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**THE DEBATE ON NATO'S ENLARGEMENT
SINCE 2000**

**LE DÉBAT SUR L'ÉLARGISSEMENT DE
L'OTAN DEPUIS 2000**

Bibliographies Thématiques
No. 3/2004

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PART I : BOOKS

PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

2003

495.3 /00098

Almost NATO : Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security - Lanham, MD : Rowman & Littlefield.

xi, 341 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0742524582

Subject(s):

1. NATO--CEE
2. CEE--NATIONAL SECURITY
3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Krupnick, Charles, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'NATO's quickly evolving relationship with Central and Eastern Europe is forming a new basis for security in the region. This book broadly examines the region's current security situation and specifically explores NATO's relationship with Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, and the Baltic States - all nonmembers, but each with its own expectations for membership. Rounding out the regional coverage are Ukraine's relationship with NATO, and Russia's interaction with the alliance since the end of the Cold War and its crucial role in the region's future. Connecting each chapter is a broad concept of security that encompasses the European Union, environmental concerns, minority issues, and economic and political performance as Europe moves into the twenty-first century. The result is a book of significant breadth and substantial utility, one invaluable to readers trying to understand the region and NATO's role in its security.'

ID number: 80018512

Year: 2003

495.3 /00099

Ambivalent Neighbors : The EU, NATO and the Price of Membership - Washington : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

x, 331 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0870031996

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Lieven, Anatol, ed.
2. Trenin, Dmitri, ed.
3. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (US)

Notes:

Includes index.

'A group of highly distinguished contributors from both East and West examines the complicated and multi-faceted process of NATO and EU enlargement in the context of the changed global situation since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.'

* This list contains material received as of March 29th, 2004 - Cette liste est arrêtée au 29 mars 2004.

ID number: 80018507
Year: 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

495.3 /00104

The Future of NATO Expansion : Four Case Studies - Cambridge, UK : Cambridge University Press.

x, 267 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 052182169X

Author(s):

1. Barany, Zoltan D.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--CEE

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 239-258. Includes index.

'This book offers a comparative analysis of four East European states - Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia - that were invited to become members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 2002. Through a rigorous examination of their postcommunist domestic and foreign policies, economic performance, security situation, campaign for NATO membership, civil-military relations, and the state of their armed forces, Professor Barany demonstrates that in several respects they do

not satisfy the Alliance's own admission criteria. He contends that, once it had begun, NATO should continue its expansion process but he argues that there is no pressing reason for NATO's haste. The Alliance should hold off further expansion until the invitees become fully qualified for membership. The alternative is to repeat and compound the mistakes of the first wave of enlargement the beneficiaries of which - Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic - have been liabilities rather than assets of the Alliance.'

ID number: 80018947

Year: 2003

49.02 /00020

Cornerstones of Slovenia's NATO Membership - New York : iUniverse.

xii, 192 p.; 23 cm.

(Euro-Atlantic Security Studies Series)

ISBN: 0595279694

Subject(s):

1. NATO--TREATIES
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. NATO--SLOVENIA

Added entry(s):

1. Sinkovec, Bostjan, ed.

Notes:

'This book represents a collection of just about all pertinent documents that delineate the membership of a country in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization : international agreements, protocols, North Atlantic Council resolutions, declarations, communiqués, studies. It is almost a do-it-yourself guide on what it takes to demonstrate that a country is willing and able to take on the responsibilities of a NATO member.'

ID number: 80018986

Year: 2003

495.3 /00106

NATO's Eastern Agenda in a New Strategic Era - Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.

xxi, 192 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

ISBN: 0833034677

Author(s):

1. Larrabee, F. Stephen

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--CEE

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1744/>> accessed 03/02/04.

Bibliography: p. 179-192.

'NATO's Eastern agenda faces several challenges, including consolidating the democratic transitions in Central and Eastern Europe, ensuring the security of the Baltic states, developing a post-NATO-enlargement strategy for Ukraine, deepening the Russia-NATO partnership, and engaging the Caucasus and Central Asia. The author also considers NATO's broader transformation.'

ID number: 80019117

Year: 2003

495.3 /00109

The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe : Rules and Rhetoric -
Cambridge, UK : Cambridge University Press.

xiii, 323 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

(Themes in European Governance)

ISBN: 0521535255

Author(s):

1. Schimmelfennig, Frank

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. EU--CEE
4. NATO--CEE

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 290-308. Includes index.

'Why did Western European states agree to the enlargement of the EU and NATO ? The author analyzes the history of the enlargement process and develops a theoretical approach of 'rhetorical action' to explain why it occurred. While rationalist theory explains the willingness of East European states to join NATO and the EU, it does not explain why member states decided to admit them. Using original data, the author shows that expansion to the East can be understood in terms of liberal democratic community-building. Drawing on the works of Jon Elster and Erving Goffman, he demonstrates that the decision to expand was the result of rhetorical action. Candidates and their supporters used arguments based on collective identity, norms and values of the Western community to shame opponents into acquiescing to enlargement. This landmark book makes an enormous contribution to theory in international relations and to the study of European politics.'

ID number: 80019159

Year: 2003

2002

495.3 /00093

Opening NATO's Door : How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era - New
York : Columbia University Press.

xxxii, 372 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0231127766

Author(s):

1. Asmus, Ronald D.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--HISTORY
3. NATO

Notes:

Includes index.

'How and why did NATO, a Cold War military alliance created in 1949 to counter Stalin's USSR, become the cornerstone of new security order for post-Cold War Europe ? Why, instead of retreating from Europe after communism's collapse, did the US launch the greatest expansion of the American commitment to the old continent in decades ? This book provides a definitive account of the ideas, politics, and diplomacy that went into the historic decision to expand NATO to Central and Eastern Europe. Drawing on the still-classified archives of the US Department of State, Ronald D. Asmus recounts how and why American policymakers, against formidable odds at home and abroad, expanded NATO as part of a broader strategy to overcome Europe's Cold War divide and to modernize the Alliance. Asmus was one the earliest advocates and intellectual architects of NATO enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of communism in the early 1990s and subsequently served as a top aide to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Deputy Secretary Strobe Talbott. He was involved in the key

negotiations that led to NATO's decision to extend invitations to Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, the signing of the NATO-Russia Founding Act, and finally, the US Senate's ratification of enlargement. Asmus documents how the Clinton Administration sought to develop a rationale for a new NATO that would bind the US and Europe together as closely in the post-Cold War era as they had been during the fight against communism. For the Clinton Administration, NATO enlargement became the centerpiece of a broader agenda to modernize the US-European strategic partnership for the future. That strategy reflected an American commitment to the spread of democracy and Western values, the importance attached to modernizing Washington's key alliances for an increasingly globalized world, and the fact that the Clinton Administration looked to Europe as America's natural partner in addressing the challenges of the twenty-first century.'

ID number: 80018412

Year: 2002

495.3 /00084

NATO as a Factor of Security Community Building : Enlargement and Democratization in Central and Eastern Europe - Washington : Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

38 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Paper ; 68)

Author(s):

1. Bjola, Corneliu

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. DEMOCRACY--CEE

3. CEE--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (US)

Notes:

<<http://wwics.si.edu/ees/papers/2002/bjo68.pdf>> accessed 05/06/02.

'This analysis is primarily concerned with examining the building blocks and mechanisms through which NATO extends its institutional and normative influence and contributes (or not) to reducing chances for military conflict and political tension in Central and Eastern Europe by integrating the region into the Western security community. The first chapter provides a critical review of the relevant literature related to security community studies and rationalist theories of international relations. The second section spells out the theoretical framework of the paper and the methodological apparatus. The third chapter starts with an overview of the evolution of the political and military connections between NATO and the CEE countries from 1990 up to the present, and then moves to assessing the degree of empirical support for two theoretical models in two specific cases - Hungary and Romania. In light of these findings, the study concludes with a set of remarks concerning the future implications of the relations between NATO and the partner countries for the security of the CEE region.'

ID number: 80017980

Year: 2002

495.3 /00103

Bulgaria for NATO 2002 - Sofia : Institute for Regional and International Studies.

lx, 388 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 9549858111

Subject(s):

1. NATO--BULGARIA
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. BULGARIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
4. BULGARIA--NATIONAL SECURITY
5. BULGARIA--ARMED FORCES

Added entry(s):

1. Minchev, Ognyan, ed.
2. Rachev, Valeri, ed.
3. Lessenski, Marin, ed.
4. Institute for Regional and International Studies (BG)

ID number: 80018721

Year: 2002

441 /00098

Elargissement et defense europeenne apres le 11 septembre - Paris :

Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union Europeenne.

79 p. ; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 53)

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--ESDP
3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

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

Notes:

'Les trois candidats d'Europe centrale sont passes par un processus d'evolution (et d'apprentissage) a l'egard du developpement de la PESD : au depart, sceptiques et inquiets - qu'une telle politique puisse porter atteinte a l'OTAN - ils l'acceptent et s'y engagent plus directement. Cette evolution peut s'expliquer par les deux processus paralleles que les auteurs definissent tres clairement. Le seul aspect que les trois candidats d'Europe centrale n'ont eu de cesse de critiquer a ete leur inclusion initiale dans la categorie generique de pays 'tiers', avec d'autres candidats non allies et meme des 'non-candidats' comme l'Ukraine et la Russie. Leur constante quete de reconnaissance officielle en tant qu'allies europeens a ete partiellement reconnue par les Quinze, mais ils sont mecontents de demeurer plus que jamais des 'pays tiers'. Le 11 septembre leur a egalement fait davantage prendre conscience du besoin d'une approche plus globale de la securite, comprenant egalement la justice et les affaires interieures ainsi que la politique a l'egard des nouveaux voisins de l'Est : les trois pays prefereraient adopter une approche flexible combinant des frontieres plus faciles a utiliser avec des controles de police plus stricts. Enfin, le debat interne de l'UE sur l'avenir de l'Europe a, dans un premier temps, souleve un reel interet parmi les elites d'Europe centrale et la Convention europeenne a tente specifiquement d'impliquer les gouvernements et les parlements de tous les candidats. Les premiers stades du debat ont revele des tensions au sein de leurs delegations entre, d'une part, une approche plus communautaire mettant l'accent sur l''identite' europeenne commune et les interets communs, et, de l'autre, un reflexe plus intergouvernemental ayant pour but d'exercer un maximum d'influence sur la politique et les institutions. Ces tensions sont egalement tangibles entre les chapitres de ce Cahier et a l'interieur des trois analyses.'

ID number: 80018448

Year: 2002

441 /00098

Enlargement and European Defence after 11 September - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

74 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 53)

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--ESDP
3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'All three Central European candidates for EU membership have gone through an evolutionary (and learning) process as regards the development of ESDP : from scepticism and worry - that it could undermine NATO - to qualified acceptance and more direct involvement. This evolution can be explained through two parallel processes that the contributors spell out very clearly. The only aspect that the three Central European applicants have criticised throughout has been their initial inclusion in the generic category of 'third' countries, along with other non-Allied candidates and even such non-candidates as Ukraine or Russia. The quest for formal recognition as European allies has been constantly reiterated, and has eventually been partially acknowledged by the Fifteen, although some dissatisfaction with such enhanced 'third-ness' has remained. 11 September has also increased their awareness of the need for a more comprehensive approach to security, encompassing justice and home affairs and policy towards the new neighbours to the East : all three countries would prefer to adopt a flexible approach combining more 'user-friendly' borders with tighter police controls. Finally, the internal EU debate over the future of Europe initially raised keen interest among the elites of Central Europe, and the European Convention has made a special effort to involve the governments and parliaments of all candidates. The early stages of the discussion have so far revealed a certain tension within their delegations between a more communautaire approach that emphasises the common European 'identity' and common interests, and a more intergovernmental reflex that aims at exerting maximum influence over policy and institutions. Such tension is also palpable between and within the contributions to this paper.'

ID number: 80018024

Year: 2002

49 /00136

The Future of NATO - London : Stationery Office.

69 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE
4. NATO--USA

Added entry(s):

1. House of Commons. Defence Committee (GB)

Notes:

<<http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200102/cmselect/cmdfence/914/914.pdf>> accessed 22/08/02.

Report, together with Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence and Appendix. Seventh Report of Session 2001-02

ID number: 80018139

Year: 2002

495.3 /00094

Growing Pains : The Debate on the Next Round of NATO Enlargement -
Washington : Center for Defense Information.
126 p. ; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Valasek, Tomas, ed.
2. Hitchens, Theresa, ed.
3. Center for Defense Information (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.cdi.org/products/growingpains.pdf>> accessed 23/01/03.
'This book is meant to illuminate the many interlocking factors influencing the upcoming decision on the next round of NATO enlargement : security, military, strategic and political. The initial, overview chapter is followed by two essays examining the military implications of enlargement : one from the U.S. point of view, the other from the perspective of a new NATO ally. Next come two regional analyses; one on the interplay between European integration processes and NATO expansion, the other on the Russian views. Finally, the last two chapters look at NATO's new missions and the politics underlying the current debate.'

ID number: 80018416

Year: 2002

495.3 /00101

Romania's Westernization and NATO Membership : A Historical Approach -
Bucharest : Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military
History.

78 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 3(1)/2002)

Author(s):

1. Ionescu, Mihail E.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ROMANIA
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. ROMANIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
4. ROMANIA--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History
(RO)

ID number: 80018657

Year: 2002

495.3 /00090

Pax NATO : The Opportunities of Enlargement - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US
Army War College.

x, 35 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584870982

Author(s):

1. Millen, Raymond A.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

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

ID number: 80018197

Year: 2002

495.3 /00082

NATO Enlargement : Romania and the Southern Dimension of the Alliance -
Bucharest : Monitorul Oficial.

264 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

ISBN: 973567355X

Author(s):

1. Nastase, Adrian

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ROMANIA

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Nicolae, Roxana

Notes:

'This book is a selection of some of the themes Mr. Nastase approached in his capacity as Prime Minister of Romania. These themes express his profound belief in the merits of the impressive national solidarity which the citizens of Romania have been devoting to the strategic objective of Romania's foreign policy : the integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic structures.'

ID number: 80017920

Year: 2002

495.3 /00087

The Message of the Romanian Parliament, Concerning Romania's Accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Addressed to the Parliaments of the NATO Member Countries - Bucharest : Government of Romania.

35 p. ; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Nastase, Adrian

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ROMANIA

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Government of Romania

Notes:

Statement made by H. E. Adrian Nastase, Prime Minister of Romania, Concerning the Preparations for Romania's Accession to NATO. Preparations for Romania's Accession to NATO - Priorities.

ID number: 80018104

Year: 2002

495.3 /00088

Et tu Brute ! : Finland's NATO Option and Russia - Helsinki : Finnish Institute of International Affairs.

60 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

(UPI Report ; 1)

ISBN: 9517691327

Author(s):

1. Pursiainen, Christer

2. Saari, Sinikukka

Subject(s):

1. NATO--FINLAND

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

3. FINLAND--NATIONAL SECURITY

4. FINLAND--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

5. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--FINLAND

Added entry(s):

1. Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FI)

Notes:

'For the past decade, a lively debate has taken place over Finland's possible NATO membership, even though the country's official line is that military non-alignment serves Finland's security interests best. This report contributes to the debate, in particular from the perspective of Finnish-Russian

relations. It presents a detailed description of Russian attitudes towards Finnish foreign and security policy options and the foreseeable impact of Finnish NATO membership on the relations between Finland and Russia. The conclusion of the report acknowledges the risk-averse nature of Finland's current policy-line, as well as the risks involved in NATO membership from the perspective of Finnish-Russian relations. With the increasing cooperation and mutual dissolving of perceived threats between Russia and NATO, Finland's NATO membership would offer better opportunities for the country's policy towards Russia. Finnish NATO membership would also benefit Russia. However, acknowledging and recognising these opportunities requires new thinking in both Finland and Russia.'

ID number: 80018157

Year: 2002

355.4 /01382

Readings in European Security. Volume I - Brussels : Centre for European Policy Studies.

iii, 290 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 9290794070

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. EU--ESDP

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Policy Studies (BE)
2. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'The European Security Forum is a joint initiative of the Centre for European Policy Studies and the International Institute for Strategic Studies, launched late in 2000. The objective of the Forum is to bring together senior officials and experts from EU and Euro-Atlantic Partnership countries, including the United States and Russia, to discuss security issues of strategic importance to Europe. This first volume of Readings in European Security contains the complete set of working papers commissioned by the Forum since its founding through November 2002. The papers are written by independent experts presenting EU, US and Russian viewpoints on the topic.'

ID number: 80018864

Year: 2002

495.3 /00083

Romania - NATO : 2002 - Bucharest : Monitorul Oficial.

379 p.; 18 cm.

ISBN: 973567355X

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ROMANIA
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. EU--ROMANIA
4. EU--ENLARGEMENT
5. ROMANIA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
6. ROMANIA--ECONOMIC POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. Nastase, Adrian, ed.

Notes:

'Inviting the new European democracies to take part in NATO will further buttress up stability and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe. This enlargement will completely wipe off the former division at the time of the Cold War and will create a united and free Europe. The expansion of NATO will, likewise, consolidate the possibility of the Alliance to wage war on terrorism. As underlined by Lord Robertson, NATO

Secretary-General, at the November 2001 Sofia Summit of NATO candidate countries, there is no better protection against terrorism than NATO's enlargement by inviting in stable, multi-ethnic societies based on the rule of law and sharing the same values that bring North America and Europe together.'

ID number: 80017923

Year: 2002

355 /00415

NATO Enlargement and Central Europe : A Study in Civil-Military Relations - Honolulu : University Press of the Pacific.

xii, 317 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 089875853X

Author(s):

1. Simon, Jeffrey, 1926-

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--CENTRAL EUROPE

3. CENTRAL EUROPE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

4. CENTRAL EUROPE--ARMED FORCES

5. CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--CENTRAL EUROPE

Notes:

Includes index.

'The future of the Central European nations will in many ways be linked with the enlargement of NATO to meet the new challenges of the post-Cold War world. As a result of reunification with the Federal Republic of Germany, East Germany has, in effect, become the first of the former Warsaw Pact nations to enter NATO. The four countries discussed in this volume - Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia - all have interest in joining the Alliance as well, and all have made commitments in varying degrees toward that goal. To understand why these nations are striving to meet the criteria for inclusion in a NATO enlargement program, and how well they are succeeding, one needs an appreciation of the political history of each nation since the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. The author begins with Poland's extremely complex and difficult struggle toward democratic government since 1989, reminding us of the violence done to Polish society and the Polish people earlier this century and illuminating recent political events that otherwise might seem merely chaotic. Then he traces the somewhat easier struggles of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, explaining how these nations advanced along parallel but different paths, and why the Czech Republic and Slovakia have advanced at different paces since the 'Velvet Divorce' - the amicable separation of these two nations.'

ID number: 80018402

Year: 2002

495.3 /00092

Small States in the Post-Cold War World : Slovenia and NATO Enlargement - Westport, CT : Praeger.

xix, 192 p. ; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0275974995

Subject(s):

1. NATO--SLOVENIA

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

3. STATES, SMALL

Added entry(s):

1. Sabic, Zlatko, ed.

2. Bukowski, Charles J., ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 159-185. Includes index.

'The authors examine the efforts, thus far fruitless, of Slovenia to achieve full membership in the North Atlantic Treaty

Organization. The rejection of the Slovenian application received considerable attention, both in Europe and in the United States. Within Slovenia, the rejection was seen as a heavy blow to its government. Policymakers and scholars alike have been sorting out the reasons for this political 'defeat', with the Slovenian government sponsoring this volume to better understand its options and the positions of other small states in the international community.'

ID number: 80018361

Year: 2002

495.3 /00091

L'OTAN face a l'Europe du Sud-Est au 21e siecle - Bruxelles : Institut Royal Superieur de Defense.

iii, 65 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

(Securite et Strategie ; 74)

Author(s):

1. Smets, Bruno

Subject(s):

1. NATO--EUROPE, SOUTHEASTERN
2. EUROPE, SOUTHEASTERN--NATIONAL SECURITY
3. STABILITY PACT FOR SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
4. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Institut Royal Superieur de Defense. Centre d'Etudes de Defense (BE)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 49-64.

'Cet ouvrage de synthese a pour objectif de presenter un ensemble de reflexions et d'analyses permettant de mieux comprendre la situation securitaire en Europe du Sud-Est et d'etudier comment l'Alliance atlantique se propose de l'apprehender.'

ID number: 80018225

Year: 2002

495.3 /00081

The Politics of European Enlargement : NATO, the EU and the New US-European Relationship - Washington : Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

33 p. ; 30 cm.

(Occasional Paper ; 67)

Author(s):

1. Wiarda, Howard J.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (US)

Notes:

<<http://wwics.si.edu/ees/papers/2002/wia67.pdf>> accessed 11/03/02.

'This paper focuses on the nature of the political criteria, what may be termed the politics of the 'end game' of EU and NATO expansion. Now that the technical criteria have been, for the most part satisfied, what comes next ? Who decides who gets admitted, when, and on what basis ? Four major actors or sets of actors are discussed : the Eastern/Central European applicant countries, the EU and the European allies, Russia, and the United States. In each case the interests and the politics involved are examined and an attempt is made to reach some tentative conclusions as to how the process of enlargement will now proceed. A final substantive section, building on the earlier analysis, weighs both the technical and, increasingly, the political considerations operative as the enlargement process nears its decisive moment.'

ID number: 80017859

495.3 /00100

Baltic Security, NATO and the EU - Helsinki : Atlantic Council of Finland.

108 p.; 25 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 1)

Subject(s):

1. NATO--BALTIC STATES
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. EU--BALTIC STATES
4. EU--ENLARGEMENT
5. BALTIC STATES--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Honkanen, Karoliina, ed
2. Ries, Tomas, ed.
3. Atlantic Council of Finland (FI)

Notes:

Contributions to the Seminar on 'Baltic Security, NATO and the EU' arranged by the Atlantic Council of Finland in Helsinki on 19-20 October 2001.

ID number: 80018625

Year: 2001

495.3 /00079

NATO Enlargement and Its Implications for Turkey - Ankara : Bilkent University.

ix, 126 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Catal, Erdogan

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

A thesis submitted to the Department of International Relations in partial fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of International Relations.

Bibliography: p. 106-126.

'While consolidating Turkey's western identity on the Caucasus, the Balkans and Central Asia, NATO enlargement brought new concerns to Turkey's agenda regarding regional security as well as Turkey's position in its only and most institutional and functional linkage with the Western Europe and the US. After the admission of three new members to NATO in 1999, the pros and cons of a second round of NATO enlargement requires an examination in depth as the decision time gets closer, not only for NATO but also for Turkey.'

ID number: 80017627

Year: 2001

495.3 /00072

Enlarging NATO : The National Debates - Boulder, CO : Lynne Rienner.

xi, 324 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 155587908X

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Mattox, Gale A., ed.
2. Rachwald, Arthur R., ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 297-309. Includes index.

'This book examines the deliberations over NATO enlargement in twelve countries. It sheds light on the political motives leading to each country's position. The comparative analysis

explores the interaction of domestic and international issues
at the core of efforts to reshape the security map of Europe.'
ID number: 80017343
Year: 2001

495.1 /00016

European Security & NATO Enlargement - Prague : POLIS - Political Science
Association.

87 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 8086506185

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. NATO--EUROPE
3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
4. NATO--CZECH REPUBLIC
5. NATO--SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Added entry(s):

1. Jires, Jan, ed.
2. Institute of International Relations (CS)

Notes:

Papers from the International Student Seminar held on 5th December
2000 in Prague, the Czech Republic.

'The seminar's speakers and audience were of three nationalities :
Dutch, Czech and Slovak. The contributions from the seminar,
published in this book, attempt to explain some problems of the
security environment in post-Cold War Europe. They also offer
case studies dealing with the Netherlands as a traditionally
active international player and assessing the integration of
the Czech and Slovak Republics into NATO.'

ID number: 80018590

Year: 2001

495.3 /00076

Enlargement : A New NATO - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of
Western European Union.

viii, 100 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 49)

Author(s):

1. Hopkinson, William

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

Notes:

'In 2002 NATO will face difficult decisions. There are compelling
arguments for further enlargement; there are also cogent
reasons against any particular form of it. Whatever is decided
should reflect Europe's security needs and be part of NATO's
transformation and updating. If the objective were to change
the Alliance as little as possible, the enlargement would be
small, say two new members. A more adventurous course would be
to do something, but not too much, say, five additions. That
could meet expectations for five years or so and preserve much
of the present functioning of NATO. It is the likely outcome.
However, to address wider issues of stability, a major
enlargement would be better. The best opinion long term for
European security would be to take in all the current
candidates and Croatia too. Membership of itself would not
solve the candidates' problems, but it would give NATO a locus
for being on the ground, and being part of the strong
counselling effort to their governments. There would be a
significant process of 'socialisation' of the new members and
their political and military elites. Most of the new members
would not be major contributors of military forces in the near
future. At 29 or so the NAC would become a less effective

forum. Its use as a mechanism for influence, and that of the Alliance as a forum where policy was purportedly made, would be diminished. It would change its nature from a collective defence organisation. The Europeans need to improve their performance in diplomatic and military matters. However, unlike in the Cold War, there is no current need for US leadership or dominance in Europe. The democratic, liberal states of Europe and North America will share many values and many interests but do not always need to follow the same policy. The objective should be polite cooperation in a more equal partnership, utilising the military services of an enlarged but changed NATO. There should be discussion of the long-term relationship of NATO with Russia, not excluding membership, and hard thinking, in the EU, and between the EU and the US, on Ukraine, and the other non-members of the Union and the Alliance. NATO has been the prime manifestation of the transatlantic relationship. That may not be appropriate in the future. What is essential is that that relationship be made anew for present circumstances.'

ID number: 80017564

Year: 2001

495.3 /00085

Organising National Defences for NATO Membership : The Unexamined Dimension of Aspirants' Readiness for Entry - Groningen : Centre for European Security Studies.

vi, 179 p.; 24 cm.

(Harmonie Papers ; 15)

ISBN: 9076301174

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--MEMBERSHIP ACTION PLAN

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Security Studies (NL)

Notes:

'As for military aspects of readiness for NATO, candidates' current capabilities are routinely documented through a Planning and Review Process (PARP) in which they participate. What is not explicitly examined in this official procedure, and has not featured prominently in independent commentary either, is the quality of would-be members' defence organisation. Yet an important dimension of preparedness is the individual aspirant's commitment to democratic control of its armed forces and its capacity to deliver a defence effort that is domestically acceptable, economically sustainable and strategically sound. Expressed concretely, serious candidates should be able to show that they are making now - and that structures and processes exist to ensure that they can make in future - military provision that fulfils these conditions. The present study focuses on this unexamined (certainly under-examined) dimension of readiness for entry.'

ID number: 80018064

Year: 2001

495.3 /00078

NATO Enlargement 2000-2015 : Determinants and Implications for Defense Planning and Shaping - Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.

xix, 165 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0833029614

Author(s):

1. Szayna, Thomas S., 1960-

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 155-165.

'In the 1990s, NATO began a course of enlargement and transformation to remain relevant in Europe's post-Cold War security environment. As part of its commitment to enlargement, it admitted three new members - Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic - in 1999 and has plans to admit more countries in the future. NATO's enlargement has profound military implications for the United States and its allies in terms of future planning and shaping strategies. Its enlargement and its transformation, from an organization for the collective defense of its members to one whose mission includes conflict prevention and conflict management throughout Europe (including beyond its treaty area), have both been driven primarily by political imperatives - i.e., not by a sense of direct threat, but by an environment-shaping agenda of democratization and integration. This book develops and applies an analytical framework for thinking about determinants of future NATO enlargement, the specific defense challenges they pose, and shaping policies that might aid in addressing these challenges. The approximately twelve countries that could conceivably join NATO in the next 10 to 15 years are evaluated according to political, strategic, and military (particularly airpower) criteria to determine where they stand in relation to NATO's established pre-conditions for membership consideration and NATO's strategic rationale for issuing invitations to join. The result is a rating of each potential member's relative readiness for and likelihood of acceding to NATO.'

ID number: 80017622

Year: 2001

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

327 /01024

European Security into the 21st Century : Beyond Traditional Theories of International Relations - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.

vii, 258 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 1840147520

Author(s):

1. Bronstone, Adam, 1969-

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT
3. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
4. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Notes:

Bibliography : p. 247-255. Includes index.

'This book examines the twin enlargements of NATO and the European Union within the context of the utility of traditional theories of international relations and in relationship to those countries that are not going to become new members (Russia and Turkey) and the countries on the outside of both institutions.'

ID number: 80016726

Year: 2000

49 /00129

Defence and Security for the 21st Century - London : Atalink.

132 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--STRATEGIC ASPECTS--NEW STRATEGIC CONCEPT, 1999
2. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
4. ESDI

Added entry(s):

1. Jenner, Peter, ed.
2. NATO Parliamentary Assembly (BE)

ID number: 80016716

Year: 2000

495.2 /00154

Europe and the Atlantic Relationship : Issues of Identity, Security and Power - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan.

xvi, 156 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0333753453

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. NATO--USA
4. EU--USA
5. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Eden, Douglas, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'The Kosovo war has concentrated new attention on the transatlantic relationship and its principal institution, NATO. NATO has admitted new members and adopted a new strategy, giving it a broader and more interventionist role than Europeans have been used to. Meanwhile, proposals to formulate a distinctive European Union foreign policy and defence identity could irritate the security relationship with North America that has lasted for fifty years. A struggle among Europeans for control of Europe's future is bound up with

management of the euro and arguments over integration and enlargement of the EU. The threat of a transatlantic trade war suggests the struggle is threatening to disrupt the Atlantic relationship. Will the Atlantic Community strengthen or weaken under these strains ? In this book, distinguished experts consider the arguments over enlargement of NATO and the European Union, and the course of European integration and transatlantic trade, in order to assess the state of this vital relationship and its future.'

ID number: 80018204

Year: 2000

495.3 /00073

German and American Policies towards the Baltic States : The Perspectives of EU and NATO Enlargement - Baden-Baden : Nomos.

118 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 3789065757

Subject(s):

1. NATO--BALTIC STATES
2. EU--BALTIC STATES
3. GERMANY--FOREIGN RELATIONS--BALTIC STATES
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--BALTIC STATES
5. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS--GERMANY
6. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
7. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
8. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Arnswald, Sven, ed.
2. Wenig, Marcus, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'The three Baltic states Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have come a long way in their rapprochement with the Euro-Atlantic community since they regained independence in 1991. Against the background of this positive development, the aim of this book is two-fold: first, to present a stock-taking of the achievements of the three Baltic republics on their way back to the Western European family; second, to identify and compare German and American policies and views towards the three, since Germany and the United States have to be regarded as principal actors in the enlargement processes of the EU and NATO. For this purpose, this book brings together high-ranking officials from the three Baltic republics, Germany, NATO, and EU, as well as academic experts from these countries and Russia. The added value of this book lies in its character as a contemporary document. The contributions describe the state of affairs after various important events and decisions in the context of EU and NATO enlargement: the conclusion of the Agenda 2000 package on the occasion of the Berlin European Council in March 1999, the NATO Summit in Washington in April 1999 which adopted the New Strategic Concept and made important decisions on enlargement and, finally, the Cologne European Council in June 1999, which inter alia set the course for a deepened, more cooperative relationship with Russia and for a strengthened European security policy.'

ID number: 80017418

Year: 2000

495.3 /00064

Building a Bigger Europe : EU and NATO Enlargement in Comparative
Perspective - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.

xiii, 184 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1840144610

Author(s):

1. Smith, Martin A.
2. Timmins, Graham

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 176-182. Includes index.

'This fresh and original study of EU and NATO enlargement sets both in a comparative context and considers them against a backdrop of the evolution of a pan-European security community. Part one examines and discusses the EU and NATO enlargement processes and the 'incremental linkage' which has developed between them. Part two includes separate chapters on the post-Cold War evolution of the EU and NATO overall. These discussions focus on their strengths and limitations in contributing to the broader and more cooperative kind of European security which the end of the Cold War makes possible.'

ID number: 80016440

Year: 2000

495.3 /00071

NATO Enlargement during the Cold War : Strategy and System in the Western
Alliance - Houndmills, UK : Palgrave.

x, 207 p.; 23 cm.

(Cold War History Series)

ISBN: 0312236069

Author(s):

1. Smith, Mark, 1965-

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--GREECE
3. NATO--TURKEY
4. NATO--GERMANY (WEST)
5. NATO--SPAIN

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 198-203. Includes index.

'NATO enlargement is almost always discussed in terms of the post-Cold War accessions, but in fact the Alliance has been here before. During the Cold War it took on four new members in Greece, Turkey, the Federal Republic of Germany and Spain. A process of 'neo-enlargement' that took place during its creation raises the number of Cold War accessions to nine. The author identifies the rationales behind expansion, and the attractions the Alliance had for prospective members. The book looks at each accession using a range of primary and secondary sources, and uncovers some of the foundations of the Alliance and the reasons for its remarkable resilience and longevity. In contrast to the popular idea of NATO as an anti-Soviet military machine in the Cold War, the conclusions offer some crucial insights into the relationship between the Alliance and European order, the role of the United States, and the taxonomy of membership in this most intriguing of alliances.'

ID number: 80017334

Year: 2000

495.3 /00070

Transformation and Integration : Political and Economic Aspects of NATO
Enlargement : The Bulgarian Approach - Sofia : University Publishing
'Stopanstvo'.
128 p. : ill.; 21 cm.
ISBN: 9544944060

Subject(s):

1. NATO--BULGARIA
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. University of National and World Economy (BG)

Notes:

Sofia, May 13-15, 1999.

'The willingness to join NATO that was declared in the Spring of 1997 was a manifestation of the radical turn of the defence policy course of the Government of Republic of Bulgaria. Following the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, that declaration put an end to the post-totalitarian period of unattached and fluctuating steering of the decomposing national defence. Today, the supreme national institutions conspicuously declare their support and willingness to join NATO. However, that does not imply that the process of political and defence-related transformations has been finalised. There is a widely popular saying in the country that willingness to do something , capabilities to do so and the actual performance are dramatically different things. Bulgaria is facing a hard task, and solving it will take some time. The Bulgarian society at large needs unbiased and objective information concerning the resolutions and the events outlining the way. The present collection contains the presentations delivered at a seminar on this issue; it is also an attempt to respond to the public interest.'

ID number: 80017251

Year: 2000

PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES

DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES**

2003

- Hendrickson, Ryan C.
Rudy, Michael
Transforming Slovenia's Military : Moving Toward NATO Membership.
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 16, no. 4, December 2003, p. 46-57.
At NATO's Prague Summit, the alliance agreed to expand its membership by seven states. One state, Slovenia, has received considerably less analysis of its military and defense capabilities as compared to the other newly invited members. This article examines Slovenia's efforts to modernize its Armed Forces, its defensive and weapons' capabilities, and Slovenian public opinion on NATO and the global 'war on terrorism'. Although Slovenia's military is quite small and still needs important reforms, this analysis suggests that it is making the necessary adjustments to provide useful 'niche' contributions to the alliance.

- Edmunds, Tim
NATO and its New Members.
SURVIVAL, vol. 45, no. 3, Autumn 2003, p. 145-165.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
NATO has had a major impact on defence reform in the post-communist states that have either joined or been invited to join the Alliance. Through its own preconditionality and the motivating influence of membership, through technical advice and assistance and through propagating and spreading norms of behaviour, NATO has encouraged accession candidates to consolidate their arrangements for the democratic, civilian control of armed forces and helped to shape the direction of their military reform processes. More widely, these first two waves of eastward enlargement illustrate that political goals have increasingly outpaced NATO's traditional military priorities. Indeed, the military contribution that the new members can make to the Alliance will inevitably be limited, but the significance of enlargement as a motivation for and recognition of post-communist democratisation and structural change remains considerable.

- Arbuckle, Tammy
Balkans Mission - Forces Must Be Ready for NATO.
INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEW, vol. 36, November 2003, p. 36-41.
<http://www.janes.com>
Romania and Bulgaria's membership is already on the cards, but to play a greater role their armed forces need to modernize, providing a fully operational role in the future.

- Gudiashvili, David
NATO Membership as Georgia's Foreign Policy Priority.
CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 4, 2003, p. 24-32.

** This list contains material received as of March 29th, 2004 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 29 mars 2004.

- Gates, William R.
Terasawa, Katsuaki L.
Reconsidering Publicness in Alliance Defence Expenditures : NATO Expansion and Burden Sharing.
DEFENCE AND PEACE ECONOMICS, vol. 14, no. 5, October 2003, p. 369-383.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Over the past several decades, NATO allies have debated the relative burdens and benefits of NATO membership. Recently, this concern surfaced as members debated the magnitude and distribution of NATO expansion costs. This paper presents an economic model of defence alliances to identify the benefits and burdens of alliance membership. It suggests that defence expenditures provide private benefits if countries lack common interests and mutual commitment. The model's results are used to discuss NATO's evolving roles and missions, NATO expansion and burden sharing across NATO members.

- Alamir, Fouzieh Melanie
Die zweite Runde der Öffnung der NATO nach Osten : Konjunktur eines Themas im Spiegel der Herausforderungen an die NATO seit dem 11. September.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 41. Jg., Heft 4, Juli - August 2003, S. 460-464.

- Asmus, Ronald D.
Central and Eastern Europe in an Age of New Uncertainty.
SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY AFFAIRS, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 6-15.
Most of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe will soon become members of the European Union and NATO. However, while the region has the historical triumph within its reach, the West it has worked so hard to join is increasingly divided over various issues. The foundations of major institutions that were to guarantee the future of Central and Eastern Europe are shaken. The author identifies and analyzes three main challenges that the region faces in the decade ahead - the first one lies across the Atlantic, the second one within Europe and the third one lies within the region itself.

- Kovanda, Karel
Preparing for Membership.
NATO REVIEW, Spring 2003, 3 p., accessed 24/04/03.
<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2003/issue1/english/special> pr.html
The seven countries invited to join NATO at the Prague Summit should be delighted with what is a great national achievement, but, if the Czech experience is anything to go by, they still have many hurdles to overcome before becoming members. The ratification process should not be taken for granted. Meeting so-called Minimum Military Requirements led to a three-month delay between December 1998 and March 1999 before the Czech Republic was able to sign the Washington Treaty. During the accession process it was critical to build up the Czech delegation's representation and design its internal structure. Here, it was useful to formalise the broad outlines of the delegation's inner workings in a statute. Finding qualified staff is extremely difficult and may prove even harder for the latest round of invitees, since five of the seven will be joining the European Union at about the same time. The importance of well-drafted national security legislation cannot be overestimated. There is a NATO standard policy, but Czech legislation ended up more exacting. Devising systems for secure communications and efficient document-handling is also critical to a delegation's effectiveness.

- Pop, Adrian
 Romania's Challenge.
 NATO REVIEW, Spring 2003, 3 p., accessed 24/04/03.
http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2003/issue1/english/analysis_pr.html
 As the first country to join the Partnership for Peace in January 1994, Romania has effectively been preparing for NATO membership for the best part of a decade. Bucharest has its work cut out if it is to be prepared by May 2004. Romania's Armed Forces have to continue their restructuring to become more operational and efficient. As soon as Romania becomes a fully-fledged Alliance member, the country will want and be expected to have an effective national representation at NATO and to fill a number of posts in Alliance structures. A commission has been set up within the defence ministry to identify personnel with the necessary backgrounds. The issues which threatened to undermine Romania's NATO candidature - corruption, a weak economy and the residual influence of Communist-era secret police in security agencies - remain real. And a public debate on the significance of NATO accession and the changing security environment has yet to take place.

- Serfaty, Simon
 Europe Enlarged, America Detached ?
 CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 662, March 2003, p. 99-105.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 September 11 should be a catalyst for a renewal of the West as a community of action that is shaped by interests that are common even when they are not always equally shared. What the West needs, and must seek in and beyond the EU and NATO - the two central institutions that comprise it - is more, not less, integration.

- Kay, Sean
 Putting NATO Back Together Again.
 CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 662, March 2003, p. 106-112.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 NATO's new enlargement will further complicate the workings of an alliance that is already politically unmanageable, military dysfunctional, and strategically irrelevant.

- Reiter, Erich
 Die zweite NATO-Osterweiterung : die strategische Situation und die Entwicklung der transatlantischen Beziehungen.
 OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 41. Jg., Heft 1, Jannar - Februar 2003, S. 13-22.
 In the mid 90's the US took the lead in enlarging NATO to the east, thus skilfully undermining tendencies of 'Europeanizing' European security. With the help of NATO, the US continues to maintain its position as a leading power in Europe, even though the North Atlantic Alliance is more and more developing into an armed version of the OSCE. The larger NATO gets by accepting new, militarily not highly developed states, the bigger will the differences become within the alliance, which has long turned into a two-, if not 3-class alliance.

- Homan, Kees
 Tweede uitbreidingsronde van de NAVO biedt weinig militaire meerwaarde : de NAVO-top in Praag.
 INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 57, nr. 1, januari 2003, p. 8-12.
 The author discusses the latest round of new accessions to NATO membership. The NATO Summit held in Prague in November 2002 decided to invite Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia to begin the accession talks. The events of September 11 helped to pave the way for a smooth road towards this round of enlargement. Another factor facilitating enlargement has been the distinct warming relations between the West and Russia. Nevertheless, while the new members of 1999 (Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic) are already

falling behind on their commitments, none of the new member states fully meet the NATO requirements of the Membership Action Programme. Pragmatically speaking, the new member states will actually add little to NATO in military terms. Their most substantial military value is their infrastructure and airspace access. But their membership must be considered as politically important. Similar to 1999, the rationale of enlargement is primarily to foster democracy and enhance stability in the former members of the Soviet bloc in Central and Eastern Europe and to 'keep them looking West'.

2002

- MacAllister, Ian
White, Stephen
NATO Enlargement and Eastern Opinion.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 11, no. 4, Winter 2002, p. 47-58.
The evidence of representative surveys conducted in Belarus, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine in 2000 and 2001 is that relatively few believe there is a serious and immediate threat to their security. Of potential threats, however, the US remains the most important, followed by Iran, Iraq and China. Attitudes towards NATO, in particular, are more polarized, with more concern in Russia and Belarus about the alliance's enlargement than in Moldova and Ukraine. People who are older, female and who regard themselves as on the political left are more likely to oppose NATO enlargement and the possibility of their own country's membership, although the statistical effects are generally modest. Attitudes of this kind are of limited importance in short-term within the region, but are likely to impose limits upon a more definitive reorientation towards the West in the aftermath of 11 September.

- Michael I
Romania and NATO.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 6, December 2002, p. 44-48.

- Barany, Zoltan
NATO Expansion, Round Two : Making Matters Worse.
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 11, no. 3, Spring 2002, p. 123-157.
In his article, the author focuses on four countries : Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. What lessons should we draw from the admission of the first three countries within NATO in 1999 to the question of whether or not we should admit the current nine ? Barany offers three lessons. First, the performance of the three entrants since 1999 has lent support to the arguments of those who, before the enlargement, contended that expanding the Alliance was unnecessary and counterproductive. Second, once enlargement commenced, the Alliance should continue to extend membership only to qualified applicants. Including the four states he discusses in his article will augment the Alliance's rapid intervention capability in the traditional trouble spots of the Balkans and beyond. As such, it will be more useful in strategic terms than the first wave of enlargement. Finally, a second wave of enlargement that includes these four states will create a geographically contiguous NATO which links Hungary with members on its borders (Slovakia, Romania and Slovenia) and Greece and Turkey with the rest of the Alliance through Bulgaria. Third, at present, the nine states in consideration for membership are not prepared for it. Consequently, enlargement should be postponed until these or other prospective members fulfill accession criteria, particularly given that there are no circumstances - such as an imminent threat to their security - that warrants haste.

- Zaborowski, Marcin
Power, Security and the Past : Polish-German Relations in the Context of EU and NATO Enlargements.
GERMAN POLITICS, vol. 11, no. 2, August 2002, p. 165-185.
<http://www.ingenta.com>
This article attempts to answer 'why' Poland and Germany pursued EU and NATO enlargement in the ways they did and why their strategic interests converged in support for enlargement. Two broad explanations are power maximisation, stressing rational notions of economic and security interests, and historical legacies, pointing to the importance of historical factors and national predispositions or political cultures in shaping German and Polish perspectives on enlargement and European integration. Germany's inbred attachments to multilateralism gelled with Poland's post 1989 desire to return to Europe, which resulted in a common position on enlargements. However, this would not necessarily endure in the long run, as has been indicated more recently in Polish-German discord over the issue of European federalism and the future shape of integration.

- Carlsen, Per
From the Baltic States to the Caucasus : Regional Cooperation after the Enlargements.
LITHUANIAN FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW, no. 1, 2002, p. 27-39.
Mr. Per Carlsen argues that the Baltic States is a success story. However, successful Baltic States' Euro-Atlantic integration should not be reason for US and EU to pay less attention to the region. Co-operation and the experience if integration should be moved further to the Eurasian continent : "if prosperity is not moved to the east, Russia's problems will soon become the EU's problems". Stability of Caucasus and Central Asia is also vital to the European a security and stability, Baltic states have a good potential, as well as valuable experience and expertise to build bridges between the West and East, says the distinguished expert of Baltic Sea region.

- Simon, Jeffrey
NATO at a Crossroads : Can It Cope with Post-September 11 and Enlargement Challenges ?
LITHUANIAN FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW, no. 1, 2002, p. 40-49.
American researcher Mr. Jeffrey Simon looks at NATO at a crossroads. His major concern - three challenges awaiting NATO in the nearest future : NATO capabilities, risk assessment, and enlargement. All three are interconnected. Mr. Simon look at individual invitees to NATO, tires to find the best formula enlargement. Enlargement can "either provide the catalyst for revitalising NATO to cope with 21st Century challenges, or render it irrelevant.

- Moshes, Arkady
Russian-Baltic Relations After the Double Enlargement : Re-thinking the Agenda.
LITHUANIAN FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW, no. 1, 2002, p. 50-62.
The prevailing trend in the Russian-Baltic relations on the eve of the EU and NATO enlargement in the Baltic Sea area can be defined as a search for pragmatic interaction. The author finds that Russian-Baltic relations are in the phase of pragmatism, and "economisation". The enlargements of NATO and EU present us with many opportunities for bilateral co-operation, However, double enlargements, if not handled right away, may bring negative effects in some fields (questions of Kalingrad and minorities, deepened socio-economic divide, short-term hinders for economic co-operation, negative perceptions).

- Hendrickson, Ryan C.
Expanding NATO : The Case for Slovenia.
PARAMETERS, vol. 32, no. 4, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 64-76.
<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters>
The author argues that Slovenia should be invited to join the alliance at the November 2002 summit in Prague. Although recent announcements have proposed an expansion that could include anywhere from seven to ten new members, the author makes the case that Slovenia is most deserving. In addition to Slovenia's fully functional democracy and unwavering support for NATO's broader strategic mission, perhaps the most important factor in Slovenia's favor is its geographic location. Slovenia would serve as a bridge between the two 'islands' of Italy and Hungary.

- Kramer, Mark
NATO, the Baltic States and Russia : A Framework for Sustainable Enlargement.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 4, October 2002, p. 731-756.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
In this article the author discusses the projected enlargement of NATO, focusing on the candidacy of the three Baltic states. He examines the factors that have induced the Baltic governments to seek NATO membership, the steps the alliance has taken in the lead-up to the Prague summit in November 2002, the evolution of US policy with regard to the potential entry of the Baltic states into NATO, and the arguments that have sometimes been raised against Baltic membership. He argues that the admission of the Baltic states into NATO will be a step forward both for the alliance and for European security, but he would give much greater weight to its political dimension. One key objective of this restructuring would be to establish a closer relationship with Russia, moving beyond the NATO-Russia Council that was set up in May 2002. The way to do this is not by treating Russia as a special case, but by encouraging the Russian government to apply for NATO membership (as other countries have) and then helping Russia to carry out far-reaching political and military changes that would eventually qualify it to enter the alliance.

- 'One In, All In ?' NATO's Next Enlargement.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 4, October 2002, p. 713-729.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
In 1999 NATO heads of state invited three states to join the alliance and are set to invite yet more states to join in November 2002 at the Prague summit. At present there are ten states that have declared their interest in gaining accession to NATO councils, and the prospect is that even more states will most likely be interested in joining in the years to come. The question for NATO is no longer whether to enlarge but how to manage enlargement. This article argues that NATO should invite seven of the ten currently declared aspirant states to join the alliance, on the condition that before actual accession occurs, each state must subsequently meet political, military, economic, security and legal standards that are set forth in an annexe to the official invitation. Furthermore, NATO should determine to hold a summit meeting of the North Atlantic Council triennially, for the purpose of assessing the candidates' membership progress in meeting the criteria, and to this end establish a mechanism, in the form of identified bodies, for the assessment of the candidate members' progress. Such a formal process sets forth a graduated yet assured process that aspirant states must progress through that will result in guaranteed accession to NATO councils and protection. A formal process such as this will ameliorate many of the problems that will almost surely arise from proceeding in a more ad hoc, piecemeal manner, while at the same time keeping the door open to other states who may want to join in the future.

- Cottey, Andrew
Edmunds, Timothy
Forster, Anthony
Beyond Prague.
NATO REVIEW, Fall 2002, 4 p., accessed 17/10/02.
http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2002/issue3/english/military_pr.html
Since the mid-1990s Central and Eastern European states have - with NATO's support and encouragement - instituted major defence reforms. They have put in place mechanisms for democratic, civilian control of the military, developed forces capable of participating in international peace-support operations and reduced the overall size of the armed forces. When these countries join NATO, their national defence dilemmas will increasingly become part of the wider defence capabilities and burden-sharing questions facing the Alliance as a whole. As a result, Central and Eastern European governments and NATO need collectively to explore ways forward. Solutions may involve more radical reductions in overall forces, the abandonment of some high prestige but expensive procurement plans, the development of more multinational forces and procurement projects, greater national role specialisation within NATO and the European Union, and the direction of more attention to the less glamorous aspects of defence policy such as training, operations and maintenance, and communications equipment. Without taking these steps, the Central and Eastern European military contribution to NATO and the European Union will be less than it could or should be, and the benefits of enlargement will not be fully reaped.

- Zagorski, Andrei
The OSCE in the Context of the Forthcoming EU and NATO Extensions.
HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 13, no. 3, 2002, p. 221-232.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
This contribution analyzes the potential effect of the forthcoming EU and NATO extensions on the OSCE resulting from the increasing membership in the two institutions, and from their evolving mandates. In the second and third parts, it assesses the OSCE's comparative advantages and areas of excellence followed by conclusions with regard to the future profile of the Organization within the evolving European security system.

- Romania : Joining Euro-Atlantic and European Structures.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, vol. 47, no. 3, 2002, Whole Issue.

- Haglund, David G.
Quelles frontieres 'naturelles' pour l' OTAN ?
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 47, automne 2002, p. 37-45.
Le prochain sommet de l'Alliance, qui doit se tenir a Prague en novembre 2002, doit traiter de deux questions essentielles pour l'avenir de l'OTAN : son elargissement et la reduction des inegalites, au sein de l'Alliance, entre les capacites militaires des Etats-Unis et celles de leurs allies. Mais, au-dela de l'adhesion de nouveaux membres, la question de la determination des frontieres de l'OTAN est intimement liee a l'evolution du statut de l'Alliance. Longtemps vouee a la defense collective de l'Europe occidentale face a la menace sovietique, l'OTAN - organisation regionale a vocation militaire - est-elle devenue une organisation a caractere politique, dont la mission principale est d'etre un vecteur de l'extension de la democratie, et dont le champ d'operation recouvre la planete entiere ? La reponse dependra de l'interet que les Etats-Unis voudront accorder a l'Alliance et a la consolidation du projet europeen.

- Havel, Vaclav
Prague Predictions.
NATO REVIEW, Spring 2002, 2 p., accessed 05/09/02.
<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2002/issue1/art1.html>
The author describes his aspirations for the forthcoming Prague Summit, the first NATO summit to take place behind the former Iron Curtain.

- Karkoszka, Andrzej
Following in the Footsteps.
NATO REVIEW, Spring 2002, 4 p., accessed 05/09/02.
<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2002/issue1/art3.html>
The author examines how the experience of the newest NATO allies could influence decisions to issue further membership invitations at the Prague Summit.

- Trenin, Dmitri
Silence of the Bear.
NATO REVIEW, Spring 2002, 3 p., accessed 05/09/02.
<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2002/issue1/art3.html>
The author analyses the reasons for the lack of vociferous Russian opposition to the prospect of NATO's next round of enlargement.

- Goldgeier, James M.
Not When But Who.
NATO REVIEW, Spring 2002, 3 p., accessed 05/09/02.
<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2002/issue1/art2.html>
The author compares the first and second rounds of NATO enlargement and considers the options facing the Alliance in advance of the Prague Summit.

- Toremans, Guy
Baltic Navies - Eager to Join NATO : Candidates for a Future Round of NATO Enlargement.
NAVAL FORCES, vol. 23, no. 3, 2002, p. 25-32.
As a result of their independence the need arose for the three Baltic republics to re-evaluate combat skills and to prepare the armed forces military conditions in the Baltic sea, taking into account national realities. Subsequently Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania decided to apply for NATO membership. As aspirant nations the 'trio' had to meet a number of structural and doctrinal requirements to satisfy NATO obligations and prove that their membership would contribute to the security in the region. They were also put face to face with the specific requirements of adjusting their Armed Forces to Western defence structures - meaning a greater scope of responsibilities and more complex obligations and the need to constantly develop and improve their Naval Forces. After a general description of the Partnership for Peace (PfP) path of the Baltic States for preparing them for NATO membership, a closer look at the three Baltic States' Navies is taken. Finally maritime cooperation between the Baltic States' Navies is evaluated.

- Trenin, Dimitri
L'elargissement de l'OTAN vu de Moscou.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 2, avril - juin 2002, p. 377-393.
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.

- Asmus, Roland D.

L'elargissement de l'OTAN : passe, present, futur.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 2, avril - juin 2002, p. 353-376.
Dans les annees 1990, l'elargissement de l'OTAN devient l'un des piliers de la politique etrangere des Etats-Unis : il doit permettre de faire pour la moitie orientale de l'Europe ce que l'Alliance a contribue a faire pour sa moitie occidentale : deployer un parapluie de securite pour renforcer la democratie et favoriser l'integration. Cette double visee donne lieu a certains des changements les plus profonds de la reflexion des Etats-Unis sur l'Europe et l'OTAN : tout en maintenant l'engagement de celle-ci en matiere de defense collective, les Etats-Unis la poussent a adopter un nouveau concept strategique privilegiant la defense des valeurs et des interets occidentaux, au-dela de ses frontieres immediates. La force de cette vision est confirmee par la ratification de l'elargissement de l'Alliance par le Senat en 1998. Mais, les attentats du 11 septembre modifient la donne : en renforçant l'interet des Etats-Unis pour la consolidation de la paix en Europe, en revigorant le role de l'executif americain dans la conduite de la politique etrangere et en faisant disparaitre le risque d'une confrontation avec la Russie, ils substituent a la question de l'elargissement celle de la finalite et de l'organisation de l'Alliance face aux nouvelles menaces.

- Gati, Charles

All That NATO Can Be : To Prague and Beyond.
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 68, Summer 2002, p. 79-88.
An unflinching look at the realities of Mitteleuropa, before NATO's second-round expansion summit in November.

- Slovenia and NATO.

NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, vol. 47, Special Issue 2002.

- Polikanov, Dimitrij

U-Turns in Russia-NATO Relations.
PERSPECTIVES, no. 17, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 68-79.

- Eyal, Jonathan

NATO's Forthcoming Decisions.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 2, April 2002, p. 48-55.

- Winner, Andrew C.

The Baltic States : Heading West.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 207-219.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
In autumn 2002, NATO will ask itself whether Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are truly independent and worthy of an invitation to join the alliance. This article reviews the military, economic, minority, border, and organized crime issues that will be considered.

- Baker, James A.
Russia in NATO ?
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 95-103.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
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.

- Croft, Stuart
Guaranteeing Europe's Security? : Enlarging NATO Again.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 1, January 2002, p. 97-114.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
At the end of 2002, NATO will again decide to enlarge its membership. This process of enlargement of the Alliance is driven by summit timetables; summits require commitments and grand gestures, and in Prague that could involve invitations to seven or more states to accede to the Washington Treaty. But there are three sets of issues into which this plays uncomfortably. First, there is an EU-NATO and EU security agenda (also including enlargement) which is a significant and difficult set of issues. Second, NATO itself is undergoing change, particularly after the attacks of 11 September 2001 and enlargement complicates those reform processes. Third, the wide European agenda, and in particular relations with Russia, throw out complicating factors. Is there a way of managing all of these dilemmas?

2001

- Zimmerman, William
Survey Research and Russian Perspectives on NATO Expansion.
POST-SOVIET AFFAIRS, vol. 17, no. 3, July-September 2001, p. 235-261 (PA/e).
A specialist on Russian politics and foreign relations employs large-N survey research to analyze the reactions of Russian elites and mass publics to the expansion of NATO eastward. The article assesses the salience of NATO-related issues to elites and mass publics; preferences as to current and future Russian policy responses; the correlation between elite and mass threat perceptions and their orientation to the domestic political economy; and orientations to further NATO expansion. Survey data are combined with insights about foreign-policy orientations in relatively open systems to explain and anticipate Russian policy choices in the face of NATO expansion, NATO's intervention in Kosovo, debates concerning the scope of NATO's mission, and prospects for a further increase in NATO's membership.

- Estonia : Features of a New Member.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, vol. 47, no. 4, 2001, Special Issue.

- Fouskas, Vassilis
The Balkans and the Enlargement of NATO : A Sceptical View.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 10, no. 3, Autumn 2001, p. 52-75.
Throughout the Cold War, NATO and the USA worked hard to consolidate their strategic presence in Europe, while at the same time containing the Soviet threat. But the road taken by NATO in its effort to reform itself after the collapse of Communism and the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, has not been a royal path, smooth and free of risk. NATO's geopolitical and selective way of eastward expansion encourages the creation of new 'enemy blocs' with Russia at their epicentre. The clash between NATO and the European Union over defence and security issues becomes all the more obvious. The humanitarian war over Kosovo was a risky affair whose spillover effects are badly felt today with the uprising of Albanian Macedonians; the Kosovo war, moreover, created a unique precedent in the conduct of foreign policy and clearly bordered on 'double standard' politics. Last but not least, the wider implications of

Turkey's entry into the European Union may not be, in the long run, as positive for NATO as initially thought they would be. This article offers a critical overview of NATO's reform process in the 1990s and argues that its transformation from a military defence pact into a political organisation upholding and selectively implementing liberal-democratic principles may lead the alliance into serious political deadlocks in the years to come.

- Straus, Ira

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.

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.

- Kydd, Andrew

Trust Building, Trust Breaking : The Dilemma of NATO Enlargement.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, vol. 55, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 801-828.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson and Duncan Snidal conjecture that the conditions of membership in international institutions will grow more restrictive as a response to uncertainty about state preferences. Membership criteria will act as a signalling device - states more committed to cooperation will be willing to meet the criteria, whereas those less committed to cooperation will not. The recent enlargement of NATO to include the former Warsaw Pact members, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, illustrates this logic. The potential candidates for admission had to meet standards with respect to democratization, civilian control over the military, and the resolution of border and ethnic disputes with neighbors. These criteria served to identify the more cooperative potential members and to encourage cooperative behavior among those who aspired to membership. However, NATO enlargement came at a price. Although trust was built and cooperation fostered between the East European states that gained membership, trust was broken and cooperation harmed between NATO and Russia. This unfortunate outcome represents a dilemma that arises in the expansion of a security community: while expanding the security community enlarges the zone of peace and mutual trust, it may generate fear among those still on the outside, who view it as a potentially hostile alliance. The author presents a game-theoretic analysis of this dilemma and analyzes the conditions under which it arises.

- Koenders, Bert
NATO Enlargement.
COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), October 2001, 33 p.
(491.6/24).
<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>

- Gyarfasova, Olga
Krivy, Vladimir
The Relationship of the Slovak Public to NATO : Value and Attitude
Contexts.
SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY AFFAIRS, vol. 2, no. 2, Fall 2001, p. 27-39.
Recently, the basic consensus of relevant political forces in Slovakia
about orientation towards NATO as a priority of Slovakian foreign policy
was achieved. However, many stereotypes and myths persist at the public
opinion level, which are largely standing behind the attitude of
rejection towards NATO membership. An image of the new NATO, a shift from
military-security to political and value accents, an interconnection
between West-European and transatlantic integration and many other facts
are poorly present in public consciousness. A discussion is vital to
increase public informedness and to establish solid and sustainable
public support; without this support entry will probably not take place.

- Nicolini, Mario
An Ally 'De Facto' : Slovakia on its Road to NATO Membership.
SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY AFFAIRS, vol. 2, no. 2, Fall 2001, p. 16-26.
NATO has successfully adapted to the new European security environment by
creating political, military and outreach structures that objectively
enhance security, reforms and predictability in the Euro-Atlantic
geographic region. After the accession of Poland, the Czech Republic and
Hungary in 1999, NATO's post-Cold War enlargement continues with refined
membership criteria and under increasing political pressure from the nine
other aspirant countries that are preparing for eventual admission. The
Budapest summit in June 2001 decided to invite at least one new country
to join in 2002. After two rounds of the Membership Action plan and
halfway through the third, Slovakia is - along with Slovenia - one of the
top contestants for invitation at the Prague summit.

- Havel, Vaclav
Europe's New Democracies : Leadership and Responsibility.
SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY AFFAIRS, vol. 2, no. 2, Fall 2001, p. 6-15.
In his speech, the author addresses the issue of the future of NATO
enlargement in view of its next summit in Prague. As he states, NATO is
becoming not only an important pillar of international security, but also
a solid, understandable and trustworthy component of the architecture of
a future world order; and, a model of solidarity in the defence of human
liberties. Many European countries thus, now have - for the first time in
their history - a real chance that their freedom is truly guaranteed
through their voluntary affiliation with a firm alliance and their
commitment to joint defence of shared values. In this context, the author
expresses his belief that Slovakia and Slovenia have a great chance of
being offered membership in Prague.

- Latvia in NATO : From Vision to Action.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, Special Issue, 2001, Whole
Issue.

- Koenders, Bert
NATO Enlargement.
COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), Spring 2001, 22 p.
(491.6/24).
<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>

- Valionis, Antanas
NATO Enlargement : A Lithuanian Perspective.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 5, October 2001, p. 24-26.

- Homan, Cees
De tweede uitbreiding van de NAVO : op weg naar een OVSE met militaire tanden ?
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 10, oktober 2001, p. 493-497.
The author of this article deals with the prospects for the next Eastern enlargement of NATO and gives attention to diverging opinions within the Atlantic Alliance, in particular between the United States and European member states. The NATO Summit which will be held in Prague in November 2002 will decide on a second round of invitations to NATO membership after the first wave of new members in the 1990s. Nine countries that have applied for membership take part in the Military Action Plan. Enlargement decisions will be based on progress in defence and success with democratic and market reforms, but they will also be influenced by domestic politics in member states, intra-Alliance politics and international developments. Five options are under public discussion: 1) The NATO Article 10 commitment remains open, but there will be no invitations to new members; 2) The 'Big Bang'; 3) An invitation to only one aspirant; 4) Invitations to a limited number of aspirants; and 5) Priority for enlargement of the European Union. It seems that the United States, similar to the first enlargement round in 1997, will have the decisive vote. At the moment Slovenia seems to be the only aspirant on which there exists consensus with a view to offering NATO membership. The most contentious issue is likely to be the question of the admission of the Baltic states. The membership of one or more Baltic countries is considered by Russia as crossing a 'red line'. But NATO has made it clear that Russia has no veto right.

- Kurth, James
The Next NATO : Building an American Commonwealth of Nations.
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 65, Fall 2001, p. 5, 12 p.
The US refusal to consider NATO membership for Russia is not based upon a Russian military threat to NATO's prospective new members. In the minds of the US foreign policy leadership, NATO enlargement is not really about the expansion of a military alliance but about something else. Its real purpose is to consolidate Europe into a coherent and integral part of the American vision and version of world order; it is to make of Europe a solid base and loyal partner in the worldwide struggle now developing over the grand American project of globalization. But because NATO nevertheless remains a military alliance, its enlargement will have serious military and strategic consequences.

- Ilves, Toomas Hendrik
Europa kehrt nach Estland zuruck : Besinnung auf gemeinsame transatlantische Werte.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 6, Juni 2001, S. 25-27.
Der estnische Aussenminister ist der Auffassung, dass Estland durch seine Mitgliedschaft in EU und NATO die 'Ruckkehr Europas nach Estland' institutionalisieren sollte. Die 'baltische Dimension' der NATO, die Stabilitat an den Grenzen Russlands, wurden Moskau die Chance bieten, sich endlich seinen wichtigen Herausforderungen im Innern und an seinen sudlichen Grenzen zu widmen.

- Ruhe, Volker
Zweite NATO-Erweiterung : die Fuhrungsstarke der Europaer ist gefragt.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 6, Juni 2001, S. 19-24.
Auf dem NATO-Gipfel 2002 soll die Aufnahme neuer Mitglieder beschlossen werden. Bis dato herrscht jedoch Uneinigkeit unter den europaischen NATO-Staaten. Aus Sicht des ehemaligen Bundesverteidigungsministers sollten Slowenien und die Slowakei auf jeden Fall, Bulgarien und Rumanien

unter bestimmten Voraussetzungen aufgenommen werden, nicht jedoch die drei baltischen Staaten.

- Sedivy, Jiri

The Puzzle of NATO Enlargement.

CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 22, no. 2, August 2001, p. 1-26.

Nine countries hope to receive an invitation to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 2002. However, their situations differ greatly from the three states included in the first wave of NATO enlargement. The first round was driven mainly by political considerations. The technical capabilities of the incoming members were of secondary importance. The current order of priorities is rather the opposite : technical preparedness is being more thoroughly evaluated, while the political factors driving NATO countries to enlarge are less pressing. Furthermore, the individual preferences of NATO members are more divergent. The present group of candidates is heterogeneous in terms of their levels of development. These and other factors work against a second round of enlargement anytime soon; for example, the ambiguous perception of the new members' performances in NATO, the Kosovo lesson and new concerns about Putin's Russia. On the other hand, NATO's open door policy has heightened expectations among the applicant countries. The article analyses these controversies and proposes a way to reconcile them. The author concludes that combining the so-called 'big bang' approach with individual timetables might be a solution.

- Kay, Sean

NATO's Open Door : Geostrategic Priorities and the Impact of the European Union.

SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 32, no. 2, June 2001, p. 201-215.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

NATO is committed to an open-door policy towards adding new members and has promised further decisions about the future of enlargement in 2002. The enlargement process, however, may have run its course. The USA has been ambivalent about NATO's open-door policy, and the Bush team does not seem to have resolved whether its 'realist' approach to security is to be built on unilateral initiatives, such as the National Missile Defense, or on great cooperation with allies. Without practical efforts to keep the NATO door open, the USA may lose political initiative in the European security agenda to the EU. The emergence of the EU as a security actor puts unique pressure on the USA to move beyond its ambiguity on enlargement and to establish realistic goals drawn from sound geostrategic priorities. If NATO fails to find a means of opening opportunities for expanded partner cooperation via the EU, significant duplication may occur. With renewed US leadership drawing from purely strategic priorities to drive enlargement, the USA and its allies might be persuaded to take up enlargement again. In this context, the greatest lasting contribution of NATO's Partnership for Peace may be to serve as a bridge between NATO and the EU and thus establish both institutions on a functional dual-track enlargement process.

- Desrues, Thierry

Moyano, Eduardo

Italian Diplomacy in the NATO Enlargement Process.

MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 6, no. 1, Spring 2001, p. 48-63.

Whilst attention has been focused on Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic as the latest members of NATO, Rome has been pushing behind the scenes for its favoured candidates for membership, Slovenia and Romania. As a consequence, of its geographical location, Italy has in fact a primary interest in the stabilisation of the Balkan region and in its gradual integration with the rest of Europe. This interest has shaped its position in the debate on NATO expansion, leading Rome to advocate an enlargement of the Alliance directed not only towards central and eastern Europe but also to the south-east of the continent in the belief that this would contribute to restoring security in the Balkans, with

beneficial implications for the whole continent.

- Simon, Jeffrey
NATO's Membership Action Plan and Defense Planning : Credibility at Stake.
PROBLEMS OF POST-COMMUNISM, vol. 48, no. 3, May - June 2001, p. 28-36.
Partnership programs make NATO membership contingent on political, economic and defense reform. But NATO's credibility will be undermined unless it extends invitations to at least some aspirant states.

- Reiter, Dan
Why NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy.
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 25, no. 4, Spring 2001, p. 41-67.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Supporters of NATO enlargement contend that it will promote the spread of democracy, which in turn will lead to greater stability in Europe. The author disagrees. He maintains that the historical record - during and after the Cold War - fails to establish any correlation between NATO membership and the expansion of democracy. He also suggests that the costs and risks of NATO enlargement greatly exceed the potential benefits. Adding new members will only exacerbate tensions with Russia and diminish the likelihood of cooperation on a host of pressing security issues, including arms control and peacekeeping.

- Burant, Stephen R.
After NATO Enlargement : Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, and the Problem of Further European Integration.
PROBLEMS OF POST-COMMUNISM, vol. 48, no. 2, March - April 2001, p. 25-41.
NATO's newest members are helping their neighbor countries to qualify for NATO and the European Union by building bilateral institutional links with them. Such cooperation may prevent a new division of Europe.

- Koenders, Bert
NATO Relations with Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council Member Countries.
COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 2000, 16 p.
(491.6/24).
<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>

2000

- Schonberg, Karl K.
The Evolution of American Attitudes Toward the Atlantic Alliance : Continuity and Change from the Washington Treaty to NATO Enlargement.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 4, Winter 2000, p. 1-30.
This article contrasts the views of NATO expressed by American leaders in the 1998 debate over alliance expansion, with those expressed in the initial debate over the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1948 and 1949. A focused comparison of these cases is conducted primarily to illustrate the ways in which American attitudes toward the alliance have evolved since the years immediately following World War II, though more general conclusions about the ways in which US foreign policy adapts to meet the demands of new international conditions emerge as well. This study concludes that the American understanding of the transatlantic security relationship has changed significantly over time, and that traditional realist descriptions of the role of alliances in statecraft are no longer adequate to explain the US view of NATO.

- Hyde-Price, Adrian
 The Antinomies of European Security : Dual Enlargement and the Reshaping of European Order.
 CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 21, no. 3, December 2000, p. 139-167.
 The reshaping of the European security order is primarily taking place through a process of phased institutional enlargement of NATO and the European Union. This article addresses a gap in the literature by focusing on the relationship between the two enlargement processes, and their combined impact on the reshaping of European order. The central argument advanced is that the dual enlargement process lacks a coherent comprehensive concept, and that the decoupling of NATO from EU enlargement threatens to undermine efforts to build a stable peace order in Europe. By analysing the paradoxes and dilemmas of the phased enlargement process, this paper seeks to expose some of the underlying antinomies of post-Cold War European security.

- NATO's Triple Challenge.
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 3, July 2000, p. 495-518.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 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.

- Wallace, William
 From the Atlantic to the Bug, from the Arctic to the Tigris ? : The Transformation of the EU and NATO.
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 3, July 2000, p. 475-493.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 Both the European Union and NATO are not committed in principle to substantial enlargement. It remains doubtful, however, how far member governments are making a success of further enlargement, let alone thinking through its strategic implications. Yet the process of dual enlargement will define the future security, political and economic structures of the European region. During the past year west European governments have extended promises of eventual membership to the western Balkan states and to Turkey; while the future positions of Ukraine, Russia, the Caucasus states and the southern Mediterranean associates all raise delicate policy issues. Hard choices remain to be made about the adaptation of these organizations to eastern enlargement, and about the management of relations with the near neighbours who will remain outside.

- Tchantouridze, Lasha
 Geopolitics vs. Idealism : International Political Communication in the NATO Enlargement Debate.
 PERSPECTIVES, no. 15, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 5-15.
 In this paper the author tries to demonstrate how and why political communication between NATO and Russia should be so strained today.

- Croft, Susan
The EU, NATO and Europeanisation : The Return of Architectural Debate.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 3, Autumn 2000, p. 1-20.
In international relations, ideas matter. Not only are ideas important, and rooted in a relationship with interests, but present ideas are shaped by the outcome of past ideational battles. It is the impact of conflict between the ideas of the early 1990 upon the present that concerns this article. The first section of this article suggests that ideas matter. The second then examines the interplay of those ideas of European security in the early 1990s. The third and fourth sections trace the inevitable move to NATO enlargement that arose as a consequence. And the conclusion examines how this contemporary history has shaped the debates of today.

- Meyer, Kent R.
US Support for Baltic Membership in NATO : What Ends, What Risks ?
PARAMETERS, vol. 30, no. 4, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 67-82.
This article examines US strategy regarding NATO enlargement, assesses its strengths and weaknesses, and recommends changes to protect vital US interests in Europe while providing the Baltic Republics with a security alternative to NATO membership.

- Hendrickson, Ryan C.
NATO's Open Door Policy and the Next Round of Enlargement.
PARAMETERS, vol. 30, no. 4, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 53-66.

- Explaining NATO Enlargement.
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 21, no. 2, August 2000, Special Issue.

- Bozan, Mahmut
NATO, New Threats and New Strategies.
EURASIAN STUDIES, no. 17, Spring - Summer 2000, p. 81-99.

- Rupp, Richard
NATO 1949 and NATO 2000 : From Collective Defense Toward Collective Security.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 23, no. 3, September 2000, p. 154-176.
During the past ten years, NATO has been gradually transformed from a collective defense organization into one that more closely resembles a collective security organization. The Cold War NATO unified nations that shared a vital interest in confronting a specific threat. The post-Cold War NATO identifies no state as a threat. Rather, managing general Eurasian instability is to serve as the organization's raison d'etre. Historically, international organizations have failed when called upon to meet similar challenges. If NATO expansion continues, the organization will be required to address a myriad of security challenges and will eventually atrophy and collapse.

- Perlmutter, Amos
The Corruption of NATO : NATO Moves East.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 23, no. 3, September 2000, p. 129-153.
The Cold War ushered the end of political, and especially military, institutions that were designed to deter the Soviet Union and its ambitions on the Central Front. However, the NATO Alliance is unwilling to reform and downsize. In fact, a newly adopted strategic doctrine extended NATO to encompass the newly independent East European states. The first military exercises of an extended NATO was a response to a humanitarian crisis. American political capital was wasted in the war

against Yugoslavia, which was never an American strategic interest, and succeeded in straining relations not only with Russia, but also with China. The Kosovo War, which was designed to demonstrate the political effectiveness of an extended NATO, instead contributed to its corruption.

- Bogdan, Radu
Romanian Reflections.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 48, Summer - Autumn 2000, p. 23-25.
The author considers Romania's aspirations to join the European Union and NATO and the reform programme currently underway in his country.

- Roman, Petre
Romania's Foreign Policy on the Threshold of its Integration into European and Euro-Atlantic Structures.
ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 6, no. 1-2 2000, p. 6-21.

- Williams, Michael C.
Neumann, Iver B.
From Alliance to Security Community : NATO, Russia, and the Power of Identity.
MILLENNIUM, vol. 29, no. 2, 2000, p. 357-387.
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'.

- Sarvas, Stefan
The NATO Enlargement Debate in the Media and Civil-Military Relations in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 1, Spring 2000, p. 113-126.
This article links the NATO enlargement debate to the course of civil-military relations in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. After a general analysis of civil-military relations and the media, it looks at the NATO membership issues discussed across seven dimensions and their impact on relations between civil society and the military. It concludes that a gap existed between the governing elite and the public in both countries.

- Bebler, Anton
Slovenia and the Second Round of NATO Enlargement.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 1, Spring 2000, p. 105-112.

- Meri, Lennart
Estonia's Security And Defence Policy : New Steps Towards NATO Membership.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 145, no. 3, June 2000, p. 18-20.

- Beltran, Jacques
 Securite europeenne et securite des Etats baltes : les vertus de l'ambiguite strategique.
 POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 65e annee, no. 1, printemps 2000, p. 33-46.
 L'auteur pose ici la question de l'integration des Etats baltes dans l'architecture europeenne de securite, perspective a l'egard de laquelle Moscou a montre une franche hostilite. A l'heure ou les relations entre les pays occidentaux et la Russie tendent a se degrader apres la crise du Kosovo et face au conflit en Tchetchenie, la question des pays baltes constitue, en effet, un risque de crise potentielle. Tout en reconnaissant la legitimité des aspirations baltes, l'auteur considere que l'OTAN n'est pas la solution la plus appropriée. Plutot que d'envisager une adhesion des pays baltes a l'Alliance atlantique, il pense qu'il serait preferable de maintenir ces Etats dans une situation d' 'ambiguite strategique'.

- Odom, William E.
 Making NATO Interventions Work.
 STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 28, no. 2, Spring 2000, p. 13-18.
 NATO has entered a new era in which it must make its interventions succeed if it is to retain its relevance for European and Atlantic security. Enlargement is an intervention into Central Europe, and the NATO military operations in Bosnia and Kosovo are interventions in the Balkans. Putting the NATO umbrella over these areas is analogous to putting it over Western Europe in the 1950s. That was successfully done by 'a decisive war' against Germany and Italy. Unless NATO perceives the wars in the Balkans as requiring similar outcomes and carries through to achieve them, it risks its very future.

- Kostadinova, Tatiana
 East European Public Support for NATO Membership : Fears and Aspirations.
 JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH, vol. 37, no. 2, March 2000, p. 235-249.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 A defining characteristic of democratic regimes is that they depend on widespread popular approval of domestic and foreign policy choices made by their elites. This article examines the sources of East European public support for NATO membership. It argues that citizens' attitudes in favor of participation in the North Atlantic defense system are affected, at the individual level, by their own values and characteristics, and at the aggregate level, by the national past experience and the domestic political context. The hypothesized effects of micro- and macro-level factors are tested through logistic regression analysis of data from the 1995 Central and East European Barometer Survey. The results suggest that perceptions of threat from Russia developed in nations occupied by the Soviet Union at the beginning of World War II and the ex-Communists' access to government are factors which mould public opinion and explain differences across countries. Pro-integration and pro-market attitudes emerge as influential determinants of NATO approval which account for the variation observed between individuals. These findings and their theoretical and practical implications are discussed in the context of the recent eastward expansion of NATO and the Kosovo crisis, demonstrating the need to study the dynamics in East European popular appreciations of foreign policy choices over time.

- Light, Margot
 Lowenhardt, John
 White, Stephen
 A Wider Europe : the View from Moscow and Kiev.
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 1, January 2000, p. 77-88.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 The expansion of NATO and the enlargement of the EU will produce outside states in which perceptions and politics will be influenced by feelings of exclusion and isolation. Russia and Ukraine are two important

examples. In Russia the sense of exclusion results from NATO expansion and it was exacerbated by the air strikes against Serbia. Although Ukraine also responded negatively to NATO's attack on Serbia, Ukrainian perceptions of exclusion are caused primarily by disappointment that EU membership is proving difficult to attain. Based on elite interviews, opinion surveys and the analysis of focus group discussions, this article compares and contrasts the attitudes towards NATO and the EU in the two countries.

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