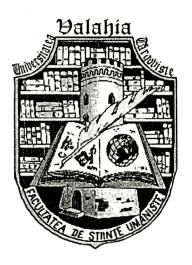
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SVEN ARNSWALD, MATHIAS JOPP, THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE BALTIC STATES' EU MEMBERSHIP, ULKOPOLIITTINEN INSTITUUTTI, INSTITUT FÜR EUROPÄISHE POLITIK, KAUHAVA, 2001.

Silviu Miloiu*

The book bearing the signature of Sven Arnswald and Mathias Jopp called *The Implications of the Baltic States' EU Membership* has been published under the framework of the Programme on the Northern Dimension. The publishers, The Finnish Institute of International Affairs and Institut für Europäishe Politik, are the institutions in which the two authors are employed in and this suggests that at least part of their views are shared or have a backing in the foreign policy making in both Finland and Germany. These are the two states that supported the most the integration of the Baltic States into EU.

The authors posed an earlier interest in researching the political status of the Baltic States in the process of integration in the EU that dates back in the 90's, as editors or authors of other works related to the this field. For instance, in 1998 they edited together a work called *The European Union and the Baltic States: Visions, Interests and Strategies for the Baltic Sea Region*.

As Dr. Tapani Vaahtoranta, the head of Programme in the Finnish Institute of International Affairs points out in the preface, this book "adds weight to the argument that Baltic membership of the European Union will mostly affect policy areas in which the existing EU members have vital national interests at stake..."

In the introduction, Sven Arnswald and Mathias Jopp familiarise the reader with the aim of their research which is to analyse the implications of Estonia's, Lithuania's and Latvia's membership into the EU.

The book (124 pages) is divided into a preface, an introduction, six chapters, conclusions, notes, bibliography and an annex.

The first chapter of the book, Geopolitical Implications of Baltic States EU Membership (9 pages), deals with the transformation the geopolitical map of Europe will be suffering once the enlargement is achieved. The authors start their analyse with the statement that each enlargement of the EU brought about a set of new issues on the agenda of the community. This set in motion new politics answering to the concerns of security, interests and needs of the new members. Therefore, it is just logic to assume that the biggest enlargement ever taking place into the EU, and involving mainly former communists states, will have the same effect on reshaping the institutions and the goals of the community. The enlargement will definitely shift the borders, so that the EU' border with Russia, Belarus and Ukraine will become a matter of general concern for the Brussels. The uncertainties of the Russian situation, the Russian minorities' issue that exists in Latvia and Estonia are also due to affect the policies of the European Union. The Russian threat to the Baltic States has not disappeared for good, but rather changed its substance the two authors maintain. They give as arguments favouring their affirmation the Russian National Security Concepts of 1997 and 2000 as well as the new Military Doctrine of 2000, which

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put a stronger emphasis than before on the use of the nuclear weapons in the foreign policy of the Russian Federation. Finland and the Baltic States are confronted with the overwhelming military potential of Russia. Therefore, the EU itself will have to face with this situation in the Baltic Sea Region and to develop policies of deterrence against it.

The second chapter called Nordic and Baltic Angles: The European Policy Orientation of the Baltic States (12 pages) states that, although there is some common ground for cooperation into the EU among the Baltic and Nordic states, the "...perceptions, traditions and cultural elements..." differ between the Baltic and Nordic states, and even between the Baltic States themselves. The Baltic States support in the post-Nice process a better division of competencies between the community and its member states, an enhanced status for national legislative in the EU and a simplification of the EU Treaty. Seemingly, the authors are still on waiting with the issue of how the Baltic States policies will shape once they will get into the EU. They refrain on making predictions on such questions, and allow the time to clear out the attitudes the Baltic States will adopt on certain issues of European politics.

The third chapter, *The Baltic States' Quest for Security* (13 pages), sort out the various options of security the Baltic States have at their disposal in this moment and in perspective. Sven Arnswald and Mathias Jopp monitor the institutions or states with interests at stake in the area, that affect the balance of power in the Baltic Sea Region: NATO, the EU, OSCE, Russia and so forth. The Baltic States strove for membership into both NATO and the EU. As in the case of Romania, the three Baltics directed more resources toward the preparation of NATO integration. It is understandable due to the fact that the first quest of the states previously dominated by USSR is the assurance of their security. In the meantime, they have already received the invitation for integration into NATO, and also are in the final round of preparedness for integration into the EU.

Enlargement and the CFSP: Baltic Challenges and Assets (15 pages) (CFSP - The Common Foreign and Security Policy) is the forth chapter of the book. This is one of the core chapters of the book. The EU fears that bringing in the Baltic States will confront the community with Russophobia, unstable borders and new minorities. The challenges to the Baltic States are connected with the reforms the new members will have to make in their foreign and defence ministries, but also in the economic, trade, industrial and finance ministries. The authors, as a further challenge for the Baltic States, identify the developing of the security and defence policy of the EU. The lack of skilled personnel, financial resources, the Soviet legacy is another delicate issues for the Baltic States. An encouraging conclusion of Sven Arnswald and Mathias Jopp is that Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania will be active participants in the Union' security, defence and foreign policies due to the need they feel to be taken seriously and against the background of Soviet occupation.

The next chapter called Schengen and the Baltic States: Drawing New Dividing Lines through Europe? (22 page) deals with one of the most delicate issues on the agenda of Baltic States integration: the internal frontiers of the EU will be moving on the eastern borders of the Baltic States. They will have to cope with a lot of peculiar problems deriving from the existence of an important Russian minority into the Baltic States, the refugee, organised crime, instability of the region east of the Baltic States. The authors suggest, and this is a great achievement of this book, some solutions for overpassing them and for coping with specific situations existing in the region.

One of these particular issues is *The Kaliningrad Problem*, the subject of the last chapter of the book (15 pages). The author sorts out the implications of the very existence of the Kaliningrad Russian exclave and EU enclave. Sven Arnswald and Mathias Jopp point

out to some Lithuanian initiatives and suggest that what is really needed to solve the problem is imaginative solutions.

Sven Arnswald and Mathias Jopp conclude the book with the idea that the membership of the Baltic States will confront the Union with a span of challenges, especially because the privileged Baltic relationship with the United States and the difficult relationship with Russia. None of these problems is insurmountable, as the authors affirm. They underline the fact that the integration in the EU "will eliminate a grey zone in the Baltic Sea Region, contribute to the strengthening of the security of the Baltic states, make Moscow feel more relaxed on the issue of Russian-speaking minorities and...will contribute to improving relations with Russia by opening up new economic opportunities..."

This book is important because it throws a new light on the fate of the Eastern Baltic and the challenges it faces with the widening up of "official Europe" and NATO to comprise these former USSR parts. The book brings about new ideas and solutions for improving the stability and security of the region and points to the need of fresh thinking for solving out the most complicate issues on the agenda. It also supports the idea that the EU will not be weakened through the accession of the new states just reshaped in some aspects and enriched with new experiences.