



GLOBAL GOVERNANCE INSTITUTE

National Backgrounders – European Foreign Policy

Country Profile

Latvia

Capital:	Riga
Geographical Size:	64,573 km ²
Population:	2,001,468 (2014)
Population as % of total EU population:	0.4% (2014)
GDP:	€ 23,372 billion (2013)
Defense Expenditure:	0.9% (2014)
Official EU language(s):	Latvian
Political System:	Parliamentary Republic
EU member country since:	2004
Seats in European Parliament:	8
Currency:	Euro since 2014
Schengen area member?	Yes since 2007
Presidency of the Council:	2015

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a. Political System

Latvia became a republic after World War I but was annexed by the USSR in 1940. Many countries however, did not recognize the annexation, and Latvia regained independence in 1991. Today, the parliamentary republic is divided into 110 municipalities and nine cities.

The President (Raimonds Vejonis since 2015) acts as the Chief of State and the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. The Parliament elects this post every four years with the possibility of being elected any number of times, but no more than twice in a row. The President has a mainly representative role, especially in international relations. This can also be seen in the fact that he is only able to ask a law to be reconsidered but cannot actually enforce change. The Prime Minister (Laimdota Straujuma, 2014) is the Head of Government. This position is appointed by the President and officially confirmed by the Parliament. The Prime Minister also has the power to nominate the twelve ministers of the cabinet who are then officially appointed by the Parliament. Most of the cabinet's work is done in the different ministries that present, discuss, and draft bills and discuss them in the cabinet.¹

A unicameral parliament, the *Saeima*, exercises legislative power in the Latvian political system. A hundred politicians are elected into this body from multi-seat constituencies every four years. The parties within the Parliament are split among several dimensions. The most obvious difference is between the Latvian and the Russian speaking parties that only rarely cooperate. At the same time a big difference within the same language also exists based on political views. Latvian parties are still split between pro-oligarchs and pro-democracy politicians. One of the tasks of the *Saeima* is to ratify international agreements in order to make them enter into force in Latvia.²

Upon gaining independence, the 1922 Constitution was reinstated and has been amended several times since. Today, Latvia has a civil law system with some socialist legal traces. The highest courts of Latvia are the Supreme Court as well as the Constitutional Court.³

b. Foreign Policy

Latvia's foreign policy is focused on EU activity, especially since the country held the Presidency of the European Council until the end of June 2015. This is further illustrated by Latvia's **international outlook** and will to expand its international influence.

There are several countries with which Latvia would like to start or deepen cooperation. Further bilateral cooperation with **Central Asia** is desired and several high level contacts have already been established. Moreover, cooperation with the **US** and **Canada** is highly desired in a variety of fields such as free trade, cyber as well as energy security. Diplomatic missions abroad have expanded as a further step towards the goal of international expansion and to be able to play at the core of international relations. In this process, new missions have recently took place in India for education purposes as well as in the United Arab Emirates to allow better trade relations. According to the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the

¹ Latvijas Republikas Saeima, *The Constitution of the Republic of Latvia*, February 15, 1922. Web. Accessed July 6, 2015. <http://www.saeima.lv/en/legislation/constitution>.

² Kariņš K., "Understanding Latvian Politics", *Krišjānis Kariņš – Eiropas Parlamenta deputāts*, April 1, 2010.

² Kariņš K., "Understanding Latvian Politics", *Krišjānis Kariņš – Eiropas Parlamenta deputāts*, April 1, 2010. Web. Accessed July 6, 2015. <http://www.karins.lv/raksti/notikumi/understanding-latvian-politics/>.

³ "Latvia", *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency, last update October 28, 2015. Web. Accessed November 18, 2015. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/lg.html>.

Republic of Latvia, the country supports effective, accountable, and transparent international organizations for multilateral means but upon closer analysis only a deep relationship with the European Union can be noticed.

Relations with **Russia** deteriorated significantly in 2014. Latvia has been consistently pushing for a transatlantic consensus that would couple sanctions with security and financial support to EU member states heavily affected by Russian aggression⁴. Furthermore, interactions with the diaspora are important for Latvia, which mainly consists of spreading the Latvian language and literature through education, cultural as well as business programs. Overall, these are the first step to forming the national goals of Latvia after becoming a more mature country and having gained access to the European Union.

Priority areas of Latvia include the promotion of **freedom of expression**, especially online and in the media. Another area of special interest is **energy security**. This encompasses the desire to be integrated into the European energy network, push an energy union within the EU, as well as meet the required energy targets. Integration in the field of energy however first needs to happen between the Baltic States and then move onto the Nordic states until it can be connected to the European wide network. **Development cooperation** with Eastern Europe and Central Asia is also of importance to the country. As a part of this goal, Latvia wishes to actively participate in the discussion of the post-2014 UN Agenda and push for adequate governance, gender equality, rule of law, as well as sustainable economic growth.⁵

European Union (EU)

Latvia has been a member of the European Union since 2004 and held the Presidency of the European Council for the first time during the first half of 2015. Upon starting the presidency, three priority areas were outlined. The first one was a **competitive** Europe to attract more investment and achieve a fair treatment of taxpayers. Second was the goal to be more **digitally oriented** and tackle the issues of cyber security as well as data protection. Third, was a more **engaged** Europe by raising awareness of the new challenges and enhancing internal security. Several results have been apparent: the economy has gotten stronger, a wider response to migration has been achieved, and the global family has become closer especially with the Eastern Partnership. Other goals were to contribute to the economic recovery as well as achieve a more active Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). This policy is to maintain unity and cohesion while improving strength and competitiveness. Also, Latvia would like to be play a more active role in the EU, even though it seems highly unrealistic due to its small size and inability to influence international or European relations.⁶

Other areas of interest for Latvia in the EU are to achieve security, stability and peace within Europe by further pushing the **Eastern Partnership** program especially with Ukraine and Belarus, for strategic reasons. Bilateral assistance has already been given to Ukraine, but Latvia is pushing for a common EU policy to allow better help to Eastern countries. In line with this, Latvia favors further **enlargement** to promote peace and democracy in Europe. The country welcomes the opening of new enlargement chapters with various countries and wishes for further progress with Turkey. Along the policy to widen global connections, Latvia would also like to enhance the EU presence in **East Asia**. Latvia already actively participates

⁴ Potjomkina D., "Letter from Riga", *Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, January 16, 2015. Web. Accessed November 18, 2015. <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=57726>

⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, *Annual Report by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Accomplishments and Activities Planned with Respect to National Foreign Policy and the European Union (2014-2015)*. Web. Accessed July 7, 2015. http://www.mfa.gov.lv/images/zinojums_FINAL_FINAL_ENG.pdf.

⁶ "Results of the Latvian Presidency of the Council of the EU", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia*, June 29, 2015. Web. Accessed July 6, 2015. http://www.mfa.gov.lv/images/infografiks_rezultati_prezidentura_ENG_01_07.pdf.

in the Border Management Program for Central Asia. But further cooperation is desired in the transport sector as well as for security, education and sustainable development. Another regional area of special interest is the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea, which directly impacts Latvia.⁷

Nordic and Baltic Countries

Latvia's primary regional interest is to cooperate with Estonia and Lithuania as these countries share common goals in foreign and security policy. However, cooperation also exists in a variety of other fields. A primary objective is currently the **Rail Baltica** to help connect Europe by train. Other regional organizations include the **Council of the Baltic Sea States** (Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Russia, Sweden, and the European Commission) as well as the **Nordic-Baltic Eights** (NB8) including Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Moreover, Latvia is also a partner to the **Northern Dimension** countries. Relations with Germany and Poland also continue on a bilateral basis, as they are important economic partners in this region.

c. Peace & Security Policy

Latvia's national security is protected by the National Armed Forces that are further divided into a land, navy, air, and home guard. One of the tasks of the National Armed Forces is to take part in international operations in order to reduce and avoid conflicts. Defense spending currently remains low after recent economic problems. This is supposed to change, as several actions to increase the military as well as the defence spending to 2% of the GDP by 2020 have been made. The regional and national security of Latvia is strengthened with the help of the EU and NATO. Latvia supports its Eastern neighbors' **Euro-Atlantic integration** – including eventual NATO membership – but only if the conditions for such integration are met. The most important security partner for Riga is the US, which it would like to see more present in Europe⁸. Thus, Latvia's security policy aims at reducing external aggression and national risks by **collective security**. Social duty and patriotism are used to further strengthen security according to the State Defence Concept.

Another important form of cooperation is made through the **Baltic and Nordic states** to increase capabilities. One of those is the security side of the Nordic Baltic Eight, which has received increased help from the US as well as regional support from Germany and Poland. The most important regional security organization, however, is the **Baltic Defence Cooperation** that already started its first exercise in 1994 and is a key part of Latvia's defense system. This cooperation is usually working on three military projects in the field of a defense college, navy, and air.⁹

A direct threat on Latvia does not seem likely at the moment but cannot be excluded altogether especially considering rising tensions with **Russia** over the annexation of Crimea. Thus, it needs to ensure that no further aggression happens and the conflict is de-escalated. **Global threats** for Latvia are weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and radicalism.

⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, *Annual Report by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Accomplishments and Activities Planned with Respect to National Foreign Policy and the European Union (2014-2015)*. Web. Accessed July 7, 2015. http://www.mfa.gov.lv/images/zinojums_FINAL_FINAL_ENG.pdf.

⁸ Potjomkina D., "Letter from Riga", *Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, January 16, 2015. Web. Accessed November 18, 2015. <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=57726>

⁹ "Baltic Defence Co-Operation", *Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Latvia*, last update October 18, 2011. Web. Accessed November 18, 2015.

http://www.mod.gov.lv/en/Par_aizsardzibas_nozari/Politikas_istenosana/Baltijas_valstu_milit_sadarbiba.aspx.

Terrorism is combatted with the help of a variety of international actors such as the EU and the UN as well as the US led global coalition to counter ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and Levant). Another global threat is the current instability in the Middle East that has the possibility to escalate quickly.¹⁰

European Union (EU)

Latvia is reluctant to have a supranational approach to peace and security in Europe. Instead, Latvia's focus seems to rely on additional security. Nonetheless, Latvia is involved in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) to some degree as it takes part in EU Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions. Latvia acknowledges the importance of the CSDP and wishes for an enhanced cooperation with NATO and the US. For Latvia, the CSDP is **complementary** to NATO. The country wishes better cooperation between the two, especially with regards to funding. According to Riga, a field that the EU should push more is crisis management.¹¹

Regular participation in EU Battlegroups and CSDP missions is planned for Latvia. Past and current CSDP missions in which Latvian participated include: Kosovo (since 2000) where currently one civil expert is working, Georgia with two civilian experts, EUPOL Afghanistan with two police officers, support to the ATALANTA mission in Somalia, as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition, there are also some missions to which Latvia participates with only monetary contribution.¹²

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

Latvia has been a part of the NATO Partnership for Peace (PfP) program since 1994 and officially became a member of NATO in 2004. This organization is seen as a great tool for pooling and sharing resources, and Latvia desires to strengthen the rapid respond forces and NATO's capabilities. Becoming a partner to the Alliance was an important step to strengthen Latvia's **national security** by increasing NATO presence in the region. Another reason was to tackle hybrid warfare threats. In 2014 was established the NATO **Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence** (in Riga) along with six other NATO members (Estonia, Germany, Italy Lithuania, Poland, and the UK).

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Latvian National Armed Forces must be ready to participate in the full spectrum of NATO-led operations with one infantry battalion for up to six months without rotation or with subunits not exceeding two infantry companies or equivalent size specialized subunits for up to six months with rotation. The first NATO-led operation including Latvia's participation was in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1996. As of June 2009, 17 people were involved in the Kosovo Force and 165 troops in Afghanistan where a mission has existed since 2003. Moreover, a new training mission has been set up in Afghanistan in 2015¹³. In 2015, Latvia devoted 1.0% of its GDP to defense expenditures¹⁴.

¹⁰ Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Latvia, *The State Defence Concept*, April 20, 2012. Web. Accessed July 6, 2015. <http://www.eda.europa.eu/docs/default-source/documents/latvia-state-defense-concept-2012-pdf.pdf>.

¹¹ Kiukucans E., "Latvia and the CSDP", in Fiott D. (ed.) *The Common Security and Defence Policy: National Perspectives*, Egmont Institute, No. 79, May 2015, p. 65-67. Web. Accessed July 6, 2015. <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/ep79.pdf>

¹² "The EU Common Security and Defence Policy", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia*, last update February 9, 2015. Web. Accessed July 7, 2015. <http://www.mfa.gov.lv/en/policy/security-policy/directions-of-security-policy/the-eu-common-security-and-defence-policy>.

¹³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, *Annual Report by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Accomplishments and Activities Planned with Respect to National Foreign Policy and the European Union (2014-2015)*. Web. Accessed July 7, 2015. http://www.mfa.gov.lv/images/zinojums_FINAL_FINAL_ENG.pdf.

For the period 2014-2015, Riga contributed to 0.14% of the NATO Common-Funded Budgets and Programmes¹⁵.

United Nations (UN)

Latvia has been a member of the UN since 1991 and holds a seat in the UN Commission on Human Rights from 2015 to 2017. The country seems quite reluctant to take part in UN Peacekeeping Operations, as it is not currently participating in any UN Peacekeeping Operations. Moreover, for the period 2014-2015, Latvia contributed 0.01% of the UN Peacekeeping budget¹⁶.

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

Latvia has been a member of the OSCE since 1991. It has participated to OSCE missions monitoring borders and facilitating negotiations.¹⁷ Operations have also occurred in Latvia, such as the OSCE mission focused on citizenship issues deployed from 1993 to 2001. Parliamentary elections have also been observed several times by OSCE staff upon invitation, the last time in 2014¹⁸. In 2014, Latvia contributed to 0.1% (€125,939) of the Organization's unified budget¹⁹, and 2 nationals were involved in its staff²⁰.

Council of Europe (CoE)

Latvia became a member state of the Council of Europe in February 1995. In 2014, the European Court of Human Rights issued 19 judgments concerning the country, of which 16 were violations and 2 were non-violations. In 2015, Latvia contributed to 0.14% (€563,190) of the total budget of the Organization²¹.

Strategic Culture

Latvia's strategic culture has been influenced by increasing Russian threat. The country, like many others, fears what is perceived to be an arrogant state playing on the borderline of the international law. Consequently, a collective security device such as **NATO**, is the best option for Latvia. Moreover, International operations seem to be sparse and multilateral operations seem to be focused on guaranteeing **national security**. CSDP works for Latvia only if it enhances national defence capacities and does not attempt to replace NATO.

¹⁴ "NATO publishes defence expenditures data for 2014 and estimates for 2015", Press release PR/CP(2015)093-COR1, *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, June 22, 2015, p. 6. Web. Accessed November 16, 2015.

http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2015_06/20150622_PR_CP_2015_093-v2.pdf

¹⁵ "NATO Common-Funded Budget & Programmes", *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization*. Web. Accessed November 16, 2015.

http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2014_06/20140611_20140601_NATO_common_funded_budgets_2014-2015.pdf

¹⁶ United Nations General Assembly, "Implementation of General Assembly resolutions 55/235 and 55/236", *Report of the Secretary General*, December 27, 2012, p. 4. Web. Accessed November 18, 2015.

http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/67/224/Add.1

¹⁷ "Participation of the Latvian National Armed Forces in International Operations", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia*, 2006. Web. Accessed July 7, 2015.

<http://www.mfa.gov.lv/data/pic/Books/starptautiskasoperacijas.pdf>

¹⁸ "Elections in Latvia", *The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe*, 2014. Web. Accessed July 7, 2015. <http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/latvia>.

¹⁹ The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), *Annual Report 2014*, July 2015, p. 105. Web. Accessed November 18, 2015. <http://www.osce.org/secretariat/169971?download=true>

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 109

²¹ "Latvia – Member state", *Council of Europe*. Web. Accessed November 18, 2015. <http://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/latvia>

d. Economic Policy

Latvia has a small and open economy with a big **export** sector that makes up one third of the country's GDP. Latvia's main export partners are Lithuania, Russia, and Estonia while its main import partners are Lithuania, Germany, and Poland. In Latvia, corruption is a hamper to foreign direct investment. Another pressing issue is the decreasing population and the low birth rates that the economy needs to cope with. Nonetheless, a lot of progress has occurred since gaining independence. **Privatization** has occurred in most sectors, with a national airline being one of the largest national companies.

Latvia's economy experienced high growth rates until 2007 but had to face a big **recession** in 2008 coupled with unsustainable current account deficits. Help programs from the IMF and the EU helped in the recovery process. Right now the country is on a transition to an economic model of sustainability by increasing the competitiveness and access of the market²².

Latvia adopted a **Smart Specialization Strategy** to overcome hurdles and identify possible specialization niches such as knowledge intensive bio economics, biomedicine as well as smart power resources. Moreover, small and medium enterprises are being helped through national and EU programs. **Information communication technologies** will be increased for further efficiency. Another area of importance for Latvia is consumer protection rights, for which the country has a special center. The overall goals of Latvia's economic policy as defined in the *2014 Report on Economic Development of Latvia* can be described as: developing a knowledge intensive economy, ensuring access to finance, promoting export, allowing better access to the labor force, improving supply, improving the business environment, staying competitive as well as enabling energy sufficiency and supply²³.

European Union (EU)

Latvia has been able to benefit from EU membership in many ways including economically. The country currently receives much more **EU funds** than it contributes to the budget. Such funds include the European Regional Development, Cohesion, and Social Funds as well as the European Maritime and Fisheries and Agricultural Funds for Rural Development. Unfortunately, the implementation of these funds has not been successful so far and the majority of the money is being spent on human resources costs.

Since the beginning of 2014 Latvia is also a member of the **Eurozone** giving them many advantages such as an improved credit rating. This allows better interest rates for loans as well as resilience of the financial markets. As already mentioned, Latvia's economic policy is hugely shaped by that of the EU as the country is part of *Europe 2020: A Strategy for Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth*. Latvia has its own national reform program in order to achieve the goals outlined in this strategy. The European Commission, additionally, gives out recommendations to each member state. In Latvia's case, these are focused on keeping the fiscal position and strengthening the budgetary strategy, implementing higher education reforms, improving social services, diversifying energy as well as completing judicial

²² "Latvia", *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency, last update October 28, 2015. Web. Accessed November 18, 2015. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/lg.html>.
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/lg.html>.

²³ Ministry of Economics of the Republic of Latvia, *Economic Development of Latvia – Report*, December 2014. Web. Accessed July 7, 2015. https://www.em.gov.lv/files/tautsaimniecibas_attistiba/zin/2014_dec_eng.pdf

reform²⁴. Latvia is currently in the preventive arm of the Stability and Growth. According to the Stability Programme, the government debt-to-GDP ratio is expected to decline from 37 % of GDP in 2015 to 34 % of GDP by 2018. Based on its assessment of the Stability Programme and taking into account the Commission's 2015 spring forecast, the Council is of the opinion that there is a risk that Latvia will not comply with the provisions of the *Stability and Growth Pact*. Notwithstanding the progress made to tackle unemployment, further action is needed to prevent youth unemployment and its negative long-term consequences. In 2014, around 32,7 % of Latvia's population were at risk of poverty or social exclusion and income inequality remains among the highest in the Union. The financing and coverage of active labour market policies remains low in comparison with other Member States. The high tax wedge for low-income earners remains a disincentive for formal employment and reduces demand for low-skilled workers²⁵.

Economic Diplomacy & Foreign Trade

Latvia has been a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) since 1999. Membership has greatly facilitated trade for the country but today most dealings of the organization are done through EU policies. Latvia is working hard on becoming a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) by making progress in the field of better tax administration as well as less corruption. Latvia is eager to become a member of this organization in order to benefit from its resources and work with large international actors. In addition, the country would also receive higher credit ranking making it more attractive to foreign investors. It is planned that Latvia will join the OECD by the beginning of 2016.²⁶

Due to its small economy and increasing sanctions from the EU on Russia, Latvia has the need to be **international** and **diversify** its economic contacts. Becoming part of the EU and the WTO already allowed Latvia to become part of the **multilateral** system and much of its policy is based on the EU. In addition, several important **bilateral** agreements have been reached with Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, China, Moldova, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan as well as a Joint Economic and Trade Agreement with Turkey. In line with this, Latvia also supports the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (**TTIP**) and would also like to add an energy section to it in order to get the US involved into the EU energy system²⁷.

Latvia is a good country to **invest** in due to its low costs, skilled labor, infrastructure, innovation opportunities and geostrategic location. These positive sides can be seen in the fact that Latvia ranks 23rd worldwide and 9th in the EU as a business friendly country. Investment could happen in the form of **tourism** that Latvia wishes to promote by increasing awareness and quality.

e. Other Diplomatic Priorities

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Council of the European Union, "Council Recommendation on the 2015 National Reform Programme of Latvia and delivering a Council opinion on the 2015 Stability Programme of Latvia", *Official Journal of the European Union*, C272/67-68 (July 14, 2015). Web. Accessed November 18, 2015. http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/csr2015/csr2015_council_latvia_en.pdf

²⁶ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, *Annual Report by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Accomplishments and Activities Planned with Respect to National Foreign Policy and the European Union (2014-2015)*. Web. Accessed July 7, 2015. http://www.mfa.gov.lv/images/zinojums_FINAL_FINAL_ENG.pdf.

²⁷ Ministry of Economics of the Republic of Latvia, *Economic Development of Latvia – Report*, December 2014. Web. Accessed July 7, 2015. https://www.em.gov.lv/files/tautsaimniecibas_attistiba/zin/2014_dec_eng.pdf

An important diplomatic consideration is the big **Russian minority** living in Latvia amounting to about 28% of the population. In addition, 20% of Latvians do not speak Latvian, most of them being from the Russian minority. Citizenship issues occurred after Latvia's independence, as people that were not Latvian before the Russian occupation in 1940 lost their citizenship. In the country, naturalization is only possible after five years of residence as well as after passing a language and history course. On the other side, Russia constantly demands better treatment of its minority living in Latvia.²⁸

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²⁸ "Latvia", *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency, last update October 28, 2015. Web. Accessed November 18, 2015. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/lg.html>.
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/lg.html>.

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http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2014_06/20140611_20140601_NATO_common_funded_budgets_2014-2015.pdf

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http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2015_06/20150622_PR_CP_2015_093-v2.pdf

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Potjomkina D., “Letter from Riga”, *Judy Dempsey’s Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, January 16, 2015. Web. Accessed November 18, 2015.
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