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**Baltic dimension in the contemporary foreign policy  
of the United States of America**

Analysis of the relations of the United States of America and the Baltic States  
concerning security and defense issues

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The United States of America has significant international standing. That is why a researcher cannot but take into account the political preferences of the USA investigating problematic issues of the world politics. The main purpose of this thesis is to analyze the US foreign policy in the Baltic region through the analysis of the American administrations views on the Baltic States.

The current situation in the political arena and strained relations caused by the Ukrainian crisis make my work relevant and enhance its significance. The Baltic region is strategically very important for the region, so regional countries support is very important to the USA. It helps it to gain a foothold in the strategically important points of the continent and to strengthen control.

The subject of the thesis is the foreign policy of the United States of America in the Baltic region. The following issues are considered in the thesis: the relations between the USA and the Baltic States from a historical perspective; President Obama's foreign policy towards the Baltic States; factors that the USA used while forming the foreign and domestic policy of the Baltic region; the prospects of the relations between the USA and the Baltic States; and the role and importance of the Baltic region in the USA foreign policy.

Referring to the neoliberal theory and the concept of soft power the research highlights the fact that the military expansion of the USA still exists but at the same time it is taking on a new meaning and being applied through new instruments. As a result, NATO presence in the Baltic region is not considered by states of the region as occupation or a threat to the sovereignty or intervention in the internal affairs. For the Baltic States, the USA and NATO actions are positive

and they look like the guarantors of stability in the region deterring the aggressor. Besides, I argue that the concept of soft power, which became very popular during President Obama's Administration, provides a very accurate description of the USA modern policy on the world arena, when troops do not mean war and destruction, but maintaining peace and prosperity of the nation.

The thesis shows how the American politicians use mechanisms of soft power involving different international actors in the decision-making process as well as using economic and cultural levers of influence. As a consequence, there is a process of evolution of American militarism in case of implementation of the Baltic States mechanisms of soft power.

Key words:

USA foreign policy, Baltic region, mechanisms of soft power, militarism, neoliberal theory, NATO, the UN

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## **1. Introduction**

The United States of America is one of the most powerful states in the world in many fields: economic, political, military, cultural ones and so on. This fact became more obvious after the collapse of the USSR, when the USA became the only one leading country in the world. The United States of America is the main initiator of the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty (NATO) and other international organizations, including the United Nations (UN), where the United States is a member of the Security Council that is a permanent body of the UN. There is a point of view that the USA has enough capability to create and implement a peaceful and mutually beneficial world order. This statement unfortunately goes along with a biased understanding of international events and often aggressive unilateral actions of the state.

In my thesis I decided to analyze the US policy in the Baltic region with the help of an analysis of the American presidents' policies towards the Baltic States in the context of events that took place on the global political arena and according to special features of American foreign policy during different Administrations. Besides, I examined the moments of establishment of Baltic States independence and features of the relations with the US through the recognition of the independence of the Baltic States by the USA and through the recognition of their statehood and further establishment of diplomatic relations and their progressive strengthening in different fields. At the same time, the current situation on the political arena and strained relations caused by the Ukrainian crisis make my work relevant and enhance its significance. The Baltic region is strategically very important, so the support from countries of the region is crucial for the USA. It helps it to gain a foothold in the strategically important points of the continent and to strengthen control. The research task of my thesis is to analyze the foreign policy of the United States of America in the Baltic region.

In accordance with the intended purpose, I completed the following tasks in this thesis:

- first, I analyzed the formation of the foreign policy of the USA in relation to the Baltic countries from a historical perspective;
- second, I analyzed the foreign policy of Obama, as President, in relation to the Baltic States;
- third, I identified the factors that the USA had applied in formation of foreign and domestic policy of the Baltic States;
- fourth, I estimated the prospects of the USA and the Baltic States relations;
- fifth, I identified the role and importance of the Baltic region in the USA foreign policy.

The research objects of the thesis are the political processes in foreign and domestic policy of the Baltic States, as a result of the USA influence. The subject of the research is the USA foreign policy towards the Baltic States. These tasks are aimed at helping me as a researcher to find out why the Baltic dimension is so important for the USA and NATO, which interests the USA pursues in the region and what principles define relations between the USA and the Baltic States.

The method of my thesis is a textual analysis, more specifically, content analysis. It helps me to find answers to the most crucial questions for the researcher: “why” and “how” of decision making, not just “what”, “where”, “when”, or “who”. The understanding thus comes from an exploration of the entire situation, through analysis of huge amount of data both scientific and empirical.

The theory of my thesis is neoliberalism. Having chosen this theory I try to highlight the fact that the USA military expansion still exists but at the same time it is taking on a new meaning. It is important to notice that the presence of NATO in the Baltic region is not considered by the states of the region as occupation or a

threat to the sovereignty or intervention in the internal affairs, for the Baltic States the USA and NATO actions are positive and appear the guarantors of stability in the region deterring the aggressor. Thus, I apply the concept of soft power, which became very popular during President Obama's Administration, and provides a very accurate description of the USA's modern policy on the world arena. According to this theory, troops does not mean war and destruction, but maintaining peace and prosperity of the nation.

The novelty of this research lies in the fact that I have studied external and internal political processes of the development of the Baltic States from the point of view of the development of the Baltic dimension in the USA foreign policy.

While collecting the materials I used mostly the official site of the White House, the US Department of State and the site of North Atlantic Treaty Organization. I looked through sections where a user can find information about all presidents of the USA, concerning not only the personal data of the president but also his election campaign and general directions of the domestic and foreign policies. In order to find more information, I looked through the historical sections on the official sites of the Embassies of the USA in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. It helped me to highlight the main points in the history of relations of the concerned states. Besides, working on the empirical chapter, which is devoted to the analysis of President Obama's Administration, I focused on the documents, statements and reports of meetings and negotiations conducted between the USA and the Baltic States. At the same time, I paid attention to the analysis of mass media in order to understand the rhetoric of America towards the Baltic region.

The thesis consists of an introduction and four chapters and conclusion. The historical chapter opens the period when the relations arose and how they have been developing until the recent period. The methodological chapter represents the content analysis as a method used to research the problematic issue. The theoretical chapter explains features of use of the neoliberal theory in the thesis

and shows how this theoretical approach is reflected in the USA policy. The empirical chapter consists of the analysis of the political courses of the USA Administrations and provides a research of the modern situation in the Baltic region and American presence. At the end of the thesis there is the Conclusion and the list of sources and references.

## **2. Theoretical chapter: the theory of neoliberalism and implementation of the concept of soft power in the American policy**

### **2.1. The history of the theory of neoliberalism**

There are at least two different meanings to the notion of neoliberalism: one stands for the processes of the political economy and the other is an IR theory. The concept of soft power is linked to the latter meaning of the word.

Neoliberal ideology was formed in the 1970s and included such politicians as Al Gore and Bill Clinton (the Democratic Party of the USA)<sup>1</sup>. This period ideology tended to be not liberal enough, it adhered the martial foreign policy, shared capitalistic principles, had reformist ideas seeking welfare, was positive about urbanization, feminist ideologies, social issues, but at the same time avoided militarization.

Other academics and eminent politicians considered neoliberal theory as philosophy aimed at capital accumulation,<sup>2</sup> “capitalism with the gloves off”,<sup>3</sup> neoliberal ideology is represented a concentration of power and wealth organized by transnational corporations and global elite groups.<sup>4</sup>

In International Relations theory, neoliberalism support cooperative principle of existence: international institutions, transnational corporations and global organizations. These actors create more successful and viable way of interaction according to new realms.<sup>5</sup> Keohane R.O. and Nye J.S. developed the theory of complex interdependence<sup>6</sup> that covered following assumptions: first of

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<sup>1</sup> Brooks, D 2007, ‘The Vanishing Neoliberal’, *The New York Times*. Available from: [http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/11/opinion/11brooks.html?\\_r=1&](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/11/opinion/11brooks.html?_r=1&). [18 March 2015].

<sup>2</sup> Braedley, S & Luxton, M (eds) 2010, *Neoliberalism and Everyday Life*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca.

<sup>3</sup> Chomsky, N 2011, *Profit over People: Neoliberalism and Global Order*, Seven Stories Press, New York, Toronto, London.

<sup>4</sup> Thorson, DE 2009, *The Neoliberal Challenge. What is Neoliberalism?* University of Oslo. Available from: <http://folk.uio.no/daget/neoliberalism2.pdf>. [18 March 2015].

<sup>5</sup> Sutch, P. & Juanita, E 2006, *International Relations: The Basics*, Routledge, London, New York.

<sup>6</sup> Keohane, R & Nye, J 1977, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*, Brown and Company Boston, p.23.

all, states are interdependent elements of global system and they play dominant roles in international relations. Societies have different connections as informal governmental ties, as multinational corporations and organizations, thus, political exchange is implemented on different levels; secondly, force creates power and it is the most effective instrument of any policy. The line between the domestic and foreign policy are getting blurred, clear agenda in interstate relations has disappeared. Speaking about complex interdependence I should note that in this case military forces are not used, the role of the military in resolving disputes is negated. But, at the same time, Keohane and Nye considered the military as a quite important element for an “alliance’s political and military relations with a rival bloc”.<sup>7</sup> Finally, every system has its own order and hierarchy, so international politics is not an exception.

## **2.2. Neoliberalism and the USA’s role in the world**

Concerning international relations of the 20th century, the liberal concept was under the shadow of the doctrine of political realism, although it did not mean that it was totally isolated from the policy, especially from the foreign policy of the USA and UK. The theory became more popular just in the second term and the last decade of the 20th century. Manfred and Ravi, for example, argue that neoliberal ideology was introduced by Ronald Reagan and was mostly implemented in his economic policies. The President Clinton Administration was also considered as an adherent of neoliberalism, but Bill Clinton charted a less military course and paid more attention to family values, multiculturalism and ecological issues.<sup>8</sup>

Their governments ruled after the World War I and during the Cold War period, and in both cases the USA was a guarantor of the post-war world order and also guarantor of the development of economies of European countries. Proceeding

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<sup>7</sup> Keohane, R & Nye, J 1977, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*, Brown and Company Boston, p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Steger, MB & Dr. Ravi, KR 2010, *Neoliberalism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Canada.

from the created conditions, the USA needed not to spread the atmosphere of fear, but to create an image of peaceful and unselfish country.

Joseph S. Nye defined this policy through the concept of soft power, that finally let the USA to strengthen their position in the world. Thus, the concept became very popular and was researched by such American scholars as Joseph S. Nye, Robert Keohane, Stephen Krasner and others. Later in my work I make more detailed analysis of the Joseph S. Nye soft power concept.<sup>9</sup>

American neoliberalism corresponds to major features of the neoliberal theory as a primordial model. First of all, as in the liberal theory, supporters of neoliberalism believe that state is not the only participant of the international relations. A quite significant role is played by such actors as transnational corporations, international organizations, terrorist and criminal organizations and others. In terms of the US-Baltic relations it is also important to mention NATO and its active actions towards increasing the safety level in the region. NATO activity totally corresponds to the other principle of neoliberalism, which is the concept of corporative security. Thus, in the center of neoliberal theory there are international security issues and refusal of war as instrument of the external policy.

The main goal in the neoliberal theory is international security, but at the same time the supporters of the policies of neoliberalism specify the pluralism of its purposes with universal ideals and humanity values. The main condition of world order international stability and social progress is the development of international cooperation, which also promotes an economic welfare growth. The main means of international relations are distribution of liberal democratic values, that the USA did during the period of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian independence establishment. The next means is the creation of international organizations, in this case it is possible to talk about involvement of the Baltic States in NATO and the EU and then the development of international law and

cooperation.<sup>10</sup>

Besides, there is one more point that concerns international morals – in other words liberal democracy and human rights which represent a base for the new world order as a universal civil society and global market.<sup>11</sup>

According to the aforesaid, neoliberalism prospered at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as shown by frequent humanitarian interventions of the USA aimed at maintaining democracy and human rights. Noam Chomsky claimed that such neoliberal values as democracy, human rights and economic doctrines are instruments of power that are used to exploit. These values are good only until they guarantee benefit obtaining. In case of the USA it is interesting to notice the fact that it seeks the idea of development of democracy from above, which helps to control traditional sources of power effectively.<sup>12</sup>

The main idea of the new world order is that power should be under control of the elites, and represents globalization of economy that is in the interests of transnational corporations and financial organizations. The USA conducts a policy, using NATO and the WTO, following the conviction that it can control these organizations, and use the UN power to solve some problematic issues.<sup>13</sup> With the help of NATO the USA strives to control and dominate on European countries. In my case, the task of the research is to see to what extent this applies to the Baltic States.

Concerning the UN the USA holds an ambivalent position. Condoleezza Rice argued that “the support of many states or even better, of institutions like the United Nations is essential to the legitimate exercise of power. The “national interest” is replaced with “humanitarian interests” or the interests of “the

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<sup>9</sup> Hmyljov, BL 2010, ‘Liberal'nye/neoliberal'nye koncepcii mezhdunarodnyh otnoshenij’, *Sovremennye mezhdunarodnye otnoshenija: uchebnoe posobie*. Available from: <http://freebooks.site/uchebnik-mejdunarodnie-otnosheniya/liberalnyie-neoliberalnyie-kontseptsii.html>. [11 April 2015].

<sup>10</sup> Bljumin, IG 1962, ‘Sovremennyj neoliberalizm’, *Krizis sovremennoj burzhuaznoj politicheskoj jekonomii*. pp. 322-365.

<sup>11</sup> Harvey, D 2007, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford University Press, Canada.

<sup>12</sup> Chomsky, N 2011, *Profit over People: Neoliberalism and Global Order*, Seven Stories Press, New York, Toronto, London.

<sup>13</sup> Chomsky, N 2003, *Klassovaja vojna: interv'ju s Djevidom Barzamjanom*, Praksis, Moscow.

international community.”<sup>14</sup>

But when the number of UN members started to grow, and this fact created some problems for the USA, the American policy towards the UN changed. Chomsky argues that “there was power and wealth in our hands, others had to do what we said.” And he continues: “However as a consequence of the globalization process and enlargement of the United Nations Organization we could not rely on support of the majority. And we could not permit International Court of Justice and the UN to judge our actions, because there was a risk that they would not share our point of view. But it did not mean that we were mistaken, it meant that they were not right”.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the UN Charter prohibits the threat of force and its implementation except in self-defense cases, when the state is attacked. In all other occasions the use of force is forbidden except manifest approbation of the Security Council of the UN. In fact as a rule it is enough to demonstrate to the international community that the state threatens the safety of the citizens and it can be a ground for intervention. It is important to notice that only the powerful states have such authority. For example if India invades Pakistan in order to stop crimes, it is forbidden, but the bombardment of Serbia by the USA is considered a just cause. Thus, according to the critics of the neoliberal model, great powers aim at establishing their own norms, and if it is impossible to achieve them with the help of democratic measures, neoimperialistic methods are used. So, it is possible to conclude that democracy developing in the frames of neoliberal theory represents the elaboration of a some kind of totalitarian system that in fact has neoimperialistic ideas hidden under the fight for democracy and human rights. Also David Harvey claims that Karl Polanyi wrote that “liberal and after neoliberal utopian project can be realized only on the base of authoritarianism. Freedom of masses will be limited in favor of freedom of minority”.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Rice, C 2000, “Campaign 2000: Promoting the National Interest”. Foreign Affairs. Available from: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2000-01-01/campaign-2000-promoting-national-interest>. [15 April 2015].

<sup>15</sup> Chomsky, N 2003, *Klassovaja vojna: interv'ju s Djevidom Barzamjanom*, Praksis, Moscow.

<sup>16</sup> Harvey, D 2007, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford University Press, Canada.

### 2.3. The Concept of soft power

One of the most significant concepts in world politics, economics and diplomacy is Joseph S. Nye's concept of soft power. According to Nye soft power is "the ability to affect others through the cooptive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes".<sup>17</sup> Later in his works, particularly in the book *Soft Power. The Means to Succeed in World Politics*<sup>18</sup>, published in 2004 Joseph S. Nye develops this idea and notices that everyone knows hard power well. We know that military power and economic one can make others change their positions. Hard power can be based on motivation (spice cake) and on threats (big stick). However sometimes you can achieve desirable results without any threats or payment. Joseph S. Nye thus draws our attention to foreign-policy problems linked to globalization and universal interdependence, armaments and proliferation of nuclear weapons, the USA policy towards Europe and Asia, and also ruling and power issues both inside the state and in the world arena in such conditions.<sup>19</sup>

Thereby Joseph S. Nye defines the sense of power as opportunity to achieve desirable results. This opportunity depends on whether the regime has necessary resources or skills and conditions for using it effectively. According to the point of view of American researchers, modern tendencies of development of the civilization are such that the importance of soft power will grow inevitably. First of all, because even the biggest and the most developed states cannot resolve local and international problems only by military means. Firstly, because of economic interdependence, the use of some forms of modern weapons, for example, nuclear, has no sense. Secondly, as a result of sharp "decrease of military valour and glory sense in scale of values of modern postindustrial societies"<sup>20</sup>, battle for someone's

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<sup>17</sup> Nye, JS 2011, *The Future of Power*, Public Affairs, New York, pp. 20-21.

<sup>18</sup> Nye, JS 2004, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. Public Affairs, New York.

<sup>19</sup> Nye, JS 2004, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. Public Affairs, New York.

<sup>20</sup> Nye, JS 2004, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. Public Affairs, New York.

not always clear interests does not attract.

Joseph S. Nye believes that in the modern epoch of informational revolution, the factor of attractiveness of each country can have much bigger significance than the most destructive military superiority.<sup>21</sup>

#### **2.4. Soft power in the foreign policy of the USA**

According to a historical point of view, it was Americans who were one of the first nations in the world to learn to use soft power for their interests. American values – such as democracy, human rights, equal opportunities – spreading behind the “iron curtain”, were a great help for the American foreign policy.

In his editorial article in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Natan Gardels spoke of soft power as the reason for the prosperity as well as the decline of the USA.<sup>22</sup> According to his point of view, soft power was one of the main means for the hegemony of the USA in the world after the Second World War and it was an important factor of the American victory in the Cold War.

The image of the USA consists of many elements and its attractiveness is conditioned by many reasons. Some of them are linked to culture, others to domestic policy and national values, and then some are linked to the content, tactics and the style of the foreign policy. All of these three components are important but the content of the foreign policy and its style are more mobile and they are more under the control of the government. The attractiveness of the USA depends on values that are reflected at the main point and style of the foreign policy. All states pursue their own national interests in their foreign policies, but the difference lies in the fact how widely or narrowly these interests are defined, and also what means are used to pursue them.

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<sup>21</sup> Nye, JS 2004, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. Public Affairs, New York.

<sup>22</sup> Gardels, N 2005, ‘The rise and fall of America’s soft power’, *Journal of New Perspectives Quarterly*, vol. 22, № 1, p. 67.

In the end, soft power becomes apparent if others are getting involved without threats. A policy based on comprehensive and promising goals becomes attractive for others easier than a policy of a shortsighted nature. The policy will be more attractive if it is based on values shared by others. So, due to a long-sighted policy, in the course of which the Marshall plan was implemented, the Europeans were happy to accept the American leadership. The soft power of the USA implemented in this leadership was also supported by a significant number of coincidences of American and European values. Thereby one of the sources of soft power is the cultural attractiveness of the state.

Let's draw attention to "Four freedoms" declared by Franklin D. Roosevelt, which developed the following ideas: the first is freedom of speech and expression all over the world; the second is freedom of everybody to worship the god with the way they choose themselves – all over the world; the third is freedom from poverty that in clear for everyone language means economic agreements which will provide the population of all states with a healthy and peaceful life – all over the world; the fourth is freedom from fear that means a such solid arms cut race all over the world that no one can commit an act of physical aggression against any of their neighbors.<sup>23</sup>

The declared ideas had a meaning of a lesson as to the fundamentals of citizenship. Generation after generation, the young people of different European countries to the west and to the east from the "iron curtain" discovered new cultural alternatives. Simple things such as blue jeans, coca-cola or trade marks of cigarettes gave to the young generation an ability to express their own selves. Such influence of mass culture helped the USA to achieve a success in democratic reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War.

After the Second World War, the Marshall Plan can be considered as one of the brightest examples of soft power. The Plan was a financial help program for

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<sup>23</sup> Roosevelt, FD 1941, *The Four Freedoms speech*. Available from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/fdrthefourfreedoms.htm>. [24 April 2017].

Europe and it was proposed in 1947 by the Secretary of state George Marshall. The goal of the USA was a reconstruction of European economy destroyed by the war and the elimination of trade barriers, the modernization of European countries' industries and development of Europe as a whole. The Marshall Plan started to be implemented on 4 April, 1948 when the Congress of the USA passed the Economic Cooperation Act provided a four year program of economic help for Europe. According to the Marshall Plan, assignments were given to European countries. At the same time Americans – as a preliminary condition for given help – demanded to take out communists from the government of states which signed the treaty. In 1951 the Marshall Plan was replaced with the Mutual Security Act which provided simultaneously economic and military help.<sup>24</sup>

Due to the Marshall plan, the USA consolidated its positions in Europe, created a positive image of the protector and helper and also contributed to the implementation of the USA dollar in Europe. Dollars invested according to the Marshall Plan were also important to achieve American purposes in European reconstruction – but ideas infused with American mass culture were equally important. During the Cold War, Voice of America, Radio Liberty, BBC and also publishing prohibited literature were examples of the implementation of soft power.

The use of soft power instruments has guaranteed the USA and NATO involvement in regional processes on the post-Soviet area and allowed the USA to influence their development directly. During this period, America aspired to achieve the consensus with its allies around world policy issues and it pressed for the hegemony in the world including cultural and ideological means propagandizing the principle of individual rights, equal law protection for everyone, and equal economic and social opportunities. Soft power was thus a suitable addition to the USA's military power and was the great means to legitimize its actions. However, the principle of double standards and denial to

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<sup>24</sup> Schain, M 2001, *The Marshall Plan: Fifty Years After*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

follow this principle in its policy can diminish the significance of this source of power greatly.

One of my arguments in this thesis is that the concept of soft power is especially relevant in the context of the modern US foreign policy and also important for an analysis of US Baltic policies. During the audition in the Congress, Hillary Clinton declared that Washington has to rely on soft power more than on hard power in its foreign policy. According to the new strategic doctrine, Obama's administration had to start the process of "rebooting" relations<sup>25</sup> not only with Russia, but with other countries in the world. The USA did not refuse their "global mission" aimed at spreading democratic values to all nations in the world. Seeking this goal Obama's Administration was steady to change the tools that were used to achieve the main goal, for example, to stop relying on hard power, military and economic superiority of the USA and to start rehabilitation of the USA global image, in order to create not only a global leader, but also a global defender.

In the end, I should say that contemporary American foreign policy uses mechanisms of soft power applying involvement of different international actors in taking the decisions on different international issues and also economic and cultural purchase of influence. In consequence it is possible to see an evolution of American politics courses and there implementation.

The Baltic region is one of the brightest examples of the US implementation of soft power. It started from the very beginning, when the USA supported diplomatic relations with the states of the region during their involvement in the USSR and until nowadays when the Baltic States are members of NATO and the EU and actively conduct mutual military trainings that symbolize the positive image of the USA as a protector of weak small states from external aggression of neighbors.

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<sup>25</sup> Madison, L 2013, 'In farewell speech, Clinton calls for "smart power" on global stage', *CBS NEWS*. Available from: <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/in-farewell-speech-clinton-calls-for-smart-power-on-global-stage/>. [15 April 2015].

### **3. Methodological chapter: application of textual analysis to research the Baltic dimension of the foreign policy of the USA**

#### **3.1. Textual analysis: content analysis**

In this thesis, I use content analysis to research the Baltic dimension of the US foreign policy and the role of soft power in IR. Content analysis “is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within text”<sup>26</sup>. Then, “content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context”<sup>27</sup>.

The method oriented on receiving an appropriate information by analyzing documents created due to the communication process. They can be different kind of texts, multimedia, also traces, artifacts, treaties receipts and others. The main task of a researcher is to define a real message of these documents and to make trustworthy inferences referring to particular facts, data and context of the situation as a whole.

Content analysis is a classical method among research techniques, the subject of content analysis is texts and other kind of correspondence. The main point of this method is to find in the variety of textual material an abstract model of the main idea of the text. The method gives the researcher an opportunity to analyze a lot of textual information and systematically select and structure important information. It can be achieved, for example, through analysis of frequency of keywords mention.<sup>28</sup>

Ole R. Holsti had several versions of definitions of “content analysis” term,

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<sup>26</sup> Stone, PJ, Dexter CD, Marshall, Daniel MO 1966, *The General Inquirer: A Computer Approach to Content Analysis*. MIT Press, Cambridge, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Krippendorff, K. 1980. *Content Analysis. An Introduction to its Methodology*. CA: Sage, Beverly Hills, p. 21.

they are: “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages”<sup>29</sup> and identified in his book three main categories of content analysis, which are the following: to infer a conclusion from the past a communication, from its characteristics and from the effects of communication.<sup>30</sup>

Though the locution content analysis encompasses almost a boundless set of quite diverse research approaches and techniques, it is broadly used to research social sciences, politics and international relations. Its main idea is to absorb important facts from a huge amount of information and to create a logical conclusion comparing facts with the real situation. Thus, content analysis can be interpreted as a technique that researches not evident at the first sight elements and data<sup>31</sup> containing in the texts and artifacts. It is a kind of searching the second meaning of the proposed information. It helps to get facts that compared with other information might give a researcher data to think about and make a decision. Analysis creates conditions when a group of facts lay bare a new picture of events.

There are several types of texts to which the researcher can apply content analysis: written texts (books, papers and others), oral texts (speeches, dialogues, protocols on the results of the negotiations and others), then audio-visual texts (TV programs, movies, videos) and hypertexts. A very important type is traces (documents from past times) and artifacts (non-linguistic documents). In my thesis I work a lot with historical sources and literature, that is why I chose the content analysis method.

Content analysis was used predominantly in sociological studies including

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<sup>28</sup> Ruiz, J 2009, *Sociological Discourse Analysis: Methods and Logic*. Available from: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1298/2882>. [22 May 2015].

<sup>29</sup> Holsti, OR 1969, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison Wesley, p. 14.

<sup>30</sup> Holsti, OR 1969, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison Wesley, p. 14.

<sup>31</sup> Hodder, I 1994, *The interpretation of documents and material culture* Thousand Oaks etc.: sage, №24, pp. 393-403, California.

the study of advertising and promotional materials. In 1960, during so-called methodological explosion, studies using the technique of content analysis intensified. This contributed to the development of the technique, diversified its options.<sup>32</sup> In recent times, particularly with the advent of mass communication, the use of content analysis method in analyzing and understanding of media content and media logic has started to increase. Political scientist Harold Lasswell in his work tried to accumulate all the sense of the method in one universal question: “Who says what, to whom, why, to what extent and with what effect?”<sup>33</sup>

One of the basic conditions for applying the method of content analysis is the existence of a material object. Practically, in every case when such object exists or it is possible to reconstruct it, method can be use.

There are several stages that researcher has to pass in order to achieve final successful result of analysis, but before starting the analysis I want to draw your attention to six questions, that were given by Klaus Krippendorff and which fully characterize the process: first of all, what data we are going to analyze; how we will find this data; then, important to define population or environment where all this information was created; what is the context of analyzing data; then, we should define the frameworks of the analysis and understand to what conclusion we have intention to receive at the end of research.<sup>34</sup>

The first is to define a range of researched sources with the help of the following criteria: the type of source (mass media, television, radio, advertising or promotional material); the type of message (articles, notes, posters); the parties involved in the communication process (originator, recipient); the size of the message (minimal volume or length); frequency of occurrence of messages; the method of messages distribution; location of messages distribution; time of

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<sup>32</sup> Dmitriev, I 2005, *Kontent-analiz: sushchnost', zadachi, procedury*. Available from: <http://www.psyfactor.org/lib/k-a.htm>. [25 May 2015]

<sup>33</sup> Lasswell, DH 1948, *Power and Personality*. Free Press. New York.

<sup>34</sup> Krippendorff, KH 2013, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. The Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania.

messages appearance.<sup>35</sup> It is possible to use other criteria if it is necessary but these are the most popular.

The second stage is the formation of a sample of messages. In some cases it is possible to study all sources concerning the subject, because analyzed cases (messages) are often not easier to find and they are of a poor quality. But sometimes content analysis only requires a limited sample taken from a larger amount of information.<sup>36</sup>

Third stage includes a process of defining the units or elements of analysis. They can be words or subjects. Detection of these elements is one of the most important parts of such type of analysis. The simplest element is a word. A subject is another unit that represents a separate statement about the particular object of research. There are several requirements to the choice of a unit of analysis. It should be quite broad in order to show the meaning, the main idea. In my case the main idea is to find the main stream of the US policy towards the Baltic region, and at the same time the unit should be quite small in order not to show a huge amount of meanings. In this case I predominantly focus on the policy of defense and chose a particular period of time. Besides it should be identified easily, a range of units has to be as broad as it will be possible to make the sample.<sup>37</sup> For example, it may be security, national values, democracy, culture and some components of soft power.

There are particular requirements for defining units on subject. A subject should not be broader than paragraph, a new subject appears if there is a change of: a recipient, originator, goal, and categories. Besides there are special techniques of content analysis, adapted to the needs of historical and historical-philosophical research.

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<sup>35</sup> Lisovskij, SF, Evstaf'ev, VA 2000, *Izbiratel'nye tekhnologii: istoriya, teoriya, praktika*, RAU University, Moscow.

<sup>36</sup> Lisovskij, SF, Evstaf'ev, VA 2000, *Izbiratel'nye tekhnologii: istoriya, teoriya, praktika*, RAU University, Moscow.

### 3.2. Qualitative content analysis meets historical research

In the thesis I used qualitative content analysis investigating “why” and “how” events took place and what axially it means for both parts of the process, not just “what”, “where”, “when”, or “who”. In the field of international relations, it helps to understand the government and their political programs. The main idea of the method is to find a core sense, which can be identified as a result of total examination of a particular situation. So an attentive and scrupulous study assumes access to a huge amount of relevant data and as a rule it starts with defining of the problematic issue and final assumption, result, which we are going to receive at the end the research process.<sup>38</sup>

Every method implies that it can be use in different aspects. For example, in my case, qualitative historical research that allows me to discuss past and present events in the context of the present condition, besides, it provides me with advance supposed answers to current issues and problems. Conducting this type of analysis I actually proceeded with such questions as: “When did the problematic issue arise?” “Does it change during concrete period of time or not?” “What can we say about current situation? Does it differ from the previous?” “How will it transform in the future?”<sup>39</sup>

In the case of qualitative analysis, a researcher needs not only to define words, subjects and other basic units that shows the main idea of the message, but there are other elements that help to conduct a qualitative content analysis. Here, the researcher is interested not in what was said but how it was said, what context and background preceded to the particular message.<sup>40</sup>

Attention of researcher focuses not only on the content of the message but also on the presentation of the message. The main issue here is the fact of presence

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<sup>37</sup> Pochepcov, GG 2001, *Teoriya kommunikacii*, Vakler, Moscow.

<sup>38</sup> Bogdan, R & Taylor, SJ 1990, ‘Looking at the bright side: A positive approach to qualitative policy and evaluation research’, *Journal of Qualitative Sociology*, vol. 13, №2, pp. 183-192.

<sup>39</sup> Creswell, JW 2007, ‘Designing of a Qualitative Study’ in (2<sup>nd</sup> eds) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*, pp. 35-41. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

<sup>40</sup> Mangejm, DB & Rich, RK 1997, *Politologiya. Metody issledovaniya*, Ves’ Mir, Moscow.

or absence of material that concerns the particular subject and the degree of its salience in the text. Derived results are more accurate, because there is no ambiguity in such kind of accounts but as a consequence less relevant.

I analyzed in my work mostly information available in articles, the Internet, media reports, textbooks, scientific historical works, speeches, statements made by political figures and official documents. Choosing sources for the data collection, I first tried to define several sub-themes of the general initial question. At the same time, it was very important not to forget about the research question.

In my thesis, I try to find a balance between positive and negative arguments of the American policy in the Baltic region and reveal elements of the soft power concept. My research is limited by historical factors: I considers only the periods of history that characterize cooperation of the USA and the Baltic States and focused on key moments, such as achievement of the arrangements, signing of cooperation agreements, results of political visits and others. Besides, the base concept of my work is soft power, which significantly reduces a number of considered information: in this case the USA is considered as a state pursuing peaceful aims, avoiding violent acts and military collisions.

In conclusion I would like to prove that American policy in the Baltic States is conducted according to the principles of soft power. However, at the same time this does not exclude the opportunity of military operations in the future. Thus, I try to show the complicity and ambiguity of the USA policy towards the Baltic States.

As I have already mentioned in previous paragraph the first step that a researcher should implement is the definition of sources. I collected a huge amount of materials and documents from the websites of Embassies of the United States in the Baltic States. These materials include Keynote Address at August 20th Club Meeting (Estonia), articles devoted to the History of the US-Baltic States relations, then Ministries of foreign affairs of the administration of the Baltic States. Historical and Empirical chapters were written with the help of official documents:

A Charter of Partnership among the United States of America and the Republic of Estonia, Republic of Latvia, and Republic of Lithuania, Remarks by the President Clinton, The National Security Strategies of the United States of America. Selecting the literature I firstly oriented on the parties that are involved in the communication process, in my case they are: the USA, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, NATO, the EU and the Russian Federation. Thus, I got the main seven units to start the research, the most attention I paid to the USA and their policies in general, analyzing the Presidents' Administration and principles that they used in different situations.

All messages were quite short and at the same time broad, like "Obama's administration", "Strategy of National security", soft power. Frequency, location and time of messages appearance showed the relevance of the subject. This principle helped me to come to the conclusion that military actions, NATO activity in the Baltic region and at the same time promotion of an image of the defender and savior are the main points from which it is necessary to make a start in the research.

Concerning units, it is important to follow several requirements. First of all, it should be quite broad in order to show the main idea. In my case, the main idea is to find the main stream of the USA policy towards the Baltic region. Collecting information using the official websites, such as the White House and US Department of States and also the NATO official website, I put in a search line units "Latvia", "Lithuania", "Estonia", "Baltic States". Results of the search by the number of the found articles was practically the same for all three countries, which may testify the equal cooperation of the USA with all the countries in the region. At the same time the unit should be quite small in order not to show a huge amount of meaning, in this case I predominantly focus on the policy of defense and chose a particular period of time. So, units were such as "NATO programs in the Baltic region", "Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian security policy", "the Baltic region in the National Security strategy of the USA" and so on.

Finally, I made a conclusion that the Baltic dimension takes a significant place in American foreign policy and there are several reasons for that. The context is very different, which is why I was guided by my research question and tried to analyze information according to my main purpose.

### **3.3. Data collection and analysis**

Before I began writing, I had tried to create some sort of a plan. First of all I figured out what I wanted to say in general, I highlighted the most significant points. Next task was to understand how to link these points together, how they should relate to each other. In other words, I tried to figure out how a text based on those points can be structured.

Starting with the historical chapter I tried to look through the history a specificity of the USA and the Baltic States relations. I divided this chapter to several paragraphs according to different historical periods and in each period there was its own Administration with its own rules and directions in the foreign policy. In order to show these specificities, I collected the materials mostly from the official website of the White House. There is a section where the user can find information about all presidents of the USA concerning not only the personal data of the president but also his election campaign and general directions of the internal and external policy. To find more information, in this case I looked through the historical section on the official sites of the Embassies of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. It helped me to highlight the main points in the relations of the concerned states. Based on this, I looked for documents that could prove occasions described. The most part of official documents was found in the Internet. Analyzing the content of the documents, I tried to pick out the main issues for the parties, compare them with the events on the world arena and the foreign policy of the USA in general. Besides, the official website of the US Department of State contains a wide range of official documents of the USA and all of them are in open

access.

Concerning my empirical chapter that is devoted to the analysis of the President Obama Administration, I focused on the documents, statements and reports of meetings and negotiations conducted between the USA and the Baltic States. Content analysis plays an important role in my analysis of speeches of the leaders.

So, the main task of my analysis was to see how things fit together, how the main elements form a whole picture of the event and how events transform one to another. Historical explanation is represented as a deductive structure that is a structure when one universal principle is put into practice in particular situations. In my thesis, the following historical chapter sheds light on contemporary events that structure the US foreign policy. If the goal is to show how events and elements react upon each other and how their cooperation creates particular occasions. The fundamental idea is to explain a logic of existent, but it has to be done for reason given by the basic principle (a deductive structure).

## **4. The establishment of the relations between the USA and states of the Baltic region**

### **4.1. Collapse of the Russian Empire and the Baltic States' declaration of independence in the foreign policy of the USA**

In this chapter, I analyze the formation of the US policy toward the Baltic States basing my analysis mainly on the ways in which American embassies in the region – or other official US institutions – describe them. Other sources are used to contextualize the analysis.

By 1917 territories of the Baltic region had been occupied by Germany, residents of the Baltic States maintained German military presence hoping that it would provide the Baltic States with greater autonomy, but the question of independence for that period did not arise.<sup>41</sup> But aftermath of World War I and the collapse of the Russian Empire Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania obtained independence and became sovereign. They declared independence in 1918,<sup>42</sup> and were recognized as independent countries in 1920. Interstate agreements were signed between the USSR and the Baltic States. Articles of agreements provided following obligations: the inviolability of its frontiers, the establishment of diplomatic relations, autonomy and sovereignty, the prohibition of the use of the territory for hostile actions against each other.<sup>43</sup>

At the same time, the reaction of the world on the creation of independent states on the territory of the Baltic provinces of Russia was ambiguous. At first the USA recognized governments of the newly established states, but later, when the administration of Woodrow Wilson came, the situation changed. Subsequent

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<sup>41</sup> Von Rauch, G 1974, *The Baltic States: The Years of Independence; Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, 1917-1940*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

<sup>42</sup> Crowe, DM 1992, *The Baltic States and the Great Powers, 1938-1940*, Westview Press, Oxford.

administrations adhered the course of the 1920s, besides the United States totally refused to recognize all changes that were made by the USSR in the region. This situation lasted until the end of the Cold War. The United States also obtained collective support for the policy from democratic European nations and the Latin American states. Thus, after the Baltic States recognition by the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) in August 1920 the US Secretary of State B. Colby claimed that the USA State Department “continues to be persistent in their refusal to recognize the Baltic States as independent from Russia States”<sup>44</sup> because of the fact that American government does not consider any decisions of any international conference as available if they assume to recognize as independent States or other groups, with any kind of control over the territories that were parts of the Russian Empire. It is strange because B. Colby supported the President's policies firmly. He supported the League of Nations and established a precedent for not recognizing newly Communist Russia. The Baltic States applied for membership in the League of Nations in 1921. It provided their territorial integrity, but it did not help the Baltics to avoid the annexation by the USSR.

In June 1922 the successor of Bainbridge Colby, James H. Hughes declared that the USA “consistently insisted that the disturbed Russian State Affairs cannot serve as a basis for exclusion of the Russian territories, and this principle is not considered breached because of the recognition at this time the governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which were established and maintained by an indigenous community”,<sup>45</sup> what gave the opportunity to recognize these governments.

Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are the only former Soviet republics, excluding the Russian Federation that had their own relations with the USA.

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<sup>43</sup> Rich, R 1993, ‘Recognition of states: the collapse of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union’, *Sypsoium: recent developments in the practice of state recognition*, pp. 36-65. Available from: <http://www.ejil.org/pdfs/4/1/1207.pdf>. [18 March 2017].

<sup>44</sup> Fomenko, A 2008, ‘Velikaja tajna amerikanskoj diplomatii’, *Izvestia*, 22 October. Available from: <http://izvestia.ru/news/341990>. [8 October 2014].

<sup>45</sup> Fomenko, A 2008, ‘Velikaja tajna amerikanskoj diplomatii’, *Izvestia*, 22 October. Available from: <http://izvestia.ru/news/341990>. [8 October 2014].

Legally Washington recognized all three Baltic republics in 1922 and in the same year diplomatic relations between states were established.

On July 28, 1922 the Republic of Latvia was recognized as independent state by the USA. The Letter of Credence was submitted to the Latvian President, Janis Cakste on November 13, 1922. The President declared that the American Relief Organization and American non-governmental organizations lend a very significant support to Latvian Republic during 1919 and 1922: “Latvia is happy to welcome the first official democratic representative of the great and renowned American democracy; the democracy which was the first to lend a helping hand to the unfortunate inhabitants of Latvia, victims of the World War”.<sup>46</sup> Diplomatic relations between two states were established on July 28, 1922<sup>47</sup> and since July 28, 1922 the USA established official diplomatic relations with the Republic of Estonia, I want to mention that Estonian consular representatives had been working in the United States for two years before that.<sup>48</sup>

Finally, the Baltic States obtained the recognition of the USA, which lasted during all interwar period and even during the Baltic States involvement in the USSR, the latter fact is quite unusual, but the fact of diplomatic relations between the Baltic States and the USA started to exist in 1920s and lasted until nowadays continuously.

#### **4.2. The Baltic States in the foreign policy of the USA during the interwar period**

When diplomatic relations were created the USA and the Baltic States started to communicate. The interwar period was characterized by strengthening of interests between states, different treaties and agreements were signed during that

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<sup>46</sup> Embassy of the United States Riga, Latvia, *US - Latvia relations*. Available from: <https://lv.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/us-latvia-relations/>. [18 March 2017].

<sup>47</sup> Embassy of the United States Vilnius, Lithuania, *History of US – Lithuanian relations*. Available from: <https://vilnius.usembassy.gov/news/history-of-u.s---lithuanian-relations>. [27 November 2015].

period. The website of the United States of America in Riga lists a set of treaties that were concluded between the USA and Latvia. In the field of commerce, the Provisional Commercial Agreement according mutual unconditional most-favored-nation treatment in customs matters was signed in Riga on February 1, 1926 and entered into force on April 30, 1926. The Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Consular Rights was signed in Riga on April 20, 1928 and entered into force on July 25, 1928. The Treaty of Extradition was signed in Riga on October 16, 1923 and entered into force on March 1, 1924. The Supplementary Extradition Treaty was signed in Washington on October 10, 1934 and entered into force on March 29, 1935. The Agreement Relating to the Funding of the Indebtedness of Latvia to the United States was signed in Washington on September 24, 1925 and became operative in December 15, 1922. The Agreement Modifying the debt funding agreement was signed at Washington on June 11, 1932. Pacific Settlement of Disputes and Treaty of arbitration was signed at Riga on January 14, 1930 and entered into force on July 10, 1930.<sup>49</sup> Treaty of conciliation was signed at Riga on January 14, 1930 and entered into force on July 10, 1930. The US-Lithuanian and the US-Estonian relations were less active than the relations with Latvia, but they took place during this period.

The US global policy started with the Administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1933-1945).<sup>50</sup> Referring to the White House website, the President Roosevelt conducted the “good neighbor” policy that led to the Monroe Doctrine transformation from a unilateral American manifesto into arrangements for mutual action against aggressors. The USA adhered the neutral political line in the European war, but at the same time it was important for the USA to help the nations threatened or attacked. After France fell and England came under siege in

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<sup>48</sup> Embassy of the United States Tallinn, Estonia, *US – Estonia relations*. Available from: <https://ee.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/us-estonia-relations/>. [18 March 2017].

<sup>49</sup> Embassy of the United States Riga, Latvia, *US – Latvia bilateral treaties*. Available from: <https://lv.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/u-s-latvia-bilateral-treaties/>. [18 March 2017].

<sup>50</sup> FDR Presidential Library & Museum, *Franklin D. Roosevelt Biography*. Available from: <https://fdrlibrary.org/fdr-biography>. [18 March 2017].

1940, Roosevelt organized military involvement and provide countries with resources for global war. It was obvious that future peace of the world depended on relations between the United States and Russia, it made the president of the USA use resources of the United Nations, a unique global peacekeeping organization.<sup>51</sup>

### 4.3. Events of the 1939-1940s

The Soviet Union in August 1940 incorporated the Baltic States as the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The accession of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into the USSR is dated to the approval of the VII session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR decision-making in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Lithuanian SSR on August 3, Latvian SSR on August 5, and Estonian SSR on August 6, 1940, on the basis of the statements previously received from the higher authorities of the Baltic States. This event belongs to the general context of the development of international relations in Europe during the previous years, which ultimately had led on September 1, 1939, to the beginning of the World War II.

The official position of the Russian Foreign Ministry is that the merging of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia into the USSR corresponds to all the standards of international law in 1940, and later also received formal international recognition.<sup>52</sup>

There is just one snag: the Estonian Embassy in Riga,<sup>53</sup> for example, claims that these three countries were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union

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<sup>51</sup> The White House, *The Presidential biographies: Franklin D. Roosevelt*. Available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/1600/presidents/franklindroosevelt>. [27 May 2015].

<sup>52</sup> Renaud, D 1993, 'European Political Cooperation in 1991', *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 4, № 1, pp.141-157.

<sup>53</sup> Estonian Embassy in Riga 2011, *22 September 1944: from one occupation to another*. Available from: <http://www.estemb.lv/estonia/history/aid-857>. [20 March 2017].

according to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, 1939.<sup>54</sup> Here, its interpretation meets that of the United States and its courts of law, the European Parliament,<sup>55</sup> the European Court of Human Rights<sup>56</sup> and the United Nations Human Rights Council. Consequently, as a matter of law, the Baltic States considered as independent states under illegal occupation throughout the period from 1940 to 1991.<sup>57</sup>

Though, de facto the integrity of the borders of the USSR on 22 June 1941 was recognized by the states participating the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. As of 1975, European borders were confirmed in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Thus, the USA didn't recognize the inclusion of these new states into the Soviet Union in 1940. The same year, according to remarks by US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott a special statement condemning the destruction of the political and territorial integrity of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia was made. American people are opposed to any intervention of the major powers in the Affairs of weaker States. In fact, American policy towards the Baltic States for the next fifty years declared in this document. While Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia was a part of the USSR the embassies of these countries were continue working in the USA and even them Washington recognized as official representatives.<sup>58</sup>

#### **4.4. Collapse of the USSR and declaration of independence of the Baltic States**

As to the Administration of Ronald Wilson Reagan (1981–1989), it is

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<sup>54</sup> BBC News 2005, *Russia and Estonia agree borders*. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4559187.stm>. [17 April 2014].

<sup>55</sup> European Parliament 2007, 'Motion for a resolution', *The European Parliament Resolution on the Situation in Estonia*. B6-0215/2007.

<sup>56</sup> European Parliament 1983, *The European Parliament Resolution on the Situation in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania*. C 42/78.

<sup>57</sup> Parrott, B 1995, *State Building and Military Power in Russia and the New States of Eurasia (The International Politics of Eurasia)*, M.E. Sharpe, Inc., New York.

important to mention that Reagan's public speeches during his election campaign concentrated attention on nuclear warfare and on the Soviet threat. During his presidency, Reagan escalated the Cold War by accelerating the deviation from the policy of detente that started in 1979 after the Soviet forces had come in Afghanistan. Reagan predetermined the massive construction of the USA armed forces and implemented the new course towards the USSR.

In March 23, 1983 Reagan declared the Strategic Defense Initiative, which is a defense project aimed at protecting the USA from attack of nuclear ballistic missiles by using systems based on earth and space, i.e. the so called "Star wars" project. The President supposed that the defense shield would make nuclear warfare impossible, but opponents were sure that the main goal of this project is unachievable.<sup>59</sup>

The next stage in the US-USSR relations was the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev, which changed the direction of diplomacy with the intention to reach durable agreements on arms. The negotiations lasted during the period from 1985 until 1988, four meetings were conducted (in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, Moscow). Finally, in the White House Gorbachev and Reagan signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, according to which a whole class of nuclear weapons was destroyed. The leaders of both states laid the foundation of the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms or Start-1.<sup>60</sup>

In January, 1989 Reagan was replaced by George Bush Sr. and in November the Berlin wall was demolished. One of the consequences of the reformation of the Soviet political and economic systems was the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Sajudis movement was founded in 1988 in Lithuania. Its official goal was to support reformation in the Soviet Union, but the real one was to secede from the

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<sup>58</sup> Talbott, S 2000, 'Remarks by US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott', *Press Conference of US-Baltic Partnership Commission*. Available from: <http://www.bits.de/NRANEU/Enlargement/documents/Talbott.pdf>. [17 May 2017].

<sup>59</sup> Archive for the US Department of State 2001-2009, *Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), 1983*. Available from: <http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/rd/104253.htm>. [14 February 2015].

<sup>60</sup> The US Department of States 1991, *Protocol to the treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms*. Lisbon protocol: 1.

USSR. March 11, 1990 the Supreme Council of Lithuania, led by Vytautas Landsbergis declared the independence of the Republic of Lithuania. In April 1988 in Estonia the Popular Front was founded. It did not declare the output of Estonia from the USSR, but became the basis for it. On November 16, 1988 the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR adopted the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Estonian SSR. A similar position was taken by the Popular Front of Latvia founded in 1988. The Supreme Council of Latvian declared independence of Latvia on May 4, 1990. The Cold War officially finished December 3, 1989 and two years later the Soviet Union collapsed.<sup>61</sup>

According to Professor Stanislav Menshikov, Reagan's contribution to the end of the Cold War is an overstatement. There were no prominent improvements in relations and more significant progress in case of missiles and nuclear weapons was achieved only during George Bush Sr. Administration, i.e. at the beginning of 1989.<sup>62</sup> At the same time researcher Aleksey Cvetkov, Russian poet, critic and translator, who has lived in America since 1975, notes that there is no doubts that external and defense policy of Reagan's Administration significantly accelerated the collapse of the USSR. It was repulsed on all fronts: in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola. The Star Wars program was criticized many times for its unrealizability and firstly inside the USA. But the opponent could not be sure and an attempt of retaliatory measures that was made during the period of a sharp fall in oil prices finally undermined the Soviet economy.<sup>63</sup>

So, according to the fact that the USA in 1940 did not recognize the inclusion of the Baltic States into the USSR and the fact that during this period the work of the embassies of these countries continued in the United States, and Washington recognized them as the official representatives, it is possible to

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<sup>61</sup> Harlow, WF 2014, 'The Rhetoric of Silence and the Collapse of the Soviet Empire', *American Communication Journal*, vol. 16, № 2, pp. 52-66.

<sup>62</sup> Men'shikov, SM 2006, *Na staroj ploshchadi*, Biblioteka ehlektronnoj literatury. Available from: <http://litresp.ru/chitat/ru/%D0%9C/menjshikov-stanislav-mihajlovich/na-staroj-ploshchadi>. [3 April 2017].

<sup>63</sup> Cvetkov, A 2005, *Prjamaja rech'*, Atlanticheskij dnevnik. Radio Svoboda, Moscow. Available from: <http://archive.svoboda.org/programs/AD/2000/AD.050900.asp#>. [27 March 2015].

understand why Bush Sr. on September 2, 1991 claimed that the USA was ready to establish diplomatic relations with Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Besides these countries were not referred to as the new independent states but as countries that regained freedom. In addition, Washington considered the Baltic States as a part of the West, which was emphasized by the fact that these countries became established in the State Department, the Department of Northern European and Baltic States, and that, in turn, Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs.<sup>64</sup>

With the advent of the Administration of William Jefferson Clinton 1993–2001,<sup>65</sup> America became a leader in the field of high-technology. Besides, his Administration lobbied the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests worldwide. Comparing with Ronald Reagan and Bush's Sr., military interventions in other countries were reduced significantly. According to the White House website, "during the administration of William Jefferson Clinton the US enjoyed more peace and economic wellbeing than at any time in its history."<sup>66</sup>

The White House website characterizes Clinton as "a global proponent for an expanded NATO"<sup>67</sup> and indeed during Clinton's Administration the main goal in American policy towards the Baltic States was integration of these states in western institutions and first of all in NATO and the EU. In this case, the USA organized a range of specific projects such as the Baltic Sea Action Plan (August 1996) and the Northern European Initiative (September 1997). Their aim was to support democratic reforms in the Baltic States and to strengthen their relations and position in the European region.

Besides, the administration paid a lot of attention to strengthening regional economic cooperation in the Baltic region. According to American officials, the

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<sup>64</sup> Stranga, A, 'The relations between Russia and the Baltic States: 1997-1998', *Außenpolitisches Institut, Riga*. Available from: [http://www.bundesheer.at/pdf\\_pool/publikationen/03\\_jb99\\_10.pdf](http://www.bundesheer.at/pdf_pool/publikationen/03_jb99_10.pdf). [20 May 2017].

<sup>65</sup>The White House, *The Presidential biographies: William J. Clinton*. Available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/1600/presidents/williamjclinton>. [3 April 2017].

<sup>66</sup>The White House, *The Presidential biographies: William J. Clinton*. Available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/1600/presidents/williamjclinton>. [3 April 2017].

<sup>67</sup>The White House, *The Presidential biographies: William J. Clinton*. Available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/1600/presidents/williamjclinton>. [3 April 2017].

political independence of the Baltic States depended on the capacity of these countries to support their economic development not only in their domestic markets, but for the Baltic sea region as a whole.<sup>68</sup>

The first step was the accession of the Baltic States to NATO's program Partnership for peace. In addition, in March 1994 the embargo on the US arms deliveries to the Baltic States was abolished. In 1995 agreements on cooperation between the United States, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia in the military field, which provided assistance in the training of military personnel conducting regular workshops and consultations on security issues were signed.<sup>69</sup>

At the meeting in Palanga on November 10, 1997, the presidents of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia claimed that ensuring of their safety they see in joining NATO and the EU.<sup>70</sup> Thus, on January 16, 1998 in Washington, the USA and the Baltic States signed the Baltic Charter Partnership. The document specifically stresses the fact that "the United States has a real, deep and permanent interest in ensuring the independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia".<sup>71</sup> The parties to the Charter noted that their common goal is the full integration of the Baltic States into European and transatlantic political, economic and military structures.

Despite the fact that there was no statement in the Charter that the Baltic States would become members of NATO, there were no doubts that it would happen sooner or later. As Bill Clinton declared on the ceremony of signing of the Charter "America is full of determination to create conditions due to which Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia will be able to join NATO one day".<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> European Commission 2015, *European Union Strategy for the Baltic Sea region*. COM(2009) 248.

<sup>69</sup> North Atlantic Treaty Organization 2016, *Partnership for Peace programme*. Available from: [http://www.nato.int/cps/tr/natohq/topics\\_50349.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/tr/natohq/topics_50349.htm). [20 May 2017].

<sup>70</sup> Rekeđa, S 2016, 'The Baltic "Obsession" with NATO', *European Dialogue*. Available from: <http://eurodialogue.eu/baltic-obsession-nato>. [3 April 2017].

<sup>71</sup> Embassy of the Republic of Latvia to the United States of America, *A Charter of Partnership Among the United States of America and the Republic of Estonia, Republic of Latvia, and Republic of Lithuania*, January 16, 1998. Available from: <http://www.mfa.gov.lv/en/usa/policy/baltic-us-relations/us-baltic-charter>. [3 April 2017].

<sup>72</sup> US Government Publishing Office 1998, *Remarks at the signing ceremony for the Baltic Nations – United States Charter of Partnership*, January 16, 1998, Administration of William J. Clinton. Available from: <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PPP-1998-book1/pdf/PPP-1998-book1-doc-pg68.pdf>. [3 April 2017].

With the coming to power of George Walker Bush (2001–2009) the “custom fitting” of the Baltic States to the Alliance started, a lot of changes were made during this period. Some changes in the Constitutions of the countries, even the armed forces of the Baltic Republics started to adhere to the principle of collective defense instead of territorial one. Finally, in 2002 in the Prague summit, three Baltic republics received a proposal to become members of NATO. The US Senate, for its part, has already voted unanimously for this resolution May 8, 2003. Besides Clinton promoted very actively the creation of a missile defense system and its distribution in Eastern Europe and outlined the so-called “axis of evil”<sup>73</sup> that became a new threat to fight with.

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Analyzing these baselines, I tried to look through the political tendencies during different American Administrations in the context of the world policy. The US manner of political decisions was always more subjective than objective and depended only on the personal vision of the world order of a state leader. I want to highlight the fact that the American actions had never considered the international law and world common rules as absolute and universal instruction for actions on political arena. Also the research of history of the question shows that the Baltic States were always in the area of American interests, but the strength of attention to this tiny region was permanently changing. The neoliberal theory maintains the implementation of the soft power concept in the region and the USA impact in the region mostly conforms to the requirements of this concept. The USA role has always looked like a role of a defender and protector, a positive figure for weak and vulnerable states of the region.

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<sup>73</sup> The White House 2002, *President Delivers State of the Union Address*, The United States Capitol, Washington. Available from: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>. [27 May 2015].

## **5. The features of the contemporary foreign policy of the USA in the Baltic region**

### **5.1. The first term of Obama's presidency**

The term of the President Barack H. Obama started in 2008 the inauguration was on January 20, 2009. The White House argues that Barack Obama started his presidential term after George W. Bush, whose foreign policy was full of unsolved issues (for example, two wars, spoilt relations with some of traditional American allies, deteriorated international image of America). George W. Bush failed the policy connected to the critics of Bill Clinton's Administration during the electoral campaign and an aspiration to take a radically different course in the foreign policy. Despite the fact that the President Clinton followed the interventionist policy, in general, he recognized the importance of international institutions and joint actions with allies. He pursued a more active policy for approval of American dominance in the world. Terrorist acts of September 11, 2001 changed the direction of Bush foreign policy it started to be oriented on a struggle against terrorism and later against "rogue states",<sup>74</sup> states that according to the US officials information possessed own nuclear weapons. In general, this period is characterized by the principle of unilateralism, according which the United States has arrogated to itself the right to do what they deem necessary for themselves without considering not only the UN Security Council and partners in the international community, but also its closest allies. Such actions led to the crisis of the foreign policy.<sup>75</sup>

After becoming the President Barak Obama identified several priorities in its political course: improvement of the international image of the USA (especially in the Muslim world); the Middle East peace process; the end of the wars in Iraq and

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<sup>74</sup> The White House 2006, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, Washington. Available from: <http://www.comw.org/qdr/fulltext/nss2006.pdf>. [25 May 2015].

<sup>75</sup> Rubenfeld, J 2004, *Unilateralism and constitutionalism*. Yale Law School, paper 1553.

Afghanistan; the policy of nuclear non-proliferation (including the cooperation with Russia) and the start of the “reset” policy, the development of political cooperation with China.<sup>76</sup> After four years of Obama’s presidency some of mentioned goals were achieved. At least at the rhetorical level, Obama was able to clearly identify the US desire to work with a broad range of States of the world in the solution of international problems. The image of the United States of America and the President in the eyes of international public opinion has improved significantly during the first term of Obama’s Administration. The end of Iraq War, decrease a number of troops in Afghanistan, the USA-Russia Start arms control treaty, settlement of Libya conflict run to Obama’s Nobel Peace Prize in 2009.<sup>77</sup>

However, at the end of the presidential term dynamics began to change, the decline in the popularity of the American President and his foreign policy in the world became obvious.<sup>78</sup> The problem is that trying to change the manner and style of American diplomacy in relations with allies and partners, Obama was not able to bring principle changes in the foreign policy.

In May 26, 2010 President Obama presented his National Security Strategy. According to the prevailing American political culture, the basic principles of international course of the USA are laid in the National Security – its foreign policy and military strategy. For my work this document is of great interest, it shows the main dimensions of the USA in the world arena and helps to analyze the results of conducted policies. Obama’s Strategy is interesting for the world community not only because of the fact that it concerns a huge range of states, but also it declares a new political course after a failed ruling of Bush

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<sup>76</sup> Martin, I, Kenneth, L & Michael, E 2012, ‘Scoring Obama's Foreign Policy. A Progressive Pragmatist Tries to Bend History’, *Journal of Foreign Affairs*. Available from: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2012-04-20/scoring-obamas-foreign-policy>. [4 May 2015].

<sup>77</sup> Konyshov, V & Sergunin, A 2010, ‘Strategija nacional'noj bezopasnosti B.Obamy: sostojalis' li radikal'nye obnovenija?’, *Journal Obozrevatel' Observer*, №12, pp. 87-95.

<sup>78</sup> Pew Research Center. Global Attitudes and Trends 2012, *Global Opinion of Obama Slips, International Policies Faulted*. Available from: <http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/06/13/global-opinion-of-obama-slips-international-policies-faulted/>. [4 May 2015].

Administration.<sup>79</sup>

The structure of the document includes two parts. The first one is “Strategic approach” which gives a short descriptive assessment of the international situation and basic principles of the Strategy. The second part is “Advancing our interests”, it defines national interests of the USA and methods to achieve the goal. The main goal is national renovation in order to restore American global leadership. Leadership in this case implies military strength, economic competitiveness, moral authority, active participation in international political processes on a global scale and efforts to organize an international system. There is a point in the Strategy that the USA still possesses all the necessary resources necessary to maintain its leadership. They are strong alliances under American control, military superiority and strong economy. In this case, on the one hand, America should develop innovation economics, education and American values, on the other hand, it should pay attention to the development of tools of influence on the world politics, including strengthening of international organizations and also development and respect for international law.<sup>80</sup>

Concerning the role of the USA in the foreign policy, the Strategy-2010 confirms the tendency to the formation of several centers of power. It means that American leadership won't be absolute and will be limited, because a single state even if it is very strong and powerful, cannot resist global challenges alone. Particularly in these occasions the USA will actively collaborate with other actors. At the same time the Strategy-2010 confirms the possibility of unilateral acts of force in order to defend its national interests.<sup>81</sup>

Nevertheless, Obama's Strategy differs from that of Bush in conceptual cases. The first is that Obama's course is predominantly based on neoliberal

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<sup>79</sup>Konyshev, V & Sergunin, A 2010, 'Strategija nacional'noj bezopasnosti B.Obamy: sostojalis' li radikal'nye obnovlenija?', *Journal Obozrevatel' Observer*, №12, pp. 87-95.

<sup>80</sup> The White House 2010, *National Security Strategy of the USA*. Washington. Available from: [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf). [6 May 2015].

<sup>81</sup> The White House 2010, *National Security Strategy of the USA*. Washington. Available from: [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf). [6 May 2015].

principles, which were discussed in the theoretical chapter. There was a special accent on the role of soft power in the document. It means that diplomacy, cooperation and international legal settlement are in the priority. The recognition of the plurality of centers of power, maintaining liberal democratic reforms in other states, activation of international organizations, the increased political role of developing states and focus on moral values (human rights) is the base of the political course. Secondly, there is no information about unilateral preventive forces (preemption) which are conducted without any evidence about the threat and without permission of international organizations. Besides, Obama highlighted that the USA was going to cooperate mutually with other states in the frames of international law and according to principles of diplomacy: “We will also continue to closely consult with our allies as well as newly emerging partners and organizations so that we revitalize and expand our cooperation to achieve common objectives. And we will continue to mutually benefit from the collective security provided by strong alliances”.<sup>82</sup> Thus, it is obvious that Strategy-2010 implies to work a lot with international organization what can be considered as a positive point but at the same time in the list of the most significant organizations NATO is the first while the UN which is a universal organization follows after.

As regards external military threats, the greatest danger to the USA is posed by weapons of mass destruction, especially dissemination of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear states or extremist organizations. This issue is of high importance for the USA because large stocks of weapons retained and the number of nuclear nations is increasing. The main way to solve this problem is to strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regime and struggle against terrorist organizations with the head of Al-Qaeda. It is interesting to mention that the USA does not notice any hostile states or organizations except Al-Qaeda in the Strategy 2010. In this case, America’s military forces are oriented not on a

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<sup>82</sup> The White House 2010, *National Security Strategy of the USA*. Washington. Available from: [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf). [6 May 2015].

particular enemy but on a hostile actions that pose a security threat. The USA are preparing their military forces for all spectrum of threats and they do an accent on the USA ability to have a free access to military infrastructure abroad. It helps to apply a global strike, it means defeating an enemy in the worldwide.<sup>83</sup>

National interests include four points: the first is security then prosperity based on a strong, innovative and growing national economy within international economic system conditions. Economic prosperity is a source of US influence in the world because it nourishes military power and guarantees success in diplomatic issues. The next point is the respect for universal (democratic) values both in the USA and all over the world. The last point is the international order that will be improved by American leadership that will secure an international peace, security and cooperation in the face of global challenges. As it was after the World War II, the USA is going to create an international system based on particular rules. States should follow these rules; otherwise, they risk being isolated. Along with the use of sanctions the USA should strengthen alliances and military capacity. It is important to mention that conducting military actions the USA will rely on international support working with such institutes as NATO and the UN. At the same time, they reserve the right of unilateral actions. It is obvious that describing use of force so indefinitely and in fact sidestepping the issue of legitimacy, the USA saves an ability to be very flexible in taking the decisions in use of force.

In general, the doctrine is abstract: It has a lot of theory but very little reality, especially in case of political-military strategy. There is no well-defined system of regional priorities in the field of international security. Strategy 2010 did not become a new big strategy offering a fundamental rotation in the US policy. Basing on examples of military companies in Iraq and Afghanistan, it is possible to talk

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<sup>83</sup> The White House 2010, *National Security Strategy of the USA*. Washington. Available from: [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf). [6 May 2015].

about increasing of military spending, and expending of secret antiterrorist operations all over the world.<sup>84</sup>

Thus, it is obvious that on major dimensions of the foreign policy the Obama's Administration did not solve all tasks set by the president. Relations with allies, which had been spoiled during the last eight years of the Bush's presidency, could not be changed radically at once. Though Obama changed the tone of the relationship, making a dialogue more constructive but Europe was not going to support the USA as much as they expected. Washington lost an opportunity to influence the world economy based on their interests, and so a political alliance with America could not solve European economic problems. At the same time Europe was still under protection of the United States in face of NATO. For Europe this position was quite favorable. America wanted to see the North Atlantic Alliance as a global military power and expected a significant support from European countries, but Europe was not eager to invest resources.<sup>85</sup>

Summing up the consideration of the foreign policy of Barack Obama it is possible to say that the difficulties that arose in solving foreign policy problems were predictable. As the content analysis shows, the neoconservative foreign policy of George W. Bush, based on the concept of unilateral US domination in the world, was replaced with the policy of neoliberalism combined with the concept of soft power. Both these approaches differ in methods of achieving foreign policy goals, but the main stream is still the same – American exclusiveness and global domination.

However, I should say that analysis of the USA foreign policy is impossible without research into the military capacity of the USA. A lot of American experts declare that there is a need to review the American strategy of military presence in the world. It is possible to say that such review was initiated during the presidency

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<sup>84</sup> DeYoung, K & Jaffe, G 2010, 'US «secret war» expands globally as Special Operations forces take larger role', *Journal of Washington Post*. Available from: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/06/03/AR2010060304965.html>. [26 April 2017].

of Barack Obama. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> - early 21<sup>st</sup> century there were offers to displace the American military presence in the world, which is not needed after the cessation of global confrontation with the Soviet Union. However, it is better to speak about changing of regions of military presence maintaining the global nature of that presence rather than about displacing of military presence. Such is due to “preventing major conflicts and promoting stability.”<sup>86</sup>

## 5.2. The second term of Obama’s presidency

November 2012 Obama newly occupied a post of President. For the second term the President, mostly paid attention to internal policies including an issue concerning gun control.

As for the external policy, the President settled Iraq issue, military operations in Afghanistan and tried to achieve progress in relations with Cuba. Besides, Obama’s Administration outlined following goals: rebalancing foreign and defense policy towards Asia-Pacific region, strengthening antiterrorist measures, supporting democratic reforms in the Middle East.<sup>87</sup>

The USA sought the restoration of its global leadership. It should have provided Europe and Asia with stability economic growth. Besides, the United States promoted the development of allied and security sectors. So, the main idea was to promote cooperation and stability.

The White House blog links Obama’s national security strategy to “sustainable and strong American leadership”.<sup>88</sup> The President's National Security Advisor Susan Rice is cited in the White House blog as having argued that “strong

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<sup>85</sup> Shaheen, J 2012, ‘The Alliance gathers. What NATO Should and Shouldn't Do in Chicago’, *Journal of Foreign Affairs*. Available from: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2012-05-17/alliance-gathers> .[8 May 2015].

<sup>86</sup> Flournoy, M & Davidson, J 2012, ‘Obama’s new global posture. The logic of US foreign deployments’, *Journal of Foreign Affairs*. Available from: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2012-06-14/obamas-new-global-posture>. [8 May 2015].

<sup>87</sup> Dormandy, X (ed) 2013, *The Next Chapter: President Obama’s Second-Term Foreign Policy*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

<sup>88</sup> The White House (President Barack Obama) 2015, “President Obama's National Security Strategy in 2015: Strong and Sustainable American Leadership”. Available from

and sustained American leadership remains essential, as ever. ... There would be no prospect for a global deal on climate change; no pressure for Iran to be at the negotiating table; and, no potential for trade that meets a higher standard for our workers and businesses.”<sup>89</sup>

Unlike the previous strategy (2010), the new version had a clear anti-Russian orientation and forms a negative image of Russia in the world. It highlights a need to deter Russian aggression towards Ukraine. In the document, Russia is mentioned predominantly in negative way, the USA classifies Russia not just as a problematic state, but also as a stand-alone state, that means the state outside the system.

Besides, the USA is going to continue collaboration with the EU. Military forces are regarded as a base of the US national security and military superiority considered as the main factor in ensuring American global leadership. The national security strategy states that it is important “to end sequestration, which undercuts our national security”.<sup>90</sup> At the same time the USA keeps an opportunity to use military forces unilaterally and anywhere in the world and also to keep military presence abroad. In other words, while they retain the right to use military forces unilaterally, they are stronger “when we mobilize collective action”. Foreign policy priorities for the immediate future is a comprehensive security of the United States and their allies, striving for the total elimination of nuclear weapons, ensuring free access for American goods in world markets, promotion of American values in the world, and formation of a “more effective and just” world order under the leadership of the USA. American aspiration to start a formation a new global economic order is highlighted in the Strategy 2015. Trans-Pacific Partnership plays an important role in the cooperation helping the USA to keep significant position in

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<https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2015/02/06/president-obamas-national-security-strategy-2015-strong-and-sustainable-american-lea> [8 May 2017].

<sup>89</sup> The White House 2015, *National Security Strategy of the USA*, Washington. Available from:

[https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015\\_national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf) . [2 February 2016].

<sup>90</sup> The White House 2015, *National Security Strategy of the USA*, Washington. Available from:

[https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015\\_national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf) . [2 February 2016].

free-trade zones. <sup>91</sup>

S. Rice distinguished several significant points that should help the USA to become a global leader and to create an international order that promotes peace and security. The main idea of the neoliberal theory is to make cooperation stronger with the help of global alliances, partnerships, coalitions, for example the United Nations and other multilateral organizations. These points are following the promotion of the security of the United States. It becomes possible due to strengthen of national defense that is the best trained, equipped. Moreover, it is important to pay attention to antiterrorist attacks. Nuclear weapons are vital in this strategy, it is important to prevent nuclear proliferation all over the world. In order to promote the US economic system, increasing global access to reliable and affordable energy and develop it through the world. The next step on this way is to advance respect for universal values such as human rights. <sup>92</sup>

National Security Strategy defines threats that were urgent for that moment among them: aggression towards the USA territory or territory of allied country; the global economic crisis and disruption of the global energy market; the use and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; spread of special danger infections that cause epidemy; climate change; unstable countries and regions; terrorism. <sup>93</sup>

At the same time, a “strategic turn” towards the Asia-Pacific region is proclaimed, which was also indicated by Obama’s trip to Asia shortly after re-election. The USA plans to strengthen cooperation with Japan, South Korea, Australia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia. Cooperation with NATO and the EU is still in priority. The USA suggests to its allies fighting against global threats together: “we will train and equip local partners and provide operational support to gain ground against terrorist groups”, “increase joint contribution of

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<sup>91</sup> European Parliament 2016, Trans-Pacific Partnership: geopolitical implications for EU-US relations. Available from: [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2016/535008/EXPO\\_STU\(2016\)535008\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2016/535008/EXPO_STU(2016)535008_EN.pdf). [20 May 2017].

<sup>92</sup> The White House 2015, *National Security Strategy of the USA*, Washington. Available from: [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015\\_national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf). [2 February 2016].

participants”, “building the capacity of foreign partners”.<sup>94</sup> Security remains a key element interoperability and multilateral cooperation completed with military training and exercises. Thus, the United States still invests in NATO, focused on combined training and enhancing the interoperability and combined capability and capacity. “NATO is stronger and more cohesive than at any point in its history, especially due to contributions of the Nordic countries and newer members like Poland and the Baltic countries. Our alliances in Asia underwrite security and enable prosperity throughout Asia and the Pacific. We will continue to modernize these essential bilateral alliances while enhancing the security ties among our allies.”<sup>95</sup> These states started to build up their military capabilities more actively and to cooperate with the USA in the military field. It is important to add that B. Obama and Joseph Biden, the 47th and current Vice President of the United States, during his visit in Bucharest in May 2014 spoke about the strengthening of the military potential of Eastern European countries.<sup>96</sup> The strengthening of the military potential means the strengthening of political links, strong cooperation with Eastern countries that are afraid of Russian aggression helps the USA to strengthen its position in the EU.

Thus, a course on the preservation of the global dominance of the United States, increasing the combat capabilities of NATO and also the US military presence in the Asia-Pacific region will continue. Besides military power will consider as the main measure to provide a national security of the USA. So, in general, the Strategy-2015 was developed on the basis of the principle of American exceptionalism and fix an American right to unilateral actions in order to protect and to advance the US interests in the world and carries an active anti-Russian

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<sup>93</sup> The White House 2015, *National Security Strategy of the USA*, Washington. Available from: [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015\\_national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf). [2 February 2016].

<sup>94</sup> The White House 2015, *National Security Strategy of the USA*, Washington. Available from: [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015\\_national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf). [2 February 2016].

<sup>95</sup> The White House 2015, *National Security Strategy of the USA*, Washington. Available from: [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015\\_national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf). [2 February 2016].

character.

Besides, the truth is that even after the planned post-war downsizing, the US military will still have more ground troops than in 2001, and will still be the most powerful and sophisticated, and have the greatest global reach, of any military in the history of the world. The United States will still be spending more on its military than will the next dozen countries combined.

As the United States continues to explore how new technologies such as cyber and unmanned platforms will change the nature of warfare, allies and partners will take note.

### **5.3. Obama's Administration policy in Latvia**

The main interest of the USA in Latvia is connected with ensuring regional and global security. The main priority is the protection of American citizens all over the world, so Americans focused on security issues, especially in relations with NATO partners.

The USA's policy in the Baltic region had existed long before Latvia joined NATO in 2004. Agreement concerning the provision of training in accordance with the International program of military education and training (IMET) US Exchange of notes had place to be at Riga on February 1992.<sup>97</sup> The International Military Education and Training (IMET) program is a project that provides students from union states with education and trainings on a free of charge basis. The main element of this program is national security, defense capabilities, strengthening of relationships and mutual confidence that help the US to step up their presence in the country and to promote democratic values. One of the key points of the project is strengthening of military aspect in the allied country with the help of regular

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<sup>96</sup> Embassy of the United States Bucharest, Romania 2014, *Remarks by Vice President Joe Biden and Romanian President Traian Basescu*. Available from: <http://romania.usembassy.gov/policy/media/biden-basescu-05212014.html>. [28 August 2015].

<sup>97</sup> US Embassy in Latvia, *The US-Latvia Bilateral Treaties*. Available from: <https://lv.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/u-s-latvia-bilateral-treaties/>. [30 May 2015].

military trainings. It also assists in achieving such goals as a strong military coalition creation, regional stability, defense cooperation and other mutual benefits.

The IMET program allows to get information about modern military capabilities and helps to organize more beneficial structure on the base of existing resources. Besides, regular trainings give an opportunity to conduct successful combined operations and more qualified cooperation with the NATO's forces. Thus, this project provides coalition states with security, helps to maintain democratic values and implement human rights.<sup>98</sup>

The IMET program promotes interoperability on different levels (military, civilian, legislation) by introduction of knowledge about military justice systems and procedures. So, it helps state organs to work as an entity.<sup>99</sup>

Agreement between the Government of the USA and the Government of the Republic of Latvia concerning security measures for the protection of classified military information. It was signed in Washington in January 1998. Agreement obliges parties to provide each other with military information, that is protected according to the laws.<sup>100</sup>

By 2011, total assistance provided by the Americans to the Latvian military, has reached 15 million dollars.<sup>101</sup> In particular, due to that, about one thousand people of Latvian military forces were trained in Military Academies in the United States. This Department was established with the support of the USA, and the creation of this structure was a prerequisite for Latvia accession to the EU and NATO.

The restoration of Latvian-US relations led to Latvia accession to NATO in 2004. This occasion can be considered as a new turn in the American-Latvian

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<sup>98</sup> US Department of State. *International Military Education and Training*. Available from: <http://www.state.gov/t/pm/65533.htm>. [29 May 2015].

<sup>99</sup> US Department of State. *International Military Education and Training*. Available from: <http://www.state.gov/t/pm/65533.htm>. [29 May 2015].

<sup>100</sup> US Embassy in Latvia, *The US-Latvia Bilateral Treaties*. Available from: <https://lv.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/u-s-latvia-bilateral-treaties/>. [30 May 2015].

<sup>101</sup> 'Issledovanie: glavnyj interes SShA v Latvii – otnosheniya s Rossiej', *Journal of Delfi*. Available from: <http://rus.delfi.ee/daily/abroad/issledovanie-glavnyj-interes-ssha-v-latvii-otnosheniya-s-rossiej?id=64361929>. [29 May 2015].

relations. Latvia became a full right participant of the whole specter of NATO's projects, which operated a lot of changes in financial and human fields. Besides, membership provided Latvia with opportunity to be involved in the decision making process in NATO Committees and Agencies, to maintain its interests and strengthening position in the world.<sup>102</sup>

The Chairman of the Commission on foreign Affairs Ojars Kalnins claimed that the priority of the United States in the Baltic region was stability, especially in relations with Russia, another priority was NATO activities. In its turn, Latvia sent troops to Iraq, then to Afghanistan. In addition, Latvia played an important role for NATO, it provided a part of the transit corridor for the delivery of civilian goods to Afghanistan.

The Vice-President of the USA Joe Biden visited in March 2014 the President of Lithuania and Latvia, Dalia Grybauskaite and Andris Berzins. In his speech he confirmed that the reason of his travel to the Baltic “was to reaffirm our mutual commitment to collective defense. President Obama wanted me to come personally to make it clear what you already know, that under Article 5 of the NATO treaty, we will respond. We will respond to any aggression against a NATO ally.”<sup>103</sup>

In the recent past the NATO-Baltic air policing program was started. The main goal of the program is to organize the protection of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania airspace. Looking ahead, the USA started to conduct ground and naval exercises, and training missions, so these additional steps strengthen the cooperation. Joe Biden actively appealed to work together: “The question today is not what can America do for the Baltic nations; it is what can we do together.”<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Embassy of the United States. Riga, Latvia 2011, *NATO Engagement*. Available from: [http://riga.usembassy.gov/nato\\_en.html](http://riga.usembassy.gov/nato_en.html). [29 May 2015].

<sup>103</sup> The White House 2014, *Remarks to the press by Vice-President Joe Biden, President Dalia Grybauskaite of Lithuania, and President Andris Berzins of Latvia*. Available from: <http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/texttrans/2014/03/20140319296584.html#axzz3bXXman00>. [29 May 2015].

<sup>104</sup> The White House 2014, *Remarks to the press by Vice-President Joe Biden, President Dalia Grybauskaite of Lithuania, and President Andris Berzins of Latvia*. Available from:

Remind the fact that the Baltic nations showed leadership at the OSCE, the European Union, the Eastern Partnership and the U.N. Security Council. In addition, Baltic States took part in NATO global security missions, for example, in Afghanistan.

In general, the USA is sure that Russia is the main threat to the Latvian political stability. Besides, Baltic energy sector is heavily reliant on Russian energy resources, so the United States directly interested in the fact that the Baltic States have agreed on the construction of a new Atomic Power Station (APS) in Lithuania and regional marine terminal for receiving natural gas in order to reduce energy dependence on big neighbor.

Thus, the principal US interest lies in ensuring peaceful situation on Russia's borders. Therefore, on the one hand, the USA is interested in strengthening Latvia, as a NATO country, and on the other, to ensure a peaceful coexistence between Latvia and Russia. Nevertheless for the USA Latvia's inclination and adherence to American policy is still a "door" to the Russian borders.

#### **5.4. Obama's Administration policy in Lithuania**

The United States established diplomatic relations with Lithuania on July 28, 1922.<sup>105</sup> The US "Congratulating the people of the Republic of Lithuania on the Act of the Re-Establishment of the State of Lithuania, or Act of March 11, and celebrating the rich history of Lithuania".<sup>106</sup> Lithuanian representation in the United States was not interrupted even after the Soviet invasion on September 5, 1940. Sumner Welles, the US Under Secretary of State, on July 23, 1940 declared that the US did not recognize inclusion of the Baltic region in the Soviet Union and continued to treat the Baltic countries as independent. Since December 1991

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<http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/texttrans/2014/03/20140319296584.html#axzz3bXXman00>. [29 May 2015].

<sup>105</sup> US Embassy in Lithuania, *History of the US and Lithuania*. Available from: [https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?\\_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020](https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020). [27 April 2017].

relations between Lithuania and the United States got a new step of development: an agreement on bilateral trade and intellectual property protection was signed in 1994, later in 1997 a bilateral investment treaty also was signed. In 1998, the United States signed a “Charter of Partnership” with countries of the Baltic region, thus bilateral working groups exploring regional security, defense, and economic issues were established.<sup>107</sup>

Lithuania alliance with the US is rooted in longstanding US support for its independence during the Soviet occupation, shared democratic values, and the personal ties of Lithuanian immigrants to the US - Lithuania particularly values the US partnership, because the Transatlantic relationship, along with the EU and NATO membership, are considered as key points for Lithuania continued independence and protection from the possibility of Russian aggression or undue interference in the economic, political and social and also security spheres. Membership in the EU and NATO helped the United States to strengthen Lithuanian freedom that is an element of mutual European security, stability and prosperity. It is important to mention that the US has invested a lot in economic and political transformation and to humanitarian needs of Lithuania.<sup>108</sup>

It is interesting to look more attentively on Lithuania defense policy that can be defined as a global mutual policy oriented on creation security and stability on the continent and aimed to improve common defense capability of the region recourse to preventive measures and military stalemate of the armed attack.

It is possible to highlight a few of its principles: “defense of Lithuania is total and unconditional”<sup>109</sup> (the Lithuanian territory is defended by the national armed forces); “Lithuanian security is based on individual and collective

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<sup>106</sup> US Embassy in Lithuania, *History of the US and Lithuania*. Available from: [https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?\\_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020](https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020). [27 April 2017].

<sup>107</sup> US Embassy in Lithuania, *In Celebration of Eighty-Five Years of US - Lithuanian Diplomatic Relations*. Available from: <https://vilnius.usembassy.gov/in-focus-archive/in-celebration-of-eighty-five-years-of-US---lithuanian-diplomatic-relations>. [14 February 2016].

<sup>108</sup> GlobalSecurity.org, *Lithuania – US Relations*. Available from: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/lt-forrel-us.htm>. [15 February 2016].

<sup>109</sup> Ministry of National Defence Republic of Lithuania 2016, *Defence Policy*. Available from: [http://www.kam.lt/en/defence\\_policy\\_1053.html](http://www.kam.lt/en/defence_policy_1053.html). [17 February 2016].

defense”<sup>110</sup> (it means that Lithuania can use as national as allied defense forces); At the same time, there is a required point concerning non-confrontational and transparent Lithuanian defense policy, besides democratic principals are base of the state organization.<sup>111</sup>

In common the Lithuanian defense policy oriented on establishing of secure environment, it would help to prevent potential risks, dangers and threats, and be ready to repulse an attack or other kind of aggression. Corresponding defense policy priorities there are the following aspirations: active and responsible membership in NATO; a strong and united Alliance; active and responsible membership in the EU; a united EU, jointly and effectively defending interests of the Member States; strengthening of bilateral and multilateral relations; developing of military capabilities in order to strengthen national forces and be able to support NATO collective defense.

Developing military capabilities the Lithuania main focus is: terrestrial troops (the top priority given to Mechanized Infantry Brigade (MIB) “Iron Wolf”); military groups for international operations (the special attention given to National Defense Volunteer Forces); acquisition of armament and equipment and reserve servicemen for opportune offer of military assistance. Sky forces (creation of national defense system and its integration into NATO integrated Air and Missile Defense System (NATINAMDS). Then search capabilities got important in this system (acquisition of necessary equipment, for example, helicopters); creation of control system and cyber security capabilities aiming to secure information exchange.<sup>112</sup>

It is interesting to mention ideas of Dr. Vilpisauskas made a review US-

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<sup>110</sup> Ministry of National Defence Republic of Lithuania 2016, *Defence Policy*. Available from: [http://www.kam.lt/en/defence\\_policy\\_1053.html](http://www.kam.lt/en/defence_policy_1053.html). [17 February 2016].

<sup>111</sup> Ministry of National Defence Republic of Lithuania 2016, *Defence Policy*. Available from: [http://www.kam.lt/en/defence\\_policy\\_1053.html](http://www.kam.lt/en/defence_policy_1053.html). [17 February 2016].

<sup>112</sup> Ministry of National Defence Republic of Lithuania 2016, *Defence Policy*. Available from: [http://www.kam.lt/en/defence\\_policy\\_1053.html](http://www.kam.lt/en/defence_policy_1053.html). [17 February 2016].

Lithuanian relations and discuss future directions.<sup>113</sup> He characterized Lithuania as one of the strongest friends and allies in the region for the USA. It can be explained by mutually beneficial relations in different spheres (cooperative, productive, defense, security, political partnership, commercial ties and maintaining of democratic values and human rights). Besides, there relations reinforced due to shared values as well as mutual respect and shared interests. According to the point of view of Dr. Vilpisauskas the end of the Cold War was supposed to be the end of a particular epoch, and introduced a new stage of history with its own threats and challenges that can be characterized as transnational. It requires a human community to work out relevant approaches in order to resist to these treats successfully. For the USA Europe is an even stronger partner, but first European countries required adapting. The Baltic Charter is aimed at strengthening of cooperation with the USA and also through Baltic integration in Euro-Atlantic organization. Generally, the end of the Cold War launched a new phase of the USA – Baltic relations. It refreshes by Vice President Biden’s speech: “the question for the US and our democratic partners in this region, like Lithuania, is no longer what the US can do “for you”, but what we can do “with you” as full partners ready to meet common challenges”.<sup>114</sup>

A special attention should be paid to the security issue. I think it is a key issue in the US - Lithuanian relations. As Secretary Clinton claimed during the Atlantic Council, “I want to reaffirm as strongly as I can the United States' commitment to honor Article 5 of the NATO Treaty. No ally - or adversary - should ever question our determination on this point. It is the bedrock of the alliance and an obligation that time will not erode”.<sup>115</sup> Besides, the President Obama stated in

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<sup>113</sup> US Embassy in Lithuania, *History of the US and Lithuania*. Available from: [https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?\\_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020](https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020). [27 April 2017].

<sup>114</sup> Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty 2009, *Biden urges central Europe to help guide fledgling democracies*. Available from: [http://www.rferl.org/a/Biden\\_Urges\\_Central\\_Europe\\_To\\_Help\\_Guide\\_Fledgling\\_Democracies/1858597.html](http://www.rferl.org/a/Biden_Urges_Central_Europe_To_Help_Guide_Fledgling_Democracies/1858597.html). [27 April 2017].

<sup>115</sup> North Atlantic Treaty Organization 2010, *Fourth seminar on NATO’s strategic concept – transformation: structures, forces and capabilities*. Available from: [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/events\\_61583.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/events_61583.htm). [17 March 2016].

Strasbourg-Kehl that NATO equipment and capabilities and readiness to attempt resistance to the modern threats is at high priority.<sup>116</sup> Secretary of Defense Robert Gates highlighted an importance of NATO as a strong “military alliance with real world obligations that have life or death consequences”.<sup>117</sup> He also underscored that the NATO strategic concept must be strict in implementation, especially Article 5 that obligates parties to be ready to support each other in case of a threat that requires from them to be capable and well exercised for this.<sup>118</sup>

According to the context, I can notice that the USA proclaimed a new phase of missile defense, it is a new level of technologies that can improve state security significantly and be more effective in confrontation against modern challenges. Thus, the USA made a contribution to NATO’s mission of collective defense, and implemented manifestation of the USA-Lithuanian commitment to fulfill Article 5 obligations.<sup>119</sup> According to Partnership Program between the Pennsylvania National Guard and Lithuanian military, there was prepared a joint US-Lithuanian police training team to deploy to Ghor (Afghanistan).

In addition, there is NATO Baltic Air Policing mission. The USA and Lithuanian troops conduct regional and bilateral training events and exercises. (known as Baltic Host, Baltops, Saber Strike, Jackal Stone). The USA contributed a lot in equipment and training: weapons systems (including Javelin antitank and Stinger antiaircraft systems), the frigates USS Doyle and USS Hall, Maritime Prepositioning Ship USNS Bobo, and the 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet Flagship USS Mt.<sup>120</sup>

There is an active dialogue among military leaders of the countries regular meetings and negotiations of the Commanders of the US Army Europe, the Special

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<sup>116</sup> US Embassy in Lithuania, *History of the US and Lithuania*. Available from: [https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?\\_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020](https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020). [27 April 2017].

<sup>117</sup> US Embassy in Lithuania, *History of the US and Lithuania*. Available from: [https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?\\_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020](https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020). [27 April 2017].

<sup>118</sup> US Embassy in Lithuania, *History of the US and Lithuania*. Available from: [https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?\\_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020](https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020). [27 April 2017].

<sup>119</sup> United States European Command 2011, *Phased, Adaptive Approach for Missile Defense*. Available from: <http://www.eucom.mil/media-library/article/19525/phased-adaptive-approach-for-missile-defense>. [17 February 2016].

<sup>120</sup> US Embassy in Lithuania, *History of the US and Lithuania*. Available from: [https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?\\_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020](https://lt.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/?_ga=1.190871466.1279008586.1489863020). [27 April 2017].

Operations Command Europe, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Affairs and others. To carry out collective defense tasks under Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty Exercise Iron Sword 2015 taking place in Pabradė over 2 thousand soldiers, including 800 from 9 NATO allies (Canada, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, UK, US) and Georgia with their own equipment. Chief of Defence of Lithuania Lieutenant General Jonas Vytautas Zukas noticed that due to this exercise Lithuania had an opportunity to demonstrate its willingness and abilities in successful cooperation with NATO allies and to prove its concernment and involvement in global processes and collective tasks.<sup>121</sup>

The distinguished visitors observing the demonstration operation were Commander-in-Chief of the Lithuanian Armed Forces President of Lithuania HE Dalia Grybauskaitė, Vice Minister of National Defence Antanas Valys, Chief of Defence of Lithuania Lieutenant General Jonas Vytautas Zukas, commanders of branches of the Lithuanian Armed Forces, and foreign guests.

All mentioned events are basic investment of the USA in the Baltic security system.

It is interesting to add that National Lithuanian Security Strategy of 2005 stated that “one of the primary interests of Lithuanian national security is the effectiveness of NATO and activeness in the safeguarding of international security and stability”.<sup>122</sup> It was last updated in 2012 and Lithuanian commitment to NATO principles remained, but at the same time there was a turn towards warming relations with Russia. According to the Strategy 2012 Lithuania had to press towards mutual trust in the security sphere and encourage collaboration with Russia in economic, transport, safety of nuclear power and so on. Besides, there was also noted that Lithuania would support NATO's cooperation with Russia on

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<sup>121</sup> Ministry of National defence Republic of Lithuania 2015, *Distinguished visitors and media day at exercise Iron Sword*. Available from:

[http://www.kam.lt/en/news\\_1098/current\\_issues/president\\_and\\_chief\\_of\\_defence\\_of\\_lithuania\\_will\\_observe\\_exercise\\_iron\\_sword\\_2015.html](http://www.kam.lt/en/news_1098/current_issues/president_and_chief_of_defence_of_lithuania_will_observe_exercise_iron_sword_2015.html). [17 February 2016].

<sup>122</sup> Ministry of National defence Republic of Lithuania, *Basic for Lithuanian membership in NATO*. Available from: [www.kam.lt/en/international\\_cooperation\\_1089/nato\\_1282/basis\\_for\\_lithuanian\\_membership\\_in\\_nato.html](http://www.kam.lt/en/international_cooperation_1089/nato_1282/basis_for_lithuanian_membership_in_nato.html). [17 February 2016].

the basis of principles of reciprocity, trust and commitment. Now the reality is that the new national security Strategy should reflect a different attitude to Russia, as the Chairman of the parliamentary Committee on national security and defense (BIC) Arturas Paulauskas said.<sup>123</sup>

### **5.5. Obama's Administration policy in Estonia**

A head of Estonian Government Taavi Roivas welcomed NATO expansion towards the Baltic States and particularly in Estonia. A significant number of NATO militaries took part in traditional studies of the Estonian defense forces "Spring storm". "This step, taken according to the decision of the Council of the Alliance to build a policy of deterrence certainly a positive for our region. The USA is our the biggest ally, and the presence of one of the military units, on the one hand, guarantees security, and on the other, will increase the skill level of our defense forces, with whom American Marines will train together and conduct military studies" – claimed the Minister of defense of Estonia Sven Mixer.

There was a visit of the Minister of defense of Estonia Sven Mixer in the USA, where was a meeting with the head of the Pentagon Chuck Hagel on April 28. S. Mixer and C. Hagel discussed transatlantic relations and also Estonia-USA cooperation in the field of defense. Then S. Mixer spoke at the conference of the analytical center Atlantic Council "towards a United and free Europe". Vice President Joe Biden, US Secretary of state John Kerry and European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso also participated in the Conference.<sup>124</sup>

The President Obama visited NATO Summit which took place in Newport (Wales) and had a meeting with Estonian President Toomas Hendrik Ilves and Estonian Prime Minister Tavi Roivas in Tallinn (Estonia) in September 2014.

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<sup>123</sup> 'Litva vyrabotaet novuju Strategiju nacional'noj bezopasnosti', *Voenno-politicheskoe obozrenie*. Available from: <http://www.belvpo.com/ru/59565.html>. [17 February 2016].

<sup>124</sup> Rubaltic.ru 2014, *Obzor politicheskoy situacii v Jestonii 21 - 25 aprelja 2014 g.* Available from: [http://www.rubaltic.ru/article/reviews/obzor\\_obshchestvenno\\_politicheskoy\\_situatsii\\_v\\_estonii\\_21\\_04\\_25\\_04\\_2014/](http://www.rubaltic.ru/article/reviews/obzor_obshchestvenno_politicheskoy_situatsii_v_estonii_21_04_25_04_2014/). [5 May 2016].

Relations between the USA and Estonia are based on common values, ideals and interests such as with Lithuania. Therefore, there are four key goals of the US leader visit: implementation of Article 5 and maintaining of NATO allies, Ukraine issue, control for NATO training and ensuring of army equipment, promotion of NATO missions as a global security element.<sup>125</sup> By the end of meeting the leaders of the mentioned countries entered into following undertakings: maintaining and ensuring communication in defense and security spheres (operation “Atlantic resolve”). Then the USA assured Estonia that it was a NATO ally in collective security and global peace keeping due to common politics lines directed to peace and stability in the region. According to “Atlantic resolve” program, the US Army Europe forces conducted mutual trainings with Estonian forces. They had a broad range of exercises including technical and strategic education (“Saber strike”, “Baltops”, “Steadfast jazz”).<sup>126</sup>

It is also important to mention that as NATO Allies, the United States and Estonia have mutual obligations to help each other in critical situations, in other words in situations that threaten global security or one of the NATO allies. So, Estonia hosts the NATO Cyber Security Center of Excellence and spends at least two percent of GDP on military developing. Besides Estonia takes part in the State Partnership Program that provides its cooperation with Maryland National Guard. They had joint trainings for helicopter pilots that supported medical evacuation efforts in Afghanistan. Furthermore, Estonia supported the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan and NATO’s post-2014 non-combat mission. It is very important to highlight that Tallinn is a key port along the Northern Distribution Network, it helps to implement transportation of materials to coalition troops in Afghanistan and it is also a very successful get-away rout.

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<sup>125</sup> The White House 2014, *The President's Trip to Estonia and the United Kingdom*. Available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/foreign-policy/estonia-uk-trip>. [5 May 2016].

In December 2013, NATO Ministerial meeting took place; it ended with signing of the US-Estonia Cyber Partnership Statement. This Statement obliged the parties to continue working together, to promote open and interoperable information exchange, security, and to prioritize openness and innovation on the Internet. So, it means that the USA and Estonia will continue to support Internet freedom and develop new technologies for more high level Internet using. Estonian and American Computer Emergency Readiness Teams mutually work on cyber incidents. Estonia also hosts the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defense Center of Excellence, which serves as a repository of expertise on cybersecurity issues.<sup>127</sup> I can mention that in order to improve effectiveness of the delivery service Estonia developed its experience in transition and cyber fields. It helped to ensure cybersecurity and the use of information technology.

In addition, Estonia is also a close partner in the Freedom Online Coalition. This Coalition actively promotes Internet freedom in a group of collaborating governments. Estonia with the USA support Digital Defenders Partnership the main aim of which is to render assistance to the Internet users who are under threat and can not exercise their rights online. This right is one of the democratic values in new technologies, so, there was created New Democracies (LEND) network that helped to promote and guarantee implementation of democratic standards in newborn democracies. The USA with the help of Estonia takes part in this network as co-chair.

There are several important moments that show mutually beneficial effect of the US-Estonian collaboration: firstly, Oil Shale Cooperation Agreement (Estonia supplies about 91% of its electricity with domestic oil and the USA would help to research this sphere). Secondly, the US-EU Transatlantic Trade and Investment

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<sup>126</sup> The White House 2014, *Fact sheet: The United States and Estonia - NATO Allies and Global Partners*. Available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/03/fact-sheet-united-states-and-estonia-nato-allies-and-global-partners>. [5 May 2016].

<sup>127</sup> The White House 2014, *Fact sheet: The United States and Estonia - NATO Allies and Global Partners*. Available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/03/fact-sheet-united-states-and-estonia-nato-allies-and-global-partners>. [5 May 2016].

Partnership (T-TIP), Estonia became a platform for the tech-companies; it helped Europe and America to extend their sales market. Thus, T-TIP forces growth of the USA and the EU economy and at the same time creates additional employment that cause the rise of level of employment in Europe and attract investment into the region. Estonia joined the OECD in 2010.

Moreover, there is an educational program (the Fulbright program) that has functioned successfully since 1992. Then a Bilateral Science and Technology Agreement in 2008 oriented on environmental and biodiversity protection, marine science, energy, space, HIV/AIDS, engineering, and sustainable development. Next to mention is the GLOBE (Global Learning and Observation to Benefit the Environment).<sup>128</sup>

Thus, I can notice a big range of cooperation between Estonia and the USA in different spheres of social and political life. As for my point of view all these events are more favorable for Estonian side, it is a good support for the development. All of them can be characterize as soft power elements.

Besides, for the USA a favorable Estonian attitude is important in case of Ukrainian crisis and necessity to create a strong block against Russia. President Obama talked about it openly in Nordea Concert Hall in Tallinn (Estonia) during his visit: “we must continue to stand united against Russia’s aggression in Ukraine. President Putin has ignored the opportunity to resolve the crisis in Ukraine diplomatically. We have come together to impose major sanctions on Russia for its actions.”<sup>129</sup>

Since 2004, when Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania joined the EU and NATO, the level of their cooperation with the USA has raised a lot, the range of mutual commitments covered different issues, from energy diversification, to cyber security, defense, military trainings, to free trade and the US-EU Transatlantic

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<sup>128</sup> The White House 2014, *Fact sheet: The United States and Estonia - NATO Allies and Global Partners*. Available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/03/fact-sheet-united-states-and-estonia-nato-allies-and-global-partners>. [5 May 2016].

Trade and Investment Partnership.

With no doubts and I wrote about it a lot in my work, for the Baltic States such cooperation played a great role for their development in different spheres and for a new status on the world stage. At the same time it is not less interesting, what profits the USA gets from such aliens. Nevertheless, during the Baltic Summit in August, 2013 presidents of all three Baltic States pledged to work with the USA to develop mutually beneficial economic prosperity, to give support in strategic and security issues, and to implement democratic principles and human rights all over the world. Especial importance this cooperation obtained in situation around Ukraine that entailed straining of the Russia-Baltic relations. These events showed all benefits of NATO membership for the Baltic region (there is an Article V of the North Atlantic Treaty that obliges all NATO allies to provide assistance in case of attack against one of NATO ally).<sup>130</sup>

It is important to notice that each country in the Baltic region in spite of complicity has quit close collaboration with Russia, especially in trade, tourist and energy fields. It is obvious, that such interaction influences the political position of the Baltic region towards the Russian Federation. It cannot but discomfit American plans and expectations. But of recent years relations between the Baltic States and Russia have become colder and even intolerant in many cases. At the same time American influence and presence in the region has started to grow actively.

A particularly stressful period for Russia-Baltic relations was the Ukrainian crisis period. The policy that Russian part conducted was condemned by the Western part and later Russia was blamed for the Crimean annexation. This occasion was considered as violation of fundamental security principles of the European community. Thus, the US urgently requested to joint against Russian aggression and demonstrated to Russia that its actions would bring additional

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<sup>129</sup> The White House 2014, *Remarks by President Obama to the People of Estonia*. Available from: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/03/remarks-president-obama-people-estonia>. [5 May 2016].

<sup>130</sup> North Atlantic Treaty Organization 1949, *The North Atlantic Treaty*. Available from: [http://www.nato.int/cps/ic/natohq/official\\_texts\\_17120.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/ic/natohq/official_texts_17120.htm). [15 May 2016].

consequences.<sup>131</sup>

At the same time the USA actively supported Ukraine, provided it with different kind of assistance, including financial investments (\$33 million for security assistance; \$15 million to the Ministry of Defense and \$18 million to the State Border Guard Service),<sup>132</sup> security and defense services. Besides, the USA promoted an idea of the Ukrainian close collaboration with NATO in order to enhance their capabilities and forces.

Thus, all these manipulations diminished the Russian role in the Baltic region and consequently led to closer ties among the Baltic States and Western countries. In particular, Lithuania seeks to reduce its energy dependence on Russia tremendously with the help of Poland and Sweden electrical connection.

Thereby, there is a tendency of the Baltic and European integration through such tools as the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (T-TIP). This project should be concerned more than just a trade agreement; it is also a platform for development mutual high standards and values, among them economy reinforces and collective security capabilities.

In conclusion, I should say that passing a difficult way of democratization, seeking new economic, cultural, military and political standards, transformations in the internal policies have led Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to the benefits of membership in the European Union and NATO. It is just a beginning of the reformation way, but even now significant results have been achieved and the process has shaped the region external and internal policies on many issues under the slogan of creation a united, free and peaceful Europe.

Nowadays we can watch a following situation, despite the fact that the USA proclaims soft power principles in their political course and in every possible way

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<sup>131</sup> US Embassy in Lithuania 2014, *McCarthy's on the relations of the Baltic States, the USA, the EU and Russia*. Available from: <https://vilnius.usembassy.gov/about-us/ambassador-mccarthy/speeches/ambassadors-remarks-on-the-relations-of-the-baltic-states-us-eu-and-russia.html>. [15 May 2016].

<sup>132</sup> US Embassy in Lithuania 2014, *McCarthy's on the relations of the Baltic States, the USA, the EU and Russia*. Available from: <https://vilnius.usembassy.gov/about-us/ambassador-mccarthy/speeches/ambassadors-remarks-on-the-relations-of-the-baltic-states-us-eu-and-russia.html>. [15 May 2016].

rejects the fact of aggression and illegality of their actions, events conducted with the help of America show the opposite. The march of military technology of the USA, which started March 22 in Estonia and should to be completed on 1 April at a military base in Bavaria was commented by Adjunct Professor PolSci-Norwich University; Fellow-Foreign Policy Association Sarwar Kashmeri as the methods which had been successful in the past, but which are not suitable for the twenty-first century.<sup>133</sup> “To show armored vehicles instead of great ideas — yesterday's strategy. Foreign policy is driven solely by military force, in the US this last century. China recognizes this, America, unfortunately, there is no.”<sup>134</sup>

So, the priorities of NATO Strategy in contemporary changing reality and security system in Europe, also have become less democratic and less aimed at peace, actually it looks like the policy of fear and the increase of direct military presence in Russia neighboring countries.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> ‘Vneshnjaja politika SShA, dvizhimaja iskljuchitel'no voennoj siloj, neprigodna dlja XXI veka’, 2015, *Journal Russia Today*. Available from: <https://russian.rt.com/article/82286>. [15 May 2016].

<sup>134</sup> Kashmeri, S, ‘Time for America to Pivot to a 21st Century Foreign Policy’, *The world post a partnership of Huffington post and Berggruen Institute*. Available from: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sarwar-kashmeri/time-for-america-to-pivot\\_b\\_6936392.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sarwar-kashmeri/time-for-america-to-pivot_b_6936392.html). [15 May 2016].

<sup>135</sup> Rubaltic.ru 2014, *Obzor politicheskoy situacii v Jestonii 21 - 25 aprelja 2014 g.* Available from: [http://www.rubaltic.ru/article/reviews/obzor\\_obshchestvenno\\_politicheskoy\\_situatsii\\_v\\_estonii\\_21\\_04\\_25\\_04\\_201/](http://www.rubaltic.ru/article/reviews/obzor_obshchestvenno_politicheskoy_situatsii_v_estonii_21_04_25_04_201/). [5 May 2016].

## 6. Conclusion

This master's thesis has analyzed the modern American foreign policy using mechanisms of soft power in the Baltic Region. It means economic and cultural purchase of influence and involvement of different international actors in decisions on international problems. The use of soft power strategies seems to have been successful: All three countries that compile the Baltic region face with practically the same challenges. Analyzing their strategic documents, it is possible to highlight the fact that membership in NATO, the EU, Nordic partners and cooperation with the USA are of high importance.

In consequence, we can see an evolution of American implementation of militarism. In the case of the Baltic States, mechanisms of soft power work in a very successful manner. Analyzing Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian examples I have concluded that the USA has been able to create a positive image of a protector, helped these countries to enter significant international organizations that created some kind of a "window" to the world political arena and reinforced the importance and weight of the country, and due to these facts America has secured a reliable and long-term support of the Baltic States that could not but strengthen American influence in the region as a whole.

The history of the USA and Baltic relations started in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, by 1923 the US had granted full recognition to all three Baltic States that proclaimed their independence after World War I. This recognition lasted during the whole interwar period and even during the Baltic States involvement in the USSR. America refused a recognition of the legitimacy of the Soviet control over these three states. In fact, this statement defined American policy towards the Baltic States for the next fifty years. While Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were a part of the USSR the embassies of these countries continued working and Washington recognized them as official representatives.

I have also emphasized that considerations of the application of US soft power in the region also have to take into account the Baltic side of the equation. Do not underestimate the significance of the dependent period and process of reestablishing of independence. The regional relations between Russia, the USA and NATO date back to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when these nascent small countries started trying to find their identities and statehood. The history of the relations is rich and long, and full of contradictions.

It is obvious that the Baltic States adhere western values more than eastern and in order to achieve American protection in face of NATO all three states made a lot of efforts in promotion of democratic values, the rule of law, human rights, economic freedom, strengthening of defense system, they formed basic fields of the country according with western standards and requirements. Furthermore, it is important to mention that the political status of the Baltic States has improved as their integration into European and trans-Atlantic structures has become stronger.

It is clearly in the Baltic States' interests to maintain active relations with the USA, to take part in the Euro-Atlantic security structures, the WTO, the EU.

As to the increasing American attention in the region, it can be explained by several reasons: First, there is a prospect of a new Europe and a new Euro-Atlantic community creation. Second, security and proper place of the Baltic States are important for the USA. Third, the policy challenges which the USA faces concerning Russia is in the focus of attention.

Thus, it is obvious that on major dimensions of foreign policy the Obama's Administration did not solve all tasks set by the President. The United States could not change radically relations with allies that were spoilt during last eight years of the Bush's presidency. Though, Obama changed the tone of the relationship, making a dialogue more constructive. Europe is under protection of the United States in face of NATO. For Europe this position is quite favorable. America wants to see the North Atlantic Alliance as a global military power and expect a significant support from European countries.

The second President Obama's Strategy-2015 declared a course on the preservation of the global dominance of the United States, increasing the combat capabilities of NATO and also the US military presence in the Baltic region. Military power considers as the main measure to provide a national security of the USA. So, in general, the Strategy-2015 was developed on the basis of the principle of American exceptionalism and fixes an American right to unilateral actions in order to protect and to advance the US interests in the world and is a anti-Russian in character.

As the United States continues to explore and develop new technologies such as cyber and unmanned platforms, they will change the nature of warfare, allies and partners will take note. The extensive use of drones in counterterrorism operations, for example, has been highly effective in a tactical sense, but also highly controversial politically. The second Obama administration can be expected to examine in depth the ethical, legal and strategic dimensions of the drone strategy and the use of drones in general. This assessment should include voices from outside the United States, as there will need to be international agreement on the parameters of acceptable use. Similarly, as the technical feasibility of offensive cyberspace warfare evolves, the international community must update its legal frameworks to keep up. The United States can be expected to lead such an international dialogue.

Summing up, I can say that with the start of the President Obama's term the Baltics started to concern about establishing of strong and permanent transatlantic cooperation. At the same time, there was a tendency of diminution of American interest in the European interest: lack of European focus in the US Department of Defense guidance document, a lack of enthusiasm for NATO enlargement as well as the so-called pivot to Asia. It was also detected in the cancellation of key missile defense components and in the reduction of the USA forces in Europe.

Nevertheless, I want to highlight that now the USA is going through the period of potential changes and perhaps many courses would be declined or

transformed quite soon. This tendency links to newly elected President of the USA, D. Trump. His first priority is to create a strong economic world-power. Concerning the Baltic region in Trump's policies, it is too early to make conclusions, but I want to notice that the new President is not so much interested in this case, at the same time he meets all obligations.

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