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PART I : BOOKS

PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

2003

49 /00142

The Debate on NATO's Evolution : A Guide - Washington : Center for Strategic and International Studies.

viii, 66 p.; 28 cm.

(CSIS Report)

ISBN: 0892064285

Author(s):

1. Assenova, Margarita

Subject(s):

1. NATO
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. NATO--CEE
4. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

'The CSIS Eastern Europe Project is engaged in the transformation process in several parts of Central and Southeast Europe. The project is additionally engaged in an ongoing analysis of broader political trends encompassing 20 states and aspiring states in Eastern Europe, including the political and security impact of NATO and European Union enlargement. The Eastern Europe Project launched an innovative initiative on the extensive debate on NATO's evolution. The initiative began shortly after NATO's Washington summit in April 1999, which was held at a critical time, in the middle of NATO's first military campaign against Serbia, and in the midst of major decisions on alliance enlargement and NATO's evolving mission in a new security environment. The CSIS initiative on NATO's evolution was designed to address the question of enlargement and institutional adaptation by promoting dialogue and informed decisionmaking on issues essential to US national interests and European security. This guide provides an overview of the ongoing debate through condensed descriptions outlining the key factors in NATO's evolution since the early 1990s. It serves as a general guide to the various texts, positions, and arguments contained in the voluminous materials that are systematically compiled in the CSIS NATO Debate Database. The guide helps to frame many of the issues that have confronted the alliance.'

ID number: 80018878

Year: 2003

* This list contains material received as of July 13th, 2005 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 13 juillet 2005.

495.3 /00089

The Future of Transcaspian Security - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vii, 40 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584870958

Author(s):

1. Blank, Stephen J.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
4. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS
5. FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
6. CASPIAN SEA REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
7. CAUCASUS--NATIONAL SECURITY
8. NATO--FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS

Added entry(s):

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

Notes:

'The new agreements between NATO and Russia and between the United States and Russia create opportunities for strengthening bilateral and multilateral military activities throughout the former Soviet Union. These could embrace all the militaries of the former Soviet Union and not only enhance military security in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), but also foster military-political integration with the West and possibly defense reform in all or at least some of the CIS regimes. Most importantly, Russia is pledged to cooperate in these activities. This monograph explores the unprecedented opportunities that are now before the United States and recommends actions that the Government and armed forces, especially, but not only the US Army, should undertake to consolidate and extend the newly emerging military partnership and cooperative security regime that are now developing. Because the opportunities being presented to the United States and NATO were never possible before to this degree, the proper way to exploit them will become a subject of debate.'

ID number: 80018163

Year: 2002

495.3 /00086

NATO and Russia : Bridge-Building for the 21st Century - Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.

37 p. : ill; 30 cm.

(White Paper ; WP-128-NSRD/RC)

ISBN: 0833031910

Author(s):

1. Hunter, Robert E.
2. Rogov, Sergey M.
3. Olikier, Olga

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.rand.org/publications/WP/WP128/WP128.pdf>> accessed 02/08/02.

Report of the Working Group on NATO-Russia Relations.

'The new NATO-Russia Council - and the broader relationship - can and should be organized to promote greater stability, take into account other European states' interests, promote joint decisionmaking, and pursue a practical agenda of common tasks both in Europe and beyond.'

ID number: 80018076

2000

495.3 /00066

Russia Faces NATO Expansion : Bearing Gifts or Bearing Arms ? - Lanham, MD : Rowman & Littlefield.

xi, 263 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0847698661

Author(s):

1. Black, J. L.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 245-251. Includes index.

'The immediate and long-term importance of Russian thinking about NATO expansion eastward has been badly underestimated in the West. Indeed, most Western analysis has striven to provide justification for the West's policy of enlarging the alliance rather than examining its potential drawbacks. Although the NATO issue has been articulated primarily by the Russian elite, it has manifested itself in a rising reservoir of ill-will toward the West that cannot be ignored. In this book the author seeks to remedy that oversight by a thorough examination of Russian official statements, expert analysis, party platforms, and media commentary. Taken together, they show the degree to which NATO expansion has brought a rare unity to the otherwise fragmented and volatile Russian political arena. The author first provides a detailed account of Russian reactions to NATO's plans since the early 1990s. He then analyzes how the NATO question shapes Russian strategic thinking, military reforms, and election campaigning, and how it affects Moscow's relationship with Ukraine, the Baltic States, China, and the CIS. Crises in Yugoslavia and Iraq are used as case studies. Based entirely on Russian-language sources, this timely study provides invaluable insights into current Russian thinking on NATO expansion and projects the significance of such thinking for the Western Alliance into the future.'

ID number: 80016637

Year: 2000

1999

495.3 /00067

The First Anniversary of the NATO-Russia Founding Act : Appraisal and Outlook - Moscow.

257 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 5248013291

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. Russian Academy of Sciences (SU)
2. Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences (SU)
3. NATO Office of Information and Press

Notes:

'An international conference was held in Moscow on June 1998 to mark the first anniversary of the NATO-Russia Founding Act. The Conference was jointly organized by the INION RAN and the NATO Office of Information and Press; it was a part of the 1998 Working Plan of the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council. Civilian and military experts and academics from NATO countries and Russia reviewed during this conference the achievements of the first year of NATO-Russia cooperation and discussed such important problems like putting the Founding Act into practice, formation of a new European security system, peacekeeping, civilian emergency planning and other non-military aspects of

cooperation, perspectives for the development of relations
between NATO and Russia.'

ID number: 80016873

Year: 1999

1997

495.3 /00040

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

viii, 69 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Blank, Stephen J.

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)

Notes:

'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.'

ID number: 80014529

Year: 1997

495.3 /00037

Russland und die Osterweiterung der NATO : Herausforderung fur die
russische Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik - Zurich : Forschungsstelle
fur Sicherheitspolitik und Konfliktanalyse.

130 p.; 30 cm.

(Zurcher Beitrage zur Sicherheitspolitik und Konfliktforschung ; 43)

ISBN: 3905641526

Author(s):

1. Wenger, Andreas
2. Perovic, Jeronim

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. Forschungsstelle fur Sicherheitspolitik und Konfliktanalyse
(CH)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 121-130.

ID number: 80014356

Year: 1997

495.3 /00036

Russian-NATO Relations in the European Security Environment - Moscow :

[s.n.].

114 p.; 21 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Mazing, Valeri, ed.

ID number: 80014224

Year: 1996

PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES

DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES**

2005

Russia-NATO : Toward a New Stage of Interaction ?.
(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 51, no. 1, 2005, p. 34-42.)
Author(s):
1. Kelin, Andrey
Subject(s):
1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ID Number: JA021554
Year: 2005
Language: English

2004

Attitude to NATO Expansion : Calmly Negative.
(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 50, no. 1, 2004, p. 17-25.)
Author(s):
1. Kelin, Andrei
Subject(s):
1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
ID Number: JA020251
Year: 2004
Language: English

NATO : New Anti-Terrorist Organization ?.
(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 50, no. 3, 2004, p. 22-26.)
Author(s):
1. Kuznetsova, Ekaterina
Subject(s):
1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ID Number: JA020673
Year: 2004
Language: English

NATO-Russia Relations : Present and Future.
(CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 25, no. 3, December 2004, p. 479-497.)
Author(s):
1. Polikanov, Dimitry
Subject(s):
1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Notes:
NATO relations with Russia have seemed to develop in ups and downs throughout their entire history. But even at the stages of cooperation they have followed the 'one step forward, two steps back' formula. Moscow's relations with the alliance have always been hostage to inner processes of transformation of both parties, the micro-vectors of which have not necessarily coincided all the time. This article analyses the principal differences between Russia and NATO in the recent past and lessons learnt from these contradictions. It then characterizes the current status of relations and the impediments to deeper cooperation, including lack of trust and interoperability. As for the future, the author maintains that NATO-Russia relations have reached a certain ceiling and may stay like this for

** This list contains material received as of July 13th, 2005 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 13 juillet 2005.

years, unless the parties break through this roof of inherited insults, lack of confidence, complacency and obsession with their own inner developments. Only this will help them to meet together the security challenges of the twenty-first century.

ID Number: JA021500

Year: 2004

Language: English

A NATO-Russia Contingency Command.

(PARAMETERS, vol. 34, no. 1, Spring 2004, p. 89-103.)

Author(s):

1. Zwack, Peter B.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The author advocates the establishment of a combined NATO and Russian military force to meet the challenges of the post-9/11 world. He cites the continuing threat of transnational terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to call for a NATO-Russian force based on the 'NATO-Russia Contingency Command' first suggested in 1996. The author analyzes and refutes each of the many arguments against the establishment of such a force and determines that now is the time for NATO and Russia to take the next major military step in their maturing relationship : the establishment of a NATO-Russia Contingency Command based in Russia.

ID Number: JA020140

Year: 2004

Language: English

2003

Building Hope on Experience.

(NATO REVIEW, Autumn 2003, 4 p., accessed 22/04/04.)

Author(s):

1. Fritch, Paul

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 helped persuade decision-makers in both NATO member states and Russia that they had an interest in a broad rapprochement. Given earlier false dawns for NATO-Russia relations, it still took a leap of faith from both sides to form in May 2002 the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), a body where NATO members and Russia could meet as equal partners to discuss and develop areas of common interests, assuming the same rights and the same responsibilities for implementation of decisions. The NRC took on an ambitious agenda and has racked up an impressive array of achievements in its first 18 months. But it still has a long way to go to achieve its full promise. Many in the West continue to view Russia with an almost instinctive suspicion, and many in Russia continue to harbour fears about NATO's intentions. Nevertheless, NATO and Russia share an interest in spreading peace and prosperity and individual differences and historic rivalries are gradually yielding to a broader spirit of partnership.

ID Number: JA020379

Year: 2003

Language: English

NATO-Russia Relations after 11 September.

(JOURNAL OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN AND BLACK SEA STUDIES, vol. 3, no. 3, September 2003, p. 28-54.)

Author(s):

1. Hunter, Robert E.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

11 September 2001. This date has already entered international parlance as a single set of numbers that needs no further explanation : '9-11'. The shock to the United States was also a shock to the international system, to a degree and in a way that is still not entirely apparent. One immediate result of 11 September was a change in Russian policy toward the United States and - eventually - to NATO. This change, which is described and analyzed in this article, may prove to be only tactical - a set of moves by Russian President Vladimir Putin to take advantage of circumstances; or it may prove to be of strategic significance : presaging a more lasting Russian engagement with the West, its powers, and its institutions. To assess the possibility of such a more lasting engagement, it is first necessary to understand what has happened in Russia's relationship with the West and - in particular for this article - the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

ID Number: JA019957

Year: 2003

Language: English

NATO : The Only West That Russia Has ?.

(DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 11, no. 2, Spring 2003, p. 229-269.)

Author(s):

1. Straus, Ira

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

2. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS

ID Number: JA019379

Year: 2003

Language: English

2002

Russia in NATO ?.

(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 95-103.)

Author(s):

1. Baker, James A.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

The former U.S. secretary of state argues that Russia should be eligible to apply for NATO admission, with a firm commitment to membership if and when Russia has substantially satisfied five explicit criteria.

ID Number: JA017525

Year: 2002

Language: English

Le role de la Russie dans la securite europeenne.

(COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, no. 1025, mai 2002, p. 31-38.)

Author(s):

1. Chillaud, Matthieu
2. Facon, Isabelle

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. EU--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

Comment associer la Russie a l'architecture de la securite europeenne ? Si, durant toute la decennie 1990, cette question est restee en suspens, notamment en raison des tensions entre Moscou et l'OTAN et des reticences de l'UE a etendre le champ du dialogue au domaine securitaire, elle a pris un certain relief avec l'arrivee au pouvoir de V. Poutine et, plus encore, avec les evenements du 11 septembre. Apres avoir tente de contenir l'influence de l'Alliance atlantique en proposant d'abord de faire de l'OSCE le pivot d'une securite paneuropeenne, puis en manifestant un interet croissant pour la construction de la Politique europeenne de securite et de defense (PESD), la Russie a pris conscience qu'une attitude plus amene a l'egard de l'OTAN servirait mieux ses interets. De leur cote, les pays occidentaux s'accordent a la reconnaitre, depuis les attentats contre les Etats-Unis, comme un partenaire majeur dans la prevention des nouvelles menaces pesant sur la planete. De nouveaux mecanismes de cooperation ont ete mis en place, comme des reunions mensuelles entre Moscou et l'UE et le 'Conseil a 20', OTAN-Russie. Meme si la veritable portee de ces changements institutionnels suscite un certain scepticisme dans ce pays, il n'en reste pas moins qu'ils lui permettent de s'ancrer plus solidement dans le jeu de la securite europeenne et, partant, sur la scene internationale.

ID Number: JA018186

Year: 2002

Language: French

Russia and NATO toward the Twenty-First Century : Conflicts and Peacekeeping in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo.

(JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 15, no. 2, June 2002, p. 1-58.)

Author(s):

1. Cross, Sharyl

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. KOSOVO (SERBIA)--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The new Russian-NATO relationship plunged to the lowest point during NATO's 78 day Kosovo air campaign in Spring 1999. Despite the difficulties at the political level, the analysis suggests that Russia's participation in joint peacekeeping with US/NATO forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina (IFOR/SFOR) and Kosovo (KFOR) stand as perhaps the most encouraging aspect of the contemporary Russian-NATO relationship. These successes in peacekeeping tended to be overshadowed by the serious strains between Russia and NATO in developing a response to the implosion of Yugoslavia. While such practical cooperation between Russia and NATO can contribute to eroding the barriers of the past and to the development of a constructive relationship for the twenty-first century, these military-to-military accomplishments cannot shape broader Russian-NATO strategic priorities. The article concludes with examination of Moscow's post-mortem assessments on Kosovo and evaluation of prospects for the future of the Russian-NATO relationship in the aftermath of the Yugoslav experience.

ID Number: JA018584

Year: 2002
Language: English

New Beginnings.

(NATO REVIEW, Summer 2002, 3 p., accessed 05/09/02.)

Author(s):

1. Fritch, Paul

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The author assesses the prospects of the new NATO-Russia Council.

ID Number: JA018231

Year: 2002

Language: English

Rusland, de NAVO en het Westen : nieuwe verwachtingen, oude illusies.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 56, nr. 10, oktober 2002, p. 507-510.)

Author(s):

1. Gerrits, Andre

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The author analyses merits and drawbacks of the creation of the new NATO-Russia Council at the Rome Summit in May 2002 and compares new expectations of relations between Russia, NATO and the West with old illusions. He gives attention to the main features of the declaration as to peacekeeping, counter proliferation and a common approach to terrorism. Due to the powerful forces of revisionism in Russia both Putin and the West have to reckon with uncertainty and insecurity.

ID Number: JA018405

Year: 2002

Language: Dutch

On the New Quality of Russia-NATO Relations.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 48, no. 5, 2002, p. 23-30.)

Author(s):

1. Grushko, A.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA018523

Year: 2002

Language: English

U-Turns in Russia-NATO Relations.

(PERSPECTIVES, no. 17, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 68-79.)

Author(s):

1. Polikanov, Dimitrij

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

ID Number: JA017769

Year: 2002

Language: English

A New Quality in the NATO-Russia Relationship.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 48, no. 1, 2002, p. 32-37.)

Author(s):

1. Robertson, George

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA017721

Year: 2002

Language: English

A Bumpy Road to an Unknown Destination ? NATO-Russia Relations, 1991-2002.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 11, no. 4, Winter 2002, p. 59-77.)

Author(s):

1. Smith, Martin A.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

Relations between NATO and Russia have evolved through six distinct phases since December 1991. An initial 'honeymoon' in 1991-93 was followed by deterioration. This was temporarily arrested in 1996-97 by NATO upgrading its institutional links with Russia. The relationship was severely tested during the Kosovo crisis in early 1999. Relations were not severed, however, and a gradual rebuilding occurred from the summer of 1999. The impact of 11 september 2001, finally, has been limited. Since 1991, the development of NATO-Russia relations has been uneven. Overall objectives have not been identified by either side. Nevertheless, an underlying stability has become apparent in the relationship.

ID Number: JA019609

Year: 2002

Language: English

L'elargissement de l'OTAN vu de Moscou.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 2, avril - juin 2002, p. 377-393.)

Author(s):

1. Trenin, Dimitri

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

En se rangeant aux cotes des Etats-Unis dans la lutte antiterroriste au lendemain des attentats du 11 septembre, le president Poutine a modifie la donne en ce qui concerne l'avenir de l'OTAN. Certes, le premier elargissement de l'Alliance, qui a accueilli la Pologne, la Hongrie et la Republique tcheque, avait eu un impact negatif sur les relations entre la Russie et l'Occident, ouvrant la voie a un desaccord profond, proche de la confrontation, a propos de la crise du Kosovo. Mais dans les deux cas, Moscou n'a pas eu gain de cause. Tirant les lecons de cet echec, la Russie, sans etre favorable a la poursuite de l'elargissement de l'OTAN, a concentre ses efforts sur la candidature des trois Etats baltes. Poutine a voulu eviter que cette question n'affecte sa politique de rapprochement a l'Ouest, compensant la perspective d'une avancee de l'Alliance vers la Baltique par des succes politiques en Ukraine, en Moldavie et dans d'autres pays de la CEI. Mais, dans le nouveau contexte strategique ouvert par le 11 septembre, l'enjeu pourrait bien etre de faire de la Russie un veritable allie de l'Occident en achevant son integration dans les structures de securite de l'apres-guerre froide.

ID Number: JA018057

Year: 2002

Language: French

Silence of the Bear.

(NATO REVIEW, Spring 2002, 3 p., accessed 05/09/02.)

Author(s):

1. Trenin, Dmitri

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The author analyses the reasons for the lack of vociferous Russian opposition to the prospect of NATO's next round of enlargement.

ID Number: JA018224

Year: 2002

Language: English

The Agenda Before NATO and Russia.

(DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 10, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 528-543.)

Author(s):

1. Valasek, Tomas

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA018610

Year: 2002

Language: English

2001

NATO in Russia's Relations with the West.

(SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 32, no. 3, September 2001, p. 281-296.)

Author(s):

1. MacFarlane, S. Neil

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

In the rapidly changing arena of post-Wall geopolitics, NATO has proved to be the most dynamic actor, claiming for itself a significant role in regional security throughout Europe. Regardless of how one might judge NATO in terms of legitimacy, legality and international norms and laws, it has unmistakably overshadowed the OSCE, the UN and the EU in terms of its capacity for assertive action, as witnessed in the Balkans. However, this newly forefronted efficacy is at odds with the nascent post-Cold War security identity of the Russian Federation. Indeed, the new prominence of NATO only underscores its inadequacies as an anchoring-point for Western security architecture. The change in NATO's world prominence has even led to an impoverished awareness of the changing state of Russia. This article presents the new NATO-Russian security picture, analyses its dynamics and presents proposals for reform of the institutional structures concerned. It argues that NATO's ability to fulfil a regionwide security role is questionable under current arrangements. In particular, its exclusive membership policy not only leads to an explicit marginalizing of the Russian Federation, but also puts into question the Alliance's legitimacy as a regional security institution.

ID Number: JA017056

Year: 2001

Language: English

Towards a New Strategic Partnership.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 49, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 19-21.)

Author(s):

1. Matser, Willem

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The author examines NATO-Russia relations in the wake of 11 September and the prospects for improved cooperation.

ID Number: JA017294

Year: 2001

Language: English

Russia and NATO : Implacable Partners.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 5, October 2001, p. 27-31.)

Author(s):

1. Polikanov, Dimitry

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA017085

Year: 2001

Language: English

Western Common Homes and Russian National Identities : How Far East Can the EU and NATO Go, and Where Does That Leave Russia ?.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 10, no. 4, Winter 2001, p. 1-44.)

Author(s):

1. Straus, Ira

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS

2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

3. EU--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

4. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

5. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

This article examines the dual problem of Russia's international identity and its integration with the West, looking at it from first the Eastern then the Western side. It argues that a Westernist state identity would be sustainable for Russia only if accompanied by integration with the Euro-Atlantic institutions, and that in some respects the prospects for this are not as bad as usually thought : Russia is in fact in the process of entering most of the minor institutions of the Atlantic system. However, NATO and the EU are the decisive institutions, and here Russia has fared poorly. Neither side conceptualizes NATO in a way that would lead to Russian entry. NATO affirms that Russia is eligible to join when it meets the conditions, but few people on either side believe it : the conditions were conceptualized for including only small countries, not Russia. The inertia of mutual counter-position remains strong. Many in NATO circles have raised a series of objections to ever including Russia, ranging from a visceral belief that NATO needs to have Russia as its external enemy to a more specific fear of a Russian veto power; and NATO has yet to undertake to make its decision-making arrangements more flexible, as would be necessary in order to address the fear of vetoes. In theory the obstacles could be overcome in the present period; in practice this does not seem likely. Presently Russia is instead speaking mainly of uniting with the EU, yet this has even fewer prospects : the EU is too small to take in a large Russia. The failure to find a substantial Western institutional home for Russia has meant, and is likely to continue to mean, undermining the viability of the recurrent attempts at a Westernist identity for Russia.

ID Number: JA017613

Year: 2001

Language: English

Great Expectations.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 49, Spring 2001, p. 24-27.)

Author(s):

1. Zagorski, Andrei

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The author examines the thaw in NATO-Russia relations.

ID Number: JA016477

Year: 2001

Language: English

2000

The New NATO and Relations with Russia.

(JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 23, no. 3, September 2000, p. 92-110.)

Author(s):

1. Frye, Alton

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The promise of constructive NATO-Russia relations remains in jeopardy, prejudiced by friction over the alliance's expansion, its intervention in the Balkans, and Moscow's perception that its interests are being disregarded. On a host of issues, from stability in Europe to the maintenance of effective arms control regimes and management of regional crises beyond the Continent, cooperative working arrangements with Russia are vital. To assure such cooperation NATO should make clear that it is open to Russian membership, priority should go to EU expansion, and the US should pursue joint defenses with Russia against potential ballistic missile threats.

ID Number: JA015851

Year: 2000

Language: English

Solving Russia : Final Piece in NATO's Puzzle.

(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 23, no. 1, Winter 2000, p. 115-134.)

Author(s):

1. Hunter, Robert

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

Long-term hopes for Russia's, and ultimately Europe's, success rest on crafting an overall set of policies, approaches, and engagements with public and private sectors in Russia - not just on its relationships with NATO.

ID Number: JA014974

Year: 2000

Language: English

The Kremlin and NATO : Prospects for Interaction.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 3, 2000, p. 12-20.)

Author(s):

1. Kozin, V.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA015522

Year: 2000

Language: English

NATO's Triple Challenge.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 3, July 2000, p. 495-518.)

Subject(s):

1. NATO
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

NATO's future is again the subject of speculation and debate despite its having fought a recent and apparently successful war in Kosovo. This article proposes that there are three aspects to this challenge. First, NATO is facing a series of dilemmas in its relations with non-members : how should it manage relations with Russia, and with the applicants for membership ? The authors argue that NATO should seek to develop a consolidationist posture. The second challenge is that of developing an EU-NATO partnership in the light of the Helsinki Headline Goals. This, it is proposed, can be developed through a division of labour. The third task, that of military restructuring, is overshadowed by the complexities of processing a working European military structure. In conclusion, the authors suggest that a strategy for the alliance, a key component of the Cold War, but subsequently lost, can be refashioned from the above elements.

ID Number: JA016163

Year: 2000

Language: English

Geopolitics vs. Idealism : International Political Communication in the NATO Enlargement Debate.

(PERSPECTIVES, no. 15, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 5-15.)

Author(s):

1. Tchantouridze, Lasha

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

In this paper the author tries to demonstrate how and why political communication between NATO and Russia should be so strained today.

ID Number: JA016105

Year: 2000

Language: English

Russia-NATO Relations : Time to Pick up the Pieces.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 48, Spring - Summer 2000, p. 19-22.)

Author(s):

1. Trenin, Dmitri

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The fragile relationship between Russia and NATO was dealt a severe blow by differences over Kosovo, But, taking a pragmatic look at how to pick up the pieces, the author argues that their relations have been deeply troubled ever since the Founding Act on Mutual Relations was signed in Paris in 1997. The alliance was perhaps too confident of its ability to admit new members from central Europe, while at the same time consolidating and institutionalising its dialogue with Russia. Russia's leaders were torn between vehement opposition to NATO enlargement and a general willingness to cooperate with the West.

ID Number: JA015165

Year: 2000

Language: English

From Alliance to Security Community : NATO, Russia, and the Power of Identity.

(MILLENNIUM, vol. 29, no. 2, 2000, p. 357-387.)

Author(s):

1. Williams, Michael C.
2. Neumann, Iver B.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

Focusing on relations between NATO and Russia surrounding the Alliance's decision to enlarge, this paper develops a theory of symbolic power that highlights the relationship between identities, narrative structures, institutions, and legitimate action in the construction of security policy. The authors demonstrate that such a theory provides a significant contribution to analysing the role of NATO in post-Cold War security, to understanding the evolution of NATO-Russia relations, to assessing the 'promise' of international institutions as a means of structuring security relations, as well as highlighting forms of power at work in the social construction of 'security communities'.

ID Number: JA015667

Year: 2000

Language: English

1999

Russia, NATO and European Security after Kosovo.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 41, no. 4, Winter 1999 - 2000, p. 124-144.)

Author(s):

1. Antonenko, Oksana

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. KOSOVO (SERBIA)--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1998-1999

Notes:

NATO's air campaign against Yugoslavia precipitated the most dangerous turn in Russian-Western relations since the early 1980s. Although tensions have eased since the end of the Kosovo war, the anger and suspicion engendered on the Russian side will not easily dissipate. The anger will endure not least because the Russian reaction had little to do with the Serb-Kosovar conflict itself, and much more to do with Russia's growing unease about NATO's post-Cold War transformation : its enlargement and pretensions to act beyond the territory of its members without an explicit UN mandate. Repairing relations will require political realism in Russia, the absence of a major new crisis in Kosovo, and restraint from NATO.

ID Number: JA014743

Year: 1999

Language: English

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

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

Author(s):

1. Black, J. L.

Subject(s):

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

ID Number: JA014284

Year: 1999

Language: English

NATO and the Russian Federation in the New Europe : The Founding Act on Mutual Relations.

(JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 15, no. 2, June 1999, p. 88-110.)

Author(s):

1. Carr, Fergus
2. Flenley, Paul

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

The end of the cold war led to a new European order in which a new security agenda has emerged embracing issues wider than the old military perspectives. NATO has sought to respond to the new order by moving towards concepts of dialogue and cooperation with former opponents in the form of such programmes as Partnership for Peace. The countries of central and eastern Europe, however, have sought full NATO membership as a more concrete guarantee of future security. NATO enlargement became official NATO policy, justified by the idea of promoting stability in central and eastern Europe and as a reflection of NATO's new perception of itself within a post-cold war security architecture. Russian opposition to NATO enlargement has been motivated by fears of NATO exploitation of Russian weakness, loss of strategic positions to NATO and exclusion from Europe. The Founding Act on Mutual Relations was proposed by NATO to overcome Russian concerns and create a new partnership with Russia. Debate has continued within Russia about whether this has actually strengthened Russia's position in its dealings with the West. Fears remain about a further round of NATO expansion into the former Soviet Union which, it is said, would put an end to any existing partnership. Russia is not only redefining its own security agenda in the post-Soviet period but also defining its own broader identity and foreign-policy interests. Western policy makers should not always simply assume that Russia will continue to support a security architecture that primarily accords with the West's agenda.

ID Number: JA014620

Year: 1999

Language: English

Escaping the Enlargement Trap in NATO-Russian Relations.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 41, no. 4, Winter 1999 - 2000, p. 145-164.)

Author(s):

1. Dannreuther, Roland

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

In 1999, the Atlantic Alliance asserted its absolute primacy in European security affairs, successfully reversing ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, admitting three new members from Central Europe and unveiling a New Strategic Doctrine. Yet the challenge of Russia's unremitting opposition to NATO remains. This situation is serious not so much because Russia can threaten Western interests directly, but because of the negative impact that continued confrontation with NATO has on Russia's domestic political evolution. For the West to construct a more cooperative and constructive political and security relationship with Russia, other organisations ought to assume greater prominence - most notably the European Union, but also the UN and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. It is also the UN and the West's nor in Russia's interests for NATO to enlarge further eastwards.

ID Number: JA014744

Year: 1999

Language: English

Dialogues of Manoeuvre and Entanglement : NATO, Russia, and the CEECs.
(MILLENNIUM, vol. 28, no. 1, 1999, p. 27-52.)

Author(s):

1. Fierke, K. M.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--CENTRAL EUROPE
3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

Dialogue has become a central feature of post-Cold War NATO discourse as well as a concept for theoretical exploration in International Relations. This article explores the role of NATO's dialogue with its former adversaries in constructing post-Cold War security relations in Europe. The theoretical argument builds on two concepts : a 'language of manoeuvre', as used by Hollis and Smith, and the Wittgensteinian notion of being 'entangled' in our language. These insights are applied to an analysis of interactions between NATO, Russia, and the Central Eastern European countries over a six-year period. While accepting that NATO may have had an instrumental goal in encouraging dialogue, once engaged in the process, Alliance manoeuvres, including the decision to expand, were circumscribed and shaped at any given point in time by its entanglement in conflicting promises to others.

ID Number: JA014099

Year: 1999

Language: English

Russia-NATO Relations after the Kosovo Crisis : Strategic Implications.
(JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 12, no. 3, September 1999,
p. 1-17.)

Author(s):

1. Gobarev, Viktor

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. KOSOVO (SERBIA)--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1998-1999--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

This essay explores the strategic (geopolitical, geostrategic, political-military, military, international, theater security, and military-technical) aspects of Russian-NATO relations. Within this context, it focuses primarily on the Russian perspective and policy on the matter and, where relevant, highlights the different views and attitudes toward NATO of the Russian government, parliament (Duma), opposition political parties and forces, the military establishment, and the general public.

ID Number: JA014731

Year: 1999

Language: English

Russia's Changing View of NATO.
(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 144, no. 1, February - March 1999, p. 29-31.)

Author(s):

1. Isakova, Irina

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

ID Number: JA013841

Year: 1999

Language: English

NATO-Russia Cooperation in Air Defence.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 47, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 17.)

Author(s):

1. Laan, Luc van der

Subject(s):

1. AIR DEFENSES--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. AIR DEFENSES--NATO
3. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

Last October, NATO and the Russian Federation began a series of practical exercises in the area of air defence, with the aim of testing the compatibility of their equipment and procedures, in the context of possible future joint peace support operations. These tests are part of a broader programme of cooperation on offer to Partnership for Peace partners in the field of air defence.

ID Number: JA013836

Year: 1999

Language: English

NATO-Russia Relations and Next Steps for NATO Enlargement.

(POLITICAL COMMITTEE (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 1999, 24 p. (491.6/21).)

Author(s):

1. Viggers, Peter

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

The purpose here is first to explore the impact of further enlargement on NATO-Russia relations, which appear to have improved recently, after the four-month chill following the launch of NATO air operations against Serbia. Secondly, this report examines how we should approach the 'next wave' of new Allies, taking particular note of the present and future state of NATO-Russia relations.

ID Number: JA016010

Year: 1999

Language: English

1998

NATO Expansion and Russian National Interests.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 7, no. 1, Spring 1998, p. 10-54.)

Author(s):

1. Averre, Derek

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

The article centres on the debate in Russia about NATO expansion into Central and Eastern Europe and how expansion affects reemergent Russian national interests post-Madrid. The author examines official Russian arguments against expansion as well as the views of policy-makers and political commentators, assesses the impact of NATO's plans on Russian-Western security and disarmament arrangements and analyses Russia's relations with her neighbours in CEE, the CIS and Asia.

ID Number: JA013221

Year: 1998

Language: English

The Disquieting Voice of Russian Resentment.

(PARAMETERS, vol. 28, no. 2, Summer 1998, p. 39-55.)

Author(s):

1. Hammersen, Frederick P. A.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA012915

Year: 1998

Language: English

Russia and NATO Expansion : The Uneasy Basis of the Founding Act.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 7, no. 2, Summer 1998, p. 13-29.)

Author(s):

1. Hanson, Marianne

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

Russia's signature to the Founding Act, which paved the way for NATO expansion, was accompanied by continuing misgivings about Western intentions. Russia, which for decades had pursued the idea of a pan-European security organisation, continues to view NATO expansion as unnecessary and seeks instead to strengthen the OSCE. Reinforcing stability and democracy within its new member states is one of the motivations for NATO expansion, but it is the OSCE which is better designed to encourage stability in these particular states. NATO continues to be seen by Russia as a military organisation, and its expansion may have damaging consequences for future Russian-Western relations.

ID Number: JA013293

Year: 1998

Language: English

Russia's Seat at the Table : A Place Denied or a Place Delayed ?.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 1, January 1998, p. 119-130.)

Author(s):

1. Haslam, Jonathan

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
4. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

Equivocation by Western governments about the place of Russia in Europe in the context of the enlargement of NATO and the EU leaves a critical issue unresolved. In effect, Russia has been excluded from the Euro-American ambit. Russia's present weakness has enabled its own reservations about these developments to be sidelined; but an economically rejuvenated Russia could pose a threat of dominance in eastern and central Europe every bit as substantial as the military dominance of former times. A way needs to be found to incorporate Russia into a modified European system to avoid its retreating into a potentially dangerous isolation.

ID Number: JA012578

Year: 1998

Language: English

NATO Enlargement and Russia Security : A Comparison of Findings from Two Analytical Approaches.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 7, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 28-42.)

Author(s):

1. Huber, Reiner K.
2. Friedrich, Gernot

Subject(s):

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

Notes:

The article compares the results of two model analyses on the implications of NATO enlargement for Russia's security in six regions : North-West, West, South-West, Caucasus, Central Asia, and Far-East. One was done by Vitali Tsygichko using his 'Modes of Defense Sufficiency' (MDS), the other one by these authors using Tsygichko's data as input to the 'Generalized Force Ratio Model'(GEFRAM). While agreeing with regard to the general trend in the development of Russia's security situation, the results differ significantly as to whether these trends indicate a reduction of security below Russia's stated requirements. The results are preliminary and meant as an input to a continued debate on the subject among analysts.

ID Number: JA013709

Year: 1998

Language: English

The NATO-Russian Relationship One Year After : Next Steps After First Enlargement ?.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 143, no. 5, October 1998, p. 16-19, 42.)

Author(s):

1. Isakova, Irina

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

Relations between Russia and NATO have been normalised since the signing of the Founding Act between NATO-Russia last year. This opened the way for a permanent Russian mission to NATO, the posting of a military Russian delegation to NATO and a NATO information centre has opened in Moscow. This comes at the same time as NATO is expanding to include some of the states of the former Warsaw Pact. Here, the author looks at how the Russia-NATO relationship can develop in the coming months and years. Although a rapprochement has taken place between the two, their aspirations still differ substantially : while NATO is set on a process of enlargement, the Russians still hope to either persuade NATO to reconsider its 'open door' policy or to stretch the principle to include Russia as well. It is clearly a difficult stage which the relationship has entered. Dr. Isakova argues that the best way forward is to build on existing security arrangements and, if possible, to prolong the period between the first and second waves of enlargement.

ID Number: JA013385

Year: 1998

Language: English

The NATO-Russia Relationship a Year after Paris.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 46, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 16-19.)

Author(s):

1. Klaiber, Klaus-Peter

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

Since last year's signing of the Founding Act and creation of the Permanent Joint Council, the NATO-Russia relationship has been raised to a qualitatively new level. Through regular working relations in the PJC, NATO and Russia exchange views and consult on Euro-Atlantic security issues of mutual concern. This political consultation is complemented by military to military ties, including through joint participation in the SFOR mission in Bosnia and peacekeeping exercises. Ambassador Klaiber argues that, through these cooperative mechanisms, we are heading in the right direction, towards a future of shared security and stability in Europe.

ID Number: JA013119

Year: 1998

Language: English

Russia's Several Seats at the Table.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 4, October 1998, p. 809-822.)

Author(s):

1. Odom, William E.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
5. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
6. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Notes:

In his reply to Jonathan Haslam's article published in the January 1998 issue of this review, the author outlines his vision of NATO and its origins and purpose, and discusses the American strategic view of the post-Cold War world against which the decision to expand NATO should be seen. Russia will, he maintains, remain a problem for the West, but its importance and power should not be overemphasized. The danger facing the Western security order is not one of Russia's exclusion but of US power ebbing out of Europe - a distinct probability unless NATO expands.

ID Number: JA013384

Year: 1998

Language: English

We Are not Adversaries, We Are Partners.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 46, no. 1, Spring 1998, p. 15-18.)

Author(s):

1. Sergeev, Igor

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--ARMED FORCES
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

Cooperation has replaced confrontation as the sine qua non of interstate relations in Europe and the Russia-NATO partnership plays a central role in this new era. As part of the common task of reducing the role of the military in international relations, Russia has launched a radical reform of its armed forces. Marshall Sergeev argues that NATO must also undertake a more radical transformation, as one of the components of the European security architecture of the 21st century.

ID Number: JA012624

Year: 1998

Language: English

Gesicherte Partnerschaft ? : das Verhältnis NATO-Russland.

(INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 53. Jahr, Nr. 7, Juli 1998, S. 33-38.)

Author(s):

1. Vogel, Heinrich

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

Russland hat sich der Öffnung der NATO für neue Mitglieder aus Mittel- und Osteuropa lange Zeit hartnäckig widersetzt; auch nach der Unterzeichnung der Grundakte zwischen der NATO und Russland gehen die erbitterten Diskussionen über die Aufgaben des sich erweiternden Bündnisses und russische Mitspracherechte weiter. Nach Ansicht Vogels muss Russland noch einen langen Weg zurücklegen vom Verzicht auf Konfrontation hin zu einer vorbehaltlosen Partnerschaft mit der Atlantischen Allianz.

ID Number: JA013191

Year: 1998

Language: German

1997

Why NATO Must Enlarge.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 2, March 1997, p. 14-17.)

Author(s):

1. Bertram, Christoph

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

NATO enlargement is a dual imperative, according to the author : it is necessary as an anchor of stability in an uncertain Europe, and it is vital to NATO's own continued existence. However, while NATO enlargement is an essential element of the European equation, so is Russia. If allied leaders intend enlargement as a means to enhance stability on the continent and not as a deterrent against Russia, then Russia's role in European security must be guaranteed through a formal institutional link with NATO, and not just a 'charter'. Only then will it be possible to say that the Alliance has assumed its new role, for its own sake and for the sake of Europe.

ID Number: JA011677

Year: 1997

Language: English

NATO and Russia : A Natural Partnership.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 4, July - August 1997, p. 17-21.)

Author(s):

1. Brandenburg, Ulrich

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The NATO-Russia Founding Act firmly establishes the basis for a permanent security partnership between the two sides, laying to rest the notion that they were forever destined to be adversaries. The signing of the Act, which took place in Paris on 27 May, does not mean that differences of policy or outlook will vanish overnight. But these differences can lessen over time through a process of broad, regular consultations on political and security matters within the newly-created Permanent Joint Council. The main task is to give life to the document by exploiting to the full the new opportunities.

ID Number: JA012135

Year: 1997

Language: English

La question russe apres l'accord avec l'OTAN.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 62e annee, no. 3, automne 1997, p. 279-289.)

Author(s):

1. Delpech, Therese

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

L'Acte fondateur entre l'OTAN et la Russie, signe a Paris le 27 mai 1997 est le texte le plus symbolique de la fin de la guerre froide. L'avenir dira la portee reelle de cet accord pour la securite de l'Europe. Elle dependra a la fois de la volonte occidentale de tirer parti des consultations et des cooperations qu'il prévoit et de la perception que la Russie se fait de ses interets de securite au prochain siecle. Moscou cherchera probablement tout a la fois a cooperer avec l'Ouest et a transformer l'OTAN en une organisation de securite collective de type OSCE. Tels ne sont pas les objectifs des membres de l'OTAN. C'est pourquoi l'ouverture a la Russie doit se faire avec autant de discernement que de determination, surtout au moment ou le desarmement marque le pas a la Douma.

ID Number: JA012511

Year: 1997

Language: French

La Russie, l'OTAN et l'avenir de la securite europeenne.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 62e annee, no. 3, automne 1997, p. 291-305.)

Author(s):

1. Facon, Isabelle

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

2. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

La position intransigeante de la Russie face a la perspective de l'elargissement de l'OTAN a conforte de nombreux observateurs dans leur conviction que Moscou reste prisonniere de ses representations strategiques traditionnelles. Dans le meme temps, le gouvernement russe, favorisant la participation et la cooperation dans ses relations avec l'Occident, reevaluant sensiblement ses rapports avec ses anciens satellites, semble signifier qu'il n'envisage pas pour son pays un destin coupe de l'Europe. En etendant leur espace strategique sans consideration demesuree pour la fragilite des equilibres internes en Russie, les Occidentaux ne risquent-ils pas de voir resurgir la logique de confrontation ?

ID Number: JA012512

Year: 1997

Language: French

Russlands mogliche Reaktionen auf die Osterweiterung der NATO.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 46. Jg., Nr. 2, Februar 1997, S. 35-37.)

Author(s):

1. Frenkin, Anatoli

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

In Russia there is very little sympathy for NATO's eastward enlargement. Everybody is against it and considers it as a threat to Russia. But there are very diverse views about the questions how big such a threat really is and of what it consists, what consequences it could have for Russia and how Moscow should react to NATO's eastward enlargement. All political forces, the general public, the military experts and the political scientists intensively discuss this subject and seek a constructive solution, also taking the ideas of a

strategic partnership with NATO into consideration. What would be useful for Russia and what would better serve the national interests ? As to this, there are completely opposing opinions : an extension of NATO to the East would be a threat or would not be a threat at all; Russia would have to react absolutely strongly to this or, on the contrary, would not have to react at all; Moscow's relations to NATO should be suspended or Russia should request NATO membership.

ID Number: JA011536

Year: 1997

Language: German

The NATO-Russia Founding Act : Trojan Horse or Milestone of Reconciliation ?.

(AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 48, no. 4, 1997, p. 315-324.)

Author(s):

1. Kamp, Karl-Heinz

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

On 27 May 1997, the heads of state and government leaders of the sixteen NATO members and the Russian president Boris Yeltsin signed in Paris the Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between the Russian Federation and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation - NATO-Russia Founding Act for short. Even in the Nineties, during which there has certainly been no lack of historic events, the ceremony at the Elysee can claim special significance, since it puts the relationship between the two main antagonists of past decades on a promising contractual foundation. To a certain extent, this document has also finally put an end to the Cold War, eight years after the fall of the Berlin Wall. However, unlike the Ukraine, which formulated a parallel joint document with NATO (whose designation 'Charter' gives it a slightly lower status in terms of protocol), Russia demonstrates marked restraint with respect to the cooperative possibilities of the relationship of association the Act has formally established. In this article the author examines the political implications and intentions associated with the NATO-Russia Founding Act.

ID Number: JA012390

Year: 1997

Language: English

Russia and NATO : Expansion and Coexistence ?.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 32, no. 1, January - March 1997, p. 81-91.)

Author(s):

1. Lynch, Allen C.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

The author analyzes Russia's discourse and attitude toward NATO and its prospective enlargement, providing a critical assessment of NATO's enlargement policy.

ID Number: JA011849

Year: 1997

Language: English

Of Myths and Illusions : Russian Perceptions of NATO Enlargement.
(NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 3, May - June 1997, p. 11-15.)

Author(s):

1. Parkhalina, Tatiana

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The author argues that NATO enlargement has emerged as the overriding factor in Russian foreign policy due to the notion that there is a national consensus against it. As an issue the nation can rally around, NATO enlargement serves to shift the gaze away from Russia's real problems, which are primarily economic and social in nature. Russia's own interests would be better served through cooperative engagement with the main international institutions, including NATO, to meet the new challenges it faces.

ID Number: JA012099

Year: 1997

Language: English

Developing NATO-Russian Relations.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 39, no. 1, Spring 1997, p. 5-18.)

Author(s):

1. Pierre, Andrew J.
2. Trenin, Dmitri

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

At its July 1997 summit meeting, NATO plans to invite several countries to begin negotiations leading to their membership within a few years. To enlarge the Alliance without a parallel improvement in NATO-Russian relations could lead to a major and unnecessary deterioration in West-East relations. It could empower anti-Western and nationalist elements in Russia; provoke a retrograde Russian defence policy, including emphasis on tactical and strategic nuclear weapons; cause Moscow to feel un constrained by the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty; and kill the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) II Treaty. It would be preferable to engage Moscow in a serious and substantive NATO-Russian charter - a package of measures including institutionalised political consultations, modernisation of the CFE Treaty, formal reassurances concerning the non-deployment of nuclear weapons and foreign forces in new NATO member-states, enhanced Russian participation in Partnership for Peace (PfP), and a coordinated response to the Baltic States. The engagement of Russia would make enlargement politically acceptable.

ID Number: JA011850

Year: 1997

Language: English

La Russie et l'OTAN : une nouvelle etape ?.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 62e annee, no. 4, hiver 1997 - 1998, p. 543-558.)

Author(s):

1. Roubinski, Youri

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

L'auteur decrit, du point de vue russe, le processus qui a abouti a la conclusion de l'Acte fondateur entre la Russie et l'OTAN avec pour toile de fond la question de l'elargissement de l'Alliance atlantique en direction de l'Est et le refus russe d'envisager une telle perspective. Pour lui, l'opposition

officielle russe a ete plus rhetorique que reelle. Moscou s'est efforcee d'effectuer une pression sur les Occidentaux en vue d'obtenir des compensations lors des negociations. Or, les garanties occidentales inclues dans l'Acte fondateur semblent bien floues et, en tout cas, bien eloignees du souhait russe de voir se constituer un systeme de securite collective europeen autour de l'OSCE et en dehors de la 'tutelle' americaine.

ID Number: JA012721
Year: 1997
Language: French

Russian Domestic Debate on NATO Enlargement : From Phobia to Damage Limitation.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 6, no. 4, Winter 1997, p. 55-71.)

Author(s):

1. Sergounin, Alexander A.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

This study examines how different Russian foreign policy schools and political groups perceived NATO enlargement. Its purpose is threefold : first, to describe Russian arguments against NATO enlargement circulated in the Russian mass media and research literature. Second, to explain why there was surprising unanimity among the Russian foreign policy schools and political parties as regards NATO extension. Third, to examine specialities of particular schools and parties concerning NATO enlargement.

ID Number: JA012839
Year: 1997
Language: English

Russian-NATO Military Cooperation in Bosnia : A Basis for the Future ?.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 2, March 1997, p. 17-21.)

Author(s):

1. Shevtsov, Leontiy P.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Notes:

The international peacekeeping mission in Bosnia, beginning with last year's Implementation Force (IFOR), which has since been replaced by the Stabilization Force (SFOR), will undoubtedly go down in history as an instance of successful action by the world's community in putting an end to a military conflict. The experience of cooperation between the military contingents of Russia, NATO and other states within the multinational forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina is a reflection of the profound changes in the military and political situation in Europe. This joint operation shows that NATO and Russia can work together and achieve peaceful goals through military cooperation. Although the author argues that NATO's enlargement remains the chief obstacle to broader cooperation, he is hopeful for the future of NATO-Russia relations.

ID Number: JA011678
Year: 1997
Language: English

Mag Rusland ooit lid van de NAVO worden ?.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 51, nr. 5, mei 1997, p. 251-253.)

Author(s):

1. Siccama, J. G.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The author blames the present objections of Russia to NATO enlargement on the delay in Western decision-making after the end of the Cold War. He prefers gradual enlargement, doing justice to the wish of the Central Europeans to become integrated militarily, to a division of Europe in spheres of influence. While it is not advisable to exclude Russia from NATO membership, the envisaged Charter between Moscow and the Alliance should not be allowed to undermine the political and military effectiveness of the West.

ID Number: JA011840

Year: 1997

Language: Dutch

Rusia y la Alianza.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 11, no. 57, mayo - junio 1997, p. 21-34.)

Author(s):

1. Taibo, Carlos

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

The results of the December 1993 legislative elections in Russia and the January 1994 NATO summit marked a turning point in Moscow's attitude vis-a-vis the Atlantic Alliance. The main point of contention was of course NATO's decision to enlarge. From Russia's point of view, the expansion of NATO will divide Europe, goes against the principle of joint security, and increases instability. Despite the signature of a bilateral charter with Russia, the debate will be kept alive.

ID Number: JA011933

Year: 1997

Language: Spanish

1996

Partnership with Russia.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 141, no. 5, October 1996, p. 2-5.)

Author(s):

1. Bonsor, Nicholas

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--GREAT BRITAIN
2. GREAT BRITAIN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
4. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The author discusses here the ways and means by which the UK can contribute to Russia's integration into economic and security structures, in particular NATO, the OSCE and the Council of Europe. He concludes that Russia has a central role in the future of a secure Europe and although the West must maintain its vigilance in these times of uncertainty, we must also continue to build towards the fundamental success of Russian renewal.

ID Number: JA011275

Year: 1996

Language: English

If not NATO Enlargement : What Does Russia Want ?.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 5, no. 3, Autumn 1996, p. 381-395.)

Author(s):

1. Borawski, John

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The purpose here is to examine whether a plausible Russian alternative, or at least necessary complement, to NATO enlargement exists that the West should seriously consider so as to minimize the risks of a 'cold peace' and enhance the prospects for a functional non-exclusionary security regime whose time, despite a discouraging history, perhaps might have come.

ID Number: JA011509

Year: 1996

Language: English

NATO Enlargement and Russia.

(PERCEPTIONS, vol. 1, no. 2, June - August 1996, p. 118-131.)

Author(s):

1. Borawski, John

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA011951

Year: 1996

Language: English

NATO Enlargement and Russia.

(STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 24, no. 2, Spring 1996, p. 51-57.)

Author(s):

1. Cimbala, Stephen J.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

The conditions that made NATO a successful Cold War alliance have now disappeared, leading some to argue that NATO should expand eastward, serving as the focal point for post-Cold War European security. But this optimism may be out of place. The predicted transformation of NATO from a military to a political alliance has not occurred. More importantly, since NATO's strategy has a nuclear component, NATO expansion would presumably include extending the nuclear umbrella to new members in Central Europe. Such a move might be perceived as unnecessarily provocative to Russia. The implications and potential consequences of NATO expansion must be fully taken into account by NATO's leadership.

ID Number: JA010865

Year: 1996

Language: English

Russia and NATO Expansion.

(CANADIAN DEFENCE QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 4, June 1996, p. 5-10.)

Author(s):

1. Kortunov, Andrei

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA011180

Year: 1996

Language: English

Avoiding a New Confrontation with NATO.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 44, no. 3, May 1996, p. 17-20.)

Author(s):

1. Trenin, Dmitri

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

The author, maintaining that relations between Russia and the West have been stalemated in recent years over the question of NATO's expansion, suggests that it is high time that Russia and the West developed a new relationship; the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia demonstrates that practical cooperation is possible and this could lead to a true partnership. He proposes that the thorny question of Central European countries eventually joining the Alliance should be put on hold for the time-being, and NATO should concentrate on promoting cooperation with its Eastern partners under individual programmes. An enlarged NATO could not be a substitute for a new European security order as it would exclude Russia. NATO-Russia cooperation, however, could provide the linchpin for such a system.

ID Number: JA010926

Year: 1996

Language: English

1995

NATO and Russia.

(SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 26, no. 2, June 1995, p. 135-146.)

Author(s):

1. Arbatov, Alexei

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA010243

Year: 1995

Language: English

Rusia y la ampliacion de la OTAN.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 9, no. 43, febrero - marzo 1995, p. 14-28.)

Author(s):

1. Brzezinski, Zbigniew

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA009904

Year: 1995

Language: Spanish

Loosing Russia or Keeping NATO : Must We Choose ?.

(ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 25, no. 5, June 1995, p. 3-7.)

Author(s):

1. Dean, Jonathan

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Year: 1995

Language: English

L'elargissement : un des elements d'une strategie visant a favoriser l'extension de la stabilite a l'Europe centrale.

(REVUE DE L'OTAN, vol. 43, no. 3, mai 1995, p. 3-8.)

Author(s):

1. Hunter, Robert E.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE
3. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA010160

Year: 1995

Language: French

Partnership or Cold Peace ?.

(FOREIGN POLICY, no. 99, Summer 1995, p. 3-14.)

Author(s):

1. Kozyrev, Andrei

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

ID Number: JA010206

Year: 1995

Language: English

Russian Oppositions to NATO Expansion.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 51, no. 10, October 1995, p. 196-199.)

Author(s):

1. Lieven, Anatol

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

ID Number: JA010436

Year: 1995

Language: English

Russia and NATO.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 140, no. 1, February 1995, p. 8-13.)

Author(s):

1. Moltke, Gebhardt von

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

In this article Ambassador Gebhardt von Moltke addresses the importance of NATO's role in attempting to establish a cooperative partnership with Russia, through such initiatives as the Partnership for Peace programme. He concludes on a note of optimism on the future prospects for cooperation within Europe and between Russia and NATO asserting that a return to the conditions of the Cold War is advantageous to no-one.

ID Number: JA009894

Year: 1995

Language: English

La Russie et la securite europeenne : un equilibre delicat.

(REVUE DE L'OTAN, vol. 43, no. 3, mai 1995, p. 19-24.)

Author(s):

1. Pravda, Alex

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA010163

Year: 1995

Language: French

Vom Kalten Krieg zum Kalten Frieden ?.

(OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 33. Jg., Heft 3, März -
April 1995, S. 243-250.)

Author(s):

1. Rose, Jurgen

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--NATIONAL SECURITY
4. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Notes:

Die NATO-Osterweiterung und die Zukunft der Aussen-und
Sicherheitspolitik der Russischen Foderation.

ID Number: JA010127

Year: 1995

Language: German

1994

Why an Expanded NATO must Include Russia.

(JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 17, no. 4, December 1994, p.
27-41.)

Author(s):

1. Bell, Coral

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

ID Number: JA009985

Year: 1994

Language: English

Russia and NATO : A Partnership for A United and Peaceful Europe.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 42, no. 4, August 1994, p. 3-6.)

Author(s):

1. Kozyrev, Andrei

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

ID Number: JA009442

Year: 1994

Language: English

La Russie et l'Occident : une relation menacee ?.

(REVUE DE L'OTAN, vol. 42, no. 1, fevrier 1994, p. 19-23.)

Author(s):

1. Pushkov, Alexei

Subject(s):

1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

ID Number: JA009049

Year: 1994

Language: French

Russia and the West : An Endangered Relationship ?.

(NATO REVIEW, vol. 42, no. 1, February 1994, p. 19-23.)

Author(s):

1. Pushkov, Alexei

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

ID Number: JA008942

Year: 1994

Language: English

Entwicklungen der russischen Haltung zur NATO.
(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 43. Jg., Nr. 5, Mai 1994, S. 235-237.)
Author(s):
1. Wettig, Gerhard
Subject(s):
1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ID Number: JA009180
Year: 1994
Language: German

Moscow's Perception of NATO's Role.
(AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 45, no. 2, 1994, p. 123-133.)
Author(s):
1. Wettig, Gerhard
Subject(s):
1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ID Number: JA009102
Year: 1994
Language: English

1993

The New Russia and the Atlantic Alliance.
(NATO REVIEW, vol. 41, no. 1, February 1993, p. 3-6.)
Author(s):
1. Kozeyrev, Andrei
Subject(s):
1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ID Number: JA008146
Year: 1993
Language: English

Russia and NATO : A Vital Partnership for European Security.
(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 138, no. 4, August 1993, p. 11-17.)
Author(s):
1. Stepashin, Serguey
Subject(s):
1. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
ID Number: JA008604
Year: 1993
Language: English

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