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**ON THE EVE OF THE PRAGUE SUMMIT :
NATO'S ENLARGEMENT**

**A LA VEILLE DU SOMMET DE PRAGUE :
L'ÉLARGISSEMENT DE L'OTAN**

Bibliographies Thématiques
No. 8/2002

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PART I : BOOKS

PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

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

* This list contains material received as of October 14th, 2002 - Cette liste est arrêtée au 14 octobre 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 /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

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 /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

URI: <http://www.upi-fiia.fi>

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

Year: 2002

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

495.3 /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 /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 /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 /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

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 /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

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

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 /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

1999

495.3 /00063

The Challenge of NATO Enlargement - Westport, CT : Praeger.

vii, 244 p. ; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0275961087

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Bebler, Anton, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 233-234. Includes index.

'Twenty-six key officials and experts analyse the NATO decision to expand into Central-Eastern Europe. Particular attention is paid to the rationale, pros and cons, and the impact on Russia, Ukraine, the European neutrals, the new NATO members and the remaining hopefuls. The volume begins by presenting the official NATO explanation of the 1997 decision to expand into Central-Eastern Europe and examines the problems the decisions might well create. Next are essays providing a critique of the decision, mainly from the standpoint of the West's future relations with Russia. Polish, Czech and Hungarian officials then describe their countries' positions and expectations as new NATO members, after which the credentials of six candidates for the next round of NATO enlargement are analysed. After discussing the impact of NATO enlargement on the European neutrals and the Nordic states, the volume concludes with a presentation of major arguments for and against the enlargement and the known or presumed motivations of the main actors related to NATO enlargement.'

ID number: 80016405

Year: 1999

441 /00075

The Enlargement of Europe - Manchester : Manchester University Press.

xv, 188 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

(Political Analyses)

ISBN: 07190497197

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

3. WEU

4. OSCE

5. COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book examines the debates surrounding the post-Cold War enlargement of the principal European organisations : the European Union, NATO, the Western European Union, the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. All were founded during the Cold War but since then have had to adjust to the dramatic changes that have taken place. They now face demands both to enlarge their functions and enlarge their membership to admit states from central, eastern and southern Europe. The extent and speed with which the process of enlargement will take place will be the most important factor in determining the future development of Europe. The book focuses on 3 main questions : (1) is there one

or several visions guiding the enlargement process ? (2) have there been separate motives for enlargement between the different organisations ? (3) has there been a deliberate policy by Western governments to pursue a 'cost-free' expansion process ?'

ID number: 80016391

Year: 1999

49 /00118

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Atlantic Alliance : A New NATO for a New Europe - [s.l.] : Istituto Affari Internazionali.

var. pag.; 31 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. CRISIS MANAGEMENT--NATO
4. ESDI

Added entry(s):

1. Istituto Affari Internazionali (IT)
2. Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale (IT)
3. NATO Office of Information and Press

Notes:

Italian Chamber of Deputies. Sala della Lupa. Rome, January 25, 1999.

ID number: 80015830

Year: 1999

495.3 /00061

The Future of NATO : Enlargement, Russia, and European Security - Montreal : MacGill-Queen's University Press.

xii, 261 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 077351872X

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. David, Charles-Philippe, ed.
2. Levesque, Jacques, 1940- , ed.
3. Centre for Security and Foreign Policy Studies (CA)
4. Teleglobe+Raoul-Dandurand Chair of Strategic and Diplomatic Studies (CA)

Notes:

'This book looks at the pragmatic and theoretical issues that underlie the question of enlarging NATO's membership and the consequences that enlargement would have for international relations. It examines the policies of some of NATO's leading member states and deals with the issue of enlargement from the point of view of the East European candidates, focusing on Russia and its opposition to the current process.'

ID number: 80016142

Year: 1999

495.3 /00065

The Future of Transatlantic Relations : Central and East Europe's Contribution - Budapest : Hungarian Atlantic Council.

171 p.; 20 cm.

(Euro-Atlantic Library ; 3)

ISBN: 9630387603

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Hungarian Atlantic Council (HU)

Notes:

First Annual Conference on Atlanticism, 26-27 February 1999,

Budapest.

'The main themes of this first annual conference had to do with the changing nature of the Atlantic Alliance, past, present and future. Discussions concentrated on different aspects of the Alliance (security, trade and economic policy, national strategies, the contributions of civil society) with special emphasis on such current issues as enlargement and the complicated relationship of the Central and East European countries.'

ID number: 80016451

Year: 1999

49 /00115

NATO at 50 : What Now, What Next, What Else ? - Washington : Center for Strategic and International Studies.

iv, 55 p.; 28 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Serfaty, Simon, ed.
2. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

A CSIS European Studies Conference Report.

ID number: 80015655

Year: 1999

355.4 /01248

NATO and the European Union : Confronting the Challenges of European Security and Enlargement - Kent, OH : Lyman L. Lemnitzer Center for NATO and European Union Studies.

157 p.; 23 cm.

(Conference Papers ; 1)

ISBN: 1882160045

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. NATO--EUROPE
3. EU--CFSP
4. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
5. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Papacosma, S. Victor, ed.
2. Laurent, Pierre-Henri, ed.
3. Lyman L. Lemnitzer Center for NATO and European Union Studies (US)

Notes:

'The essays in this volume are designed to shed detailed light on and analyze the complex institutional, regional, and national dimensions of European security problems and the evolving roles of NATO and the European Union in confronting them.'

ID number: 80016138

Year: 1999

495.3 /00053

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

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

ISBN: 0275963632

Author(s):

1. Bilinsky, Yaroslav

Subject(s):

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

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 127-135. Includes index.

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

ID number: 80015614

Year: 1999

495.3 /00069

Not Whether but When : The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO - Washington : Brookings Institution.

xi, 218 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 081573171X

Author(s):

1. Goldgeier, James M.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT--USA

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book demonstrates how a small group of policy entrepreneurs promoted an idea - the enlargement of NATO - in the face of powerful bureaucratic opposition. The author proceeds from the assumption that 'all of the key decisions on NATO enlargement were made in Washington'. Thus the role of Germany both in instigating the policy, and then in later seeking to dilute its implementation, is not given the attention it deserves. Nonetheless, this book is an important study of how motivated political appointees, by dint of steadfast commitment to a cause, can overcome a general climate of scepticism and achieve their goals.'

ID number: 80017016

Year: 1999

496.3 /00312

Penultima alianza : el proceso de expansion de la OTAN y el nuevo mapa de la seguridad internacional - Buenos Aires : Nuevohacer.

219 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 9506945659

Author(s):

1. Grossi, Rafael Mariano

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL
3. NATO

Added entry(s):

1. Instituto del Servicio Exterior de la Nacion (AR)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 195-213.

'La OTAN emerge como el ultimo instrumento de planificacion estrategica multinacional, con un radio de accion que no se detiene en el tradicional perimetro euroatlantico sino que se extiende al Asia Central, el Mediterraneo y el Extremo Oriente. 'Penultima alianza' asume que lo que suceda a partir de la OTAN y se extienda al marco euroatlantico tendra una influencia determinante en la evolucion del cuadro estrategico internacional en el que nuestro pais y nuestra region deberan actuar en los proximos anos. Hoy, cuando los Estados Unidos designan a nuestro pais Gran Aliado Extra-OTAN y fuerzas argentinas se suman a las de la OTAN en Bosnia, se hace necesario desentranar las claves de la dinamica y la evolucion de la Alianza Atlantica. Comprender las corrientes

profundas de la estrategia internacional en las que la OTAN y sus socios jugaran un papel central es tarea indispensable para los argentinos a las puertas del siglo XXI.'

ID number: 80015896

Year: 1999

495.3 /00058

The Effects of NATO and EU Enlargement - Wien : Bundesministerium fur Landesverteidigung.

62 p.; 24 cm.

(Informationen zur Sicherheitspolitik ; 15)

Author(s):

1. Reiter, Erich

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Bundesministerium fur Landesverteidigung (AT)

Notes:

'The enlargement to the East decided upon by the NATO countries in Madrid in July of 1997 represents an important contribution to the stabilization of the Central and Eastern European post-communist countries, based on the premise that in spite of the ending of the Cold War the geopolitical interests and objectives of the Western European countries and the USA in Europe still differ substantially from those of Russia and that the creation of a comprehensive European security architecture can only be regarded as a desirable distant goal. The initiation of the process of the enlargement of NATO prevents the formation of a security policy 'grey zone' in central and eastern Europe which would have included the danger of new 'hegemonial contests' in Europe. Russian fears of an increasing strengthening of 'American dominance in Europe' in the course of NATO enlargement to the East might be alleviated by a further deepening and expanding of the NATO program Partnership for Peace. Since contrary to the EU, NATO also is a military order power which assists its members militarily in case of threat, EU enlargement, from the viewpoint of the central and eastern European post-communist countries, cannot be regarded as a substitute for NATO enlargement but only as a supplement to it. The Western European Union, as the future military arm of the EU, can only be used militarily in a meaningful way within the framework of the structure of the Combined Joint Task Forces created by NATO and will therefore in the longer term have to resort to the resources of the North Atlantic Alliance.'

ID number: 80015924

Year: 1999

496.3 /00316

NATO-Erweiterung und neues strategisches Konzept der NATO - Wien : Bundesministerium fur Landesverteidigung.

68 p.; 24 cm.

(Informationen zur Sicherheitspolitik ; 19)

Author(s):

1. Reiter, Erich

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--STRATEGIC ASPECTS--NEW STRATEGIC CONCEPT, 1999

Added entry(s):

1. Bundesministerium fur Landesverteidigung (AT)

ID number: 80016159

Year: 1999

327 /01027

Russian Policy Toward the Baltics : What the West Can Expect and What It Could Do - Washington : Atlantic Council of the United States.

ix, 43 p.; 28 cm.

(Occasional Paper)

Author(s):

1. Sokov, Nikolai

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN POLICY--BALTIC STATES
2. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. NATO--BALTIC STATES
4. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Atlantic Council of the United States (US)

Notes:

'Two problems dominate the agenda of Russian-Baltic relations. One is the status of the Russian-speaking population. The second problem is NATO enlargement. The year 1999 could become the moment of truth. The first phase of enlargement will be completed, and pressure to immediately proceed with the second phase is likely to reach its crest. At the same time, Russia is likely to be still at its low point, its international status weakened, its economy in shambles, and few means at its disposal to seriously affect the cost-benefit calculation of the West. The question is whether it would be wise for the West to jump at the opportunity and opt for NATO membership to the Baltic states. This paper suggests that it might be premature to write Russia off as a net loss and disregard it, no matter how tempting this might be. A more moderate policy, essentially the one the West pursued before the economic crisis of August 1998, might be in order.'

ID number: 80016809

Year: 1999

1998

327 /00983

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

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

ISBN: 185521959X

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Mouritzen, Hans, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 295-313. Includes index.

'A key dilemma in Western policy towards Russia in recent years is whether to admit into NATO and the EU all those countries who wish to join, or whether to respect Russian sensitivities and be more selective. The dilemma is at its peak for those countries bordering Russia : they are the ones who fear Russia the most, but whose integration into the West provokes Russia the most, a situation likely to strengthen Russian non-democratic forces. This is the dilemma that the present volume evolves around. Apart from stressing geopolitical fundamentals and the countries's historical experiences, the

book is also future-orientated. Will Europe's Baltic rim become an outpost of the West with an iron curtain to its East, will it become an extensive 'grey zone', or will the countries become Western bridge-builders eastwards ?'

ID number: 80015258

Year: 1998

495.3 /00047

Consequences of the Madrid Summit on Security and Stability in Europe -
Rome : NATO Defense College.

141 p.; 21 cm.

(NDC Monograph Series)

ISBN: 8890003634

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--TRANSITION

Added entry(s):

1. NATO Defence College (IT)

Notes:

'NATO's quick response to the post-Cold War security environment has been portrayed by experts and pundits alike as somewhat remarkable in the sense that, within less than a decade, the Alliance has been able to reorient itself from the concept of static self-defense, around which it was principally created, towards the radically different security environment in which we find ourselves today. While continental stability and security have taken on new dimensions, NATO continues to provide the leadership in creatively dealing with these new realities. In this monograph, the authors look at the latest developments in Euro-Atlantic security in the wake of the 1997 Madrid Summit.'

ID number: 80015266

Year: 1998

355.4 /01212

European Security and NATO Enlargement : A View from Central Europe -
Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

v, 185 p.; 23 cm.

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. NATO--CENTRAL EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Blank, Stephen J., ed.
2. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

ID number: 80014852

Year: 1998

495.3 /00046

NATO after Enlargement : New Challenges, New Missions, New Forces -
Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

v, 258 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--CAUCASUS
3. NATO--ASIA, CENTRAL

Added entry(s):

1. Blank, Stephen J., ed.
2. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'In 1999 NATO will formally admit three new members and adopt a new strategic concept. In so doing, it will take giant strides towards effecting a revolutionary transformation of European security. On the one hand, it could be said that NATO

enlargement closes the immediate post-Cold War period that began with the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989. But on the other hand, enlargement raises a host of serious new issues for the Alliance and for US policymakers that they must begin to address now.'

ID number: 80015194

Year: 1998

495.3 /00048

NATO Looks East - Westport, CT : Praeger.

viii, 199 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0275960595

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Dutkiewicz, Piotr, ed.

2. Jackson, Robert J., ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 191-192. Includes index.

ID number: 80015413

Year: 1998

495.3 /00060

NATO 1997 : Year of Change - Washington : National Defense University Press.

xvii, 245 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1579060137

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO

Added entry(s):

1. Chalmer, Lawrence R., ed.

2. Pierce, Jonathan W., ed.

3. National Defense University. Institute for National Strategic Studies (US)

Notes:

Collection of papers presented at the symposium concerning NATO activities, March 1997, National Defense University, sponsored by Institute for National Strategic Studies.

Bibliography: p. 241-243.

'Dramatic changes since 1989 have required NATO to rethink its force structure as well as to reconsider how to maintain the peace and security of Europe. In the strategic vacuum created by the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, NATO sought to establish cooperative relations with the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. Organizing that cooperation rapidly led to the Partnership for Peace program and the enlargement of the alliance to include new democratic states in the region. The enlargement of NATO, however, is not occurring in isolation. The European Security Defense Identity, the Western European Union, the Commonwealth of Independent States, and the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe also have been active. Enlargement is beset by a number of basic questions : which nations should become new members of the alliance; which states are interested in joining the alliance but unable to meet democratic, civil-military, or free market economic criteria for admission; and how can the Russian Federation be reassured of the benefits of enlargement as it copes with political and economic reform.'

ID number: 80016117

Year: 1998

495.3 /00050

The Two Enlargements and Transatlantic Relations - Roma : Centro Studi di
Politica Internazionale.

xiii, 98 p.; 21 cm.

(Memoranda ; 10)

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale (IT)

Notes:

The Fifth Castegandolfo Colloquium on Atlantic Affairs, Rome and
Castelgandolfo, October 3-4, 1997.

'This book develops some of the central issues discussed during
the 1997 Castelgandolfo Colloquium on Transatlantic Affairs,
focusing - in the wake of the Madrid Summit - on the
implications of NATO's enlargement for transatlantic
relations. For several reasons, opening the membership of
NATO to new applicants is proving to be easier than enlarging
the EU. Moreover, enlarging NATO is proving easier than to
substantially reform it. The first Western and European
compact to shift eastward is the Atlantic Alliance; by the
year 2000, the Euro-Atlantic Community will stretch further
East than the European Union itself. The two enlargements,
therefore, are likely to raise a crucial dilemma : should the
EU's 'Europe' roughly coincide with NATO's 'Europe' ? Or should
the EU eventually embrace a different, larger set of
countries than NATO ? Either option - identity versus
differentiation - has, of course, relevant implications in
terms of European scenarios.'

ID number: 80015526

Year: 1998 ?

495.3 /00055

From Debate to Ratification : The Attitude of the US Foreign Policy
Community towards the Enlargement of NATO - Budapest : Hungarian
Atlantic Council.

31 p.; 30 cm.

(Euro-Atlantic Policy Papers ; 7)

ISBN: 9630361361

Author(s):

1. Horvath, Gabor

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Hungarian Atlantic Council (HU)

ID number: 80015828

Year: 1998

495.3 /00074

NATO and European Security - Steyning, UK : Wilton Park.

43 p.; 21 cm.

(Wilton Park Paper ; 134)

Author(s):

1. Latter, Richard

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Wilton Park (GB)

Notes:

'This report is based on Wilton Park Conference 518: 19-23 January
1998 on 'The Enlargement of NATO: European Security at the
Crossroads?'

ID number: 80017452

Year: 1998

495.3 /00045

The NATO Enlargement Debate, 1990-1997 : Blessings of Liberty - Westport,
CT : Praeger.

x, 189 p.; 24 cm.

(The Washington papers, 0278-937X ; 174)

ISBN: 0275962903

Author(s):

1. Solomon, Gerald B.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 179-182. Includes index.

ID number: 80015017

Year: 1998

496.3 /00317

NATO Transformed : The Alliance's New Roles in International Security -
Washington : United States Institute of Peace Press.

xx, 450 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 187837981X

Author(s):

1. Yost, David Scott, 1948-

Subject(s):

1. NATO--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. COLLECTIVE SECURITY
3. CRISIS MANAGEMENT--NATO
4. NATO--ARMED FORCES
5. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
6. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. US Institute of Peace

Notes:

Includes index.

'In this book, the author attempts to answer a simple, yet profound, question : has NATO transformed itself from a strictly collective defense alliance - states drawn together to defend against an external threat - to an organization that has embraced the much broader and more demanding functions of a collective security organization ? In answering this weightly question, the author delivers what foreign policy analysts and historians may come to consider an exemplary treatment of NATO's basic difficulty in defining its rationale in the post-Cold War era. As he explains, NATO remains essentially a collective defense organization, protecting its members from external military threats or coercion.'

ID number: 80016418

Year: 1998

355.4 /01196

1st Annual Stockholm Conference on Baltic Sea Security and Cooperation -
Stockholm : Swedish Institute of International Affairs.

101 p.; 24 cm.

(Conference Papers ; 20)

ISBN: 9171832181

Subject(s):

1. BALTIC STATES--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Huldt, Bo, 1941- , ed.
2. Johannessen, Ulrika, ed.
3. Swedish Institute of International Affairs (SE)

Notes:

'Since 1990-91 there have been discussions about a new European security structure. Experiences during the 90s have shown that regional and subregional security building is a necessary component in an all-European security architecture. The widening of major European organizations, such as NATO and EU, will have significant impact on security and stability in one of these regions, the Baltic Sea region. Russian opposition to NATO widening remains strong, as does Baltic and Polish determination to join the organization. The general assumption is that the Baltics will not be in the first wave when NATO expands, as will Poland together with the Czech Republic and Hungary. Thus Baltic Sea cooperation becomes an important issue on the European security agenda. This volume documents a high-level diplomatic and scholarly conference on European and Baltic Sea region security organized at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs in November 1996.'

ID number: 80014232

Year: 1997

495.3 /00080

Bulgaria and NATO : The Debate at Five to Twelve - Sofia : Center for
Strategic and Applied Studies.

103 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 9544770259

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Ivanov, Andrey, 1958- , ed.
2. Atlantic Club of Bulgaria (BG)
3. Center for Strategic and Applied Studies (BG)

Notes:

'This publication is an attempt to summarise the debate on NATO membership in Bulgaria. The aim of the author's research was, on the one hand, to outline its parameters, and, on the other hand, to formulate the prevailing attitudes among the foreign policy elite. This constitutes the first chapter. The second chapter has some practical dimensions. An expert analysis of the possible options of Bulgaria's relationship with NATO provides the possible scenarios for its development in the future.'

ID number: 80017679

Year: 1997

495.3 /00059

Central-Eastern Europe and Euro-Atlantic Security - Ljubljana :

University of Ljubljana.

vi, 232 p.; 26 cm.

ISBN: 8680227706

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Bebler, Anton, ed.
2. University of Ljubljana

Notes:

Proceedings of the International Conference organized by the
University of Ljubljana, Bled, Slovenia, April 24-26, 1997.

ID number: 80015926

Edition: 2nd ed.

Year: 1997

355 /00372

Conference on Civil-Military Relations in the Context of an Evolving NATO

- Budapest : Ministry of Defence.

236 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

Subject(s):

1. CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS--CEE
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Ministry of Defence (HU)
2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (HU)

Notes:

Budapest, 15-17 September 1997.

ID number: 80014851

Year: 1997

355.4 /01193

Enlarged Security : The Security Problems Posed by the Enlargement of
NATO and the European Institutions - Paris : Assembly of Western
European Union.

79 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT
3. WEU
4. OSCE
5. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Western European Union. Assembly

Notes:

Colloquy. Athens, 11-12 March 1997, Official Record.

ID number: 80014109

Year: 1997

495.3 /00035

From Madrid to Brussels : Perspectives on NATO Enlargement - Carlisle
Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

xii, 111 p.; 23 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Blank, Stephen J., ed.
2. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'NATO's enlargement will be perhaps the most important defense and
foreign policy issue of 1997. Certainly, its impact will exert
a decisive influence on the future evolution of European
security and the institutions that comprise it. This process

raises a host of serious issues concerning Europe, not the least being the questions of what can or will be done for those states who are not members of NATO or will not be able to enter in the first round of enlargement. Other issues include the impact of enlargement on NATO as an alliance system, on US foreign and defense policy, and on the European neutrals.'

ID number: 80014056

Year: 1997

496.3 /00299

From Collective Defence to Collective Security ? The Adaptation and Enlargement of NATO - The Hague : Advisory Council on Peace and Security.

45 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--TRANSITION

Added entry(s):

1. Advisory Council on Peace and Security (NL)

Notes:

'One of the central themes of the report is NATO's adaptation to the new international political situation which is done in three ways : first, by accepting new tasks; second, by cooperating closely with its partners in Central and Eastern Europe, including the Russian Federation and Ukraine; and third, by admitting new members. Against this background, Chapter I attempts to define NATO's role, while Chapter II sets out the rationale behind the adaptation and enlargement of NATO. Chapter III discusses the adaptation of NATO's military structure and a number of financial factors, US-European relations, the relations with the Russian Federation, Ukraine, the Baltic States as well as the Partnership for Peace. The question of the enlargement of NATO is examined in Chapter IV. The report concludes with a summary and a list of recommendations.'

ID number: 80014704

Year: 1997 ?

496.3 /00295

NATO and the Quest for Post-Cold War Security - New York : St. Martin's Press.

xvii, 210 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0312176031

Subject(s):

1. NATO--TRANSITION
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Clemens, Clay, 1958- , ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'With the Cold War over, NATO is redefining its role in a Europe no longer divided, if not fully united, and in the 'new world order'. Can eastward enlargement - opening Alliance ranks to some countries from the former Soviet bloc - enhance security on the continent without alienating Russia and jeopardizing its fragile democracy ? Should the Alliance also take on new global missions like peacekeeping, and if so, under what circumstances ? This book offers an array of expert opinion on these questions. Specialists on security policy and European affairs, along with officials from countries in the former Soviet bloc, examine the issues in depth.'

ID number: 80014461

Year: 1997

495.3 /00041

NATO Enlargement : The National Debates over Ratification - Washington :
Center for Strategic & International Studies.
145 p.; 28 cm.
Subject(s):
1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Added entry(s):
1. Serfaty, Simon, ed.
2. Cambone, Stephen A., ed.
3. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)
ID number: 80014577
Year: 1997

496.3 /00307

L'OTAN dans le systeme international de securite : principales
communications - Monaco : Academie de la Paix et de la Securite
Internationale.
68 p. : ill.; 29 cm.
Subject(s):
1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
3. NATO--TRANSITION
Added entry(s):
1. Academie de la Paix et de la Securite Internationale (CH)
ID number: 80015345
Year: 1997

495.3 /00057

White Book on Romania and NATO - [s.l.] : Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
80 p. : ill.; 30 cm.
ISBN: 9739003656
Subject(s):
1. NATO--ROMANIA
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Added entry(s):
1. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (RO)
ID number: 80015886
Year: 1997

495.3 /00040

NATO Enlargement and the Baltic States : What Can the Great Powers Do ? -
Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.
viii, 69 p.; 23 cm.
Author(s):
1. Blank, Stephen J.
Subject(s):
1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--BALTIC STATES
3. BALTIC STATES--NATIONAL SECURITY
4. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
Added entry(s):
1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)
Notes:
'NATO's enlargement has brought it to the borders of the Baltic
States who covet membership in NATO. However, admitting them
into NATO is one of the most difficult problems for the
Alliance because of Russia's unconditional opposition to such
action and because of NATO's own internal divisions on this
issue. Nonetheless, a new regime or system of security for the
entire Baltic region must now be on the US and European agenda.
The key players in such a process are Russia, Germany, and the
United States. Their actions will determine the limits of the
possible in constructing Baltic security for the foreseeable
future. In this study, Dr. Blank presents a detailed and

extensive analysis of these three governments' views on Baltic and European security. Their views on regional security are materially shaped by and influence their larger views on their mutual relations and policy towards Europe. Their views also demonstrate the complexity of the issues involved in constructing Baltic, not to mention European, security. But because NATO enlargement is the most serious foreign policy and defense issue before Congress now, such an analysis can illuminate much of what is happening in the NATO enlargement process and why it has taken its current shape.'

ID number: 80014529

Year: 1997

495.2 /00146

America's New Deal With Europe : NATO Primacy and Double Expansion -
Cambridge, MA : Commonwealth Institute.

16 p. ; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Conetta, Carl

Subject(s):

1. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--EUROPE

2. EUROPE--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA

3. NATO--USA

4. NATO--ENLARGEMENT--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Commonwealth Institute (US)

Notes:

Project on Defense Alternatives.

<<http://comw.org/pda/eurcom.htm>> accessed 24/09/01.

'The premise of US post-Cold war policy toward Europe has been the pursuit of a new deal in which the costs and benefits of engagement would be re-balanced and yesterday's burdensharing inequities rectified. In this pursuit US policy has had to contend with several European realities : unity efforts in the West, instability in the East, the growth of German influence, and the faltering of Russian transition. The product of this encounter has been the American demand for NATO preeminence and 'double expansion' - Senator Richard Lugar's phrase referring to the addition of new NATO members and new NATO missions. The most consequential of recent US policy decisions - the Bosnia intervention and NATO expansion - rests on a narrow tactical accommodation between a Democratic president and a conservative Republican congress. Public opinion remains fluid and nothing resembling a consensus on these issues exists within the policy community, which is severely divided over expansion. To understand the internal pressures affecting American policy formation it is most revealing to begin at the margins of the debate - with those who say that America should relinquish its military engagement in Europe altogether.'

ID number: 80017364

Year: 1997

355.4 /01195

The Nordic Nations in the New Western Security Regime - Washington :
Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

xviii, 103 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0943875838

Author(s):

1. Dorfer, Ingemar

Subject(s):

1. SCANDINAVIA--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. NATO--SCANDINAVIA

3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (US)

Notes:

Includes index.

'This study begins by explaining why there is so little international interest in Nordic security (they are not part of the NATO expansion debate) contrasting that lack of interest with the West's unreasonable expectations that the Nordic nations should handle Baltic security. The second part of this study analyzes security resources of the North and the roles of the important Western friends in Nordic security. The Nordic nations have moved from the PfP via CJTFs to IFOR exactly like the Central European nations attempting to join NATO. Thus they have de facto positioned themselves for NATO membership. The third part of this study shows how this membership could come about. Several NATO enlargement studies are discussed and applied to the Nordic nations.'

ID number: 80014225

Year: 1997

495.3 /00077

Relations bilaterales en Europe centrale et orientale : impact de l'elargissement - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale.

v, 77 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 26)

Author(s):

1. Dunay, Pal
2. Pavliuk, Oleksandr
3. Zajaczkowski, Wojciech

Subject(s):

1. CEE--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Wohlfeld, Monika, ed.
2. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale (FR)

Notes:

'Ce cahier tente d'evaluer les incidences des processus d'elargissement des organisations europeennes et transatlantiques (UE, UEO et OTAN) sur les perspectives de stabilite en Europe centrale et orientale. On ne sait pas encore de source officielle quels pays seront les nouveaux membres de l'OTAN/UE, ni s'il y a aura d'autres vagues d'adhesion et, dans l'affirmative, combien. Mais certains candidats doivent neanmoins se faire a l'idee que leur espoir de rejoindre les organisations euro-atlantiques ne se concretisent pas. D'autres pays qui n'ont aucun espoir d'adhérer prochainement, sont egalement preoccupes par les effets d'un elargissement selectif - a savoir les consequences politiques qu'impliquera l'adhesion de quelques uns seulement. Beaucoup ont exprime leur inquietude que cela ne provoque une nouvelle division de l'Europe, ce qui aurait un impact negatif non seulement sur leur propre securite, mais aussi sur la stabilite de l'ensemble du continent europeen. Ce cahier s'articule autour de trois etudes de cas sur les relations bilaterales : Pologne/Ukraine, Pologne/Lithuanie, Hongrie/Roumanie. Elles ont pour theme les relations entre les nouveaux membres presumes (les 'haves') et leurs voisins immediats dont l'adhesion aux organisations euro-atlantiques semble aujourd'hui moins certaine pour differentes raisons (les eventuels 'have-nots').'

ID number: 80017588

Year: 1997

495.3 /00039

Dangerous Crossroads : Europe, Russia and the Future of NATO - Westport,
CT : Praeger.

xii, 279 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0275958574

Author(s):

1. Gardner, Hall

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 263-264. Includes index.

'The fundamental concern of this work is to question whether the United States, Europe, and Russia will ultimately be able to formulate a truly inclusive and comprehensive system of European security. The book argues that once NATO enlarges to include Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary, it will soon find itself torn between two conflicting imperatives. NATO will need to work with Russia, Ukraine (and other non-NATO states) to forge a comprehensive system of regional security on the one hand, but concurrently integrate its new members into its exclusive military command on the other - with a predilection to invest far greater resources into the latter. Moreover, the effort to concentrate NATO's formidable power into Central Europe risks the overextension of NATO capabilities; the United States may well lose sufficient flexibility to deal effectively with potential crises arising in the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, or East Asia (at the same time, should Russia become a real threat, then NATO may find itself precariously overexposed by its own forward deployment). This book proposes a Euro-Atlantic compromise as an alternative to NATO enlargement. This non-exclusive alternative would involve the extension of NATO security guarantees, but not its integrated military command, to a select group of states that form the core of a militarily integrated Euro-Atlantic Defense and Security Identity.'

ID number: 80014490

Year: 1997

495.3 /00033

NATO Expansion and European Security - London : Brassey's.

77 p.; 21 cm.

(London Defence Studies ; 37)

Author(s):

1. MccGwire, Michael

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

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

ID number: 80013827

Year: 1997

495.3 /00037

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

130 p.; 30 cm.

(Zurcher Beitrage zur Sicherheitspolitik und Konfliktforschung ; 43)

ISBN: 3905641526

Author(s):

1. Wenger, Andreas

2. Perovic, Jeronim

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. Forschungsstelle für Sicherheitspolitik und Konfliktanalyse
(CH)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 121-130.

ID number: 80014356

Year: 1997

495.3 /00043

After NATO Enlargement - Paris : Cicero Foundation.

86 p.; 30 cm.

(Cicero Paper ; 3/97)

ISBN: 9075759037

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Cicero Foundation (FR)

Notes:

Papers presented at the International Experts Seminar organised by the Cicero Foundation in Paris in the series 'Great Debates' on 17 and 18 April 1997.

ID number: 80014631

Year: 1997

1996

495.3 /00029

Cooperation and Partnership for Peace : A Contribution to Euro-Atlantic Security into the 21st Century - London : Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies.

ii, 79 p.; 22 cm.

(Whitehall Papers; 37)

ISBN: 085516140X

Subject(s):

1. NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies (GB)

Notes:

'The debate about Europe's future security arrangements is currently dominated by one overriding question : NATO's enlargement. Yet the reality is that, try as hard as we may, the continent will have to live with various security associations for quite some time. The enlargement of the Alliance is but one alternative to many others and, although it remains the favourite option for most former Communist countries in Europe, this should not overshadow other cooperative structures that exist today, and that should be expanded and deepened in the years to come.'

ID number: 80013468

Year: 1996

496.3 /00288

European Security : Beginning a New Century - Menlo Park, CA : Strategic Decisions Press.

xx, 134 p. : ill.; 28 cm.

ISBN: 0963151592

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. NATO--TRANSITION
3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
4. NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE
5. NATO--ARMED FORCES--FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Added entry(s):

1. Joulwan, George A., ed.
2. Weissinger-Baylon, Roger, ed.
3. Center for Strategic Decision Research (CA)

Notes:

Includes index.

13th International NATO Workshop, Warsaw, Poland, 19-23 June 1996.

ID number: 80013604

Year: 1996

495.3 /00044

Going East : The Enlargement of the EU with the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe - Paris : Cicero Foundation.

65 p.; 30 cm.

(Cicero Paper ; 2/96)

ISBN: 9075759029

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Cicero Foundation (FR)

Notes:

Papers presented at the International Experts Seminar organised by the Cicero Foundation in Paris in the series 'Great Debates' on 13 and 14 June 1996.

ID number: 80014632

Year: 1996

495.3 /00036

Russian-NATO Relations in the European Security Environment - Moscow : [s.n.].

114 p.; 21 cm.

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Mazing, Valeri, ed.

ID number: 80014224

Year: 1996

32.019 /00075

The New European Security Architecture : Volume II : Public Attitudes Toward European Security - Washington : USIA Office of Research and Media Reaction.

44 p. : ill; 28 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--PUBLIC OPINION
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT--PUBLIC OPINION
3. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--PUBLIC OPINION

Added entry(s):

1. Information Agency (US)

Notes:

'This second volume on the New European Security Architecture continues to track European public attitudes on the building blocks of European security. The report presents west European, central and east European, Russian and American views on the future of European security through an examination of opinion on three main topics: NATO and other pillars of European security, NATO enlargement and the U.S. role in European security.'

ID number: 80017470

Year: 1996

495.3 /00028

Prague, NATO and European Security - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vi, 37 p.; 23 cm.

Author(s):

1. Blank, Stephen J.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--CZECH REPUBLIC
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. CZECH REPUBLIC--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

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

Notes:

'The issue of NATO enlargement is a crucial element of the European security agenda. One of the most likely candidates for future membership in NATO is the Czech Republic. Inasmuch as the debate over this issue is engaging chancelleries all over the United States and Europe, it is necessary to understand how the prospective members view European security issues, what they hope to gain from membership, and how their interests and security relationships mesh with NATO's. In this report, Dr. Blank examines Czech policy. His purpose is not to determine whether the United States or any other members should support or oppose NATO enlargement. Instead, he seeks to analyze Czech views and inform the audience as to their meaning and importance for both the Czech Republic and the other NATO members.'

ID number: 80012922

Year: 1996

495.3 /00025

Study on NATO Enlargement : Destabilizing Europe - [s.l.] : British American Security Information Council.

19 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

(BASIC Research Report ; 95.2)

ISBN: 1874533237

Author(s):

1. Butcher, Martin
2. Kokkinides, Tasos
3. Plesch, Daniel

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. British American Security Information Council (GB)
2. Centre for European Security and Disarmament

Notes:

'After a careful analysis of the 'Study on NATO Enlargement', it is clear that NATO has not yet thought through completely either the process itself, or its implications for European security. NATO enlargement should therefore be put on the 'back-burner'. The 'Study on NATO Enlargement' is currently being discussed by NATO with its partners and potential new members in the CEE. The study, together with the results of this consultation, should be thoroughly debated in national parliaments before the Alliance proceeds with enlargement.'

ID number: 80012636

Year: 1996 ?

495.3 /00034

Admitting New Members : Can NATO Afford the Costs ? - Santa Monica, CA :

Rand Corporation.

iii, 9 p. : ill. ; 28 cm.

Author(s):

1. Kelley, Charles T.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--POLAND

3. NATO--FINANCE

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

'Several Eastern European countries, with Poland in the forefront, are eager to join NATO. For its part, NATO has reaffirmed that Alliance membership remains open to other European states. Although no timetable has been set for admitting new members, the Alliance has begun a year-long study to make plans for its expansion. One subject that will likely be debated in NATO capitols is the cost of extending security guarantees to new members and the adequacy of the new members' military contributions to their own defense. This paper uses the relative and absolute values of NATO members' military force contributions to the defense of the Central Front during the Cold War as standards for judging the adequacy of military forces of potential new members. Applying these standards to Poland, as an illustrative example, leads to the conclusion that Poland is well qualified for membership today. Not surprisingly, the burden on current NATO members to defend the Central Front, if there is a resurgent Russian threat to the Alliance, will be greater if Poland is not a member of the Alliance than if Poland is a member.'

ID number: 80013910

Year: 1996 ?

495.3 /00027

NATO Enlargement for the Twenty-First Century - [s.l.] : [s.n.].

72 p. ; 32 cm.

(Working Paper ; 1)

Author(s):

1. Solomon, Gerald B.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

ID number: 80012820

Year: 1996

1995

496.3 /00292

The Future of NATO - London : Frank Cass.

164 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0714646474

Subject(s):

1. NATO--TRANSITION

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Carpenter, Ted Galen, ed.

Notes:

'The end of the Cold War raises important questions about the future of NATO. A series of events has transformed the political landscape of Europe and erased the original rationale for the Alliance - the defence of Western Europe from an aggressive totalitarian enemy. Can NATO survive in a vastly altered political and strategic environment ? Indeed, should

the Alliance survive, or is it an anachronism in the post-Cold War era ? Much of the discussion about NATO's future has focused on whether the Alliance should enlarge its membership by incorporating some or all of the Central and East Europe states. Even that relatively narrow debate raises an assortment of troubling questions. Which nations should be brought into the fold, and how quickly ? Should an enlarged NATO include Russia or should the Alliance have an implicit anti-Russian purpose in the post-Cold War period as it did throughout the Cold War ? Can expansion occur without entangling the existing members of NATO in the numerous parochial quarrels and conflicts of Eastern Europe ? Beyond NATO's enlargement lie other, even more important issues. Those include assumptions about the fundamental compatibility of interests between the United States and its European allies, the inability of any other security organization to be an adequate substitute for NATO, and the irreplaceable nature of US leadership. Such assumptions went virtually unchallenged during the Cold War, but they now constitute crucial topics for discussion.'

ID number: 80014202

Year: 1995

495.3 /00068

NATO Enlargement : Opinions and Options - Washington : National Defense University.

iv, 207 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1579060250

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Simon, Jeffrey, 1942- , ed.
2. National Defense University. Institute for National Strategic Studies (US)

Notes:

'The book begins with a review of NATO's origins, development, and expansion experiences. It then examines the usefulness of the Western European Union and the Partnership for Peace program as paths to NATO membership. It evaluates the efforts of the Visegrad states to achieve membership and presents the perspectives of EU/WEU Associate Partners (Poland, Romania, and Lithuania) in support of NATO enlargement. The contrary views of successor states of the former Soviet Union (Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus) follow. Taking up the question of how NATO must change if it is to enlarge, the book considers political, military and defense program requirements. When NATO enlarges, major political changes will become necessary, military command relationships will need to be modified, and defense infrastructure requirements will be enormous. Three conclusions emerge : (1) dramatic progress in the Partnership for Peace program has led to a high degree of self-differentiation among the partner states, and has shifted Central European attitudes toward PFP from one of skepticism to one of enthusiastic support; (2) Expansion would have a very negative impact politically within Russia, damage from which a compensation package will not fully offset; and (3) NATO enlargement will take years to accomplish.'

ID number: 80016942

Year: 1995

496.3 /00272

NATO's Role in European Stability - Washington : Center for Strategic & International Studies.

iv, 70 p.; 28 cm.

(CSIS Report)

ISBN: 0892063246

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. NATO--EUROPE
3. NATO--USA
4. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Cambone, Stephen A., ed.
2. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)
3. NATO Office of Information and Press

Notes:

'The conference reaffirmed the centrality of US power and position in the future of the alliance. NATO remains essential for stability and peace in Europe, but it was argued that Europe should take on more responsibility for its own security, and many supported the twin-pillar concept for NATO, which would give the WEU a stronger role in European defense and security. This enlargement of Europe's responsibilities would contribute to the process of burden sharing, without which a strong US commitment will be hard to sustain domestically.'

ID number: 80011982

Year: 1995

495.3 /00022

Should NATO Expand ? - New York : Council on Foreign Relations.

vi, 33 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Council on Foreign Relations (US)

Notes:

Report of an Independent Task Force.

'Americans and European can fairly debate whether NATO should expand in the near term or proceed with formal expansion only if Russia again seems to pose a military threat to Central Europe. But whichever course is chosen, NATO should move swiftly and with determination to put itself in a position to admit new members, and prospective entrants should take steps now to prepare themselves for full membership. In much the same way as NATO helped the democracies of Western Europe recover from the devastation of World War II, it now should provide the sense of reassurance and community needed to help the democracies of Central Europe recover from the Cold War. At the same time, the best way to deal with Russia is not to isolate or antagonize Moscow. Rather, it is to bind the emerging democracies of Central Europe to the West even as the West reaches out to forge a new cooperative relationship with Russia. These are the main conclusions of a bipartisan task force including high ranking military officers, business leaders, and foreign policy experts.'

ID number: 80013702

Year: 1995

495.3 /00023

Study on NATO Enlargement - [s.l.] : [s.n.].

28 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

ID number: 80012406

Year: 1995

355.4 /01175

Europe in the Balance : Securing the Peace Won in the Cold War -

Washington : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

viii, 110 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 087003068X

Author(s):

1. Bertram, Christoph, 1937-

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. NATO--TRANSITION

3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

4. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (US)

Notes:

'This essay examines the challenges and the opportunities that present themselves in the defining phase of the post-Cold War period, as Europe's future hangs in the balance. Chapter 1 looks at the special role that institutions, particularly NATO and the EU, will need to play in that context. Chapter 2 discusses the future of NATO as a military alliance. Chapters 3 and 4 examine the consequences of NATO's accepting a more political role in relation to Russia and Eastern Europe, respectively. Chapters 5 and 6 deal with the EU's prospects for overcoming its internal divisions and extending its framework of prosperity to Eastern Europe. Chapter 7 considers the interrelationship of NATO and the EU in the new Europe. Chapter 8 suggests ways to assure the continued involvement of the United States in the affairs of Europe. A concluding chapter summarizes the major findings and proposals.'

ID number: 80013524

Year: 1995

496.3 /00279

Stability, Democracy & Peace Through Cooperation : The New NATO - Menlo Park, CA : Strategic Decisions Press.

xxii, 90 p. : ill.; 28 cm.

ISBN: 0963151576

Author(s):

1. Jouwlan, George A.

2. Weissinger-Baylon, Roger

Subject(s):

1. NATO--TRANSITION

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

3. NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic Decision Research (CA)

Notes:

Papers presented at the Twelfth International NATO Workshop held in Dresden, Germany, on 18-22 June 1995.

ID number: 80012537

Year: 1995

496.3 /00277

The Evolution of NATO : The Brussels Summit and Beyond - London :

Brassey's.

33 p.; 21 cm.

(London Defence Studies ; 28)

Author(s):

1. Weger, Michiel J.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--TRANSITION
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. NATO--PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE
4. NATO--ARMED FORCES--CJTF
5. NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION--NATO

Added entry(s):

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

Notes:

'The Brussels Summit of January 1994 represented a major turning point for NATO. From the January Summit until the Istanbul Meeting of June 1994, a number of important decisions began to be implemented, particularly in relation to the Partnership for Peace programme and prospects for the eventual enlargement of NATO. Much has been written on the politics of the decision, in principle, to enlarge the Alliance, but there is less understanding of the internal dynamics that such decisions create within the organisation. This paper concentrates on those dynamics, focussing on the processes of discussion, consensus building and administrative adjustment required by the major decisions set in train at the Summit.'

ID number: 80012435

Year: 1995

1994

496.3 /00286

Beyond NATO : Staying Out of Europe's Wars - Washington : Cato Institute.

172 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 1882577167

Author(s):

1. Carpenter, Ted Galen

Subject(s):

1. NATO--TRANSITION
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. NATO--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Cato Institute (US)

Notes:

Includes index.

'Today, NATO is an alliance in search of a purpose. Indeed, the proliferation of expansion schemes appears to have as much to do with the politics of institutional self-preservation as with the defense of bona fide security interests. Beyond the expansion issue, which has dominated the debate about the future of NATO, lies a far more important question that needs to be addressed. The premise that originally underlay the alliance was the fundamental compatibility of interests between the US and its European allies. Although that premise seemed convincing during the Cold War, the validity of assumptions about transatlantic solidarity is far more questionable in the post-Cold War era. The pertinent question for US policymakers is whether it makes sense from the standpoint of American interests to preserve a transatlantic alliance that was designed in a vastly different era to deal with a mutual threat that no longer exists.'

ID number: 80013540

Year: 1994

496.3 /00273

Russia, the United States and NATO : The Outlook for European Security -
Washington : Atlantic Council of the United States.

41 p.; 28 cm.

(Occasional Paper Series)

Author(s):

1. Heuven, Marten H. A. van

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Atlantic Council of the United States (US)

Notes:

'The focus of this paper is on Russia (as a successor to the Soviet Union) and the United States. Both countries now face new roles in European security. The paper also examines the one remaining alliance, NATO, assessing its future relevance as a key element of European security. In 1993 an Atlantic Council study concluded that the time was not ripe for enlargement of NATO, though a start could be made establishing criteria for such a step. A year later, enlargement is now the immediate issue.'

ID number: 80012022

Year: 1994

PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES

DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES**

2002

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

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

- 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.

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

** This list contains material received as of October 14th, 2002 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 14 octobre 2002.

all of these dilemmas?

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

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- Trenin, Dmitri

Silence of the Bear.

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

<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2002/issuel/art3.html>

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

- Winner, Andrew C.

The Baltic States : Heading West.

WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 207-219.

<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>

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.

- Zagorski, Andrei

The OSCE in the Context of the Forthcoming EU and NATO Extensions.

HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 13, no. 3, 2002, p. 221-232.

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.

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

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

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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 Stabilität an den Grenzen Russlands, wurden Moskau die Chance bieten, sich endlich seinen wichtigen Herausforderungen im Innern und an seinen südlichen Grenzen zu widmen.

- 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.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>

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.

- Koenders, Bert

NATO Enlargement.

COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), Spring 2001, 22 p. (491.6/24).

<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>

- Koenders, Bert

NATO Enlargement.

COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), October 2001, 33 p. (491.6/24).

<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>

- 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.

- Kydd, Andrew

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

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

<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>

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.

- 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.

- Polikanov, Dimitrij

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

- Reiter, Dan

Why NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy.
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 25, no. 4, Spring 2001, p. 41-67.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
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.

- Ruhe, Volker

Zweite NATO-Erweiterung : die Führungsstärke der Europäer 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 europäischen NATO-Staaten. Aus Sicht des ehemaligen Bundesverteidigungsministers sollten Slowenien und die Slowakei auf jeden Fall, Bulgarien und Rumänien 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.

- 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.

- 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.

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

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

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

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

- 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 legitimite des aspirations baltes, l'auteur considere que l'OTAN n'est pas la solution la plus appropriee. 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'.

- 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.

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

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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>

- 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.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
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.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
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.

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

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
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.

- 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'.

1999

- Ready for NATO : Slovenia.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, Special Issue 1999, Whole Issue.

- Alamir, Fouzieh Melanie
NATO-Offnung und die Probleme danach.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 48. Jg., Nr. 6, Juni 1999, S. 47-49.

- Ananicz, Andrzej
NATO's Enlargement.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 4, no. 1, March - May 1999, p. 79-84.

- Babiuc, Victor
Rumanien und die NATO-Erweiterung.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 48. Jg., Nr. 3, Marz 1999, S. 30.

- Bebler, Anton
NATO's Enlargement and Slovenia.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 37. Jg., Heft 6, November - Dezember 1999, S. 711-716.

- Bebler, Anton
NATO's Enlargement and Slovenia.
ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 5, no. 4, 1999, p. 149-163.

- Bebler, Anton
Slovenia and NATO Enlargement.
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 55, no. 1, Winter 1999 - 2000, p. 125-136.

- Berzins, Indulis
Latvia's Membership : Good for Latvia, Good for NATO.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, Special Issue, 1999, p. 56-57.
Fifty years ago, in signing the North Atlantic Treaty, twelve nations committed themselves to safeguard their freedom, common heritage and civilisation, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberties and the rule of law. That commitment shaped the Western Europe we see today - a prosperous family of stable market economies. Strategic changes in the European security environment in the last decade meant the chances was re-opened also to the countries of Eastern and Central Europe to become prosperous, secure, and democratic following the paradigms developed in the West.

- Binnendijk, Hans
Kugler, Richard L.
Open NATO's Door Carefully.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 22, no. 2, Spring 1999, p. 125-138.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
Three staunch advocates of NATO expansion warn that the first round - embracing Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic - should remain the last round for some time to come.

- Black, J. L.
Russia and NATO Expansion Eastward : Re-lining the Baltic States.
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 54, no. 2, Spring 1999, p. 249-266.

- Boland, Frank
Preparing for Membership : NATO and the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 5, no. 1, 1999, p. 28-35.

- Carr, Fergus
Flenley, Paul
NATO and the Russian Federation in the New Europe : The Founding Act on Mutual Relations.
JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 15, no. 2, June 1999, p. 88-110.
The end of the cold war led to a new European order in which a new security agenda has emerged embracing issues wider than the old military perspectives. NATO has sought to respond to the new order by moving towards concepts of dialogue and cooperation with former opponents in the form of such programmes as Partnership for Peace. The countries of central and eastern Europe, however, have sought full NATO membership as a more concrete guarantee of future security. NATO enlargement became official NATO policy, justified by the idea of promoting stability in central and eastern Europe and as a reflection of NATO's new perception of itself within a post-cold war security architecture. Russian opposition to NATO enlargement has been motivated by fears of NATO exploitation of Russian weakness, loss of strategic positions to NATO and exclusion from Europe. The Founding Act on Mutual Relations was proposed by NATO to overcome Russian concerns and create a new partnership with Russia. Debate has continued within Russia about whether this has actually strengthened Russia's position in its dealings with the West. Fears remain about a further round of NATO expansion into the former Soviet Union which, it is said, would put an end to any existing partnership. Russia is not only redefining its own security agenda in the post-Soviet period but also defining its own broader identity and foreign-policy interests. Western policy makers should not always simply

assume that Russia will continue to support a security architecture that primarily accords with the West's agenda.

- Clemmesen, Michael H.
Integration of New Alliance Members : The Intellectual-Cultural Dimension.
DEFENSE ANALYSIS, vol. 15, no. 3, December 1999, p. 261-272.

- Cottey, Andrew
Central Europe Transformed : Security and Cooperation on NATO's New Frontier.
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 20, no. 2, August 1999, p. 1-30.
With their accession to NATO in March 1999, and within the next decade likely also the EU, Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary will have achieved their central strategic goal of integration with the West and overcome their historic position as vulnerable states located in the 'grey zone' between Europe's great powers. As they integrate with NATO and the EU, Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary are intensifying efforts to build cooperation with their eastern and southern neighbours. Contrary to the warnings of critics, NATO and EU enlargement are helping to promote cooperation and the resolution of disputes between Central and Eastern European states, not creating new 'dividing lines'. EU enlargement, however, is more likely than NATO enlargement to create 'dividing lines'. There is a strong case for further enlargement of NATO and the EU, but more attention needs to be directed to managing the consequences of EU enlargement.

- Dannreuther, Roland
Escaping the Enlargement Trap in NATO-Russian Relations.
SURVIVAL, vol. 41, no. 4, Winter 1999 - 2000, p. 145-164.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
In 1999, the Atlantic Alliance asserted its absolute primacy in European security affairs, successfully reversing ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, admitting three new members from Central Europe and unveiling a New Strategic Doctrine. Yet the challenge of Russia's unremitting opposition to NATO remains. This situation is serious not so much because Russia can threaten Western interests directly, but because of the negative impact that continued confrontation with NATO has on Russia's domestic political evolution. For the West to construct a more cooperative and constructive political and security relationship with Russia, other organisations ought to assume greater prominence - most notably the European Union, but also the UN and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. It is also the UN and the West's nor in Russia's interests for NATO to enlarge further eastwards.

- Dumoulin, Andre
Enjeux et signifiants de l' extension de l' OTAN.
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 30, no. 3, septembre 1999, p. 547-570.
Au-dela du jeu de l'argumentaire, des criteres d'adhesion et des outils formant antichambres comme le Partenariat pour la paix et le CPEA, l'elargissement de l'Alliance peut etre tout a la fois un facteur permettant a terme l'acces aux marches d'Asie centrale, mais aussi un des jalons vers une extension securitaire de Vancouver a Vladivostok, ou l'OTAN deviendrait l'outil de defense d'une OSCE renforcee et plus subtilement instrument d'une atlantisation economique et politique du Vieux Continent.

- Durandin, Catherine
 La Roumanie, l' OTAN : le piege ?
 REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 34, ete 1999, p. 36-43.
 La Roumanie s'est engagee, depuis 1993, dans une politique d'integration euro-atlantique dont on est aujourd'hui en mesure d'evaluer les premieres consequences. Juge tres positif a l'Ouest, ce reve d'OTAN n'en temoigne pas moins d'une situation profondement desequilibree : politique distordue entre fidelite a la Serbie et necessite de s'aligner sur les decisions de Washington, inquietudes face a la crise du Kosovo, crise de l'armee. On peut deplorer que la formule de l'ancrage occidental, inspiree par une angoisse identitaire, soit devenue une sorte de langage incantatoire. Les Roumains ont du meme coup neglige les atouts reels qu'ils possedaient sur un plan diplomatique concret. Par-dela cette guerre des nerfs humiliante, l'urgence serait surtout de 'repenser le statut des Balkans'.

- Fierke, K. M.
 Dialogues of Manoeuvre and Entanglement : NATO, Russia, and the CEECs.
 MILLENNIUM, vol. 28, no. 1, 1999, p. 27-52.
 Dialogue has become a central feature of post-Cold War NATO discourse as well as a concept for theoretical exploration in International Relations. This article explores the role of NATO's dialogue with its former adversaries in constructing post-Cold War security relations in Europe. The theoretical argument builds on two concepts : a 'language of manoeuvre', as used by Hollis and Smith, and the Wittgensteinian notion of being 'entangled' in our language. These insights are applied to an analysis of interactions between NATO, Russia, and the Central Eastern European countries over a six-year period. While accepting that NATO may have had an instrumental goal in encouraging dialogue, once engaged in the process, Alliance manoeuvres, including the decision to expand, were circumscribed and shaped at any given point in time by its entanglement in conflicting promises to others.

- Forcieri, Giovanni
 The New Allies : The Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland Entering NATO.
 DEFENCE AND SECURITY COMMITTEE (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 1999, 17 p. (491.6/22).
 This report intends not only to look at the state of the Czech, Hungarian and Polish armed forces, but also to evaluate their overall contribution to Euro-Atlantic security and stability. As the Sub-Committee on the Future of the Armed Forces has visited the countries concerned several times, statements and assessment in this report are consequently based largely on observations and findings made during these highly informative fact-finding missions.

- Gorka, Sebestyen L. v.
 NATO after Enlargement : Is the Alliance Better Off ?
 NATO REVIEW, vol. 47, no. 3, Autumn 1999, p. 33-35.
 The Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland took their seats on the North Atlantic Council as full members of NATO last spring, manifesting their return to Europe. Some critics have argued that the new members were invited to join for the wrong reasons, that their accession was premature, and that they have no real contribution to make to the Alliance. The author disagrees, outlining the political and military assets the three new members represent for the new NATO and the unique role they could play in promoting stability on the European continent.

- Granville, Johanna
The Many Paradoxes of NATO Enlargement.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 98, no. 627, April 1999, p. 165-170.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
NATO believes it has spared itself from extinction by adding Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. But enlargement, in the end, may shorten the organization's life expectancy.

- Haglund, David G.
NATO's Expansion and European Security after the Washington Summit :
What Next ?
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 8, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 1-15.
One of the issues with which alliance leaders will have to grapple in the period following the Washington summit is the question of NATO's future expansion. This article assesses the likely implications, both for the alliance and for European security, of the admission into NATO of members additional to the three who will be joining in 1999. Argued here is the claim that both the pessimists, who see enlargement as a tragic blunder, and the optimists, who regard it as enshrining lasting peace in Europe (if not the world) are in error : on balance, a prudent further enlargement of NATO would likely yield some benefits, but these will be modest. The operative word, however, is 'prudent'.

- Hendrickson, Ryan C.
NATO's Enlargement : The Theory and Politics of Alliance Expansion.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 8, no. 4, Winter 1999, p. 84-99.
Most studies of alliance behavior operate under realist assumptions, which maintain that the presence of an external threat and an understanding of state's national security interests are the most important factors in explaining alliance membership. While security concerns continue to provide some insight on NATO's recent enlargement, this article contends that realism does not capture the full dynamics of expansion. NATO's ability to enlarge occurred due to a complex interplay of political factors. The US leadership within the alliance, coupled with very favorable domestic conditions in the US and effective lobbying efforts by Visegrad states provide a more complete understanding of how NATO was able to add new members. The presence and importance of these political factors and their interplay demonstrate that the dominant paradigm of realism offers only a partial explanation for NATO's expansion.

- Karaosmanoglu, Ali L.
NATO Enlargement and the South : A Turkish Perspective.
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 30, no. 2, June 1999, p. 213-224.
NATO expansion has set a trend that is likely to have dire consequences for the Euro-Atlantic area in general and for Europe's southeastern periphery in particular. It is not too late to reverse this trend, however. The first imperative is to slow down the process of NATO enlargement, after the admission of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Secondly, it is essential to involve Russia in regional cooperation as much as possible. Thirdly, it is important to continue and enhance the Partnership for Peace program. Fourthly, there must be sustained US engagement in security and economic projects in the area. Fifthly, the European Union should assume its share of responsibility by accelerating its own expansion to central-eastern and southeastern Europe. NATO enlargement should not be the cover for further delays in the EU's reluctant opening to the East.

- Klaiber, Klaus-Peter
The Membership Action Plan : Keeping NATO's Door Open.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 47, no. 2, Summer 1999, p. 23-25.
NATO leaders demonstrated their commitment to keeping NATO's door open to new members by launching a Membership Action Plan (MAP) at their Summit meeting in Washington last April. A complement to existing Partnership structures, the MAP will help aspirants to set practical objectives and planning targets in their quest for membership and in obtaining feedback on their progress towards this goal. The MAP is not an automatic ticket to membership, but it does provide opportunities to strengthen an aspirant's candidacy for membership and, thus, will help future members climb the steps leading to NATO's open door.

- Krebs, Ronald R.
Perverse Institutionalism : NATO and the Greco-Turkish Conflict.
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, vol. 53, no. 2, Spring 1999, p. 343-377.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
Neoliberal institutionalists believe that alliances, within their boundaries, create 'zones of stability' and cooperation. Structural realists, on the other hand, deny that alliances can independently shape the behavior of their members. In contrast, the author unites the liberal belief that institutions matter with the classical realist skepticism as to their effects and argues that under certain conditions alliances can intensify conflict between their members. The author develops a number of 'realist institutionalist' propositions, borne out in the Greco-Turkish case, regarding the effects of membership in a multilateral alliance on small powers. The fate of these Aegean neighbors within the Atlantic alliance serves as a cautionary tale for NATO expansion, balancing the success story of Franco-German reconciliation. If Greece and Turkey's past becomes East-Central Europe's future, enlargement will prove far more costly than anyone presently anticipates.

- Kuzniar, Roman
Global Implication of Enlargement of the Atlantic Alliance.
POLISH QUARTERLY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 8, no. 1, Winter 1999, p. 53-64.

- Larrabee, F. Stephen
NATO Enlargement after the First Round.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 2, April - June 1999, p. 73-86.
The author discusses the various scenarios of NATO's enlargement after the first round, assessing the pros and cons of each in view of the Alliance's strategic rationales. He deals, in particular, with the implications of the different options of NATO's enlargement for the security perceptions and realities of the Balkan and Baltic regions and for the Alliance's relationship with Russia and Ukraine.

- Lenic, Joze
Slovenia on the Way to NATO Membership.
POLITICAL COMMITTEE (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 1999, 11 p. (491.6/21).

- Lowenhardt, John
Light, Margot
White, Stephen
'Jullie geloven niet langer in ons en wij geloven niet langer in jullie' : Russia over het nieuwe Europa.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 53, nr. 12, december 1999, p. 672-677.
The authors report on mass and elite attitudes in Russia concerning NATO and EU enlargement. Their contribution is based on survey results, 25 elite interviews and two focus group discussions, conducted in early September 1999 in Moscow and Dolgoprudnyi. They find a high degree of

realism on Russia's current condition and international status, among both the elite and the public. The fact that Russia is no longer a great power is generally recognized - and deplored. The initial hesitation of the mass public concerning NATO expansion has turned into outright opposition both to NATO itself (seen as a military instrument of the United States) and to its expansion. Attitudes towards the EU, however, are distinctly positive. Few see its expansion to Central and Eastern Europe as a threat to Russia. This may be related to a lack of awareness of how the EU operates; it may also be a reflection of increased anti-Americanism. The authors conclude that partnership with Russia will only work if NATO and EU continue a constructive dialogue with Russian elites and will explain their policies to the country's population.

- Magdziak-Miszewska, Agnieszka
Subregional Context of NATO Enlargement.
POLISH QUARTERLY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 8, no. 1, Winter 1999,
p. 93-100.

- Park, Ausra
Strazzari, Francesco
Evolving Lithuanian Security Options in the Context of NATO, WEU and EU
Responses.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 8, no. 2, Summer 1999, p. 103-129.
Lithuania's security orientation has evolved significantly since 1991. It
has moved from prioritising Baltic and, then, Nordic, cooperation to
focusing on partnership with Poland, and seeking NATO and European Union
membership. Initially re-buffed by both, Lithuania has gradually sought
to strengthen its de facto ties with NATO and WEU, and to build up its
economic ties with the EU and its member states, in the belief that this
provided a form of 'soft' security, and prepared the way for eventual
membership of NATO and the EU.

- Plangu, Ioan Mircea
Accession into a Changed and Changing NATO.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 5, no. 1, 1999, p. 76-80.

- Romer, Jean-Christophe
L' Europe centrale entre Russie, OTAN et UE : dix ans apres.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 4, avril 1999, p. 101-113.

- Rosapepe, James C.
Romania and NATO : Knocking on an Open Door.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 5, no. 1, 1999, p. 48-57.

- Rotfeld, Adam Daniel
NATO Enlargement and the Reinforcing of Euro-Atlantic Security
Structures.
POLISH QUARTERLY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 8, no. 1, Winter 1999,
p. 23-52.

- Russell, Richard L.
American Security Policy and NATO's Future.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 8, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 16-24.
NATO remains the United States' principal instrument for shaping the
security environment in Europe. It acts as a long-run hedge against a
possible resurrected Russian threat to the continent and to dampen the
prospects for the renationalization of military and security policies in
Europe. The United States faces formidable challenges to ensure the
viability of NATO after the Cold War. Washington must be prepared to
engage in a grand balancing act on several fronts to perpetuate the

Alliance. It must support NATO enlargement to move the Alliance's geopolitical center eastward, but not to territory that would be practically indefensible in the event of a resurgent Russia. Out-of-area operations will preoccupy Alliance attention in the near future, but too great an appetite for undertaking peacekeeping missions might over time substantially erode the Alliance's ability to deter or withstand the political and military pressure from a resurgent Russia or major power or coalition on the outlying of the Eurasian landmass.

- Simpson, Erika

The Looming Costs of NATO Expansion in the Twenty-First Century : What Alternatives does Canada Have ?

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 54, no. 2, Spring 1999, p. 324-339.

Now that Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic have been formally invited into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization - and the prospect of a second round of expansion is on the horizon - the cost of NATO enlargement could become a heated security issue. Before it does, it would be prudent to consider how Canada might make a meaningful financial or organizational contribution to NATO that falls short of the massive new investments in kit and infrastructure posited by several studies of the costs of enlargement. What share of the defence burden should Canada be willing to shoulder ? And what are some alternative, and less costly, options for fulfilling Canada's NATO commitments ?

- Smith, Martin A.

Timmins, Graham

The European Union and NATO Enlargement Debates in Comparative Perspective : A Case of Incremental Linkage ?

WEST EUROPEAN POLITICS, vol. 22, no. 3, July 1999, p. 22-40.

The end of the Cold War has led to growing pressures on the European Union and NATO to open up membership to the emerging democracies of East-Central Europe. Following an initially cautious response to events in the region, both have developed enlargement policies, albeit in an ambiguous manner. Although there are no formal links between the two enlargement processes, it is argued in this article that 'incremental linkage' has occurred. Furthermore, although both institutions have formally commenced enlargement, there remain significant issues requiring attention.

- Stankevicius, Ceslovas

Lithuania on its way to NATO.

NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, Special Issue, 1999, p. 79-81.

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

- Viggers, Peter
NATO-Russia Relations and Next Steps for NATO Enlargement.
POLITICAL COMMITTEE (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 1999, 24 p.
(491.6/21).
The purpose here is first to explore the impact of further enlargement on NATO-Russia relations, which appear to have improved recently, after the four-month chill following the launch of NATO air operations against Serbia. Secondly, this report examines how we should approach the 'next wave' of new Allies, taking particular note of the present and future state of NATO-Russia relations.

1998

- The Case Against NATO Expansion.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 97, no. 617, March 1998, p. 132-136.
The United States Senate is about to consider whether the North Atlantic Treaty Organization should expand its membership to include the Eastern European nations of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. Is it a 'bad idea whose time has come', as some have put it ? This edited transcript of a January 1998 presentation by a group of leading security specialists makes the case that the answer is no.

- Averre, Derek
NATO Expansion and Russian National Interests.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 7, no. 1, Spring 1998, p. 10-54.
The article centres on the debate in Russia about NATO expansion into Central and Eastern Europe and how expansion affects reemergent Russian national interests post-Madrid. The author examines official Russian arguments against expansion as well as the views of policy-makers and political commentators, assesses the impact of NATO's plans on Russian-Western security and disarmament arrangements and analyses Russia's relations with her neighbours in CEE, the CIS and Asia.

- Badre, Denis
L' OTAN et l' Union europeenne.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 32, hiver 1998 - 1999, p. 25-31.
L'elargissement de l'OTAN et celui de l'Union europeenne vont de pair avec une redefinition des missions de ces organisations. Les deux mutations ne sont pas independantes : l'Union et l'Alliance ont en commun un caractere politique; mais la fixation de leur frontiere, la determination des interets respectifs des Europeens et des Americains et l'analyse de leur rapport au reste du monde montrent les limites de l'analogie. Il nous faut apprecier avec la plus grande clarte ce que nous attendons de l'une et de l'autre institutions - l'affirmation de l'identite europeenne au sein de l'OTAN passant par une existence politique de l'Union.

- Blank, Stephen J.
Russia and the Baltics in the Age of NATO Enlargement.
PARAMETERS, vol. 28, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 50-68.

- Brill, Heinz
Die NATO-Osterweiterung und die geopolitischen Interessen der Machte.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 36. Jg., Heft 6, November - Dezember 1998, S. 637-648.

- Brzezinski, Zbigniew
La OTAN se acerca a Rusia.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 12, no. 64, julio - agosto 1998, p. 91-97.
The fundamental reality of today's Russia is that it is a messy combination of anarchy and democracy, of personal dictatorship and governmental chaos, of a dying welfare economy and parasitic capitalism, as well as of the political elite's lingering nostalgia for superpower status and the public's fatigue regarding old imperial aspirations. In that confused and contradictory setting, Yeltsin plays the role of the elected but otherwise arbitrary czar.

- Calleo, David
NATO Enlargement as a Problem for Security in Europe.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 49, no. 3, 1998, p. 24-27.
Enlargement of NATO is a controversial subject not only between the governments of Russia and those of Western countries. Objections are also raised within Western public opinion. One of the most radical critics is the author. He not only feels that there is a high risk of antagonizing Russia but fears that NATO enlargement will transform the Atlantic Alliance into a semblance of a collective security system. Paradoxically enough, this is precisely what Moscow, which opposes enlargement would want. The author's negative perception of NATO opening itself to East Central European countries is connected to his unusually negative perception of the reliability inherent in both NATO's and the United States' past security commitment to Western Europe.

- Dauce, Françoise
L' espace Baltique-mer Noire : une zone tampon pour la Russie ?
PROBLEMES POLITIQUES ET SOCIAUX, no. 809, 25 septembre 1998, numero entier.
Depuis 1989, la presence strategique de la Russie en Europe s'est caracterisee par un reflux continu. Alors qu'elle a du rapatrier ses troupes non seulement d'Europe centrale et orientale mais aussi des nouveaux Etats independants, dans un mouvement inverse, l'Alliance atlantique s'est etendue tout d'abord a l'Allemagne reunifiee, puis a la Pologne, la Hongrie et la Republique tcheque. Quelles sont les perspectives geopolitiques ouvertes par cet elargissement de l'OTAN vers l'Est, elargissement accepte de mauvaise grace par la Russie en echange d'un pacte de partenariat privilegie ? La Russie a-t-elle aujourd'hui les moyens de s'opposer a la volonte de rejoindre l'OTAN manifestee par certains Etats de ce nouvel espace d'interposition qui s'etend de la Baltique a la mer Noire ? Quels leviers - politiques, diplomatiques, economiques - met-elle en oeuvre pour essayer d'y maintenir son influence ? Comment les Etats de l'espace Baltique-mer Noire s'organisent-ils pour faire prevaloir leur conception de la securite ?

- Dwernicki, Christophe
L' elargissement de l' OTAN au service de l' industrie de defense americaine ?
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 54eme annee, no. 2, fevrier 1998, p. 81-95.

- Einsenhower, Susan
Starting Cold War II ?
PROCEEDINGS, vol. 124, no. 5, May 1998, p. 38-43.
Debate over expanding NATO to include Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic has drawn scant media attention because so many current and former US leaders endorse the plan. But losing sight of the high cost - including the risk of alienating a still-nuclear-armed Russia - could be a strategic blunder of historic proportions.

- Gaddis, John Lewis
 History, Grand Strategy and NATO Enlargement.
 SURVIVAL, vol. 40, no. 1, Spring 1998, p. 145-151.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
 Some principles of strategy are so basic that when stated they sound like platitudes : treat former enemies magnanimously; do not take on unnecessary new ones; keep the big picture in view; balance ends and means; avoid emotion and isolation in making decisions; be willing to acknowledge error. And yet, the Clinton administration's single most important foreign-policy initiative - NATO enlargement - somehow manages to violate every one of these principles. Perhaps that is why historians so widely agree that NATO enlargement is ill-conceived, ill-timed, and ill-suited to the realities of the post-Cold War world.

- Goldgeier, James
 NATO Enlargement : Anatomy of a Decision.
 WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 21, no. 1, Winter 1998, p. 85-102.
 How did President Clinton, often criticized for a lack of attention to foreign policy and for vacillation on important issues, come to make a decision with far-reaching consequences for all of Europe at a time when NATO faced no military threat and in the context of diminishing resources for foreign policy ? This article analyzes the process the US government followed that led to this major foreign policy initiative.

- Haglund, David G.
 Les consequences de l' elargissement de l' OTAN sur la securite europeenne.
 REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 32, hiver 1998 - 1999, p. 66-76.
 Contre les pronostics les plus optimistes ou les plus pessimistes, l'auteur estime que l'elargissement de l'OTAN devrait avoir des consequences minimales sur la stabilite europeenne, meme si des erreurs peuvent toujours assombrir ce scenario. Au-dela des motivations d'un tel changement, qui participent a la fois de considerations strategiques et electorales, la question est de savoir comment l'elargissement va contribuer a l'accomplissement des 'travaux d'Ismay' - stabiliser, d'une maniere ou d'une autre, les politiques de la Russie, de l'Allemagne et des Etats-Unis en matiere de securite. Il devrait renforcer l'interet des Nord Americains pour la securite europeenne, repousser l'horizon d'un 'pilier europeen' de defense, ce qui eloigne des tensions possibles entre Europeens, preserver la cooperation avec les Russes, que pourrait neanmoins menacer une nouvelle vague d'elargissement decidee unilateralement.

- Hammersen, Frederick P. A.
 The Disquieting Voice of Russian Resentment.
 PARAMETERS, vol. 28, no. 2, Summer 1998, p. 39-55.

- Hanson, Marianne
 Russia and NATO Expansion : The Uneasy Basis of the Founding Act.
 EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 7, no. 2, Summer 1998, p. 13-29.
 Russia's signature to the Founding Act, which paved the way for NATO expansion, was accompanied by continuing misgivings about Western intentions. Russia, which for decades had pursued the idea of a pan-European security organisation, continues to view NATO expansion as unnecessary and seeks instead to strengthen the OSCE. Reinforcing stability and democracy within its new member states is one of the motivations for NATO expansion, but it is the OSCE which is better designed to encourage stability in these particular states. NATO continues to be seen by Russia as a military organisation, and its expansion may have damaging consequences for future Russian-Western relations.

- Haslam, Jonathan
 Russia's Seat at the Table : A Place Denied or a Place Delayed ?
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 1, January 1998, p. 119-130.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
 Equivocation by Western governments about the place of Russia in Europe in the context of the enlargement of NATO and the EU leaves a critical issue unresolved. In effect, Russia has been excluded from the Euro-American ambit. Russia's present weakness has enabled its own reservations about these developments to be sidelined; but an economically rejuvenated Russia could pose a threat of dominance in eastern and central Europe every bit as substantial as the military dominance of former times. A way needs to be found to incorporate Russia into a modified European system to avoid its retreating into a potentially dangerous isolation.

- Hillen, John
 Noonan, Michael P.
 The Geopolitics of NATO Enlargement.
 PARAMETERS, vol. 28, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 21-34.

- Huber, Reiner K.
 Friedrich, Gernot
 NATO Enlargement and Russia Security : A Comparison of Findings from Two Analytical Approaches.
 EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 7, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 28-42.
 The article compares the results of two model analyses on the implications of NATO enlargement for Russia's security in six regions : North-West, West, South-West, Caucasus, Central Asia, and Far-East. One was done by Vitali Tsygichko using his 'Modes of Defense Sufficiency' (MDS), the other one by these authors using Tsygichko's data as input to the 'Generalized Force Ratio Model' (GEFRAM). While agreeing with regard to the general trend in the development of Russia's security situation, the results differ significantly as to whether these trends indicate a reduction of security below Russia's stated requirements. The results are preliminary and meant as an input to a continued debate on the subject among analysts.

- Isakova, Irina
 The NATO-Russian Relationship One Year After : Next Steps After First Enlargement ?
 RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 143, no. 5, October 1998, p. 16-19, 42.
 Relations between Russia and NATO have been normalised since the signing of the Founding Act between NATO-Russia last year. This opened the way for a permanent Russian mission to NATO, the posting of a military Russian delegation to NATO and a NATO information centre has opened in Moscow. This comes at the same time as NATO is expanding to include some of the states of the former Warsaw Pact. Here, the author looks at how the Russia-NATO relationship can develop in the coming months and years. Although a rapprochement has taken place between the two, their aspirations still differ substantially : while NATO is set on a process of enlargement, the Russians still hope to either persuade NATO to reconsider its 'open door' policy or to stretch the principle to include Russia as well. It is clearly a difficult stage which the relationship has entered. Dr. Isakova argues that the best way forward is to build on existing security arrangements and, if possible, to prolong the period between the first and second waves of enlargement.

- Just, Annette
Goss, Porter J.
Ratification of NATO Enlargement.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 7, no. 1, Spring 1998, p. 1-9.
Enlargement of NATO to the former member states of the Warsaw Pact was decided at the July 1997 NATO Summit in Madrid. US President Bill Clinton stated on 30 April 1998 that the addition of the three new democracies of the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland will 'strengthen NATO, expand the zone of stability in Europe and reduce the chances American men and women will ever again be called into Europe's fields of battle'. Yet, although the debate in the US Senate over the ratification of the protocols of accession culminated in a favourable decision on 30 April 1998 in favour of the three nations by 80-19, 13 more votes than required for approval, fundamental questions were raised during the process regarding how soon NATO should again enlarge, the costs, and what the future role of the Alliance should be. This article, drafted in October 1997, directly addresses the major arguments launched against the wisdom of a wider NATO.

- Kamp, Karl-Heinz
NATO Entrapped : Debating the Next Enlargement Round.
SURVIVAL, vol. 40, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 170-186.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
The question of further enlargement rounds after Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic have been admitted to NATO in Spring 1999 will place the Alliance in a difficult position. On the one hand, key allies see the coming years as a 'digestive' period to adapt NATO to the admission of three new members. On the other hand, NATO codified its commitment to an open enlargement process in a compromise formula found in Madrid in July 1997, which is likely to raise expectations among putative candidates and some NATO members, such as France, on a second enlargement round already in 1999. This would undoubtedly strain the relationship with Russia - particularly with regard to a potential NATO membership of the Baltic countries. It would be wise not to decide on another enlargement round too soon, but NATO will have to devote some thoughts to the ultimate goal of the enlargement process.

- Kinkel, Klaus
Die Öffnung der NATO für neue Mitglieder : Stabilitätspolitik für ganz Europa.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 47. Jg., Nr. 6, Juni 1998, S. 10-12.

- Kropiwnicki, Jerzy
Government Centre for Strategic Studies.
NATO'S SIXTEEN NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, Special Issue 2, 1998, p. 17-20.

- Meri, Lennart
The Security of Estonia.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 143, no. 2, April 1998, p. 1-4.
The author here outlines three key issues for his country : the role of NATO and Estonia's hopes of NATO membership; European security; and the relationship with Russia. He stresses that the inclusion of the Baltic States in the Alliance would not in any way weaken it, nor should it threaten Russia. Indeed, he sees the EU and WEU as providing an important security role and believes that this dimension should be expanded so that Europe has the capability to manage its own security concerns. Highlighting the imperative of bringing Russia into European security architecture, the author underlines his hopes for the continuing improvement of Estonian-Russian relations. He concludes by looking at the recent US-Baltic Charter which, regardless of the outcome of future alliance enlargements, sets out the importance of the Baltic security issue.

- Nelson, Daniel N.
Civil Armies, Civil Societies, and NATO's Enlargement.
ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 25, no. 1, Fall 1998, p. 137-159.
As NATO's membership and function widen, it transits from a 'latent war community' to something akin to an international regime aimed at collective security. During and after such a process, successful integration into the 'new' alliance will have little to do with a state's military contribution or strategic advantage. Instead, principal emphasis will be placed on how a state and its army behave. This discussion concerns the behavioral standards of a 'civil army' - an ideal type to which no system can lay claim, but which allows comparative assessments. In a brief survey of east-central and southeast Europe, attention is given to signs of criminality, procurement fraud, limited civilian roles in defense, diminished public image of armies, low compliance of high commands, and other evidence that building civil armies requires further effort. Concluding comments note policy alternatives for US and NATO efforts to accelerate civil-military transitions.

- Odom, William E.
Russia's Several Seats at the Table.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 4, October 1998, p. 809-822.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>
In his reply to Jonathan Haslam's article published in the January 1998 issue of this review, the author outlines his vision of NATO and its origins and purpose, and discusses the American strategic view of the post-Cold War world against which the decision to expand NATO should be seen. Russia will, he maintains, remain a problem for the West, but its importance and power should not be overemphasized. The danger facing the Western security order is not one of Russia's exclusion but of US power ebbing out of Europe - a distinct probability unless NATO expands.

- Pastusiak, Longin
Poland on Her Way to NATO.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 7, no. 2, Summer 1998, p. 54-62.
This article provides a legislative perspective on Poland's progress toward NATO membership. The author outlines the various steps that have been taken by the Polish government in preparation for membership. Among the measures discussed are the democratic control of the military, defense planning, and measures to enhance interoperability. The article also assesses the impact of NATO enlargement on the structure and content of European security in the twenty-first century.

- Perlmutter, Amos
Carpenter, Ted G.
NATO's Expensive Trip East.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 77, no. 1, January - February 1998, p. 2-6.
Everybody wants to believe that expanding NATO won't cost much, but they are wrong. Extending military guarantees is a big, and expensive step.

- Petric, Ernest
From Madrid to Washington : Slovenia's Quest for Membership.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 46, no. 4, Winter 1998, p. 13-15.
Slovenia, which has been working tirelessly to prepare itself politically, economically and militarily for NATO membership, feels it is ready. While not summoned in Madrid to begin the accession process with the other three invitee nations, Slovenia has not lost faith in NATO's pledge to keep the door open. According to Ambassador Petric, next April's Washington Summit will be Alliance's opportunity to lock-in the achievements of this new era in Euro-Atlantic security by extending further invitations to join NATO, an opportunity that must not be squandered.

- Reiter, Erich
Die Kosten eines NATO-Beitrittes Osterreichs.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 36. Jg., Heft 3, Mai - Juni
1998, S. 275-284.

- Roskin, Michael G.
NATO : The Strange Alliance Getting Stranger.
PARAMETERS, vol. 28, no. 2, Summer 1998, p. 30-38.
NATO is simultaneously expanding and hollowing out, a dangerous
combination that is being little considered in the current anemic debate
over NATO enlargement, a debate largely devoid of historical and
strategic context. The author does not oppose admitting new members in
Central Europe but believes the question of NATO expansion is being badly
framed. We may wish to expand NATO, but we must understand that such a
move has geostrategic consequences and must be followed through with
sufficient power.

- Rubinstein, Alvin Z.
NATO Enlargement vs American Interests.
ORBIS, vol. 42, no. 1, Winter 1998, p. 37-48.

- Sarvas, Stefan
Attitudes of the Czech Public toward National Security, the Military,
and NATO Membership.
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 11, no. 3, September 1998, p.
56-88.
Drawing upon extensive sociological research, the author catalogues the
attitudes of the Czech population towards three vital security issues,
including national security as a whole, the role and condition of the
Czech military, and future Czech membership in NATO. He documents the
scope of the problem faced by the Czech political leadership as it charts
its way through the harrowing process of military reform and constructive
participation in European security systems. His analysis helps explain
why both military reform and alliance integration will likely be
difficult and time-consuming processes.

- Schimmelfennig, Frank
NATO Enlargement : A Constructivist Explanation.
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 8, no. 2/3, Winter 1998 - 1999, p. 198-234.
In this article, the author seeks to explain NATO enlargement. More
precisely, he asks (1) why CEE countries strive to become NATO members;
(2) why NATO decided to expand to the east; and (3) why (only) the Czech
Republic, Hungary and Poland were invited to become NATO members. He
argues that the most prominent rationalist international relations
approaches to the study of alliances and international institutions
cannot answer these questions convincingly. In both their neorealist and
their neoliberal variations, they may be able to account for the CEE
countries' bid to join NATO but fail to explain the interest of NATO in
expansion. This puzzle for rationalism is solved by a constructivist
approach to the study of international institutions which analyzes
enlargement as a process of international socialization.

- Skalnes, Lars S.
From the Inside Out : NATO Expansion and International Relations
Theory.
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 7, no. 4, Summer 1998, p. 44-87.
NATO enlargement offers a number of puzzles for international relations
theory. The most important such puzzle is the enlargement decision
itself. Other puzzles are why membership in NATO is tied to continued
domestic reforms in prospective member states; why NATO has so far been
unwilling to include Russia as part of the enlargement; and, finally, why
NATO signed the so-called Founding Act to promote security cooperation

between NATO and Russia. The two leading theoretical approaches in international relations theory, neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism, fail to provide adequate answers to these questions.

- Solana, Javier
On Course for a NATO of 19 Nations in 1999.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 46, no. 1, Spring 1998, p. 3-5.
The Alliance took a momentous step towards building an undivided Europe when Foreign Ministers signed documents last December paving the way for NATO's opening to three new members. Much work still lies ahead, including ratification by NATO's 16 member parliaments and further preparation by the three invited countries, before we can welcome them as NATO allies. But the author is confident that 1999 will see the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland joining the Alliance, thereby strengthening security and stability across the Euro-Atlantic community.

- Vasilyev, Aleksei
NATO Enlargement : The Real Military Threat.
BELARUS IN THE WORLD, no. 2, 1998, p. 49-51.

- Wehrschutz, Christian F.
Die russisch-ukrainischen Beziehungen unter dem Aspekt der NATO-Osterweiterung.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 36. Jg., Heft 1, Janner - Februar 1998, S. 29-34.

- Wettig, Gerhard
NATO, Russia and European Security after the Cold War.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 49, no. 3, 1998, p. 18-23.
In the process of Europe drawing together, NATO is the only functioning security organization. This is a crucial reason why the countries of East Central Europe want to join the Alliance : they want to be on the safe side, and they feel that their region will stabilize only within an Atlantic framework. Underlying is a traditional feeling of geopolitical insecurity. The region was politically non-existent both to World War I, during World War II and, as a matter of practice, also in the period of the Cold War. The new situation which has emerged in 1990/91 gives the East-Central Europeans a chance at last to overcome their geopolitical odds by joining the Western nations including the United States as their stronghold. The proposed alternative to create security on the European continent, particularly in East Central Europe, on the basis of collective security, does not stand the test of historical experience.

- Winid, Boguslaw W.
NATO Enlargement in the US Congress, 1997.
POLISH QUARTERLY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 7, no. 1, Winter 1998, p. 65-96.

- Woloszyk, Maciej
Why Does Poland Need NATO ?
BELARUS IN THE WORLD, no. 2, 1998, p. 52-54.

- Wooley, Alexander
NATO Drifts Rudderless.
PROCEEDINGS, vol. 124, no. 3, March 1998, p. 40-43.
Where is NATO going ? If there is no threat in the world to challenge NATO, and the United States is the only superpower, then surely NATO does not face a potential enemy so powerful that it cannot handle it without the aid of Poland, Hungary, or the Czech Republic.

- Wyllie, James H.
NATO's Bleak Future.
PARAMETERS, vol. 28, no. 4, Winter 1998 - 1999, p. 113-123.

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- The Debate Over NATO Expansion : A Critique of the Clinton Administration's Responses to Key Questions.
ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 27, no. 6, September 1997, p. 3-10.
- Ardeleanu, Viorel
Romania's Candidacy to NATO : A Case Study.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 2, 1997, p. 46-61.
- Bergbusch, Eric
NATO Enlargement : Should Canada Leave NATO ?
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 53, no. 1, Winter 1997 - 1998, p. 147-168.
- Bertram, Christoph
Why NATO Must Enlarge.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 2, March 1997, p. 14-17.
NATO enlargement is a dual imperative, according to the author : it is necessary as an anchor of stability in an uncertain Europe, and it is vital to NATO's own continued existence. However, while NATO enlargement is an essential element of the European equation, so is Russia. If allied leaders intend enlargement as a means to enhance stability on the continent and not as a deterrent against Russia, then Russia's role in European security must be guaranteed through a formal institutional link with NATO, and not just a 'charter'. Only then will it be possible to say that the Alliance has assumed its new role, for its own sake and for the sake of Europe.
- Boniface, Pascal
Le debat francais sur l' elargissement de l' OTAN.
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 27, automne 1997, p. 33-47.
En France, le debat sur l'elargissement de l'OTAN a ete largement occulte par celui sur les relations de la France avec l'Alliance et les Etats-Unis et la constitution d'un pilier europeen de la defense. Sous le second septennat de Francois Mitterrand, il existait un consensus entre les partis de gouvernement : rapprochement de l'OTAN mais maintien de l'autonomie. La France exprima quelques reticences sur l'utilite de l'elargissement jusqu'en 1994, quand elle cessa d'opposer ce processus a une identite europeenne de defense. Avec l'election de Jacques Chirac en 1995, le gouvernement francais souhaita meme aller plus loin que les Etats-Unis, en integrant la Roumanie et la Slovenie. Il reste a voir si la position francaise va evoluer avec le nouveau gouvernement et l'inflexibilite des Etats-Unis au Sommet de Madrid.
- Bukkvol, Tor
Ukraine and NATO : The Politics of Soft Cooperation.
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 28, no. 3, September 1997, p. 363-374.
This article aims to explain the shift in the Ukrainian attitude towards NATO enlargement. It first discusses the nature of present Ukrainian-NATO relations, and then tries to explain the shift in attitude by tracing the balance of costs and benefits that the Ukrainian political leadership expects to result from the more positive position on NATO enlargement. The analysis connects the attitude towards enlargement with the broader issue of how Ukraine is trying to define its identity and place in the new security architecture of Europe.

- Cambone, Stephen
 Will the US Senate Endorse NATO's Enlargement ?
 NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 6, November - December 1997, p. 12-16.
 The US Senate has started debating NATO enlargement in earnest. In Spring 1998, the Senate, as required by the US constitution, will decide whether to amend the Washington Treaty. The key issues the Senate is likely to scrutinise include the costs of enlargement, the burden-sharing issue, the implications of EU enlargement, the relationship with Russia, and the size and timing of further enlargement. In agreeing to enlargement, the Senate is likely to have several conditions that will have to be incorporated in the final resolution of ratification and which could affect US policy on NATO for many years.

- Cambone, Stephen A.
 Debate in the US Senate on NATO Enlargement.
 RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 142, no. 6, December 1997, p. 9-13.
 NATO enlargement has been an important issue on the international security agenda in 1997 and as the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland have been invited to join NATO the US Senate is preparing for the ratification of this enlargement. Dr. Cambone here looks at the debate in the Senate on NATO enlargement and at the worries which Senators have voiced concerning the process. The concerns fall into three categories : the problem of burdensharing - are the Europeans willing to contribute their share of the cost ? Future enlargement : if the costs of the first enlargement create problems, will it be possible to enlarge even further in a second round ? And lastly, Russia's relations to the West and its reaction to the enlargement. Dr. Cambone argues that the Senate is fully aware of the importance of Europe to American security and of an enlarged NATO to Europe.

- Cimbala, Stephen J.
 Russia and Nuclear Coercion : How Necessary ?, How Much ?
 JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 10, no. 3, September 1997, p. 56-78.
 The future of nuclear weapons in Russian military strategy and policy is based on Russian political forecasting and military threat perceptions at two levels. First, Russian assessments of US strategic nuclear capabilities are important, even if the two states are potentially cooperative security partners instead of presumed adversaries. Second, NATO's plans for enlargement bring a US and allied European military alliance system with a nuclear guarantee closer to Russia's borders. The discussion here considers how Russia might evaluate and respond to a continued START strategic arms reduction process and to NATO enlargement, and what all of that might mean for European peace and stability.

- Clement, Sophia
 L' Europe du Sud-Est apres les elargissements de l' Union europeenne et de l' OTAN.
 RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 28, hiver 1997, p. 139-144.
 La definition d'un nouvel ordre de securite dans l'Europe de l'apres Guerre froide et l'elargissement selectif de l'Union europeenne et de l'OTAN comportent le risque, pour les pays du Sud-Est de l'Europe qui n'ont pas ete invites a faire partie d'un des deux processus d'elargissement, d'evoluer vers des structures d'exclusion. Une definition coherente et coordonnee de l'elargissement et le renforcement des cadres de cooperation renforcee inclus dans une approche d'ensemble de la region visant a son integration sur le long terme, seraient seuls susceptibles de pallier, dans une region en nette demande de securite, les lignes de fractures actuelles ou futures et les risques d'instabilite sur le continent europeen.

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

- Cunningham, George
EU and NATO Enlargement : How Public Opinion Is Shaping Up in Some
Candidate Countries.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 3, May - June 1997, p. 16-18.

- Dassu, Marta
Menotti, Roberto
Italy and NATO Enlargement.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 32, no. 3-4, July - December 1997, p.
65-86.

- Delwaide, Jacobus
Europa's veiligheid en onze verantwoordelijkheid.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 51, nr. 6, juni 1997, p. 314-322.
The author follows the debate on NATO-enlargement, which has emerged also
in the Low Countries. The sceptics are afraid to hurt an already
humiliated Russia. Fear of Western arrogance prevails among sceptics on
the left. Eagerness to retain the old Atlantic and Anglo-Saxon ties as
intact as possible is a key motive of sceptics on the right. The main
underlying problem, meanwhile, is European weakness.

- Ene, Constantin
Romania Sets Its Sights on NATO Membership.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 6, November - December 1997, p. 8-11.
Although not included in the first wave of invitations to join NATO,
Romania remains determined to become a NATO member. According to
Ambassador Ene, this goal is strongly backed by public opinion. Major
political and military reforms are being undertaken as part of Romania's
active preparation for NATO membership. Modernisation and integration are
the guiding principles in Romania today and NATO membership is the
ambition for tomorrow.

- Facon, Isabelle
La Russie, l' OTAN et l' avenir de la securite europeenne.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 62e annee, no. 3, automne 1997, p. 291-305.
La position intransigeante de la Russie face a la perspective de
l'elargissement de l'OTAN a conforte de nombreux observateurs dans leur
conviction que Moscou reste prisonniere de ses representations
strategiques traditionnelles. Dans le meme temps, le gouvernement russe,
favorisant la participation et la cooperation dans ses relations avec
l'Occident, reevaluant sensiblement ses rapports avec ses anciens
satellites, semble signifier qu'il n'envisage pas pour son pays un destin
coupe de l'Europe. En etendant leur espace strategique sans consideration
demesuree pour la fragilite des equilibres internes en Russie, les
Occidentaux ne risquent-ils pas de voir resurgir la logique de
confrontation ?

- Fontaine, Andre
L' Europe d' un bout a l' autre.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 76, ete 1997, p. 419-427.
The signing of the 'Founding Act on Mutual Relations' between NATO and
Russia in Paris last May finally cleared the way for the expansion of the
Atlantic alliance to include central and eastern Europe. Countries in the
region are eager to join NATO for many compelling reasons, including
resurfacing anxieties about the potential threat from Russia, the desire
to form a collective front to meet the challenges of globalization, and
fear of a powerful Germany. However, at the risk of signing away its

future and that of its member states, Europe should beware of remaining on the sidelines. France's view is that Europe must affirm its identity within NATO in all areas, from the single currency to defense policies. But above all it must welcome with open arms its sister countries in Europe, and as rapidly as possible. These nations - separated from the West for so long by a cruel and unjust fate - ask for nothing more than their freedom and the chance of a better future.

- Frenkin, Anatoli

Russlands mögliche Reaktionen auf die Osterweiterung der NATO.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 46. Jg., Nr. 2, Februar 1997, S. 35-37.
In Russia there is very little sympathy for NATO's eastward enlargement. Everybody is against it and considers it as a threat to Russia. But there are very diverse views about the questions how big such a threat really is and of what it consists, what consequences it could have for Russia and how Moscow should react to NATO's eastward enlargement. All political forces, the general public, the military experts and the political scientists intensively discuss this subject and seek a constructive solution, also taking the ideas of a strategic partnership with NATO into consideration. What would be useful for Russia and what would better serve the national interests? As to this, there are completely opposing opinions: an extension of NATO to the East would be a threat or would not be a threat at all; Russia would have to react absolutely strongly to this or, on the contrary, would not have to react at all; Moscow's relations to NATO should be suspended or Russia should request NATO membership.

- Gabanyi, Anneli Ute

Rumanien und die NATO.
ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 3, no. 4, 1997, p. 143-183.

- Germanangue, Marc

L'adhésion aux organisations européennes et atlantique, élément structurant de la transition des PECO.
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 26, été 1997, p. 133-140.
La volonté d'adhérer aux organisations européennes et atlantique conditionne, pour une large part, les choix économiques et politiques opérés par les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale depuis la disparition du rideau de fer. L'adhésion à ces organisations est en effet apparue, au moment où disparaissait le joug ancien, comme l'élément structurant de la transition politique et économique de 'l'Autre Europe'. Il convient donc de rappeler les grands moments du processus et les principaux enjeux de l'élargissement.

- Gnesotto, Nicole

Élargissement de l'OTAN : une responsabilité européenne.
POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE, 62^e année, no. 1, printemps 1997, p. 125-136.
Si l'élargissement de l'OTAN a pour objectif une véritable réconciliation paneuropéenne avec les anciens ennemis d'hier alors le processus est bien évidemment souhaitable, nécessaire, indispensable même, en dépit de tous les risques inhérents à une telle ouverture. S'il s'agit en revanche de perpétuer des avantages acquis, autrement dit de codifier simplement une domination américaine incontestable en cette fin de guerre froide, alors les réserves deviennent plus légitimes. Les Européens ont une responsabilité essentielle dans l'orientation finale de ce processus. Les débats sur l'élargissement de l'OTAN ne sont en effet que l'expression d'un choix fondamental : l'ordre politique de l'Europe sera-t-il mieux assuré, en ce début de troisième millénaire, en étant fondé sur le seul cadre politique de l'Alliance atlantique, ou en s'incarnant dans un nouveau triangle géopolitique, fondé sur une coopération relativement égalitaire entre trois pôles de décision autonomes et coopératifs,

l'Alliance, la Russie, et l'Union europeenne ?

- Hagen, Hermann
NATO-Offnung zum Null-Tarif ?
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 46. Jg., Nr. 3, Marz 1997, S. 37-38.

- Herd, Graeme P.
A Helping of Alphabet Soup.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 7, July 1997, p. 185-186.
The Madrid summit this month will forge a new strategic relationship between NATO and former Warsaw Pact countries in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. It is almost certain that the Baltic states will not be part of this first round of NATO enlargement. It is frequently argued that these states are difficult to defend credibly, and with large Russian minorities and outstanding border demarcation disputes with Moscow, far too sensitive an area to be easily integrated into the NATO military command. So what alternatives are on offer ?

- Huber, Reiner K.
Friedrich, Gernot
Kostenneutrale NATO-Erweiterung ?
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 46. Jg., Nr. 6, Juni 1997, S. 39-42.

- Hurner, R. G.
NATO Enlargement : A Survey of the Many-Faceted Russian Position.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 2, 1997, p. 32-45.

- Ionescu, Constantiu Dudu
Financial Cost of Romania's Integration into NATO.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 2, 1997, p. 21-31.

- Kamp, Karl-Heinz
Die NATO nach Madrid : Perspektiven der Osterweiterung des Bundnisses.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 52. Jahr, Nr. 5, Mai 1997, S. 37-42.
Die Aufnahme neuer NATO-Mitglieder is beschlossene Sache, doch besteht dringender Diskussionsbedarf uber die kunftige Rolle der NATO : Solles nach der ersten Erweiterungsrunde eine selbsverordnete Atempause geben ? Ware eine fruhzeitige EU-Mitggliedschaft, z.B. fur baltische Staaten, ein 'Sicherheitszugewinn'? Konnte eine Aktivierung der Pfp mehr Stabilitat bieten ?

- Kay, Sean
The 'New NATO' and the Enlargement Process.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 6, no. 4, Winter 1997, p. 1-16.

- Kolodziej, Edward A.
Lepingwell, John W. R.
Reconstructing European Security : Cutting NATO Enlargement Down to Size.
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 18, no. 1, April 1997, p. 1-35.
NATO's enlargement dominates the European security agenda as the principal solution to the continent's multiple security problems. This exclusionary focus, partly occasioned by the organization's peacemaking efforts to end the Yugoslav civil war, risks viewing Europe's security problems from the wrong end of the telescope. This analysis reverses the telescopic perspective. It surveys the entire European landscape and sets this latest Balkan crisis against the background of the larger and more formidable security dilemmas besetting Europe's diverse populations. It also attempts to provide a set of conceptual lenses to help evaluate

currently NATO-driven efforts to reconstruct Europe's security system from the shards and fragments left by the unanticipated collapse of Cold War bipolarity and the implosion of the Soviet Union as central to that failed solution. Understanding the scope and dimensions of the security dilemmas in Europe is a condition for formulating a broad and flexible set of institutional approaches and policy options to cope with European conflicts, actual and incipient.

- Kull, Steven
The American Public, Congress and NATO Enlargement, Part I : Is There Sufficient Public Support ?
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 1, January 1997, p. 9-11.
As NATO prepares for the process of enlargement, the importance of public and parliamentary support in the current member countries, particularly in the United States, should not be underestimated. This article addresses the salient questions of whether the American public will support extending security guarantees to new members and whether the US Congress will muster the two-thirds Senate majority required to ratify the addition of new members.

- Kurth, James
NATO Expansion and the Idea of the West.
ORBIS, vol. 41, no. 4, Fall 1997, p. 555-567.

- Kuzio, Taras
NATO Enlargement : The View from the East.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 6, no. 1, Spring 1997, p. 48-62.

- Laulan, Yves-Marie
The Economic Dimension of a Wider NATO.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 3, 1997 - 1998, p. 40-46.
The reason why the Iron Curtain finally fell down at the end of the eighties is not because it had to give way under the weight or the impact of sheer military force, but because the economic system of centralised, state-run economies simply did not work any more. The 'Stalinist model' simply came grinding to a halt, before tumbling down miserably. Only market economies, considers professor Laulan, operating smoothly over a long period, can provide adequate financing for defense, while, at the same time, producing enough resources to meet and satisfy the evergrowing claims of a civilian population of consumers, particularly an aging population of consumers competing fiercely for resources. Then an enlarged NATO can only survive through the next century if it can husband enough resources for the common defense.

- Lucas, Hans-Dieter
The Baltic States in Europe : Problems and Prospects.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 48, no. 2, 1997, p. 127-136.
Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have a special position in the community of states which have emerged from the ruins of the Soviet empire : together with countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia they have belonged from time immemorial to Central Europe, but, unlike these countries, they were directly annexed by the USSR and, consequently, now suffer from its burdensome political, social and institutional legacy. This fact is compounded by an extremely vulnerable situation in the field of external security. The aggregation of factors explain why the Baltic States have a strong desire to belong to not only the European Union (EU) but also to NATO. Western countries, however, believe that they have to show special consideration for Russia with respect to any integration into the Atlantic alliance by ruling out NATO membership for certain former constituent regions of the Soviet Union.

- Lynch, Allen C.
Russia and NATO : Expansion and Coexistence ?
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 32, no. 1, January - March 1997, p. 81-91.
The author analyzes Russia's discourse and attitude toward NATO and its prospective enlargement, providing a critical assessment of NATO's enlargement policy.

- Mandelbaum, Michael
The Post-Cold War Settlement in Europe : A Triumph of Arms Control.
ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 27, no. 1, March 1997, p. 3-8.
The author addresses here the impact of arms control advances on European security. As one of the leading critics of NATO enlargement, he focuses on the implications of the expansion policy for future arms control agreements.

- Melescanu, Teodor
NATO Enlargement and the Security of Central Europe : Alternatives to a Single Scenario.
ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 3, no. 2, 1997, p. 23-30.

- Michael of Romania
Romania and NATO : The Time for a Real Partnership.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 142, no. 2, April 1997, p. 6-11.
The author explains here Romania's position on NATO membership, making the case that Romania is now ready to become a member of the North Atlantic Organization ; it is now a democratic country with a government firmly in control of the military forces and a people of whom 90 per cent favours NATO membership. Participation in NATO is a necessity not only for the stability of Romania and its neighbours but for the security of the whole of Europe. While there is broad backing for Romanian membership of NATO in large parts of Europe, the author appeals to Britain to join the group of supporting countries.

- Moltke, Gebhardt von
Accession of New Members to the Alliance : What Are the Next Steps ?
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 4, July - August 1997, p. 4-9.

- Parkhalina, Tatiana
Of Myths and Illusions : Russian Perceptions of NATO Enlargement.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 3, May - June 1997, p. 11-15.
The author argues that NATO enlargement has emerged as the overriding factor in Russian foreign policy due to the notion that there is a national consensus against it. As an issue the nation can rally around, NATO enlargement serves to shift the gaze away from Russia's real problems, which are primarily economic and social in nature. Russia's own interests would be better served through cooperative engagement with the main international institutions, including NATO, to meet the new challenges it faces.

- Pierre, Andrew J.
Trenin, Dmitri
Developing NATO-Russian Relations.
SURVIVAL, vol. 39, no. 1, Spring 1997, p. 5-18.
At its July 1997 summit meeting, NATO plans to invite several countries to begin negotiations leading to their membership within a few years. To enlarge the Alliance without a parallel improvement in NATO-Russian relations could lead to a major and unnecessary deterioration in West-East relations. It could empower anti-Western and nationalist elements in Russia; provoke a retrograde Russian defence policy,

including emphasis on tactical and strategic nuclear weapons; cause Moscow to feel un constrained by the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty; and kill the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) II Treaty. It would be preferable to engage Moscow in a serious and substantive NATO-Russian charter - a package of measures including institutionalised political consultations, modernisation of the CFE Treaty, formal reassurances concerning the non-deployment of nuclear weapons and foreign forces in new NATO member-states, enhanced Russian participation in Partnership for Peace (PfP), and a coordinated response to the Baltic States. The engagement of Russia would make enlargement politically acceptable.

- Pourchot, Georgeta V.

NATO Enlargement and Democracy in Eastern Europe.

EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 6, no. 4, Winter 1997, p. 157-174.

This article first reconstructs the Eastern European diplomacy that encouraged NATO enlargement, with specific attention to the reasons for seeking admission by each individual country. Second, public support for NATO membership and its associated costs is presented. The data show a substantial gap between public and elite views on regional security. Third, elite responsiveness to public concerns about membership is discussed. Tentative conclusions are drawn about the consequences of integrating countries with an inconsistent commitment to democratic practices into the Atlantic Alliance.

- Puschkow, Alexej

Pyrrhussieg des Westens ? : das Tauziehen um die NATO-Erweiterung.

INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 52. Jahr, Nr. 5, Mai 1997, S. 31-36.

So zerstritten, wie die russlandische politische Elite bei fast allen Fragen ist, so einige prasentiert sie sich bei der Frage der Aufnahme neuer Mitglieder in die NATO : Diese Moglichkeit wird einhellig abgelehnt und als 'Expansion' des Atlantischen Bundnisses denunziert. Alexej Puschkow warnt den Westen vor den Folgen.

- Reiter, Erich

Die NATO-Reform entscheidet die eurasische Sicherheitsordnung.

OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 35. Jg., Heft 4, Juli - August 1997, S. 371-386.

- Rosati, Dariusz

The Polish Contribution to a New European Security Structure.

RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 142, no. 2, April 1997, p. 12-18.

Poland's Foreign Minister here sets out the Polish view of changing European security structures, NATO's external adaptation and Poland's potential contribution to an enlarged Alliance. He points to the need to develop a special partnership with Russia and Ukraine based on fundamental principles of regional security. Poland's commitment to serving national and international security interests will be greatly enhanced as a full member of NATO.

- Rosner, Jeremy D.

The American Public, Congress and NATO Enlargement, Part II : Will Congress Back Admitting New Members ?

NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 1, January 1997, p. 12-14.

- Roth, William V.
A Fresh Act of Creation : The Parliamentary Dimension of NATO Enlargement.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 2, March 1997, p. 11-13.
Senator Roth, President of the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA), argues that opening Alliance membership to new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe can help transform the region into a cornerstone of enduring peace and stability, offer the best possible hedge against post-Cold War security risks, and provide the indispensable bedrock for continued democratic and market reform. Building on its five-year record of encouragement for a wider NATO, the NAA will have a special role, in close partnership with the Alliance, in assuring informed and prompt approval of new NATO membership in the parliaments of both present and future allies.

- Roubinski, Youri
La Russie et l' OTAN : une nouvelle etape ?
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 62e annee, no. 4, hiver 1997 - 1998, p. 543-558.
L'auteur decrit, du point de vue russe, le processus qui a abouti a la conclusion de l'Acte fondateur entre la Russie et l'OTAN avec pour toile de fond la question de l'elargissement de l'Alliance atlantique en direction de l'Est et le refus russe d'envisager une telle perspective. Pour lui, l'opposition officielle russe a ete plus rhetorique que reelle. Moscou s'est efforcee d'effectuer une pression sur les Occidentaux en vue d'obtenir des compensations lors des negociations. Or, les garanties occidentales incluses dans l'Acte fondateur semblent bien floues et, en tout cas, bien eloignees du souhait russe de voir se constituer un systeme de securite collective europeen autour de l'OSCE et en dehors de la 'tutelle' americaine.

- Ruggie, John Gerard
Consolidating the European Pillar : The Key to NATO's Future.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 20, no. 1, Winter 1997, p. 109-124.
The author argues here that deepening the relationship between NATO and the EU is more critical to the long-term future of the transatlantic security community than immediate NATO expansion; that pushing ahead with current plans to admit new NATO members, far from sustaining the transatlantic security community, potentially undermines it; that current expansion plans permit EU members to postpone adjusting their own institutions and practices to accommodate their Eastern neighbors; that a European-led eastward expansion delivers greater promise, poses fewer risks and is more equitable vis-a-vis the United States; and that such an overall strategic package is closely in keeping with the initial plans for NATO that its US founders had in mind.

- Schwarz, Benjamin
Permanent Interests, Endless Threats : Cold War Continuities and NATO Enlargement.
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 14, no. 3, Fall 1997, p. 24-30.

- Sergounin, Alexander A.
Russian Domestic Debate on NATO Enlargement : From Phobia to Damage Limitation.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 6, no. 4, Winter 1997, p. 55-71.
This study examines how different Russian foreign policy schools and political groups perceived NATO enlargement. Its purpose is threefold : first, to describe Russian arguments against NATO enlargement circulated in the Russian mass media and research literature. Second, to explain why there was surprising unanimity among the Russian foreign policy schools and political parties as regards NATO extension. Third, to examine specialities of particular schools and parties concerning NATO enlargement.

- Severin, Adrian
The Strategic Outlook for South-East Europe.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 142, no. 4, August 1997, p. 7-11.
South-eastern Europe has long been regarded as the most volatile region of the continent. At the end of the 20th century as at the beginning, the world has associated it with conflict. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, as east and west found ways of integrating, the Balkans were still regarded as troublesome, a feeling borne out by the violence and destruction of the wars in the former Yugoslavia. As a regional player which has managed to come through its difficult recent history to establish sound democratic institutions, Romania seeks to play a role helping its neighbours to achieve similar success. The author discusses here his country's perception of the strategic outlook for the region, setting out suggestions for the way ahead through the international community and highlighting Romania's contribution. While peacekeepers have been necessary, they cannot stay forever, and the countries of South-East Europe need help to help themselves.

- Sharapo, Alexander V.
Rosanow, Anatolij A.
Europäische Sicherheit : einige Aspekte der Position von Belarus.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITÄRISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 35. Jg., Heft 2, März - April 1997, S. 145-152.

- Shelley, Mark R.
NATO Enlargement : The Case for Romania.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 1, 1997, p. 98-105.

- Shelley, Marke R.
Norris, John P.
NATO Enlargement : The Case for Romania.
PROCEEDINGS, vol. 123, no. 3, March 1997, p. 68-70.
NATO likely will add two new members in the near future. Romania's strategic geography, integrated military, and Western values make it a logical choice. It is time to put Romania on the short list for NATO membership.

- Siccama, J. G.
Mag Rusland ooit lid van de NAVO worden ?
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 51, nr. 5, mei 1997, p. 251-253.
The author blames the present objections of Russia to NATO enlargement on the delay in Western decision-making after the end of the Cold War. He prefers gradual enlargement, doing justice to the wish of the Central Europeans to become integrated militarily, to a division of Europe in spheres of influence. While it is not advisable to exclude Russia from NATO membership, the envisaged Charter between Moscow and the Alliance should not be allowed to undermine the political and military effectiveness of the West.

- Simon, Jeffrey
Binnendijk, Hans
Romania and NATO : Membership Reassessment at the July 1997 Summit.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 2, 1997, p. 13-20.

- Sloan, Stanley
Transatlantic Relations : Stormy Weather on the Way to Enlargement.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 5, September - October 1997, p. 12-16.
While agreement was reached in Madrid on inviting new members to join the Alliance, the author argues that the ratification process next year could be more trying. This process, converging with the imminent Bosnia pull-out in the summer, may see the resurgence of the old burden-sharing debate in the US Congress. Coupled with European complaints of US hegemony, this debate may put new strains on the transatlantic relations. In the ends writes Mr. Sloan, the US and Europe clearly have little practical choice but to continue their cooperation, but the debate on how to share costs and roles will determine the future complexion of the Alliance.

- Solana, Javier
'Only Winners' in New Security Structure.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 4, April 1997, p. 103-105.
In 1997 we are again at a defining point in history. Decisions taken now will reverberate well into the next century. We have the unique chance to set the framework for European security. A few months ago, in Lisbon, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe took the crucial decision to construct a model for European security for the twenty-first century. In four months, the NATO Summit will effectively lay the cornerstone for that new model.

- Solomon, Gerald B.
Prizes and Pitfalls of NATO Enlargement.
ORBIS, vol. 41, no. 2, Spring 1997, p. 209-221.

- Taibo, Carlos
Rusia y la Alianza.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 11, no. 57, mayo - junio 1997, p. 21-34.
The results of the December 1993 legislative elections in Russia and the January 1994 NATO summit marked a turning point in Moscow's attitude vis-a-vis the Atlantic Alliance. The main point of contention was of course NATO's decision to enlarge. From Russia's point of view, the expansion of NATO will divide Europe, goes against the principle of joint security, and increases instability. Despite the signature of a bilateral charter with Russia, the debate will be kept alive.

- Tinca, Gheorghe
Multilateral Negotiations : A Possible Way for NATO Enlargement.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 1, 1997, p. 29-33.

- Vajgl, Ivo
Slovenia and NATO : A Suitable Case for Inclusion.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 142, no. 3, June 1997, p. 12-15.
The author here makes the case for Slovenian inclusion into NATO in the so-called 'first round' of enlargement. After only six years of independence, the Republic of Slovenia has undergone dramatic changes, with economic success as the result. With a healthy economy in Slovenia, the integration of Slovenia into NATO will not present any burden either on the Alliance, its member states or on Slovenia itself. In addition, Slovenia has, since independence, built up its defence system in accordance with NATO standards.

- Vernois, D.
L'elargissement de l'Alliance atlantique : une revolution strategique ?
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 53eme annee, mai 1997, p. 36-45.

- Vogel, Heinrich
Opening NATO : A Cooperative Solution for an Ill-Defined Problem ?
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 48, no. 1, 1997, p. 22-30.
The author analyzes here the problems associated with prospective accession of candidate countries to NATO against the background of developments and policies in Russia.

- Voigt, Karsten
L' OTAN : les voies de l' avenir.
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 26, ete 1997, p. 31-38.

- Wallace, William
On the Move : Destination Unknown.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 4, April 1997, p. 99-102.
Major enlargement, first of NATO and then of the European Union, is now well under way. West European governments have been committed in principle to both for some time. But none has paid much attention to the implications, preoccupied as they have been with more immediate priorities such as the progress of the Intergovernmental Conference, schemes to promote a 'core' Europe or a more 'flexible' European Union, and of course the intractable pressures of the single currency project. Within months, however, decisions will have to be made : hard choices which will shape the prosperity and security of Europe well into the next century.

1996

- Arbatov, Alexei
Eurasia Letter : A Russian-US Security Agenda.
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 104, Fall 1996, p. 102-117.

- Asmus, Ronald D.
Kugler, Richard L.
Larrabee, F. Stephen
What Will NATO Enlargement Cost ?
SURVIVAL, vol. 38, no. 3, Autumn 1996, p. 5-26.
Determining how much NATO enlargement will cost requires a political and strategic calculus. The costs of enlargement will depend on who joins the Alliance, how defence postures in both new and old members are adjusted, and how the financial burdens are distributed among NATO members. Depending on how these matters are resolved, NATO enlargement could cost anything from \$10-110 billion over 10-15 years. The force package and strategy proposed in this article would cost around \$42bn. While these costs are not trivial, they are not overwhelming either when placed in context, spread out over a 10-15 year period and distributed among both old and new members.

- Asmus, Ronald D.
Larrabee, F. Stephen
NATO and the Have-Nots.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 75, no. 6, November - December 1996, p. 13-20.
How NATO handles countries that do not make the cut is as important as which ones it admits in the first round of enlargement. Failure to bind the have-nots to Europe could trigger nationalist backlash and backsliding on reform.

- Asmus, Ronald D.
Nurick, Robert C.
NATO Enlargement and the Baltic States.
SURVIVAL, vol. 38, no. 2, Summer 1996, p. 121-142.
If all goes as planned, NATO will soon announce the first Eastern European candidate countries for new membership. It is highly unlikely that any of the three Baltic states will be on that list. Under these circumstances, the West needs a credible strategy for supporting Baltic security, stability and independence. Such a strategy should be based on six pillars : encouraging continued economic and political reform in the Baltic states themselves; enhancing Baltic defence cooperation; an expanded Nordic role; early accession of at least one Baltic state into the European Union; an 'open door' strategy on NATO membership; and new initiatives to manage relations with Russia.

- Bekar, Olgan
NATO Expansion Russia and Turkey.
EURASIAN STUDIES, vol. 3, no. 1, Spring 1996, p. 65-79.

- Bolkestein, Frits
NATO : Deepening and Broadening ?
NATO REVIEW, vol. 44, no. 4, July 1996, p. 20-24.
At the end of this year, the North Atlantic Council will need to take some far-reaching decisions on the future development of NATO. This includes 'deepening' its role in European security through the implementation of its new crisis management roles and its 'broadening' through the process of enlargement. However, the process of enlarging the Alliance to include Central and Eastern European countries must be handled in such a way as not to weaken NATO or upset relations with Russia. Partnership for Peace plays an important role in this process, as it provides both a means to assist Partner countries to achieve the requirements of membership as well as a unique opportunity, for those Partners who may not be able to join the Alliance in the short term, to work closely with it. Thus, until NATO enlargement can be undertaken, the focus should be on intensifying PFP.

- Bonsor, Nicholas
Partnership with Russia.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 141, no. 5, October 1996, p. 2-5.
The author discusses here the ways and means by which the UK can contribute to Russia's integration into economic and security structures, in particular NATO, the OSCE and the Council of Europe. He concludes that Russia has a central role in the future of a secure Europe and although the West must maintain its vigilance in these times of uncertainty, we must also continue to build towards the fundamental success of Russian renewal.

- Borawski, John
If not NATO Enlargement : What Does Russia Want ?
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 5, no. 3, Autumn 1996, p. 381-395.
The purpose here is to examine whether a plausible Russian alternative, or at least necessary complement, to NATO enlargement exists that the West should seriously consider so as to minimize the risks of a 'cold peace' and enhance the prospects for a functional non-exclusionary security regime whose time, despite a discouraging history, perhaps might have come.

- Borawski, John
NATO Enlargement and Russia.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 1, no. 2, June - August 1996, p. 118-131.

- Borawski, John
 Khmelewszkaja, Masha
 Why NATO Enlargement ?, Why NATO ?
 CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 2, no. 1, Spring 1996, p. 60-71.
 The 'why' of NATO enlargement cannot be settled unless the 'why' of NATO itself is understood by all concerned. The authors point out that arguments against a wider Alliance could become arguments against NATO, and vice versa. In order to avoid such tendencies, the authors consider that, before making any step toward enlargement, NATO should be transformed and adapted to the new challenges. The only effective security organization in Europe is not the exclusive property of the 16 NATO nations and all those involved in building a new security architecture in Europe should contribute to redefining and adapting the Alliance.

- Braithwaite, Rodric
 Pour un statu quo avec la Russie.
 POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 61e annee, no. 4, hiver 1996 - 1997, p. 759-775.
 La Russie n'est aucunement la seule source d'instabilite potentielle en Europe orientale. Mais, sans elle, il ne peut y avoir de systeme veritable, efficace et durable de securite dans cette zone. La politique occidentale en Europe orientale doit donc avant tout viser a creer des mecanismes, y compris un cadre institutionnel, a l'interieur desquels la Russie pourra devenir une puissance qui accepte le statu quo dans la region. Cela ne signifie pas que celle-ci doit dicter les modalites du statu-quo, mais que l'Occident doit examiner les problemes de la securite europeenne avec les Russes, en tenant compte du fait que la Russie est la plus grande des puissances europeennes. Cela implique, notamment, qu'il faut prendre au serieux les inquietudes de la Russie au sujet d'un elargissement de l'OTAN et trouver des moyens mutuellement acceptables de les apaiser.

- Cimbala, Stephen J.
 NATO Enlargement and Russia.
 STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 24, no. 2, Spring 1996, p. 51-57.
 The conditions that made NATO a successful Cold War alliance have now disappeared, leading some to argue that NATO should expand eastward, serving as the focal point for post-Cold War European security. But this optimism may be out of place. The predicted transformation of NATO from a military to a political alliance has not occurred. More importantly, since NATO's strategy has a nuclear component, NATO expansion would presumably include extending the nuclear umbrella to new members in Central Europe. Such a move might be perceived as unnecessarily provocative to Russia. The implications and potential consequences of NATO expansion must be fully taken into account by NATO's leadership.

- Cimoszewicz, Wlodzimierz
 Building Poland's Security : Membership of NATO a Key Objective.
 NATO REVIEW, vol. 44, no. 3, May 1996, p. 3-7.
 One of the major objectives of Polish foreign policy is to secure membership of the Atlantic Alliance and this goal is supported by 80 per cent of the population. Poland does not want to be merely a consumer of NATO-produced security but to contribute significantly to it. While aware of Russia's objections to NATO enlargement, Poland is ready for a dialogue with Russia, both at government and expert levels, and hopes that this process, which it intends to continue, will lead to a better mutual understanding. The Alliance's study on enlargement completed the first phase of the debate on this subject; the communique issued by the North Atlantic Council last December opened up a new, dynamic phase and, following discussions with interested states in the 16+1 format, this should culminate with the setting of a date, before the end of this year, for the beginning of accession talks.

- Dezcallar, Jorge
 Espana y la ampliacion de la OTAN.
 POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 10, no. 51, mayo - junio 1996, p. 119-133.
 The debate on NATO's enlargement is in fact a discussion of the Atlantic Alliance's role in the post-cold-war world, as well as the need to set up a security framework with Russia. The issue will remain a lively topic throughout the year, and there are many nuances in the position of the members. In this article, the Spanish position is reviewed against the framework of the country's membership in NATO, the 1986 referendum, and public opinion.

- Doel, Theo van den
 NAVO-uitbreiding : uitstel of afstel ?
 INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 4, april 1996, p. 187-190.
 The author looks at the different aspects of accession of East European states to NATO. Enlargement of NATO must lead to more security and stability on the European continent. Admitting of new members must strengthen NATO and not weaken the organization. He stresses that NATO cannot ignore Russia. The implementation by Russia of all arms control treaties is a prerequisite for stability. The author favours intensification of the political and military cooperation by widening the possibilities within the PfP process. In so doing differences between formal membership and PfP membership will gradually disappear.

- Durandin, Catherine
 Roumanie/Hongrie : peut-il y avoir reconciliation ?
 POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 61e annee, no. 2, ete 1996, p. 385-395.
 Les negociations entre les deux Etats, portant sur la signature d'un traite de bon voisinage, ont finalement echoue, principalement en raison du refus roumain de reconnaitre des droits collectifs a l'importante minorite hongroise de Transylvanie. Cet antagonisme apparait bien plus profond. Il s'est manifeste tout au long de ce siecle sous la forme d'une competition face aux 'Grands' (Vienne, Berlin puis Moscou), puis a l'egard du reformisme gorbatchevien, enfin aujourd'hui face a la perspective d'integration au sein des structures euro-atlantiques. Les difficultes de la transition constituent, cependant, un ferment pour les tendances extremistes qui s'expriment au sein d'opinions obnubilees par la menace incarnee par le voisin, et tentees par le rejet de l'Occident et de toutes revendications centrifuges. Ainsi, Bucarest n'exclut pas, face a cette pression, une nouvelle inclination vers Moscou en cas de non-adhesion a l'OTAN.

- Eyal, Jonathan
 Why NATO Must and Will Enlarge : A Reply.
 RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 141, no. 4, August 1996, p. 62-64.
 In answer to Sir John Killick's argument against NATO expansion, Jonathan Eyal here lays out his reasons in favour of the expansion of the Alliance. While acknowledging the risks and dangers on some practical levels, and particularly the Russian reaction, Dr. Eyal clearly delineates the opposing views - either that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe matter in themselves, or they are merely an extension of the West's policy towards Russia. As a holder of the former opinion, and pointing out the reality that NATO is the military tool of its political masters, Dr. Eyal asserts that any conflicts that may occur would be better handled within the structures of the Alliance than outside it. Ultimately, the expansion of NATO will renew and invigorate an institution whose role in a continent changed beyond recognition is yet to be set in stone.

- Flockhart, Trine
 The Dynamics of Expansion : NATO, WEU and EU.
 EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 5, no. 2, Summer 1996, p. 196-218.
 The issue of enlarging Europe's security IGOs is an extremely important question, which has important implications for European security, and is bound to be one of the major foreign policy tasks for the rest of the decade. Depending on how the expansion process is handled it could stabilize a new European security order by consolidating and expanding the integration process, or it could contribute to the unravelling of the whole integration process and the start of a new antagonistic relationship with Russia. Hence it is a complex area where the stakes are high. The need to avoid a security vacuum in this important region is one of the most frequently used arguments for anchoring the CEE countries into the 'tried and tested' security organizations of the former Western Europe. However, before diving straight into the unknown territory of large scale enlargement of Europe's core security organizations, it is important to understand the processes and dynamics involved in order to be able to assess the situation correctly. Here it seems that the expansion processes of NATO, WEU and EU have up to a point followed rather similar tracks, and that all three processes can be explained in terms of the same theoretical framework.

- Haekkerup, Hans
 L' OTAN accessible.
 REVUE DE L' OTAN, vol. 44, no. 6, novembre 1996, p. 13-17.
 A l'heure actuelle, l'OTAN est profondement engagee dans un processus complexe qui requiert une adaptation tant interne qu'externe, et dans le cadre de ce processus, elle s'ouvre a de nouveaux membres. Le gouvernement danois estime que tous les pays partenaires devraient avoir les memes chances d'accéder a l'Alliance et que l'OTAN devrait indiquer clairement que cet elargissement sera poursuivi au-dela de la premiere serie de negociations. Le Partenariat pour la paix demande a etre renforce et etaye de telle sorte qu'un large éventail de projets en cooperation puisse etre offert aux partenaires ne figurant pas parmi les premiers admis, ce qui reduirait l'ecart entre membres et partenaires. Une relation stable et durable avec la Russie etant un element essentiel de la securite euratlantique, il serait envisageable d'etablir une charte constituant la base d'une large cooperation. Comme le montrent les activites entreprises en cooperation par le Danemark, les membres et les partenaires de l'OTAN ont developpe une vaste reseau de projets, mais il faudrait prévoir une coordination permettant de reduire le plus possible les recoupements entre les offres d'assistance. Il en resulterait un processus de Pfp plus efficace et mieux cible.

- Haglund, David
 L' elargissement de l' OTAN : origines et evolution d' une idee.
 RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 22, ete 1996, p. 33-44.
 A la lumiere du debat qui divise les principales ecoles de theorie des relations internationales (realisme structural, institutionnalisme et theorie de la paix par la democratie) sur la question de la survie de l'OTAN apres la fin de la guerre froide, l'auteur retrace l'evolution de ce projet, concu lors du sommet de l'Alliance de juillet 1990 a Londres. A l'enthousiasme qu'il suscita alors semble avoir succede l'indifference. Examinant les interets fluctuants qu'ont pu avoir les membres de l'OTAN directement impliquees dans cette question (Etats-Unis et RFA), l'auteur tente d'apporter par l'analyse des faits une reponse a la question posee par les theoriciens, qui porte egalement sur la condition sine qua non de l'elargissement : l'OTAN peut-elle trouver de nouvelles missions apres la fin de la guerre froide ?

- Hopkinson, G. W.
The Security of Central Europe Forty Years After the Hungarian Revolution.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 141, no. 6, December 1996, p. 17-22.
Since the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the definition of both security and what constitutes Central Europe have dramatically changed. Questions that forty years ago were unthinkable now dominate the debate on future security structures, involving issues beyond traditional political and military considerations, such as the economy and the environment. Existing organisations and structures must be adapted to reflect the complex needs and concerns of those now included under the widened umbrella of Europe. The author explores here the developments in European security, highlighting the changing nature of NATO (including enlargement), the role of the European Union and the need to build a constructive and engaged relationship with Russia and between all the members of the former Warsaw Pact. Only through increased contact and cooperation will the antagonisms of the past be replaced by good neighbourliness and the ghosts of 1956 and after be laid to rest.

- Huber, Rainer K.
Friedrich, Gernot
Der KSE-Vertrag und die Öffnung der NATO nach Osten.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 45. Jg., Nr. 8, August 1996, S. 33-35.

- Huber, Reiner
NATO Enlargement and CFE Ceilings.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 5, no. 3, Autumn 1996, p. 396-403.

- Killick, John
Small is Beautiful : The Case Against the Enlargement of NATO.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 141, no. 4, August 1996, p. 58-61.
NATO enlargement is the topic of the moment, the apparently obvious key to settling Europe's post-Cold War security dilemmas. But with Russia voicing increasingly strong concerns over Western expansion in to what it sees as still its sphere of influence in the 'near abroad', Sir John Killick argues that those advocating enlargement have not thought through the consequences or weighed up the risks sufficiently. Both the political and military implications of drawing in disparate and ill-prepared new nations are, he asserts, far more dramatic and potentially harmful than is being acknowledged, creating a new dividing line in Europe. In positing the alternative of regional and bilateral security ties outside NATO, he argues for flexibility with stability to reconcile the many competing and contradictory factors. He concludes that damaging the existing Alliance by precipitate expansion will guarantee security to no-one.

- King, Charles
A World Waits for Signals from Bosnia.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 52, no. 2, February 1996, p. 32-34.
The arrival of NATO troops in Bosnia has been generally welcomed. But what effect will they have in the wider Balkans? Will the operation help or hinder a new security design for Europe ?

- Kortunov, Andrei
Russia and NATO Expansion.
CANADIAN DEFENCE QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 4, June 1996, p. 5-10.

- Kortunov, Andrei
The US and Russia : A Virtual Partnership.
COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 15, no. 4, 1996, p. 335-352.
The recent US-Russian relationship has been a success story in comparison with the tension of the cold war period, despite the following problems. The most evident problem that US-Russian relations now face is a stalemate in the arms control dialogue. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization expansion issue is a good example of how purely symbolic matter can spoil the relationship. Russia's tougher line in determining rights and responsibilities in relation to the other former Soviet republics poses the most serious problem for the United States.

- Kramarevsky, Alexander
NATO and Ukraine.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 1, no. 3, September - November 1996, p. 53-66.
The question of NATO enlargement is now actively discussed at different levels. Numerous publications, international conferences, meetings, are devoted to this issue. In this article, some aspects of this issue and its possible impact on the national security of Ukraine are analysed.

- Lieven, Anatol
Baltic Iceberg Dead Ahead : NATO Beware.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 52, no. 7, July 1996, p. 175-179.
As NATO moves towards a decision to admit new members, due next year, the question of the security of the Baltic states is becoming not just important, but absolutely central to Western strategies and the West's relations with Russia. All of this should have been discussed three years ago, before it was decided to expand. Now it is said to be too late to stop the clock; and disturbingly, the main Western governments still seem to have no clear idea how to address the issue. Instead, the Balts are being treated to a game of pass-the-parcel between different Western institutions, all of them afraid that membership may be too hot to handle.

- Lugar, Richard
Die doppelte Erweiterung der NATO.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 45. Jg., Nr. 8, August 1996, S. 30-33.

- Mintschev, Emil
Sudosteuropa und die NATO-Osterweiterung.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 45. Jg., Nr. 11, November 1996, S. 45-46.

- Moltke, Gebhardt von
NATO Moves towards Enlargement.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 44, no. 1, January 1996, p. 3-6.

- Rosner, Jeremy D.
NATO's Enlargement's American Hurdle.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 75, no. 4, July - August 1996, p. 9-16.
Winning US approval for extending NATO will not be as difficult as opponents claim or as easy as supporters assume. The White House must lead the Senate eastward.

- Rudolf, Peter
The Future of the United States as a European Power : The Case of NATO Enlargement.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 5, no. 2, Summer 1996, p. 175-195.
This analysis deals with the evolution of NATO enlargement as a problem in relations between the United States, Europe, and Russia; it deals with the narrowing of options and the problems and prospects enlargement now poses for managing triangular relations. The analysis proceeds in three steps. First, the author looks at the policy of the Clinton administration on this issue. Then, the international and the domestic setting for the future development of NATO enlargement is analyzed. Finally, the article ends with a discussion of politically realistic options and the further prospects of managing triangular relations.

- Rudolf, Peter
The USA and NATO Enlargement.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 47, no. 4, 1996, p. 339-347.
For eastern Central European countries the liberation from Soviet rule and from the imposed socialist system in 1989/90 was synonymous with a 'return to Europe', a move which had previously been prevented by force. The logical consequence of this perception is a pronounced will to belong also to the international communities that Western Europeans have formed. NATO is the addressee of such desires with respect to international security. In this article, the author discusses in detail how the USA, as the leading power in the Atlantic Alliance, reacts to this desire and what prospects result for those countries seeking accession.

- Ruhl, Lothar
Deutschlands Interesse an der NATO-Osterweiterung.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 51. Jahr, Nr. 11, November 1996, S. 49-54.
Über die Notwendigkeit, Nutzlichkeit und politische Opportunität der seit 1993 in Aussicht genommenen Erweiterung des Nordatlantischen Bündnisses um Staaten in Mittel- und Osteuropa besteht im Westen im Kern Übereinstimmung : eine reale Perspektive indessen fehlt. Lothar Ruhl beschreibt den gegenwärtigen Stand der Diskussion, zeigt ihre Schwächen auf und definiert die deutschen Interessen an der Osterweiterung der NATO.

- Ruhle, Michael
Williams, Nick
Partnership for Peace after NATO Enlargement.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 5, no. 4, Winter 1996, p. 521-528.

- Schmidt, Peter
Defis et perspectives de la politique de securite europeenne de l'Allemagne.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 61e annee, no. 3, automne 1996, p. 569-581.
La politique de securite allemande vise avant tout a favoriser la stabilite en Europe centrale et orientale. Or, celle-ci depend d'un elargissement a l'Est et d'une reforme de l'UE et de l'OTAN. Cette politique a cependant quelques difficultes a voir le jour en raison de la contradiction entre reforme et elargissement. Neanmoins, d'ici la fin du siecle, Bonn devra maintenir la credibilite de l'elargissement tout en favorisant une acceleration des processus de reforme (en ce qui concerne l'Union, ceci inclut les dossiers sensibles des politiques structurelles et d'aide regionale, de la PAC et de sa contribution au budget). Ces contradictions inciteront l'Allemagne a privilegier un maintien de l'engagement americain dans le cadre de la securite europeenne.

- Sloan, Stanley R.
Negocier une nouvelle donne transatlantique.
REVUE DE L' OTAN, vol. 44, no. 2, mars 1996, p. 19-23.
Dans cet article, l'auteur soutient que le 'pourquoi' et le 'comment' de l'avenir de l'OTAN devraient etre determines avant que les Allies n'abordent le 'qui' et le 'quand' de l'elargissement de l'Alliance. Il conviendrait donc d'entreprendre une etude qui conduirait a un nouvel enonce des missions de l'OTAN et a un plan de reorganisation permettant de les accomplir. Ayant ainsi finalise la nouvelle donne, les Allies pourraient alors passer aux preparatifs des negociations d'accession. Mais la mise au point d'une nouvelle donne se heurte a de serieux defis. La reforme devra permettre l'adhesion de nouveaux membres, l'etablissement d'une relation constructive avec la Russie, la prise en compte des aspirations a un pilier europeen au sein de l'OTAN, une plus grande participation de la France et le maintien de l'interet et de l'engagement des Etats-Unis.

- Spieker, Hartmut
Polen-17 : Mitglied der NATO ?
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 45. Jg., Nr. 6, Juni 1996, S. 34-37.

- Staden, A. van
Een tweede jeugd voor de NAVO : complicaties van uitbreiding.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 4, april 1996, p. 175-179.
The author deals here with the complications inherent in the enlargement of NATO. Problems like this enlargement, the relationship with Russia and the divergent security priorities of the Western states can only be viewed in light of the future development of the European security system. The author rejects the explicit linking of NATO-enlargement with that of the European Union; he argues that as regards a 'settlement' with Russia the general strategic interests of NATO should be the decisive factor; he looks at the cohesion and effectivity of an enlarged NATO; and, finally, warns for the dangers that so-called 'out-of-area' operations by NATO might entail.

- Stankevicius, Ceslovas
NATO Enlargement and the Indivisibility of Security in Europe : A View from Lithuania.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 44, no. 5, September 1996, p. 21-25.
Throughout the process of NATO enlargement, it is essential, the author argues, that the principle of non-separation of potential candidates be respected thereby ensuring that no country is left in an ambiguous position and all are treated on equal terms. Although the strongest candidates would obviously be the first to join, all countries of the Central and Eastern European unified region who seek membership should be considered as 'participating in negotiations' which would lead, without undue delay, to accession.

- Szayna, Thomas
NATO Enlargement and Central European Defense Industries : Issues for NATO Assistance Policy.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 5, no. 3, Autumn 1996, p. 404-425.
This article is a policy-oriented examination of the role that the domestic defense industries in four central European countries might play as part of these countries military modernization process and eventual entry into NATO. First, the article deals briefly with the current stage of the NATO enlargement process. Then, the article focuses on the operations in which NATO is likely to engage in the foreseeable future, the probable contribution to these operations that the central Europeans might make, and the special assets they might bring to these operations. The article then examines the evolution of the defense industries in central Europe since the collapse of Communism. The final part of the article contains some recommendations for policymakers from current NATO

member countries regarding ways to steer the central European decisions in the defense industrial realm in ways optimal to NATO and European security. It proposes an underlying concept that would link the defense economic and security issues in the central European countries and the security benefits that might accrue to NATO as a result of the entry of the central European countries into the alliance in the context of maximizing the gains for all parties.

- Szlajfer, Henryk

The Enlargement of NATO : A Polish View.

RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 141, no. 5, October 1996, p. 49-54.

The crucial decisions on the next stages of NATO enlargement are moving closer, decisions which for Poland are of great importance. Not only are her own interests involved, but because Poland does not see specifically Central European concerns about NATO expansion, but only general European ones. Here Dr. Szajfer explores the issues and problems surrounding NATO enlargement, focusing on changing perceptions of basic principles. Poland's access path to membership, and the context of Central and Eastern European geo-politics given the prospects of multi-speed accession to the Alliance. Highlighting the unresolved questions of the NATO-Russia Charter, he concludes that lasting security must be anchored in an understanding of mutual advantage and cooperation.

- Tinca, Gheorghe

NATO Enlargement : How to Meet Individual and Collective Interests.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 2, no. 1, Spring 1996, p. 25-45.

Minister Tinca points out that the security of the Euro-Atlantic zone continues to be the first political priority of the moment. Most of us agree there is no alternative to NATO enlargement than to build up a viable and solid security system in Europe. Despite the few years that have passed since the idea of NATO enlargement was launched, most of the related issues remain to be solved. Of course, a lot of progress has been made under PfP program, but it was obvious from the very beginning to all the partners that PfP does not necessarily lead to integration. However, according not only with their individual performance in PfP, but with their own perceptions, the only candidates to membership are the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovenia. Therefore, the critical issues of enlargement is either the six nations are included all at once or they could be re-divided a priori according to some strange new criteria, other than their own perception over security and their willingness to integrate as well. Taking into account the Romanian-Hungarian previous relations and the current pressures of some Hungarian political forces, Minister Tinca makes the point that the two countries should be admitted simultaneously for the sake of not compromising the present dialogue their governments are having.

- Trenin, Dmitri

Avoiding a New Confrontation with NATO.

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

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

- Vogel, Heinrich
Die NATO-Erweiterung : eine Gespensterdebatte ?
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 51. Jahr, Nr. 7, Juli 1996, S. 51-54.
Statt hektischer und vordergrundiger Erweiterungsdebatten um die Öffnung der NATO sollte eine Konzentration auf die erfolgreichen Mechanismen von PfP und NACC erfolgen. Auch muss der Westen Russland seine obsessiven Bedrohungsängste ausreden und eine Zusammenarbeit in konkreten Bereichen anbieten. Mit den MOE-Staaten und dem Baltikum sollte im EU-Rahmen die praktische Kooperation intensiviert werden.

- Voigt, Karsten
L'elargissement de l' OTAN : une dynamique a maintenir.
REVUE DE L' OTAN, vol. 44, no. 2, mars 1996, p. 15-19.
Les pays membres de l'OTAN peuvent penser que l'heure n'est pas encore venue d'entamer les negociations de preaccession, mais il est essentiel pour le role et la pertinence futurs de l'Alliance, de maintenir la dynamique du processus d'elargissement. Dans le meme temps, il convient d'etablir un veritable partenariat avec la Russie en insistant sur le fait que l'elargissement de l'OTAN vise a instaurer la stabilite et non a creer des menaces. La question des obligations, des engagements et des contributions financieres exiges des nouveaux membres doit etre etudiee de pres en se rappelant que les Allies ne devraient pas leur demander plus qu'ils n'ont demande a eux-memes. Par ailleurs, s'il y a un lien conceptuel entre l'elargissement de l'UE et celui de l'OTAN, ces deux processus ne devraient pas etre paralleles dans le temps. L'auteur estime que des discussions serieuses avec les differents pays devraient commencer au plus tard a la fin de cette annee et affirme que l'Assemblee de l'Atlantique Nord fera tout ce qui est en son pouvoir pour que la dynamique de l'elargissement soit maintenue.

- Volten, Peter
De uitbreiding van de NAVO : politieke en strategische zin en onzin.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 10, oktober 1996, p. 528-532.
The author discusses political and strategical aspects of the enlargement of NATO. The Atlantic Alliance is forced to expand its familiar domain of collective defence to a 'zone of stability' extending over the whole of Europe. In this regard military-strategic considerations are of secondary importance. Today's realism calls for institutional adaptation, the author argues.

- Williams, Geoffrey Lee
Le vaste debat de l' elargissement de l' OTAN.
REVUE DE L' OTAN, vol. 43, no. 3, mai 1996, p. 9-14.

- Williams, Nick
Partnership for Peace : Permanent Fixture or Declining Asset ?
SURVIVAL, vol. 38, no. 1, Spring 1996, p. 98-110.
Since its launch in January 1994, Partnership for Peace (PfP) has established itself as a valuable mechanism for military and defence-related cooperation between NATO and the 27 countries that have joined it. From the outset, the programme was underestimated because of a tendency to see it merely as a part of NATO's enlargement process. In fact, PfP is a multi-purpose framework, making an important contribution to preparing NATO and Partner forces for joint action. The NATO enlargement process poses some risks to PfP by removing the most active Partners and possibly alienating Russia. Yet, the operational value of PfP as a coalition-builder is likely to ensure its long-term survival.

- Zygitschko, Vitali
Russische Sicherheit und europaische Stabilitat bei einer Osterweiterung der NATO.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 45. Jg., Nr. 7, Juli 1996, S. 38-40.

- Allin, Dana H.
Can Containment Work Again ?
SURVIVAL, vol. 37, no. 1, Spring 1995, p. 53-65.

- Asmus, Ronald D.
Kugler, Richard L.
Larrabee, F. Stephen
NATO Expansion : The Nex Steps.
SURVIVAL, vol. 37, no. 1, Spring 1995, p. 7-33.

- Barroso, Jose Manuel Durao
Le partenariat transatlantique dans le nouvel environnement europeen de securite.
REVUE DE L' OTAN, vol. 43, no. 5, septembre 1995, p. 3-6.
Le partenariat transatlantique, meme si on l'associe frequemment a l'OTAN, recouvre en fait une realite plus large englobant aussi les relations bilaterales entre Allies nord-americains et europeens, la relation entre l'OTAN et l'UEO, ainsi que les mecanismes de consultation entre les Etats-Unis et l'Union europeenne. Le present article, qui examine l'evolution de ces composantes, aborde en particulier l'impact du processus d'elargissement. L'auteur, dans sa conclusion, declare que plusieurs voies a meme d'assurer un passage sans heurts a une communaute transatlantique elargie pourront se faire jour, au premier rang desquelles figurent une efficacite accrue des mecanismes actuels de consultation, ou encore une transparence plus poussee.

- Borawski, John
Partnership for Peace and Beyond.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 71, no. 2, April 1995, p. 233-246.
This article examines recent moves towards an enlargement of NATO to include countries of the former Warsaw Pact, possibly including Russia, in the light particularly of the Partnership for Peace proposals that emerged from the NATO summit of January 1994. The author examines the evolution of the US position on possible enlargement and highlights the lack of a consensus view within the alliance on how the issue of enlargement should be addressed, as well as discussing the reactions of Russia and of the Visegrad countries to developments in the alliance posture.'

- Brown, Michael E.
The Flawed Logic of NATO Expansion.
SURVIVAL, vol. 37, no. 1, Spring 1995, p. 34-52.

- Brzezinski, Zbigniew
A Plan for Europe.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 1, January - February 1995, p. 26-42.

- Dean, Jonathan
Loosing Russia or Keeping NATO : Must We Choose ?
ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 25, no. 5, June 1995, p. 3-7.

- Guilhaudis, Jean-Francois
Considerations sur l' elargissement de l' OTAN.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 51e annee, novembre 1995, p. 57-66.

- Hunter, Robert E.
L' elargissement : un des elements d' une strategie visant a favoriser
l' extension de la stabilite a l' Europe centrale.
REVUE DE L' OTAN, vol. 43, no. 3, mai 1995, p. 3-8.

- Kamp, Karl-Heinz
The Folly of Rapid NATO Expansion.
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 98, Spring 1995, p. 116-129.

- Krohn, Axel
European Security in Transition : 'NATO Going East', the 'German
Factor' and Security in Northern Europe and the Baltic Sea Region.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 4, no. 4, Winter 1995, p. 584-602.
The purpose of this article is to offer some structured assessments of
the politics of the 'old' security actor, NATO, and the importance of
transatlantic ties, as well as the politics of the 'new' central power,
Germany. This article offers several options on possible future security
developments for Europe and discusses present politics pursued by NATO
and Germany with regard to their potential impact on Northern Europe and
the Baltic Sea region.

- Lieven, Anatol
Russian Oppositions to NATO Expansion.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 51, no. 10, October 1995, p. 196-199.

- Mandelbaum, Michael
Preserving the New Peace.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 3, May - June 1995, p. 9-13.

- Pascu, Ioan Mircea
NATO Expansion : A View from Romania.
ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 1, no. 1-2, 1995, p.
60-68.

- Peters, John E.
Issues of Alliance Expansion for NATO.
STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 23, no. 4, Fall 1995, p. 16-26.
NATO is struggling with the issue of alliance expansion. The members must
resolve difficult issues : what makes an attractive candidate, what
conditions prospective members should fulfill in order to gain entry, and
what actions should be taken to mitigate the objections of Russia to the
admission of new members. Extending membership will not address the
security challenges confronting the current members, and wider membership
may cause other difficulties. Alliance enlargement has many constituents,
and membership might be extended to worthy states without compromising
European security, and ensuring that the NATO military instrument is
capable of defending all parties to whom the security guarantee of
Article 5 has been extended. Although the alliance status quo may be
preferable, there are steps that could mitigate some of the problems
associated with expansion.

- Rhule, Michael
Williams, Nicholas
NATO Enlargement and the European Union.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 51, no. 5, May 1995, p. 84-88.

- Rose, Jurgen
Vom Kalten Krieg zum Kalten Frieden ?
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 33. Jg., Heft 3, Marz -
April 1995, S. 243-250.
Die NATO-Osterweiterung und die Zukunft der Aussen-und Sicherheitspolitik
der Russischen Foderation.

- Sens, Allen G.
La cooperation selon le neorealisme : la cooptation des petits Etats d'
Europe centrale et de l' Est.
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 26, no. 4, decembre 1995, p. 765-783.
L'un des problemes regionaux les plus pressants en matiere de securite
concerne l'avenir des pays d'Europe centrale dans la vie politique et
economique du continent. Faut-il proceder, en particulier, a
l'elargissement de l'OTAN pour y inclure ces petits Etats? Cette question
est cruciale pour l'evolution de l'environnement de securite de l'Europe.
Ce texte propose trois theses : 1) la prise en compte de l'histoire
passee des petits Etats d'Europe centrale permettrait au neorealisme de
mieux expliquer le phenomene de la cooperation regionale; 2) l'exemple de
l'Europe de l'Est explique clairement l'interet de ces Etats a l'egard de
la cooperation multilaterale; 3) l'analyse de ces faits fournit des
arguments solides en faveur de l'elargissement rapide de l'OTAN.

- Sherr, James
After the Cold War : The Search for a New Security System.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 4, no. 4, Winter 1995, p. 571-583.

- Tinca, Gheorghe
NATO's Expansion : Not Only Necessary, but also Possible.
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 1, no. 1, Autumn 1995, p. 63-72.
The deep changes over the last years have led to the essential question :
what will the future of security on our continent look like and which
role should NATO play ? The enthusiasm contaminating Europe at the
beginning of the '90s should be replaced not by the lack of hope but by
unselfish caution and rationality as the means to counterbalance the
unpredicatble pace of change. In trying to answer the question 'what will
happen if NATO does not extend or if it extends inappropriately ?'
Minister Tinca points out that the Alliance was created in order to
provide security and stability to its members. It can and it should serve
the same purpose only if it extends eastwards in the interest of all.'

1994

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