent Middle East, and Palestinian domestic politics could easily lead the new state to adopt a radical foreign policy. Only by stretching out the timetable for statehood and limiting the new entity's military power and sovereignty can the risks of a Palestinian state be limited.

- Kamer, Hansrudolf
Der Nationalstaat ist noch nicht am Ende.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 55. Jahr, Nr. 7, Juli 2000, S. 23-28.

Berichte über ein baldiges Ableben des Nationalstaats erscheinen dem Leiter der Auslandsredaktion der 'Neuen Zürcher Zeitung' stark übertrieben; für ihn hat die Welt der Nationalstaaten über einen nicht absehbaren Zeitraum hinaus Bestand.

- Krulic, Brigitte
La nation, une idée dépassée ?
PROBLEMES POLITIQUES ET SOCIAUX, no. 832, 31 décembre 1999, numéro entier.

A l'heure de la mondialisation, la thèse du déclin irremédiable des nations est à la mode : contestée par le 'haut', les Etats-Nations sont confrontés à la multiplication des réseaux (multinationales, flux financier, internet, etc.) qui échappent à leur contrôle. Leur légitimité est aussi remise en cause à la base par la société civile : affirmation des individualismes, des identités communautaires, force explosive du multiculturalisme, etc. Pourtant, le réveil des revendications nationales, voire nationalistes après la chute du communisme montre que la nation demeure une idée mobilisatrice, mais ambiguë comme le souligne l'opposition originelle entre la conception républicaine et la conception ethnique de la nation. L'analyse de plusieurs exemples nationaux

(Allemagne, Grande-Bretagne, Etats-Unis notamment) met ici en lumière la spécificité du modèle français de l'Etat-Nation, et s'interroge sur son avenir dans le cadre de la construction européenne. La constitution d'un espace public européen invite, non à créer un 'super-état-nation' européen dont la capacité de mobilisation serait douteuse, tant l' 'identité européenne' reste problématique, mais à adapter le cadre de référence que constitue encore l'Etat-nation aux mutations économiques, technologiques, géopolitiques en cours : cela suppose l'élaboration et l'application d'un nouvel outillage juridique et mental.

- Kuzio, Taras

Ukraine : Coming to Terms with the Soviet Legacy.

JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 14, no. 4, December 1998, p. 1-27.

The seven decades of Soviet rule had both a negative and positive impact but broadly advanced the cause of Ukrainian statehood and nationhood. Tsarist Russia administered Ukraine as provinces of Russia and regarded its inhabitants as 'Little Russians', for whom a separate identity was not contemplated. The Soviet system accorded Ukraine the trappings of statehood, including UN membership, and this undoubtedly helped reinforce a distinctive identity; nevertheless, official attitudes against bourgeois nationalism meant that the flowering of Ukrainian identity could not take place in Soviet conditions; the indigenization policy of the 1920s was abandoned and replaced by suspicion and hostility towards manifestations of a Ukrainian ethnos. In the post-Soviet period, state-building is deemed to have been achieved, but the distribution of ethnic and linguistic groups on the territory of modern Ukraine means that nation-building is a continuing process.

- Lehti, Marko

Sovereignty Redefined : Baltic Cooperation and the Limits of National Self-Determination.

COOPERATION AND CONFLICT, vol. 34, no. 4, December 1999, p. 413-443.

The end of the First World War and of the Cold War can be seen as 2 ruptures of history that were accompanied by a redefinition of old practices and by the vision of a new Europe. The emergence of the 3 independent Baltic States and the idea of a Baltic Sea area were unifying factors between these 2 periods. In both cases, the emergence of new nation-states and region-building approaches has redefined the existing interpretation on sovereignty. However, it is argued in this article that while after the First World War the new states were themselves the main supporters of regional unions and of the idea of limited state sovereignty, they have been a barrier to change in the post-Cold War era. Nation-state centricity in the East has not readily mixed with new region-building efforts. Although some of the new nation-states defined their location in Europe through a Baltic Sea Region, the current Baltic Sea Region is a Western project controlling parts of the disintegrating East. As a project, it does, however, include post-modern elements and may be described as a territoriality without sovereignty.

- Maillet, Aurore

La prolifération étatique en Europe occidentale : l' Union fait-elle la force ?

REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 37, printemps 2000, p. 90-99.

Longtemps, le nationalisme a été considéré en Europe comme une idéologie dépassée et dangereuse. Pourtant, des mouvements séparatistes existent en Italie, en Espagne, au Royaume-Uni, en France et en Belgique. Il convient de ne pas les sous-estimer : ni l'espoir place dans les succès de la construction européenne, ni les souvenirs de la Seconde Guerre mondiale ne suffisent à les discréder. Loin d'appartenir au passé, la question du sécessionnisme se pose à nouveau pour un grand nombre de pays. Entre peurs de balkanisation et optimisme aveugle, l'existence de ces forces centrifuges révèle et provoque une mutation de l'Etat et des sociétés européennes. Une nouvelle forme d'organisation du territoire se dessine.

- Makinda, Samuel M.
Sovereignty and Global Security.
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 29, no. 3, September 1998, p. 281-292.

In recent years, it has been widely acknowledged that a myriad of factors - including international organizations such as the UN and the European Union, rapid developments in the technology of transport and communications, the processes of globalization, the universalization of human rights, democratization, and critical social movements - have had significant impacts on global security and sovereignty. Many studies have been done on how these factors constrain or facilitate sovereignty and security. However, there has been no serious analysis of the mutual relationship between sovereignty and security. Most analysts treat security and sovereignty as phenomena which have no intimate connections. In this article, the author argues that there is a symbiosis between sovereignty and security, and that the one cannot be realized without the other.

- Markwick, Roger D.
What Kind of State is the Russian State : if There is One ?
JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 15, no. 4, December 1999, p. 111-130.

The stalling of Russia's transition to capitalism and the apparent ineffectiveness of its presidential regime raises important questions about the nature of the Russian state and its apparatus. Paradoxically, it seems to have connived in the demise of Russia as a nation and world power and even in its own instruments of governance. To understand this self-destructive process it is necessary to look beyond the trappings of Russian democracy and focus on the apparatuses of political power. Several typologies of the Russian state have been advanced. To analyse it, however, requires not only looking at the internal dynamics of the Yeltsin regime but also locating it in the larger correlation of domestic social forces and Russia's place in the internal capitalist system.

- Mathews, Jessica T.
Power Shift.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 1, January - February 1997, p. 50-66.

The nation-state may be obsolete in an internetted world. Increasingly, the resources and threats that matter disregard governments and borders. States are sharing powers that defined their sovereignty with corporations, international bodies, and a proliferating universe of citizens groups. The bond markets must be satisfied or capital will go elsewhere. International involvement in domestic crises is a growth industry. Activists fight battles in cyberspace for every imaginable cause - and the nation-state gives in. The ramifications of this power shift will be seismic.

- Moisi, Dominique
Does the State Have a Future ?
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 2, April - June 2000, p. 7-10.

The author discusses the current 'legitimacy crisis' of the state and the widespread public dissatisfaction with politics and politicians, two closely related phenomena that have manifested themselves in a variety of forms, such as the wave of scandals that has involved prominent figures, including the former German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the massive shift of talented young professionals from the public to the private sector, and the increasingly antagonistic stance that various sectors of civil society and the entrepreneurs tend to take towards the political class. According to the author, other episodes indicate, however, that there is a general expectation that the state should provide vital public services with greater efficiency and transparency. He concludes that the objective should be neither a dismissal of the nation state nor its mere consolidation, but rather its transformation into a more modest and accountable entity, capable not only of coming to terms with the growing role played by civil society but also of fostering and taking advantage of it.

- Montbrial, Thierry de
Interventions internationales, souverainete des Etats et democratie.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 63e annee, no. 3, automne 1998, p. 549-566.

L'auteur livre, dans cet article, une reflexion theorique sur le systeme international actuel. Ce systeme se caracterise, notamment, par la remise en cause de la notion d'Etat - ce qui explique que certains cherchent a se regrouper - et par l'emergence d'une 'societe' plutot qu'une 'communaute' internationale. En attendant un hypothetique 'gouvernement mondial' que le systeme des Nations unies ne prefigure pas, de nouveaux types d'unites politiques apparaissent, dont la construction europeenne est la plus avancee. Pour l'auteur, cette evolution implique une reflexion sur la notion d'universalite, dont les Occidentaux se font les chantres.

- Pegg, Scott
The Nonproliferation of States : A Reply to Pascal Boniface.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 22, no. 2, Spring 1999, p. 139-147.

In a previous issue (Summer 1998), Pascal Boniface argued persuasively that a 'proliferation of states' constitutes one of the next big threats to global stability. Absolutely not, replies Pegg : no such trend toward global fragmentation exists, and none will emerge.

- Richmond, Oliver P.
Emerging Concepts of Security in the European Order : Implications for 'Zones of conflict' at the Fringes of the EU.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 1, Spring 2000, p. 41-67.

The broadening of definitions of security has been reflected in the conceptual development of a variety of European institutions, though a credibility gap seems to exist between their goals and objectives and their ability to take decisive action. Given the fact that the path of EU expansion has now reached into zones of instability, marred by intractable conflicts related to sovereignty, identity, development, and human rights, it is important to examine the borders as the fringes of the EU, and what their conceptual and practical significance is, both for actors already inside the union, but also for actors who are located in zones outside EU borders. It is argued here that these regions present an important challenge to the structures and norms of the EU, and to the notion of sovereignty, and raises the question of international responsibility from a variety of perspectives.

- Robert, Anne
Les aspects juridiques de la proliferation etatique.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 37, printemps 2000, p. 70-82.

La passion de decolonisation a entraine l'application effrenee du droit des peuples a disposer d'eux-memes. Face aux effets pervers de la naissance d'une myriade d'Etats nouveaux pour la sante mondiale, les membres de la communaute internationale ont rapidement verrouille ce principe destabilisateur. Afin de resister aux mutations de l'Etat, le respect de l'integrite territoriale est systematiquement privilegie dans les hypotheses de secession et de dissolution d'Etats. Signe de 'desengagement' pourtant, le droit international n'intervient que lorsque la creation d'un Etat reussit dans les faits qu'il se contente de consacrer legalement. Gage de souplesse et de pragmatisme toutefois, le droit international pose des exigences faibles et modulables pour qu'une collectivite puisse acceder a la qualite d'Etat. Sa situation instituee est desormais opposable, mais l'Etat nouveau ne pourra effectivement entrer sur la scene internationale qu'une fois reconnu par un nombre suffisant d'Etats tiers. La communaute internationale exige des garanties de stabilite et de securite. La conditionnalite croissante des reconnaissances est le moyen de lutter contre la proliferation de pseudo-Etats ne correspondant plus au modele d'Etat occidental, pacifique et democratique. Si les criteres d'efficacite et de durabilite de la nouvelle organisation etatique sont exterieurs au droit, ils ne sont pas etrangers au mecanisme de la reconnaissance internationale de l'Etat nouveau.

- Sanford, George
Belarus on the Road to Nationhood.
SURVIVAL, vol. 38, no. 1, Spring 1996, p. 131-153.

Belarus has been little studied, and it is usually dismissed as an extreme case of pro-Russian orthodoxy. President Aleskander Lukashenka, elected in July 1994, has reversed post-1991 moves towards multilateral collaboration within the Commonwealth of Independent States and has implemented authoritarian and pro-Russian policies. Geopolitical, economic and military dependence and the self-preservation efforts of the communist elite have made it even more difficult for Belarus to establish independence in the short term. Despite the historical, ethnic and linguistic reasons for the weakness of Belarussian nation-building, long-term Belarussification is in train. Belarus has a good chance to transcend its currently uncertain status and survive as an independent, multi-ethnic and multilingual state with a growing European vocation.

- Schendelen, M. P. C. M. van
De mythe van soevereiniteitsverlies in Europa.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 51, nr. 7-8, juli - augustus 1997, p. 366-371.

The author analyses the concept of sovereignty in the EU Member States. Domestically, government and parliament on the one side, and the nation on the other can no longer be defined as sovereign elements, as domestic policy is composed of a mixture of multa politica elements. This much more complicated and interdependent system also clearly defines the concept within the EU, especially after 1987 when decision making in the Union partly transferred from the intergovernmental to the supranational level. In other words, when Eurosceptics state that their nations lose their national sovereignty, they are not losing self-determination influence, but merely the myth they ever possessed sovereignty at all.

- Scholte, Jan Aart
Global Capitalism and the State.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 73, no. 3, July 1997, p. 427-452.

'Globalization' is a term that has come to be used in recent years increasingly frequently and, arguably, increasingly loosely. In a close analysis of the term, the author focuses on the concept of globalization as the transcendence (rather than the mere crossing or opening) of borders arguing that this interpretation offers the most distinctive and helpful insight into contemporary world affairs. The article goes on to explore one of the key questions raised by this trend, namely, how the growth of suprateritorial space has altered capitalism in general, and the role of the state within capitalism in particular. The author concludes by suggesting that if globalization poses a threat, it is not (as is often argued) to the state itself, but rather to democracy.

- Schrijver, N. J.
Begrenste soevereiniteit : 350 jaar na de Vrede van Munster.
TRANSAKTIE, jg. 27, nr. 2, 1998, p. 141-174.

1648, het jaar van de Vrede van Munster, wordt wel aangeduid als 'het geboortejaar van de soevereine staat'. 350 jaar later doen zich evenwel allerlei uitdagingen voor aan de nationale soevereiniteit als leidend beginsel in de organisatie van onze internationale sameleving. Ook wordt regelmatig het einde bezongen van de soevereine staat. Na een terugblik op de betekenis van de Vrede van Munster wordt in dit artikel stilgestaan bij het wezen van de soevereiniteit in het volkenrecht. Aan de hand van een zevental maatstaven wordt vervolgens de mate van eventuele begrenzing van soevereiniteit bepaald op een aantal concrete rechtsterreinen, waarin het hart van het moderne volkenrecht klopt : ontwapening, milieubeheer, buitenlandse investeringen, en vrede en veiligheid. Daarbij gaat het onder meer om de vragen wat de invloed van internationale waarden is en wat de rol van internationale organisaties en de toepasselijkheid van internationale procedures voor geschillenbeslechting zijn. De auteur's conclusie luidt dat nationale soevereiniteit anno 1998 sterk verschilt van die van 1648 en meer begrensd is, maar dat het luiden van de

doodsklok voor dit rechtsbeginsel en het wegkwijnen van de nationale staat niet aan de orde zijn.

- Schrijver, Nino

Soevereiniteit versus humaniteit ? : het hek raakt van de dam.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 5, mei 2000, p. 227-231.

The author states that the concept of humanitarian intervention touches the core of statutory international law. The question is how to deal with the situation in which the basic principles of humanitarian law, i.e., state sovereignty, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states and the prohibition of the use of force no longer seem to correspond with our world developing into an international community, the growing importance of universal human rights and the duty of all states individually as well as in cooperation with other states to terminate gross violations of these rights. In short : sovereignty versus humanity. The author concludes, however, that sovereignty, perceived as a principle of organisation, for the realisation of internationally agreed objectives, norms and values, even is essential for the realisation of the universal value of humanity.

- Soetendorp, Ben

Hanf, Ken
De aanpassing van kleine staten aan de Europese Unie : over bureaucratie, diplomatie, beleid en macht.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 51, nr. 3, maart 1997, p. 141-145.

The authors raise the question as to whether small states have much/anything to say about the course of further integration. To answer this question, they draw on the findings of a research project on the extent to which the smaller Member States have adapted administratively, politically and strategically to the complex process of Europeanization of public policy making. They conclude that in handling the new requirements of EC/EU membership governmental adjustments were made in an incremental way, building upon traditions and arrangements that were already in place. They also indicate that the political commitment to European integration as such has weakened or was absent from the beginning, and warn against the danger that governmental leaders may be too far in front of both the general public and other societal actors. They argue that the small Member States still have a long way to go in developing an appropriate strategy to operate effectively in the new context within which they must act in both the definition and pursuit of national interests under conditions of Europeanization.

- Stivachtis, Yannis A.

Weak States and National Security : Implications for State Policy in the Balkans.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 37. Jg., Heft 5, September - Oktober 1999, S. 555-566.

The purpose of this article is twofold. Firstly, it attempts to show how the socio-political strength of a state relates to its security. This may help to understand why the creation of socio-politically strong states in the Balkans is a precondition for national security and development as well as regional and international stability. Secondly, it discusses the implications of state policy to the region. Policy ramifications are equally important for regional and extra-regional states.

- Szporluk, Roman

Ukraine : From an Imperial Periphery to a Sovereign State.
DAEDALUS, vol. 126, no. 3, Summer 1997, p. 85-119.

- Thual, Francois
Le siecle des separatismes.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 37, printemps 2000, p. 65-69.

La simple comparaison du nombre d'Etats existant en 1914 avec celui d'aujourd'hui conduit à tirer la conclusion que le XXe est celui des separatismes. Les empires se sont effondrés, laissant la place à une multitude d'entités étatiques aux caractéristiques relativement différentes et à la viabilité, politique et économique, aléatoire pour certaines. Cette recomposition, qui peut s'expliquer par des facteurs à la fois endogène - l'identitaire et l'économique - et exogène - rôle des grandes puissances -, nous conduit à nous interroger sur les conséquences de tels mouvements sur la paix et la stabilité de la planète. Entre intégration régionale et désintégration nationale, la question reste ouverte. Et si des éléments de prospective restent cependant possibles, il n'en demeure pas moins que la géopolitique n'a pas l'ambition de déterminer des lois à valeur prédictive, ce qui tend incertain et complexe l'évolution du processus de prolifération étatique.

- Wilde, J. H. de
Soevereiniteit en het Moderne Statensysteem : de toekomst van een mythe.
TRANSKTIE, jg. 27, nr. 4, 1998, p. 441-468.

In dit artikel wordt getracht de mythe van de "Westfaalse" soevereiniteit overeind te houden door haar lek te prikken. De aanleiding ertoe is de 350-jarige herdenking van de Vrede van Westfalen. Nadat de context van 1648 geschetst is, wordt de Westfaalse soevereiniteit afgezet tegen de imperiale soevereiniteit. Vervolgens worden drie dimensions van de Westfaalse systeem ooit uit werkelijk onafhankelijke, soevereiniteit staten heeft bestaan. Het Realistische beeld van het biljartbalmodel is van meet af aan een empirisch onhoudbaar idéalbeeld geweest en de Pluralistische verwachting dat de soevereiniteit staat zal verdwijnen vanwege de mondialisering is daardoor al even onjuist. Aldus wordt betoogd dat soevereiniteit nog steeds centraal staat in het denken over internationale betrekkingen. Tot slot wordt beargumenteerd dat dit zelfs binnen de Europese Unie nog steeds het geval is.

- Woodward, Susan L.
Failed States : Warlordism and 'Tribal' Warfare.
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 52, no. 2, Sequence 366, Spring 1999, p. 55-68.
- Yacoub, Joseph
Minorités nationales et prolifération étatique.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 37, printemps 2000, p. 83-89.

Les mouvements revendicatifs minoritaires se multiplient aujourd'hui à travers le monde et menacent le fondement même des Etats. Pour comprendre ce phénomène et ce qu'il annonce, il faut prendre la mesure du retournement historique qu'il recouvre : après un long mouvement d'unification qui conduit au triomphe de l'Etat-nation au XXe siècle, le XXIe sera sans doute celui de sa fragmentation. Plus précisément, le modèle de l'Etat-nation homogénéisant et le centralisme étatique paraissent maintenant anachroniques car l'effort d'intégration oppose à l'émettement cède désormais le pas à la différenciation. Ce véritable 'tournant historique', paradoxalement contemporain d'un mouvement inverse de globalisation, impose donc un bouleversement du concept d'Etat-nation, la reconnaissance de la divisibilité du pouvoir d'Etat et de l'autonomie en son sein : il faut penser de nouvelles formes d'organisation hiérarchique. L'ambiguité des solutions retenues pour le Kosovo laisse cependant présager les difficultés d'une telle tâche.

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