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TAIWAN ET SES RELATIONS AVEC LA CHINE

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'The crisis in the Taiwan Strait in 1995-96, and fresh tensions in mid-1990, made it clear that relations between China and Taiwan are not only about trade, investment and tourism, but also about war and peace. Taiwan's democratisation means that it will become increasingly difficult for the island's people to contemplate reunification with the mainland. Beijing will not tolerate Taiwanese independence, and the prospects of a coherent US policy concerning the dispute remain distant. Taiwan's progress towards a new identity and greater self-determination seems unstoppable; unless all the parties involved accept the existence of a new Taiwan, the risk of serious conflict will persist.'

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PART II : MAGAZINE ARTICLES
DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES

- Contemporary Taiwan.

- Taiwan : republique de Chine.
  POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 72, ete 1996, numero entier.

- Ash, Robert
Kueh, Y. Y.
Economic Integration within Greater China : Trade and Investment Flows between China, Hong-Kong and Taiwan.

- Buruma, Ian
Taiwan's New Nationalists.
The Nationalist Party still holds the reins of government, but Lee Teng-hui, elected in Taiwan's first direct presidential contest in March, has brought the island a long way from the repressive regime of Chiang Kai-shek. Himself a native of Taiwan, Lee has opened up his party as well as the political system, divesting the mainlanders who arrived in 1949 and governed the country for decades of much of their power. Their dream of reunification has gone the way of their might, replaced by the native Taiwanese desire for an independent country. As Taiwan's newborn democracy matures, homegrown nationalism will carry the day.

- Cabestan, Jean-Pierre
Taiwan's Mainland Policy : Normalization, Yes; Reunification, Later.
The aim of this article is on the one hand to show that the main short and mid-term goal of Taiwan's mainland policy is not the reunification of China but a gradual normalization of its links with the PRC. On the other hand, it assesses the domestic and outside constraints exerted on this policy.

- Campbell, Kurt M.
Mitchell, Derek J.
Crisis in the Taiwan Strait ?
The simmering dispute over the status of Taiwan may soon explode in violence. The Chinese regime sees Taiwan's recent democratization as an implicit challenge to its own authority and legitimacy and thus continues to threaten and intimidate the island. Meanwhile, Taiwan has procured advanced defensive weapons from the US. Growing tensions across the Taiwan Strait, along with the lack of military and diplomatic communication, make conflict - possibly involving the US - increasingly likely. To avoid such an outcome, Washington should actively facilitate cross-strait dialogue and deter provocations by either side. But it must do so soon, for both China and Taiwan are growing impatient.

** This list contains material received as of September 2001 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 11 septembre 2001.
This article examines the ongoing set of relationships among the US, the People's Republic of China, and the republic of China on Taiwan. This has been a difficult strategic (political, economic and military) problem for the US over the half century since communist forces drove Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist forces from the mainland to refuge on Taiwan in 1949. The situation of 'two Chinas' has persisted all through the Cold War and now into the confusing post-Cold War era. As the center of gravity of global strategic affairs shifts to the Asian hemisphere, this triangle will continue to be a focus of national and international policy concern in Washington, Beijing, and Taipei (and in many other capitals). It is likely to persist for some time.

- Chan, Lien

- Chan, Lien
The ROC on Taiwan Belongs in the UN.

- Chang, Jaw-ling Joanne
Lessons from the Taiwan Relations Act.

- Cheng, Tun-Jen
Democratizing the Quasi-Leninist Regime in Taiwan.

- Chevalierias, Philippe
Chine-Taiwan : le poids des échanges économiques.

Les relations économiques entre Taiwan et la République populaire de Chine ont pris un tour nouveau depuis l'élection du Président Chen Shui-bian, en mars 2000 : l'une des premières décisions du nouveau pouvoir consista en effet à lever l'interdiction des liaisons 'directes' avec le continent, mettant fin à un principe affiché depuis plus de cinquante ans. Au-delà de sa portée symbolique, cette décision mettait en accord les réalités et le discours économique des dirigeants taiwanais, car les années 90 furent celles d'une progression géométrique des échanges économiques entre Pékin et Taïpei, entraînant une interdépendance croissante. Cette interdépendance jointe à la perspective d'une entree prochaine dans l'Organisation mondiale du commerce (OMC), pourrait conduire les deux gouvernements à mettre leurs divergences politiques en veilleuse. Dans ce cas, le parti taiwanais d'une separation des questions politiques et économiques serait en passe d'etre gagne pour le bien de la paix dans le detroit de Formose.

- Christensen, Thomas J.
Theater Missile Defense and Taiwan's Security.

- Cohen, Marc J.
One China or Two ? : Facing up to the Taiwan Question.
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 4, no. 4, Fall 1987, p. 621-649.
- Cotton, James
  Redefining Taiwan: 'One Country, Two Governments'.

- Danjou, Francois
  Relations Chine-Taiwan: mythes et realites.

- Delage, Fernando
  China y la democracia en Taiwan.
  La victoria en las elecciones presidenciales de Taiwan del candidato de la oposicion abre una nueva fase en las relaciones de la isla con China, donde todavia no se descarta recurrir al uso de la fuerza. La consolidacion de la democracia taiwanesa y la prosperidad de su economia hacen aumentar su alejamiento del continente.

- Dreyer, June Teufel
  Flashpoint in the Taiwan Strait.

- Geoffrey, Claude
  Taiwan: un statut a geometrie variable.
  In March 1996 Taiwan will hold its first direct presidential elections. These will mark the crowning achievement of the democratization process initiated in the early 1990s. This first election with universal suffrage will probably not result in a change in power. President Lee Tenghui has every chance of being re-elected. Despite the popular support which he would then be able to claim, the elected president should not adopt a new foreign policy stance regarding either China or the international community. While continuing their offensive towards the UN, the Taipei authorities are not expected to proclaim the existence of a sovereign Republic of China in the territory over which they will then have de facto control. For, if they were to do this, their goal of reuniting Greater China and Taiwan (albeit a very theoretical one for the time being) would be severely jeopardized.

- Goldstein, Steven M.
  Schriver, Randall
  An Uncertain Relationship: The US, Taiwan and the Taiwan Relations Act.

- Gregor, A. James
  East Asian Stability and the Defense of the Republic of China on Taiwan.

  Even with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the strategic value of Taiwan to the United States has not diminished, especially given the growing economic importance of the Western Pacific Rim. The United States has an interest in maintaining the strategic status quo in East Asia. Despite growing economic interdependencies, the People's Republic of China remains a reactive nationalist power, suspicious of its major trading partners - Japan and the United States - and committed to its irredentist mission. By 1995, Beijing's intention to extend effective control over the waters of the South China Sea was manifest. It is in this context that the Taiwan Straits crisis should be examined. The US decision to interpose its military in the Taiwan Straits was not so much a defense of
Taiwan per se, but an overt sign of resistance to Beijing's program to control the immediate coastal and offshore waters of East Asia. Taiwan is at the center of a US policy of sustaining and fostering stability in East Asia. The United States should encourage investment and trade activities with the People's Republic of China, while continuing a forward-deployed military presence in the region.

- Ho, Szu-yin
Politique et rhetorique dans les relations entre la Chine et Taiwan.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 1, janvier – mars 2001, p. 55-68.

L'élection de Chen Shui-bian a la présidence de Taiwan en mars 2000 marque un tournant dans les relations entre Taipei et Pekin. Longtemps dominée par le nationalisme ferme du Kuomintang, d'un côté, et par le recours répété à la démonstration de force, de l'autre, l'imbroglio sino-taiwanais dévoile aujourd'hui un double visage : une rhétorique parfois enflammée et toujours complexe continue d'exprimer les incertitudes politiques quant à l'avenir de l'île, tandis que les réalités économiques semblent jouer en faveur d'une coexistence pacifique des deux régimes de part et d'autre du détroit. À terme, ce sont peut-être les forces du marché et de la globalisation qui trouveront la solution du dilemme indépendance-réunification qui reste un élément d'instabilité majeur en Asie du Nord-Est.

- Holzman, Marie
Taiwan : l'enfance d'une démocratie.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 92, été 2001, p. 393-406.

Taiwan's nascent democracy continues to experience a difficult debut. President Chen Sui-bian, whose election in March 2000 marked the first true democratic change in nearly a century, has not faced an easy task. Several missteps, notably the matter of the Kungliao nuclear power plant, have brought serious criticism from even his own political allies. He must also deal with hostility from the business community, which is awaiting the least sign to launch a conquest of the lucrative Chinese mainland market. Then there are attacks from the former single party, the Kuomintang, which for tactical reasons - and despite the fact that its members are virulent anti-Communists - has opted to promote closer ties with Beijing even at the risk of confusing its traditional electoral base. In this muddled context the new president will clearly need time to establish the foundations of mutual confidence between the two banks of the Taiwan Strait.

- Howe, Christopher
Taiwan in the 20th Century : Model or Victim ? Development Problems in a Small Asian Economy.

- Hughes, James H.
The People's Republic of China Confronts Taiwan.

The author examines the Chinese military threat to Taiwan and after a brief historical synopsis proceeds to assess PRC preparations for a possible invasion of Taiwan, detailing the technology and resources available for a PRC assault and Taiwanese resistance.
The status of Taiwan vis-a-vis China is one that has vexed the two communities for many years. While Taiwan insists on its own autonomous identity, the international community generally recognises the Government in Beijing as that of the whole of China. But in recent years, it appears to the Government of the People's Republic of China that this consensus has been muddied. Here Gong Jianzhong sets out the Chinese perspective that Taiwan is an irrevocable part of China, historically and in the eyes of the world. While Taiwan has had strong economic development, it has also been able to take advantage of the growth of the mainland economy, without which it would not be in so strong a position. The government in Beijing desires that Taiwan should come to the negotiating table, accepting the principle of 'one China' and negotiate on an equal basis to end the years of hostility which divides the people of the mainland and Taiwan.

One of the world's hot spots is the Taiwan Strait. The two powers separated by this water have been antagonists since 1949; however, the situation recently was exacerbated by suggestions that Taiwan might seek 'statehood'. China may resort to military operations against the island if Taipei declares independence. For a threat to be real, there must be both motivation and hardware to carry it out. The military threats China might employ are invasion, limited invasion, blockade, and missile strikes. Clearly, China has both long- and short-term motivators to conduct such operations. A rational analysis, however, of China's capabilities suggests it does not have the hardware to carry out the threats. Even the nuclear capability open to Beijing is not usable if rational thinking is employed. Yet short-term internal pressures may undermine Beijing's desire to pursue a rational path.

Although Beijing and Taipei seem farther apart than ever on the key issue of sovereignty, the PRC leadership appears to have taken a pragmatic wait-and-see attitude pending the outcome of Taiwan's presidential elections. Taiwan's emboldened electorate, however, may well have other ideas.

The author deals with the relationship between Taiwan and the People's Republic of China following the change of government in Taipei earlier this year. The question is: will Jiang Zemin and Chen Shui-bian, who are both de facto heads of state, follow in the footsteps of the North-Korean leader Kim Jong-Il and the South-Korean President Kim Dae-Jung, and start a rapprochement? Will they break the deadlock of more than half a century? The author tries to answer this question by elaborating on the ways in which Jiang Zemin's and Shui-bian's direct predecessors have dealt with this delicate matter, and concludes that a possible solution may be found in a form of (con)federalism: the Chinese Union.
Earlier this year, an openly pro-independence candidate, Chen Shui-bian, won the general election to become the new president of Taiwan. This new development gave Taiwan's undeclared drive for independence a tremendous push. At the same time, it prompted the Mainland Chinese to step up pressure for reunification. As tension continues to increase, the specter of war over Taiwan looms large. The US, as a third party in the cross-Taiwan Strait conflict, holds the key to peace in this situation. A US policy of 'no ambiguity' is absolutely essential for maintaining stability along the Taiwan Strait. With the US holding the balance, the two sides of China would have time to reduce tension, find common ground, and eventually negotiate a gradual and peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue.

Asia has had to face a severe financial crisis recently and Dr. Lee here suggests that, as a result, it is time to reconsider the premises, dating from the 1980s and 1990s, on which the world deals with the Asia Pacific. These premises are now outdated and among the most unrealistic is the current status of Taiwan in the international community. The tacit acceptance by the international community of the myth engendered by the People's Republic of China that the PRC has sovereignty over Taiwan is the major obstacle to an upgrading of Taiwan's status. Despite fulfilling the required qualifications Taiwan remains outside the UN, WTO, IMF and all UN-affiliated organisations. Dr. Lee warns that the marginalising of the ROC destabilises the Southeast Asian region, not least because the Chinese assumption that Taiwan is a part of the PRC legitimises to some the mainland authorities use of force against Taipei in 'an internal affair' such as the Taiwan Strait issue.
The sharp response by Beijing to Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui's US visit in 1995 reflects a fundamental change in China's perception of Taiwan's true position on the issue of reunification and consequently a major change in its Taiwan policy. Based on the latest information, and through a detailed examination of the evolution of Beijing's perceptions of Taiwan's (especially its leaders') tendency toward independence, this article demonstrates that the current tussle between Lee Teng-hui and Beijing is on reunification or not rather than on democracy or not. It also illustrates some future trends in the development of Beijing-Taipei relations, and answers why a breakthrough is so difficult. For Beijing, so long as Lee Teng-hui is in power, it will always be on guard having played into his hands and does not harbor any extravagant expectation of a dramatic breakthrough. Cross-strait talks may eventually be resumed. However, with deep distrust on both sides, they are likely to be a marathon. No deal will be done soon.

Ma, Ying-jeou
Taipei-Beijing Relations and East Asian Stability: Implications for Europe.

Manning, Robert A.
Washington-Pekin-Taipei: le triangle de verre.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 88, été 2000, p. 325-343.

The independence candidate Chen Shui-bian has been elected to the Taiwanese presidency in a climate of high tension orchestrated by Beijing. This new development shed light on the dangers of a major conflict in East Asia, which could set China and the US - both nuclear powers - on collision paths. Bolstered by its remarkable economic success and a successful democratization, the nationalist outpost now aspires to international recognition, flying in the face of the official doctrine which has held sway on the mainland for the past fifty years. For Beijing, there is only one China and Taiwan remains a Chinese province. But mainland threats should not necessarily lead us to fear the worst. The Chinese Army has neither the human nor the military resources to invade Taiwan, or at least not for another decade. Taiwanese leaders should capitalize on this ten-years 'window of opportunity' to engage constructive dialogue with their mainland counterparts.

Marks, Thomas A.
Two Chinese Roads to Military Modernization and a US Dilemma.

Mastel, Greg
China, Taiwan, and the World Trade Organization.
http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod (user name = 0694991.nato, password = nato)

Commercial ties have been the exception to the pessimistic forecast for cross-strait relations. Mutual WTO membership, expected in the near future, will likely force changes in the relationship between Taipei and Beijing that diplomacy cannot achieve.

Mirsky, Jonathan
Democratic Prospects: China and Taiwan.
The increasingly strident tone of Beijing’s declarations during the Taiwanese presidential elections should surprise no one. For the past 2,000 years, China has been gradually expanding its influence. The imperialist ideology which the communist regime adopted after 1949 inspires a desire for hegemony of which Taiwan might well be the next victim. Faced with economic pressures and the growing risk of a social explosion, Beijing has relentlessly pursued nationalist and xenophobic policies, including a massive military build-up. This constitutes a very clear threat to which the West and in particular the US have not responded with the firmness required. It is nonetheless essential to check the expansionism of this regime if the foundations for fruitful coexistence with China are to be set in place.

American efforts to reassure Beijing have confused its Taiwan policy, increasing the risk of war. The US needs to return to a policy that worked well for a quarter century: combining clarity about ends with 'strategic ambiguity' about the means.

Taiwan's young democracy has evolved at remarkable speed, but the island has yet to complete a peaceful transition alternating the parties in power. The March presidential election could completely reconfigure the island's political system and its relationship with mainland China.

The end of one-party dominance in Taiwan will test democracy's resilience on the island - and the mainland government's patience.
- Ross, Robert S.
The 1995-96 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Coercion, Credibility, and the Use of Force.
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 25, no. 2, Fall 2000, p. 87-123.

Many scholars have argued that China's use of force in 1996 coerced the Clinton administration into reversing the trend toward improving US-Taiwan relations and into opposing Taiwan independence. They also have argued that the US needs to adopt a stronger posture against Chinese policy toward Taiwan. This article challenges these views. It argues that both China and the US achieved their strategic objectives as a result of the confrontation.

- Scobell, Andrew
Taiwan as Macedonia?: Strait Tensions as a Syndrome.

In June 1995 a private visit to the United States by Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui generated a wave of acrimonious rhetoric and bellicose activity by China. Tensions in the Taiwan Strait, which by the early 1990s appeared to be at a four-decade low, suddenly escalated. In mid 1995 and early 1996 China conducted missile tests in the waters around Taiwan and conducted large scale military exercises off the Chinese coast in the vicinity of the island. But just as suddenly as tensions had heightened, they dissipated following the conclusion of Taiwan's first-ever direct presidential election in March 1996. China acknowledged the result, the reelection of President Lee, and urged Taipei to resume a dialogue with Beijing. The recent confrontation between China and Taiwan is one that is not easily explained or predicted. This article contends that the recent China-Taiwan tensions can best be explained by factoring in ethnicity and irredentism.

- Shambaugh, David
Taiwan's Security: Maintaining Deterrence amid Political Accountability.

Taiwan's security is largely derivative of its ambiguous international identity and status. After briefly discussing this linkage, this article explores the organization and capabilities of Taiwan's security apparatus and armed forces, its military budget and recent procurement trends, the military balance across the Taiwan Strait, and potential conflict scenarios.

- Torres, Francois
Taiwan: evolutions et perspectives.

- Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf
China-Taiwan: US Debates and Policy Choices.

Confrontation between China and Taiwan comprises the single most dangerous dispute for the US in the world today. Although the Taiwan Strait is peaceful again, and relations appear to be improving between Washington and Beijing as well as between Beijing and Taipei, all the problems that prompted the 1996 confrontation persist. For China, the aim is simple: to prevent Taiwan's independence and all policies that promote it. For Taiwan, the question is more complicated, involving efforts to increase its international status, preserve its prosperity and nurture its fledgling democracy. For the US, relations between China and Taiwan pose a dilemma that reaches to the heart of its Asian posture. While US policy should be cautious and even-handed, Washington should not assume that unification is the only possible future.
In responding to perceived new threats in the post-Cold War era, the US is now collaborating with Japan to deploy a theater missile defense (TMD) system in Northeast Asia. Confronting a mounting military threat from China, Taipei has seized on Washington's program as an opportunity to acquire anti-missile capability from the US. Interpreting US and Taiwanese actions as attempts to contain China and to undermine unification efforts with Taiwan, Beijing leaders strongly object both to the deployment of TMD in Northeast Asia and to the introduction of the related technology and equipment into Taipei. While Washington will continue its plan of deploying TMD, it is taking an ambiguous position regarding Taiwan's access to missile defense technology and equipment by deferring the sale of AEGIS destroyers to Taipei. The Clinton administration's ambiguous policy represents an unbalanced approach to cross-Strait relations and could inadvertently precipitate a dangerous crisis in the Taiwan Strait.
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