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**TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS AFTER THE
END OF THE COLD WAR**

**LES RELATIONS TRANSATLANTIQUES
APRÈS LA FIN DE LA GUERRE FROIDE**

Bibliographies Thématiques
No. 5/2001

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En tant que membre du personnel de l'OTAN vous pouvez emprunter des livres (Type: M) pour une période d'un mois et des revues pour une semaine. Les livres de référence (Type: REF) sont à consulter sur place. Les personnes n'appartenant pas à l'OTAN peuvent s'adresser à leur bibliothèque locale et emprunter des ouvrages via le système de prêt interbibliothèques.

PART I : BOOKS

PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

A New Era in US-EU Relations? : The Clinton Administration and the New Transatlantic Agenda - Aldershot : UK : Avebury, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:1859725309

xiv, 167 p.; 22 cm.

ID number: 80013758

Type: M

* 441 /00057

Author(s):

1. Gardner, Anthony Laurence

Subject(s):

1. EU--USA

2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Bibliography: p. 165-167.

A Transatlantic New Deal : What Europe Should Pay to Promote US Engagement - London : Foreign Policy Centre, 2001.

ISBN/ISSN:

20 p.; 30 cm.

(Policy Brief ; 2)

ID number: 80016994

Type: M

* 327 /01033

Author(s):

1. Chalmers, Malcolm

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

3. USA--ARMED FORCES--DEFENSE SPENDING

4. EUROPE--ARMED FORCES--DEFENSE SPENDING

Added entry(s):

1. Foreign Policy Centre (GB)

<<http://www.fpc.org.uk/reports/>> accessed 31/01/01.

'In this Policy Brief marking the inauguration of President Bush, Professor Chalmers argues that Europeans can best promote US international engagement by themselves meeting more of the costs of international security. The report examines claims of 'free-riding' by providing the facts across burden-sharing regimes - from the US's unparalleled military might to Europe's contributions to peacekeeping, development aid, multilateral institutions and tackling global warming. Chalmers argues that Europe should seek to reshape the transatlantic debate by focusing less on US shortcomings and more on meeting its own responsibilities. He sets out the constructive European agenda which - through concrete reform on European security, multilateral reform and development - could reshape the transatlantic debate and create a more effective division of international labour.'

* This list contains material received as of July 2001 - Cette liste est arrêtée au 17 juillet 2001.

America and Europe : A Partnership for a New Era - Cambridge, UK : Cambridge University Press, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:0521591074

xv, 276 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80013906

Type: M

* 327 /00951

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Gompert, David C., ed.
2. Larrabee, F. Stephen, 1944- , ed.
3. Rand Corporation (US)

Bibliography: p. 257-265. Includes index.

'This volume offers the first comprehensive statement by a contingent of leading RAND thinkers on the contours of a redefined Atlantic partnership. In the world emerging since the end of the Cold War, the United States and Europe have strikingly common global security and economic interests. But their ability to advance those interests, together, depends on the willingness of Europe to take on greater responsibilities, the willingness of the United States to share leadership, and the vision of both to form a far more ambitious partnership than the one of today's official policies. Individual essays develop and apply this idea in the areas of free trade, NATO reform, joint 'Atlantic' strategies toward the former Soviet Union and the greater Middle East, and other shifts in American and European policies toward one another and the world at large. The work will interest policy and research audiences in world affairs, global business readers, and others engaged in or thinking about America's international role and relations.'

American Historians and the Atlantic Alliance - Kent, OH : Kent State University Press, 1991.

ISBN/ISSN:0873384318

viii, 192 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80013870

Type: M

* 496.1 /00031

Subject(s):

1. NATO--HISTORY
2. NATO--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Kaplan, Lawrence S., ed.

Papers presented at a symposium organized by the Lyman L. Lemnitzer Center of Kent State University in Brussels, 15-16 May 1989.

Bibliography: p. 179-182. Includes index.

'In this book the historians present a history of the past forty years from an American perspective, placing the alliance within the larger frame of America's foreign policy as a superpower.'

American Visions of Europe : Franklin D. Roosevelt, George F. Kennan, and Dean G. Acheson - Cambridge, UK : Cambridge University Press, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:0521454832

xi, 378 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80010466

Type: M

* 327 /00864

Author(s):

1. Harper, John Lamberton

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO, 1882-1945
4. KENNAN, GEORGE FROST, 1904-
5. ACHESON, DEAN, 1893-1971

Bibliography: p. 343-362. Includes index.

'This study in the varieties of modern American experience of Europe traces the development of three distinct personal answers to the

question of what to do with Europe: Roosevelt's partial internationalism, aiming at the retirement of Europe from world politics while avoiding American entanglement; Kennan's partial isolationism, aspiring to restore Europe's centrality and autonomy through temporary American engagement; and Acheson's accomodating interventionism, establishing the United States as a permanent power in Europe at the behest of European and U.S. interests.'

Amerikaner in Deutschland : Grundlagen und Bedingungen der transatlantischen Sicherheit - Bonn : Bouvier, 1991.

ISBN/ISSN:341602298X

xiv, 638 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80007248

Type: M

* 341.3 /00077

Subject(s):

1. USA--ARMED FORCES--EUROPE
2. GERMANY--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--GERMANY
4. NATO--USA
5. NATO--GERMANY
6. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Mahncke, Dieter, ed.

Beyond Containment and Division : Western Cooperation from a Post-Totalitarian Perspective - Dordrecht : Nijhoff, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:079232014X

xiv, 267 p.; 25 cm.

ID number: 80010047

Type: M

* 327 /00849

Author(s):

1. Altling von Geusau, Frans Alphons Maria, 1933-

Subject(s):

1. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Includes index.

'The author reminds here the reader of America's involvement and the tragic consequences of the two world wars. He explains why the 'order of Yalta' was a myth and how the Soviet designs for Europe were defeated by civil resistance. Post-war American leadership created the free space for the growth of Western organisations and the dynamics of European integration. American and French policies of containment are re-examined from the same post-totalitarian perspective and found wanting to adapt to the new realities. In two final chapters, the author carefully reivews the agreements reached in the principal Western and European organizations between November 1989 and January 1992 with a view to adapting their tasks to the new Europe.'

Beyond NATO : Staying Out of Europe's Wars - Washington : Cato Institute, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:1882577167

172 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80013540

Type: M

* 496.3 /00286

Author(s):

1. Carpenter, Ted Galen

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Cato Institute (US)

Includes index.

'Today, NATO is an alliance in search of a purpose. Indeed, the proliferation of expansion schemes appears to have as much to do with

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

Den radvilde supermagt : Amerikansk Europapolitik i stobeskeen - Kobenhavn : Sikkerheds- og Nedrustningspolitiske Udvalg, 1991.

ISBN/ISSN:8750391798

110 p.; 22 cm.

ID number: 80006851

Type: M

* 327 /00762

Author(s):

1. Gress, David R., 1953-

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

EC-US Relations : Priorities for the Next Four Years - Brussels : Centre for European Policy Studies, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:9290791608

ii, 123 p.; 21 cm.

(CEPS Paper ; 53)

ID number: 80009065

Type: M

* 441 /00040

Author(s):

1. Ludlow, Peter

2. Frellesen, Thomas

3. Jones, Erik

Subject(s):

1. EEC--USA

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

3. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Policy Studies (BE)

'This paper opens with an initial assessment that neither the changes within the EC nor the evolution of EC-US relations have kept pace with the still more rapid developments taking place in the world at large. As a result, the hope and optimism that characterised the relationship only three or four years ago have deteriorated to mutual disenchantment in the post-Cold War era. The authors argue that an adequate framework for consultation and cooperation does exist for resolving differences and taking common action, but that it must be used in a more efficient and deliberate manner. The way forward is for the EC and the US to select specific issues of common interest and to develop detailed joint policy initiatives. The paper identifies several issues that merit the highest priority, including economic policy, the reconstruction of CEE and a common security policy.'

European Security : Washington's Shaping Strategy in Action - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:1584870176

v, 42 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80016439

Type: M

* 355.4 /01260

Author(s):

1. Blank, Stephen, 1950-
2. Young, Thomas-Durell
3. Johnsen, William Thomas, 1952-

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--USA

Added entry(s):

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

'In addition to assessing past and present challenges to US and Western security interests and objectives in Europe, the authors also analyze the strategies and policies of the Department of Defense in this crucial region of the world. Recommendations for consideration by officials include the need for a lighter leadership 'touch' in some areas and for stronger encouragement in others. However, let there be no doubt that a US policy towards Europe of stasis or benign neglect should be rejected. The United States is a European power by virtue of its history, current commitments, and strategic and political exigencies. Finding the most efficacious means of achieving these national objectives, while working to effect a 'Europe whole and free', is the daunting long-term task to be faced.'

Fact and Fiction about a European Security Identity and American Interests - Washington : Atlantic Council of the United States, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:

17 p.; 28 cm.

ID number: 80007604

Type: M

* 355.4 /00999

Author(s):

1. Walker, Jenonne

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Atlantic Council of the United States (US)

Franco-American Security Cooperation : From Principle to Practice - Arlington, VA : U.S.-CREST, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:0962993050

vii, 60 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80014639

Type: M

* 495.2 /00139

Author(s):

1. Alongi, Maria R.
2. Grant, Robert P.

Subject(s):

1. FRANCE--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--FRANCE
3. NATO--FRANCE
4. NATO--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Research and Education on Strategy and Technology (US)
'NATO's January 1994 summit meeting in Brussels was a defining event in the evolution of France's post-Cold War relationship with the Alliance. French officials agreed strongly with the U.S.-proposed initiatives that Alliance leaders announced at the summit, including Partnership for Peace, Combined Joint Task Forces, and a NATO policy framework on how to protect against the threat of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons proliferation. The summit also gave enthusiastic backing to two major French policy goals : the development of a European Security and Defense Identity through the European Union and strengthening the European pillar of the Atlantic Alliance through the

Western European Union. Yet, by late 1994, US-French differences were once more in evidence over NATO's process of eastward expansion as well as over implementation of the CJTF concept. In order to help further Franco-American dialogue over the transition from the principles agreed upon at the Brussels summit to their practical implementation, U.S.-CREST organized an all-day symposium that was held on November 16, 1994. In this symposium report, government officials and non-governmental experts from the United States, France, and other European countries debate the roles of different transatlantic and European institutions in projecting stability to Central and Eastern Europe, as well as potential models for organizing Western forces to undertake multinational military interventions outside of NATO territory. The symposium concluded with a French expert issuing recommendations for US policy, and an American counterpart doing so for French policy. An epilogue to the report notes that one year after the symposium, the conclusions and recommendations of its speakers remained highly relevant to the US-French security dialogue.'

Future Political Structure in Europe and the Transatlantic Link = La future structure politique en Europe et le lien transatlantique - Rome : NATO Defense College, 1990.

ISBN/ISSN:

97 p.; 29 cm.

ID number: 80006067

Type: M

* 355.4 /00943

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. NATO Defence College (IT)
2. College de Defense de l'OTAN (IT)

Proceedings of the Ninth International Seminar for Opinion Leaders, 24-25 October 1990 = Recueil des interventions faites au cours du neuvieme seminaire international des responsables de l'opinion, 24-25 octobre 1990

In Defense of NATO : The Alliance's Enduring Value - Boulder, CO : Westview, 1990.

ISBN/ISSN:0813309751

ix, 114 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80006593

Type: M

* 495.2 /00110

Author(s):

1. Dunn, Keith A.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--EUROPE
2. NATO--USA
3. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. EUROPE--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA

Includes index.

'This book is about the strategic importance of NATO-Europe and why, for the foreseeable future, Western Europe should continue to remain the primary geographic area of importance in US national security planning.'

In Search of a New World Order : The Future of U.S.-European Relations -
Washington : Brookings Institution, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:0815710585

xiii, 177 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80007674

Type: M

* 327 /00782

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. NEW WORLD ORDER

Added entry(s):

1. Brandon, Henry, ed.
2. Brookings Institution (US)

Includes index.

'In the aftermath of the Cold War era, a new world order is being created at an extraordinary pace. Europe is becoming a more unified power, Germany is assuming a central role within that power, NATO is looking for a new mission, the former Soviet Union has ceased to be a superpower threat and the United States is going through its own superpower adjustments. As these dramatic shifts occur, a crucial question for world stability is the future relationship between the United States and Europe. This volume brings together some of the best informed and most-experienced international personalities to interpret the repercussions of these twists of the European kaleidoscope. They assess the impact the changes will have on future political, economic, and security developments and foremost on U.S.-European relations.'

L'Amerique et l'Europe : l'avenir de l'OTAN et la relation transatlantique -
[s.l.] : Assemblée de l'Atlantique Nord, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:

xvii, 53 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80014230

Type: M

* 496.3 /00293

Subject(s):

1. NATO--TRANSITION
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Assemblée de l'Atlantique Nord (BE)

Rapport du Groupe d'étude présidentiel de l'Assemblée de l'Atlantique Nord.

Leading Alone or Acting Together ? The Transatlantic Security Agenda for the
Next US Presidency - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western
European Union, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:

v, 53 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 20)

ID number: 80016819

Type: M

* 355.4 /01276

Author(s):

1. Lindley-French, Julian

Subject(s):

1. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
3. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--USA
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
5. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

'Transatlantic security relations are entering a new phase at the beginning of the twenty-first century that will confront the new American president with a range of challenges. Profound policy debates are underway in both the United States and Europe that often result in contending strategic assessments and, thereafter, policy choices. Americans, in particular, face the most fundamental of questions : what to do with power ? Transatlantic security relations are not about

to fall apart. Indeed, in many ways Americans and Europeans are becoming ever more alike, believing in the same things and wanting the same things. However, in the absence of an external threat that can condition policy choices Americans and Europeans are diverging over how best to promote security and stability, not only in Europe, but beyond. These contending choices are becoming ever more apparent, particularly in military doctrine where the American focus on 'full spectrum warfighting' contends with the European emphasis on 'full spectrum peacekeeping'. The next president will have to decide, at a moment of supreme power, to resist the temptation to lead alone and recognise the importance of acting together in a world in which not even the United States can control all outcomes.'

Multilateralism and Western Strategy - New York : St. Martin's Press, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:0312123612

xii, 245 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80010974

Type: M

* 327 /00874

Subject(s):

1. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. NATO--TRANSITION

Added entry(s):

1. Brenner, Michael J., ed.

Includes index.

'The first years of the post-Cold War era have made abundantly clear that it is imperative for the Western allies to pursue a common strategy and a concerted diplomacy in order to secure their interests in a still unruly Europe. From four national perspectives, the authors examine what must be done for a more egalitarian Alliance to act effectively, on a multilateral basis, in addressing the new security agenda. They conclude that devising new terms of collaboration depends on innovation in how national policy gets made as well as in how collective business is conducted.'

NATO's Role in a New European Security Order - Norfolk, VA : Old Dominion University, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:

23 p.; 28 cm.

(GPIS Working Paper ; 95.2)

ID number: 80012841

Type: M

* 496.3 /00281

Author(s):

1. Rodman, Peter W.

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Old Dominion University (US)

Paper prepared for a series of roundtable discussions, entitled 'The Future of NATO' held at Old Dominion University during the 1995-96 academic year.

NATO's Role in European Stability - Washington : Center for Strategic & International Studies, 1995.

ISBN/ISSN:0892063246

iv, 70 p.; 28 cm.

(CSIS Report)

ID number: 80011982

Type: M

* 496.3 /00272

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Cambone, Stephen A., ed.

2. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

3. NATO Office of Information and Press

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

Rapport du Comite des Neuf - [s.l.] : Assemblée de l'Atlantique Nord, [s.d.].

ISBN/ISSN:

69 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80011351

Type: M

* 491.6 /00017

Subject(s):

1. NATO--NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Assemblée de l'Atlantique Nord (BE)

Reflections on Europe - Stanford, CA : Hoover Institution Press, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:0817994920

xii, 172 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80015661

Type: M

* 327 /00996

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. POST-COMMUNISM--EUROPE
3. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Bark, Dennis L., ed.

2. Stanford University (US)

Includes index.

'These reflections on interrelated issues of concern to Europe and America by five distinguished authors from England, France, Germany and the United States address complex questions in a post-cold war world. What are the issues of national interest, national security, and national defense that face Europe and the United States, separately and together ? Does NATO have a future and, if so, what kind ? How will future conflicts on the continent be dealt with and by whom ? Is the need for an alliance over ? Has it been replaced by the United Nations ? Are England, France and Germany the leaders of post-cold war Europe ? What role will each play as the European Union expands ? Turkey, the neglected pillar of the Mediterranean, is also a member of NATO. What role does it have to play, caught between the history of Europe and the Middle East ? Are the real 'faces of Russia' at the end of the twentieth century communism,

capitalism, and freedom ?'

Report of the Committee of Nine - [s.l.] : North Atlantic Assembly, [s.d.].

ISBN/ISSN:

67 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80011352

Type: M

* 491.6 /00018

Subject(s):

1. NATO--NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. North Atlantic Assembly (BE)

Rethinking the Transatlantic Partnership : Security and Economics in a New Era - Indianapolis : Hudson Institute, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:1558130608

viii, 87 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80013607

Type: M

* 495.2 /00136

Subject(s):

1. NATO--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Geipel, Gary L., ed.
2. Manning, Robert A., ed.
3. Hudson Institute (US)
4. Progressive Policy Institute (US)

'This book presents the proceedings of a high-level conference held in Washington in March 1996 to find agreement on a set of fundamental beliefs regarding the future of the transatlantic alliance. The evolution and role of NATO is the central theme of this volume, but the book also devotes significant attention to transatlantic trade relations and the impact of US domestic politics on policy toward Europe. Rather than describe a single prescription for the future of NATO or the transatlantic relationship, the book considers a variety of leading approaches. After an introduction by the cosponsors, the first section considers the pros and cons of NATO enlargement. The book then considers the politics and economics of transatlantic relations, with chapters on US domestic attitudes and a call for serious consideration of a transatlantic free-trade area. The volume concludes with a range of key congressional perspectives on NATO and the US-European relationship.'

Shared Values or Power Politics? : Transatlantic Security Relations 1981-94 - Stockholm : Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:9171831568

vi, 209 p. : ill.; 25 cm.

(Research Report ; 26)

ID number: 80013660

Type: M

* 495.2 /00137

Author(s):

1. Winnerstig, Michael

Subject(s):

1. NATO--USA
2. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Swedish Institute of International Affairs (SE)

Bibliography: p. 203-209.

'The focus of this report is the transatlantic security relationship, specifically the politico-military relations between the United States and its West European NATO allies. The main conclusion of this study is that the European NATO allies initially seem to oppose or balance the US but then gradually adjust their own policies to the US course. The most adequate conceptual cause for this development is thus considered to be a bandwagoning behaviour on the part of the European

NATO members. The implications of this are that the US, as the leading NATO state, continues to have a great influence on European security and that the European allies rather inexpensively can enjoy the benefits of US military capabilities, though without being able to take much military action independently of the US.'

Shifting into Neutral? : Burden Sharing in the Western Alliance in the 1990s
- London : Brassey's, 1990.

ISBN/ISSN:0080377149

xi, 160 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80004526

Type: M

* 496.2 /00017

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ARMED FORCES--DEFENSE SPENDING

2. NATO--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Coker, Christopher, 1953- , ed.

Includes index.

'This series of essays from academics and policy-makers concentrates on one of the most potent areas of debate within the Alliance : the question of who pays the bill for western security. Together with comment from Europe, American perceptions are analyzed in depth to produce a timely contribution to this fundamental policy argument.'

Stay the Course : European Unity and Atlantic Solidarity - Westport, CT :
Praeger, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:0275959325

xiii, 115 p.; 24 cm.

(The Washington papers, 0278-937X ; 171)

ID number: 80014034

Type: M

* 327 /00956

Author(s):

1. Serfaty, Simon

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

3. EU--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Bibliography: p. 107-109.

Terms of Engagement : The United States and the European Security Identity -
Westport, CT : Praeger, 1998.

ISBN/ISSN:0275964973

xiii, 124 p.; 24 cm.

(The Washington papers, 0278-937X ; 176)

ID number: 80015315

Type: M

* 495.2 /00140

Author(s):

1. Brenner, Michael

Subject(s):

1. ESDI

2. NATO--ARMED FORCES--CJTF

3. EUROPE--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA

4. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Bibliography: p. 115-117. Includes index.

'Americans are awakening to the emerging prospect of a new, powerful, and unified, Europe - not in decades but within the next few years. This is a guide to understanding this new Europe. The reader comes away with an appreciation for both the NATO and European Union dimensions of the new European equation and with an understanding of the policy implications of broad historical trends.'

The Changing Environment of Transatlantic Relations : A Report - Paris :
Institut Francais des Relations Internationales, 1991.

ISBN/ISSN:

79 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80008707

Type: M

* 355.4 /01059

Author(s):

1. Eekelen, Willem Frederic van, 1931-

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. NATO--TRANSITION

3. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--EUROPE

4. EUROPE--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. European Strategy Group (US)

'A Report from the European Strategy Group'.

'This report analyses the consequences of the changing security order for NATO and for the US role in Europe and makes proposals to deal with them. Although primarily a politico-military study, it also touches on questions of trade, competition and technology. It advocates a "transatlantic contract" in which the roles of the US and Europe are mutually defined as complementary tasks in the new security environment. If successful, it would provide a new rationale for allied defence efforts in general and the US presence in Europe in particular.'

The Changing Franco-American Security Relationship : New Directions for NATO
and European Defense Cooperation - Arlington, VA : U.S.-CREST, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:0962993034

vii, 84 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80009285

Type: M

* 355.4 /01069

Author(s):

1. Grant, Robert P.

Subject(s):

1. FRANCE--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA

2. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--FRANCE

3. NATO--TRANSITION

4. NATO--EUROPE

5. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--FRANCE

6. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Research and Education on Strategy and Technology (US)

'U.S.-CREST symposium held on October 26, 1993'

'In this symposium report, officials from the United States, France and other European countries examine the recent evolution and future direction of the Franco-American security relationship. They exchange views regarding the degree of convergence in French and American strategic interests, NATO's continued adaptation to the post-Cold War security environment, and the future role of European defense cooperation.'

The Entangling Alliance : The United States and European Security, 1950-1993
- Westport, CT : Greenwood Press, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:0313272751

xix, 261 p.; 25 cm.

ID number: 80010987

Type: M

* 495.2 /00130

Author(s):

1. Powaski, Ronald E.

Subject(s):

1. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--EUROPE

2. EUROPE--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA

3. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

4. NATO--HISTORY

Bibliography: p. 235-243. Includes index.

'This study is a continuation of the story of America's involvement

in Europe's security affairs since 1950. In in the author attempts to explain the reasons why America expanded its military commitment to Europe - including the stationing of U.S. combat forces, both nuclear and conventional, on the Continent - and why the U.S. military presence in Europe is now declining.'

The Future of the American Military Presence in Europe - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:1584870214

viii, 148 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ID number: 80016642

Type: M

* 495.2 /00144

Subject(s):

1. NATO--USA
2. USA--ARMED FORCES--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Matthews, Lloyd J., ed.
2. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

The Future of the Atlantic Community - London : Middlesex University Press, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:1898253129

125 p. ; 22 cm.

ID number: 80014231

Type: M

* 327 /00960

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. EUROPE--FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Eden, Douglas
2. Middlesex University. Centre for Study of International Affairs (GB)

Includes index.

'At Madrid in 1995, European and American political leaders, after years of working together for collective security, announced their intention to establish closer commercial, political and cultural cooperation. During 1995 and 1996, following the agreement to create a World Trade Organisation, the European Union agreed to embark on discussions with the United States for the creation of a closer and freer trading relationship between the EU and North America. American and European leaders spoke in favour of closer political, economic and even institutional links in addition to developing and expanding the NATO mutual security relationship which has existed since 1949. The collapse of Soviet communism, the success of the Western liberal democratic system and the display of American technology and power in the Gulf War liberated enormous energies after 1991. The end of the Cold War meant, among other things, that significant national investment could be redeployed from unproductive military expenditure. It also made possible the dramatic expansion of international commerce. More technological enterprise and productive capacity became available for development of a global market place.'

The Future of Transatlantic Relations - London : HMSO, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:0117017604

29 p. ; 21 cm.

(Wilton Park Paper ; 71)

ID number: 80008719

Type: M

* 327 /00812

Author(s):

1. Latter, Richard

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

'Conference Report based on Wilton Park Conference 395: 29 March- 2

April 1993. The Euro-Atlantic Community and the Continuing US Role in Europe.'

The Irrelevance of Maastricht : Redefining the Atlantic Community - London : Alliance, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:090796737X

54 p.; 21 cm.

(Occasional Paper ; 53)

ID number: 80007393

Type: M

* 327 /00773

Author(s):

1. Hartley, Anthony

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE, EASTERN

2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. EUROPE, EASTERN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

5. EEC--EUROPE, EASTERN

6. EEC--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for European Defence & Strategic Studies (GB)

The Long Entanglement : NATO's First Fifty Years - Westport, CT : Praeger, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:0275964183

xii, 262 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80015705

Type: M

* 496.1 /00036

Author(s):

1. Kaplan, Lawrence S.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--HISTORY

2. NATO--USA

Bibliography: p. 243-245. Includes index.

'This is one of the few NATO studies to concentrate on the history of the alliance between the USA and NATO, particularly the relationship between its senior partner and its European allies, and it examines critical issues in depth to uncover the ability of the allies to surmount their internal divisions and to confront their Soviet adversary. While NATO archives are still not fully open, the use of declassified documents from the National Archives and the presidential libraries are of invaluable assistance in considering the historical role of America in the alliance and the continuing relevance of the organisation in US foreign policy.'

The NATO Summit and Beyond : A Consensus Report - Washington : Center for Strategic & International Studies, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:0892062622

vii, 23 p.; 28 cm.

(Panel Report)

ID number: 80011355

Type: M

* 496.3 /00267

Subject(s):

1. NATO--USA

2. NATO--TRANSITION

Added entry(s):

1. Brown, Harold, 1927- , ed.

2. Haig, Alexander Meigs, 1924- , ed.

3. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

'The CSIS Senior NATO Policy Group met with the goal of developing thoughtful and timely policy recommendations regarding US policy on the future of NATO.'

The Relevance of American Power : The Anglo-American Past and the Euro-Atlantic Future - London : Brassey's, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:

53 p.; 21 cm.

(London Defence Studies ; 49)

ID number: 80015888

Type: M

* 327 /00997

Author(s):

1. Campbell, Edwina S.

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. USA--NATIONAL SECURITY

4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

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

'Is American power still abundant ? Is it relevant to the wants and needs of the nation's allies, as well as to those of the United States ? The most vociferous attacks on American security policy often come from quarters that should, on the surface, be its strongest supporters. Why is this so ? And can the nation's global role survive those attacks, so that the United States enters the new century with the ability to shape it, rather than simply to react to its threats and challenges ?'

The Transatlantic Alliance on the Eve of the New Millennium - The Hague :

Kluwer Law International, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:9041102434

xix, 338 p.; 25 cm.

ID number: 80013464

Type: M

* 49 /00112

Subject(s):

1. NATO--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

3. NATIONALISM--EUROPE

4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

5. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Trifunovska, Snezana, ed.

Bibliography: p. 317-328. Includes index.

'Academic observers from a dozen of different countries in Eastern and Western Europe and on both sides of the Atlantic survey here a large number of questions of topical interest in the security field. Their debate embraces reinforcement of the European pillar of the Alliance; adjustment of the balance of responsibilities between the two sides of the Atlantic; and shoring up the transatlantic partnership and perhaps broadening it into that elusive concept, a 'transatlantic community', stretching into economic and other fields. They address the perceived security vacuum in parts of Central and Eastern Europe and discuss measures to build up greater confidence between former Cold War antagonists and ways of developing in them the habits of cooperation rather than counter-operation. They draw up architectural designs for the security of the twenty-first century and grapple with the conflict ideas circulating about the Alliance's future and particularly about its future relationship with Russia. Isolationism, nationalism, multilateralism, realism, constructivism and other -isms are helpfully put into context. Renationalisation, denationalisation and identities in formation or in decline are also investigated.'

The United States and European Defence - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:

viii, 54 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 39)

ID number: 80016501

Type: M

* 355.4 /01261

Author(s):

1. Sloan, Stanley R.

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY

2. EU--ESDP

3. ESDI

4. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

'The more headway the Europeans make in the setting up of a true European Union defence capability, the more voices are heard in the United States that analyse, question, challenge or fear this new European ambition. Nothing, moreover, could be more natural, given that, in their serious intent, their scope and their unanimity, the decisions taken at Cologne and Helsinki signal a clear departure from the EU's long tradition of politico-strategic non-existence. In order to allow an understanding of the full gamut of the detail and logic, but also the contradictions, of these American perceptions, an American author is here examining and dissecting all the current arguments, expectations and anxieties surrounding European defence.'

The United States and European Security - London : Brassey's, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:1857531655

86 p. ; 22 cm.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 286)

ID number: 80009723

Type: M

* 355.4 /01078

Author(s):

1. Gebhard, Paul R. S.

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--USA

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

'Will the transatlantic alliance become moribund through continued defence of Europe alone, or become the linchpin of defence anywhere in the world?'

The USA-European Union Trade Relations and the Dilemmas of USA Foreign Policy in the 1990's - Athens : Research Institute for European Studies, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:

13 p.; 30 cm.

(Research Paper ; 4)

ID number: 80012408

Type: M

* 441 /00054

Author(s):

1. Nomikos, John M.

Subject(s):

1. EU--USA

2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Research Institute for European Studies (GR)

Bibliography: p. 10-12.

Towards Transatlantic Partnership : A European Strategy - Brussels :
Transatlantic Policy Network, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:

32 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

ID number: 80014642

Type: M

* 441 /00065

Subject(s):

1. EU--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Transatlantic Policy Network (BE)

'The core message of this report is that Europeans now need to redefine their approach to transatlantic partnership to reflect both the transformed character of our shared security concerns and the increasing intensity and complexity of our economic relationship. The bi-polar organisation of the postwar world had, in retrospect, a number of advantages for Western Europe. The United States shouldered the largest share of the burdens of both European and global security, enabling member states of the EC to avoid the sensitive issues of common foreign and defence policy, content by and large to follow American leadership as junior partners. We no longer have that option. If we wish to maintain the political framework of mutual trust within which economic cooperation and competition can successfully be managed, we have to create the basis within the European Union for a more balanced transatlantic partnership, capable of handling the new and inextricably linked economic, political and security challenges both partners face at the close of the XXth Century.'

Transatlantic Relations : Sharing Ideals and Costs - London : Royal Institute
of International Affairs, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:1855673541

viii, 136 p. ; 23 cm.

(Chatham House Papers)

ID number: 80014667

Type: M

* 327 /00971

Author(s):

1. Heuser, Beatrice, 1961-

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. NATO--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Royal Institute of International Affairs (GB)

Bibliography: p. 135-136.

'Both sides of the Atlantic were united during the Cold War by antagonism to the Warsaw Pact and by common values. Now it seems that only common values remain : are these strong enough to create the basis for future cooperation, not only in defence, but also in politics, culture and economics ? The author considers the proposals from Europe and Canada for a new Transatlantic Charter and discusses the future for transatlantic developments against the background of EU, American and Pacific politics and trade.'

Transatlantische Partnerschaft : Perspektiven der amerikanisch-europaischen
Beziehungen - Landsberg am Lech : Olzog, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:3789293083

222 p. ; 19 cm.

ID number: 80014583

Type: M

* 327 /00970

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Meier-Walser, Reinhard C., ed.

Includes index.

'Dieser Band behandelt Modelle und Perspektiven der transatlantischen

Partnerschaft zwischen den USA und Europa aus der Sicht von Wissenschaftlern und Publizisten. Die in Zusammenhang mit der Auflösung des Ostblocks entstandenen neuen Kräfteverhältnisse zwischen Ost und West erfordern neue Konzepte. Viele Staaten des einstigen Warschauer Pakts streben eine Mitgliedschaft in EU und NATO an, während die russische Regierung dieser Entwicklung sehr skeptisch gegenübersteht. Gleichzeitig reduzieren die ehemaligen Alliierten des Zweiten Weltkrieges ihre Truppenpräsenz in Deutschland. Amerikaner, Briten und Franzosen ziehen mehr und mehr Kontingente aus dem Herzen Europas ab. Dieser Wandel verlangt nach einer neuen Sicherheitsarchitektur, in der die außen- und sicherheitspolitischen Interessen des Westens ebenso gewahrt sind wie die Integrationswünsche der Ost- und Mitteleuropäer. Die transatlantische Partnerschaft zwischen den USA und Europa muss dazu beitragen, diese Entwicklung positiv zu beeinflussen. Als Wertegemeinschaft der westlichen Zivilisation fällt ihr die Aufgabe zu, normativ und stabilisierend auf die weltpolitischen Transformationsprozesse einzuwirken.'

Unilateral America, Lightweight Europe ? : Managing Divergence in Transatlantic Foreign Policy - London : Centre for European Reform, 2001.

ISBN/ISSN:

21 p.; 30 cm.

(CER Working Paper)

ID number: 80017047

Type: M

* 327 /01036

Author(s):

1. Everts, Steven

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Reform (GB)

<<http://www.cer.org.uk>>

'The sometimes anxious discussions about what a Bush administration means for Europe goes beyond a simple adjustment to a change of personnel in Washington. Whatever the validity of these concerns, it is worth exploring whether politicians on either side of the Atlantic are really guided by divergent priorities - and if so, how these differences can be overcome.'

United States Security Strategy for Europe and NATO - Brussels : US Information Service, 1995 ?.

ISBN/ISSN:

28 p.; 30 cm.

ID number: 80012283

Type: M

* 355.4 /01138

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Department of Defense (US)

'The United States has a comprehensive approach to creating a new security architecture for Europe. Its key elements include enhancing NATO's efforts to reach out to the East through the Partnership for Peace; developing a gradual, deliberate, and transparent process of NATO enlargement; building cooperative relationships with Russia; supporting European integration as embodied in the European Union (EU) and strengthening the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE); as well as maintaining close bilateral relationships with both our allies and new partners.'

Vers un nouveau partenariat : les relations Europe/Etats-Unis dans
l'apres-guerre froide - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union
de l'Europe Occidentale, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:2909567036

viii, 271 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80008330

Type: M

* 327 /00802

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Gantz, Nanette, ed.

2. Rpoer, John, ed.

3. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale
(FR)

4. Rand Corporation (US)

PART II : MAGAZINE ARTICLES

DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES**

- Le brouillard de la guerre : derriere la coalition alliee, des interets et des conceptions bien divergentes : et la grande question des rapports Europe-USA.
EUROSTRATEGIE, no. 43, fevrier 1991, p. 12-15.

- The Debate Over NATO Expansion : A Critique of the Clinton Administration's Responses to Key Questions.
ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 27, no. 6, September 1997, p. 3-10.

- Andreani, Jacques
Les Europeens auront les Americains qu' ils meritent.
COMMENTAIRE, no. 94, ete 2001, p. 295-302.

- Artaud, Denise
Les Etats-Unis et l' Europe : une nouvelle architecture de securite ?
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 1, janvier 1999, p. 8-22.

Les ambitions geostrategiques des Etats-Unis sont d'une grande clarte, mais la strategie precise qu'ils veulent mettre en place pour assurer leur organisation de la securite prete a discussions. C'est ainsi que s'exprime l'auteur apres avoir analyse soigneusement la politique americaine a l'egard de l'Europe au cours de ces annees.

- Asmus, Ronald D.
L' Amerique, l' Allemagne et la nouvelle logique de reforme de l' Alliance.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 62e annee, no. 3, automne 1997, p. 247-261.

Dans le contexte geopolitique de l'apres-guerre froide, les relations bilaterales germano-americaines ont perdu de leur importance strategique du point de vue des responsables d'outre-Atlantique. De plus, l'Europe n'etant plus menacee militairement, alors que la puissance economique et militaire de l'Union europeenne est comparable a celle des Etats-Unis, beaucoup d'Americains s'interrogent sur la necessite d'un maintien de leurs forces militaires sur le Vieux Continent. Concernant la Republique federale, cette interrogation se fait d'autant plus pressante que l'Allemagne peine a devenir le partenaire economique et strategique global dont les Etats-Unis ont besoin en Europe et dans le monde.

- Asmus, Ronald D.
Kugler, Richard L.
Larrabee, F. Stephen
Building a New NATO.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 72, no. 4, September - October 1993, p. 28-40.

The West's challenge after the Cold War is to build a new NATO to secure the alliance's unstable eastern and southern flanks. An expanded alliance not only betters the odds for East-Central Europe's political and economic reform. It also reduces the dangers of German-Russian rivalry, instability spilling west and rampaging nationalism. The first step is a new transatlantic bargain, one that balances changed U.S. and European interests, and recognizes that the concerns of Europe's periphery are central to the continent as a whole.

** This list contains material received as of July 2001 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 17 juillet 2001.

- Bailes, Alyson
Europe's Defense Challenge.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 1, January - February 1997, p. 15-20.

Although NATO is reinventing itself with newfound vigor, the effectiveness of the alliance requires that Washington grant Europe greater independence on defense.

- Barroso, Jose Manuel Durao
Le partenariat transatlantique dans le nouvel environnement europeen de securite.
REVUE DE L' OTAN, vol. 43, no. 5, septembre 1995, p. 3-6.

Le partenariat transatlantique, meme si on l'associe frequemment a l'OTAN, recouvre en fait une realite plus large englobant aussi les relations bilaterales entre Allies nord-americains et europeens, la relation entre l'OTAN et l'UEO, ainsi que les mecanismes de consultation entre les Etats-Unis et l'Union europeenne. Le present article, qui examine l'evolution de ces composantes, aborde en particulier l'impact du processus d'elargissement. L'auteur, dans sa conclusion, declare que plusieurs voies a meme d'assurer un passage sans heurts a une communaute transatlantique elargie pourront se faire jour, au premier rang desquelles figurent une efficacite accrue des mecanismes actuels de consultation, ou encore une transparence plus poussee.

- Barry, Charles
Kay, Sean
Spero, Joshua
Completing the Transatlantic Bargain : The United States and European Security.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 1000, no. 644, March 2001, p. 129-136.

It is time for a summit to renew the transatlantic commitment by defining a new, more equal balance of influence over transatlantic affairs. America need not fear that outcome.

- Bergsten, C. Fred
America and Europe : Clash of the Titans ?
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 2, March - April 1999, p. 20-34.

The euro's launch will transform the transatlantic relationship for good by placing Europe on an equal economic footing with the United States. If Washington does not face up to this and tackle outstanding trade and monetary-policy issues with its European partners soon, its current concerns - such as ballooning trade deficits and rising protectionist pressures at home - could spiral out of control. A good starting point for cooperation would be a joint initiative to limit fluctuations in the dollar and the euro. Trade negotiations between Europe and the United States also need a shot in the arm to get commerce flowing freely. An effective US partnership with Europe is essential to avoid a showdown and maintain global leadership.

- Bergsten, C. Fred
America's Two-Front Economic Conflict.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 2, March - April 2001, p. 16-27.

America now faces the prospect of economic conflicts with both Europe and East Asia. The US and the European Union have already fired the first shots of retaliatory sanctions over their ever-growing trade disputes. On the other side of the world, meanwhile, Asian countries are creating a bloc of their own that could include preferential trade arrangements and an Asian Monetary Fund. These developments could produce a tripolar world and hamper global economic integration. To avert this outcome, the US must quell its domestic backlash against globalization and reassert its economic leadership in the world. The new Bush administration should make

multilateral trade liberalization a top priority - or it will face unpleasant economic and political consequences as the US and foreign economies slow.

- Bertram, Christoph
Starting Over Again.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 49, Spring 2001, p. 12-14.
<http://www.nato.int/docu/review.htm>

The author assesses European concerns and expectations at the change of tenant in the White House.

- Bierling, Stephan
Amerika fuhrt, Europa folgt ? : eine Beziehung sucht ihren Zweck.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 53. Jahr, Nr. 2, Februar 1998, S. 9-18.

Fur die USA und Westeuropa bedeutete das Ende des Kalten Krieges auch den Wegfall des gemeinsamen Gegners. Bierling untersucht, welche Konsequenzen dies beim Fortbestehen alter und dem Auftauchen neuer Gegensatze hat. Er zeigt auf, dass das transatlantische Verhaltnis von Partnerschaft wie von Rivalitat gekennzeichnet ist, dass die Haltung gegenüber bestimmten Fragen oder Problemen diesseits und jenseits des Atlantiks sehr unterschiedlich ausfallt. Die Europaer müssen den USA beweisen, dass sie ein attraktiver Partner sind, die USA hingegen müssen von überzogenen Erwartungen an Europa Abschied nehmen.

- Blinken, Antony J.
The False Crisis Over the Atlantic.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 3, May - June 2001, p. 35-42.

European elites lambaste the US for bad behavior at home and hegemonic hubris abroad. These Europeans see an ominous transatlantic 'values gap' emerging over the death penalty, guns, 'Frankenfoods', and unchecked capitalism. And Washington's unilateralist obstinance on issues such as missile defense, land mines, and global warming only makes matters worse. But a closer look shows that Europe and the US are in fact converging culturally, economically, and even strategically. This phony crisis in relations only makes it more difficult to tap the full potential of the transatlantic partnership.

- Bracken, Paul
Johnson, Stuart E.
Beyond NATO : Complementary Militaries.
ORBIS, vol. 37, no. 2, Spring 1993, p. 205-221.

- Brands, M. C.
Negen misverstanden over de transatlantische betrekkingen.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 4, april 1996, p. 180-186.

The author settles the score with nine misconceptions on the transatlantic relationship, i.e. (1) transatlantic crises are characteristic for the post-Cold War period; (2) the United States fear a united Europe; (3) similar norms, values and interests result in similar policy; (4) basically, Europeans and Americans have a common understanding; (5) America still regulates European security, as is proven by the case of Bosnia; (6) Americans and Germans are taking the lead as partners; (7) the European Union has a common policy towards Eastern Europe; (8) more American involvement in the Pacific region means less involvement in Europe; and (9) a new Transatlantic Charter is the best guarantee for intensive transatlantic relations.

- Brenner, Michael
Une nouvelle optique sur la securite europeenne : le regard de
Washington.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 55e annee, no. 3, automne 1990, p. 543-557.

- Brown, Harold
Transatlantic Security.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 18, no. 4, Autumn 1995, p. 29-51.

- Brzezinski, Zbigniew
Comment l' Amerique doit vivre avec la nouvelle Europe.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 23, no. 91, automne 2000, p. 485-496.

- Brzezinski, Zbigniew
Living with a New Europe.
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 60, Summer 2000, p. 17, 16 p., (MasterFILE
Premier).

This article deals with the foreign relations of the United States with
Europe, the role of America in Eurasia, European developments and
prospects and the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

- Brzezinski, Zbigniew
Vivir con una nueva Europa.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 14, no. 77, septiembre - octubre 2000, p.
43-62.

Europa, pese a su gradual integracion economica y politica, continua
siendo, de hecho, un protectorado militar de Estados Unidos. Esta
situacion provoca tensiones y resentimientos desde que desapareciera su
amenaza comun (la URSS). Sin embargo, la fortaleza economica y
tecnologica estadounidense mantendra esa asimetria durante el primer
cuarto del siglo XXI.

- Cambone, Stephen
Will the US Senate Endorse NATO's Enlargement ?
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 6, November - December 1997, p. 12-16.

The US Senate has started debating NATO enlargement in earnest. In Spring
1998, the Senate, as required by the US constitution, will decide whether
to amend the Washington Treaty. The key issues the Senate is likely to
scrutinise include the costs of enlargement, the burden-sharing issue,
the implications of EU enlargement, the relationship with Russia, and the
size and timing of further enlargement. In agreeing to enlargement, the
Senate is likely to have several conditions that will have to be
incorporated in the final resolution of ratification and which could
affect US policy on NATO for many years.

- Cambone, Stephen A.
Debate in the US Senate on NATO Enlargement.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 142, no. 6, December 1997, p. 9-13.

NATO enlargement has been an important issue on the international
security agenda in 1997 and as the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland
have been invited to join NATO the US Senate is preparing for the
ratification of this enlargement. Dr. Cambone here looks at the debate in
the Senate on NATO enlargement and at the worries which Senators have
voiced concerning the process. The concerns fall into three categories :
the problem of burdensharing - are the Europeans willing to contribute
their share of the cost ? Future enlargement : if the costs of the first
enlargement create problems, will it be possible to enlarge even further
in a second round ? And lastly, Russia's relations to the West and its
reaction to the enlargement. Dr. Cambone argues that the Senate is fully

aware of the importance of Europe to American security and of an enlarged NATO to Europe.

- Cheney, Richard
America's Defense in a Changing World.
NATO'S SIXTEEN NATIONS, vol. 37, no. 6, 1992, Special Issue, p. 8-11.

- Christopher, Warren
Vers un sommet de l' OTAN.
REVUE DE L' OTAN, vol. 41, no. 4, aout 1993, p. 3-6.

- Clercq, Willy De
De transatlantische relatie : het toenemend belang van economische samenwerking.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 51, nr. 3, maart 1997, p. 136-140.

The author deals with the transatlantic economic relations, which are nowadays more important than ever in a world characterized by globalization processes and a fast growing world economy. Both the European Union and the United States are preparing for the 21st century. The first Ministerial Conference of the WTO in Singapore of December 1996 strengthened their multilateral cooperation. There, the EU and the USA reached an important agreement on information technology. The bilateral relations are pressured, however, by disputes around the Helms-Burton Bill and by potential conservative forces in the USA. The EU itself is also facing internal challenges, such as the transition to a single currency and institutional reforms. In this article the author argues that, despite current difficulties a reinforced and liberalized transatlantic economic cooperation is in the main interest of both partners.

- Colson, Bruno
La grande strategie des Etats-Unis et l' Europe : entre la preponderance et l' 'offshore balancing'.
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 52, no. 5-6, 1999, p. 77-93.

- Cooper, Charles
Steinberg, James
The Evolution of the European Economy : Implications for Trans-Atlantic Relations.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 26, no. 2, April - June 1991, p. 35-52.

- Crouch, J. D.
European Security.
GLOBAL AFFAIRS, vol. 8, no. 4, Fall 1993, p. 1-18.

- Crowe, William J.
Elements of US Foreign Policy.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 140, no. 6, December 1995, p. 1-4.

The author here emphatically reiterates America's commitment to European engagement, discussing the continuing relevance of NATO, the vital importance of assuring public support for and understanding of the North Atlantic Alliance and the example and place of Bosnia. He believes that the complex new security environment requires tolerance, understanding of the burdens placed on leaders and especially a realistic grasp by the public of the possible solutions to the difficult problems that now confront us. In this, he sees a strong continuing role for the support of the Transatlantic relationship.

- Cuperus, Rene
Europe Bless America ! : de riskante fictie van een Europese
Alleingang.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 52, nr. 2, februari 1998, p. 59-62.

The author criticizes the attitude towards the United States of America which is currently developing. Those who tolerated the Pax Americana during the Cold War, now tend to resist the hegemonial position of the United States in a unipolar world. The attempts of major European countries to transform the European Union into a 'global geo-strategical player' can be seen as riskful in this respect. A European Alleingang may endanger transatlantic cooperation. The revival of European world politics must be regarded as a mere fiction. Instead, Europeans have to bury their taboo on 'the idea of a unique America'. The United States, the author argues, should be considered a pars pro toto for the world as a whole and has to be approached that way.

- Daalder, Ivo H.
Goldgeier, James M.
Putting Europe First.
SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 1, Spring 2001, p. 71-91.
<http://www4.oup.co.uk/surviv> (user name = nato, password = brussels)

For more than 50 years, the US has pursued a policy toward Europe that aimed at strengthening the democratic core : first in the West and, once the Berlin Wall came down, in the East. The immediate challenge for the Bush administration is to ensure that the process started at the end of the Cold War will be brought to fruition, so that a peaceful, undivided and democratic Europe, stretching from the Atlantic to beyond the Urals, will finally have been created. That implies clear policy choices : Washington should fully support the development of a strong Europe; NATO enlargement must continue; Russia cannot be left to its own devices, but must be encouraged into a cooperative partnership; and some American troops will have to remain in the Balkans for quite some time. In effect, this requires a continuation of the Clinton administration's strategy of putting Europe - and not NATO or Russia - first.

- Defarges, Philippe Moreau
Les Etats-Unis et l' Europe.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 53eme annee, mai 1997, p. 57-64.
- Defarges, Philippe Moreau
Les Etats-Unis et le malentendu europeen.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 47e annee, aout - septembre 1991, p. 87-94.
- Einsenhower, Susan
Starting Cold War II ?
PROCEEDINGS, vol. 124, no. 5, May 1998, p. 38-43.

Debate over expanding NATO to include Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic has drawn scant media attention because so many current and former US leaders endorse the plan. But losing sight of the high cost - including the risk of alienating a still-nuclear-armed Russia - could be a strategic blunder of historic proportions.

- Evera, Stephen Van
Why Europe Matters, Why the Third World Doesn't : American Grand Strategy After the Cold War.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 13, no. 2, June 1990, p. 1-51.
- Everts, Steven
De regering-Bush : wat betekent het voor Europa ?
VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 30, nr. 1, 2001, p. 5-9.

- Fischer, Joschka
The Indispensable Partner.
GEORGETOWN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, Winter/Spring 2000, no. 1,
accessed 23/10/00.
http://cfdev.georgetown.edu/publications/journal/1_12.htm

- A strong Europe will also make for stronger transatlantic relations across the board - in the political, economic and military domains. In a globalized world, only a European Union that can act effectively - not just on economic and financial issues, but also in the area of foreign and security policy - will be able to safeguard peace in Europe and rise to the global challenges on today's agenda. It is clearly true that the United States is the 'indispensable nation' in that its contribution is essential to resolving international issues. It is up to Europe to develop and become the 'indispensable partner' to the United States, while it is up to the United States to accept and support this process. This is the challenge - but also the transatlantic opportunity - of a European security and defense policy.

- Foch, Rene
Comment vivre avec les Etats-Unis ?
COMMENTAIRE, no. 93, printemps 2001, p. 21-25.

- Garnham, David
Ending Europe's Security Dependence.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 17, no. 4, December 1994, p. 125-142.

- This study asks four questions : how fast should NATO expand, if at all ? If it does expand, how far east should it go? If it expands, what is the ultimate purpose of the expansion ? Finally, is NATO itself the best instrument to secure and stabilize post-Cold War Europe ?

- Gnesotto, Nicole
La longue marche vers le partenariat.
COMMENTAIRE, no. 94, ete 2001, p. 303-309.

- Goldgeier, James
NATO Enlargement : Anatomy of a Decision.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 21, no. 1, Winter 1998, p. 85-102.

- How did President Clinton, often criticized for a lack of attention to foreign policy and for vacillation on important issues, come to make a decision with far-reaching consequences for all of Europe at a time when NATO faced no military threat and in the context of diminishing resources for foreign policy ? This article analyzes the process the US government followed that led to this major foreign policy initiative.

- Goldman, Steven E.
Redressing the Balance : US Vital Interest in Europe.
GLOBAL AFFAIRS, vol. 8, no. 3, Summer 1993, p. 38-56.

- Goodby, James E.
Europe Undivided.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 21, no. 3, Summer 1998, p. 191-207.

- Grimmett, Richard
The United States and NATO in the Mediterranean : An American Perspective of the Post-Cold War Era.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 28, no. 3, July - September 1993, p. 79-86.

- Gutmann, Francis
Defensa europea : una perspectiva francesa.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 14, no. 77, septiembre - octubre 2000, p. 63-73.

Francia es consciente de que Europa no se puede construir sin una defensa. No obstante, no podría aceptar que la defensa europea fuera una mera prolongación de los norteamericanos en la OTAN. Es preciso que, en el seno de la Alianza Atlántica, se establezca un pilar europeo en el mismo plano que Estados Unidos. Aunque muchos europeos consideran incuestionable que los norteamericanos les defenderán en todas las circunstancias, nada autoriza a pensar así.

- Hahn, Walter
The US and NATO : Strategic Readjustments ?
GLOBAL AFFAIRS, vol. 6, no. 4, Fall 1991, p. 43-69.

- Ham, Peter van
Europe's Common Defense Policy : Implications for the Trans-Atlantic Relationship.
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 31, no. 2, June 2000, p. 215-228.

After many years of talking about a possible Common Defense Policy, the EU summit in Helsinki in December 1999 finally defined the contours of the military dimension of the Union. The trans-Atlantic strain over the organization of European defense and tensions in relations between the 'New EU' and NATO are already evident. However, there is no reason to assume the dawn of an era of 'trans-atlantic troubles'. Defense cooperation is driven by the potential to eliminate costly redundancies between European armed forces. Many European states are willing to widen their concepts of national sovereignty and prepared to move towards a qualitatively new Europolity. As with the EMU and the Euro, much will depend upon the willingness of Europeans to put trust in their own strength and capabilities.

- Hamm, Manfred R.
Mey, Holger H.
Transatlantic Relations and the Future of European Security.
STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 18, no. 2, Spring 1990, p. 43-52.

- Hampton, Mary N.
NATO at the Creation : US Foreign Policy, West Germany and the Wilsonian Impulse.
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 4, no. 3, Spring 1995, p. 610-656.

The author here shows that the Alliance evolved as a hybrid organization : one that maintained collective security against the Soviet Union and actively pursued the construction of a trans-Atlantic community of nations.

- Heisbourg, Francois
L' Europe condamnée à l' insécurité.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 61, automne 1993, p. 283-295.

- Heisbourg, Francois
The European-American Alliance.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 68, no. 4, October 1992, p. 665-678.

- Heisbourg, Francois
The Future of the Atlantic Alliance : Whither NATO? Whether NATO ?
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 15, no. 2, Spring 1992, p. 127-139.

- Heisbourg, Francois
New NATO, New Europe : New Division of Labour.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 2, April - June 1999, p. 63-72.

The author offers a comprehensive assessment of the opportunities for and obstacles to a revision of the current division of labour between European countries and the US within the Alliance. He stresses that only a stronger European defence identity can ensure a vital role for the Alliance not based on the current precarious 'performance legitimacy'.

- Herzog, Roman
Partnerschaft fur das 21. Jahrhundert : die neue Qualitat im euro-atlantischen Dialog.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 53. Jahr, Nr. 2, Februar 1998, S. 3-8.

Die zu losenden globalen Probleme lassen Europa und den USA gar keine andere Wahl, als am transatlantischen Verhaltnis festzuhalten - vielmehr muss sogar eine neue Qualitat der Partnerschaft entwickelt werden. Der deutsche Bundesprasident schlagt daher vier Dimensionen von Partnerschaft vor : die 'Partnerschaft in der Wahrnehmung politischen Wandels', die 'Partnerschaft in strategischer Vision', die 'Partnerschaft im pragmatischen Handeln' sowie die 'Partnerschaft in der Verpflichtung auf gemeinsame Werte'.

- Hillen, John
After SFOR : Planning a European-Led Force.
JOINT FORCE QUARTERLY, no. 15, Spring 1997, p. 75-80.

- Hillen, John
Getting NATO back to Basics.
STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 24, no. 2, Spring 1996, p. 41-50.

Since the end of the Cold War, NATO has faced an identity crisis. NATO forces have acted as a combat subcontractor for the UN peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia and currently carry out a role of peace implementation in Bosnia. Some have envisioned a new NATO as a cooperative or collective security organization. But these attempts at redefinition miss the point. At its core, NATO is an American alliance, designed to link the US geopolitically to Europe. Its purpose is to prevent the domination of Europe by a hostile hegemonic power. If NATO continues down its present path, the result will be an emasculated organization that bears no resemblance to its predecessor.

- Holbrooke, Richard
America, a European Power.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 2, March - April 1995, p. 37-51.

- Ikenberry, G. John
Strengthening the Atlantic Political Order.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 3, July - September 2000, p. 57-68.

- Johnsen, William T.
Blank, Stephen J.
Young, Thomas-Durell
Building a Better European Security Environment.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 8, no. 3, Autumn 1999, p. 1-24.

The US has the opportunity, perhaps fleeting, to shape the future European security environment to the common benefit of Europe and the US. This article proffers a vision of what such a future security environment should look like. It identifies potential obstacles to achieving that vision and assesses prospective risks to US and European security

interests should those hurdles not be overcome. The essay then outlines feasible political, economic, and military initiatives that could help turn the vision into reality. The article closes by offering policy recommendations.

- Juppe, Alain
Partenariat ou protectorat ? : réponse à Zbigniew Brzezinski.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 23, no. 92, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 737-743.

- Kaiser, Karl
Die deutsch-amerikanischen Sicherheitsbeziehungen in Europa nach dem Kalten Krieg.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 47. Jahr, 1. Folge, 10. Januar 1992, S. 7-17.

- Kaplan, Lawrence S.
The Transatlantic Connection in NATO : Past, Present, Future.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, no. 1, 2001, p. 36-38.

- Kirchner, Emil
Sperling, James
The Future Germany and the Future of NATO.
GERMAN POLITICS, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1992, p. 50-77.

- Kissinger, Henry A.
Die künftigen Beziehungen zwischen Europa und den Vereinigten Staaten.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 47, Jahr, 23. Folge, 10. Dezember 1992, S. 671-679.

- Konertz, Martin
Das transatlantische Verhältnis und die Sicherheit Europas.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 42. Jg., Nr. 10, Oktober 1993, S. 520-522.

- Kull, Steven
The American Public, Congress and NATO Enlargement, Part I : Is There Sufficient Public Support ?
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 1, January 1997, p. 9-11.

As NATO prepares for the process of enlargement, the importance of public and parliamentary support in the current member countries, particularly in the United States, should not be underestimated. This article addresses the salient questions of whether the American public will support extending security guarantees to new members and whether the US Congress will muster the two-thirds Senate majority required to ratify the addition of new members.

- Kunsman, Eric A.
The 1990s: A Decade of Transition to a New European Security Order.
COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 10, no. 3, 1991, p. 273-286.

- Kupchan, Charles A.
In Defence of European Defence : An American Perspective.
SURVIVAL, vol. 42, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 16-32.

The American foreign-policy community is now questioning the viability of the traditional transatlantic security bargain - namely, that Europe pursues integration while the US keeps the peace. In the aftermath of the Kosovo War, a new consensus is emerging in the US that the Alliance security compact can be maintained only if it becomes more balanced. The US should therefore unequivocally support Europe's renewed efforts to forge a credible common defence. Under the terms of a new Atlantic bargain, Europe would build a robust military capability and the US would

in return accord Europe a voice commensurate with its new station : in effect, capabilities for influence. The US and Europe should stop sparring over European defence, and get on with the hard work of bringing this new bargain to fruition.

- Kupchan, Charles A.

Vom Friedensstifter zum Partner : Amerika, Europa und die atlantische Sicherheit.

INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 53. Jahr, Nr. 7, Juli 1998, S. 21-26.

Auch wenn die Vereinigten Staaten für absehbare Zeit noch in Europa präsent sein werden, um die Sicherheit auf dem Kontinent zu gewährleisten, sind Überlegungen für die Zeit nach dem Ende der Pax Americana notwendig. Die Atlantische Allianz muss umgestaltet werden von den Vereinigten Staaten und ihren Verbündeten, möglicherweise unter Einbeziehung Russlands als NATO-Mitglied.

- Layne, Christopher

US Hegemony and the Perpetuation of NATO.

JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 23, no. 3, September 2000, p. 59-91.

Offensive realist theory explains why - contrary to neorealist predictions - NATO did not unravel after the Cold War. In the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse, Type I offensive realism (which explains why great powers engage in expansionist behavior) predicts that the US would seek - geographically and ideologically - to extend its influence and control over the European security environment. Type II offensive realism (which explains why great powers seek hegemony) predicts that the US would seek to prevent both the re-emergence of multipolarity in Europe and the emergence of rival European power centers. US policy - negotiations on German reunification, NATO enlargement, the Bosnia and Kosovo interventions, and the response to the European Security and Defense Policy - confirm these predictions.

- Lieber, Robert J.

No Transatlantic Divorce in the Offing.

ORBIS, vol. 44, no. 4, Fall 2000, p. 571-584.

- Lindley-French, Julian

Full-Spectrum Infighting : Closing the Warfighting/Peacekeeping Gap in Transatlantic Security.

RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 2, April 2001, p. 22-24.

- MacGeehan, Robert

United States and NATO after the Cold War.

NATO REVIEW, vol. 38, no. 1, February 1990, p. 7-13.

- Mathiopoulos, Margarita

The USA and Europe as Global Players in the Twenty-first Century.

AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 49, no. 4, 1998, p. 36-49.

The full extent of the world-wide changes taking place since the end of the Cold War is only gradually becoming clear. The most important fact internationally is that there is now only one world power, the USA, since Russia, the principal successor state to the collapsed USSR, has fallen into a state of great weakness and grave crisis because of the economic burden inherited from socialism. At the same time problems and crises are emerging in many regions which even a powerful USA cannot cope with on its own. The author explains in this article why the present situation justifies without question the continuation of NATO, even if its original responsibility - to defend its member states against military threat and to deter potential enemies from aggression - is now hardly relevant. Apart from maintaining the American-European alliance forged during the

post-war period and still important for both sides, it is now principally a matter of the allies working together to resolve global issues. This prospect - which Europe still seems sometimes distinctly cool towards - is suited not only to reviving the transatlantic relationship in the light of altered circumstances and giving an important new role to NATO, but also to moving towards a resolution of global political issues that might otherwise escalate dangerously. The author analyses all the aspects involved and argues forcefully and with concrete proposals that the new responsibilities should be taken on. This would also give the nations of Europe a great opportunity to grow closer and strengthen their position.

- Mentre, Paul

Etats-Unis et Europe : la nouvelle donne economique.
COMMENTAIRE, no. 94, ete 2001, p. 331-337.

- Meyer, Kent R.

US Support for Baltic Membership in NATO : What Ends, What Risks ?
PARAMETERS, vol. 30, no. 4, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 67-82.

This article examines US strategy regarding NATO enlargement, assesses its strengths and weaknesses, and recommends changes to protect vital US interests in Europe while providing the Baltic Republics with a security alternative to NATO membership.

- Nelson, Daniel

America and Collective Security in Europe.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 17, no. 4, December 1994, p. 105-124.

This study asks four questions : how fast should NATO expand, if at all ? If it does expand, how far east should it go? If it expands, what is the ultimate purpose of the expansion ? Finally, is NATO itself the best instrument to secure and stabilize post-Cold War Europe ?

- Nelson, Mark M.

Transatlantic Travails.
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 92, Fall 1993, p. 75-91.

- Odom, William E.

Russia's Several Seats at the Table.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 4, October 1998, p. 809-822.

In his reply to Jonathan Haslam's article published in the January 1998 issue of this review, the author outlines his vision of NATO and its origins and purpose, and discusses the American strategic view of the post-Cold War world against which the decision to expand NATO should be seen. Russia will, he maintains, remain a problem for the West, but its importance and power should not be overemphasized. The danger facing the Western security order is not one of Russia's exclusion but of US power ebbing out of Europe - a distinct probability unless NATO expands.

- Pfaff, William

The Coming Clash of Europe with America.
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 15, no. 4, Winter 1998 - 1999, p. 1-9.

- Pfaff, William

Europe-Etats-Unis : l' affrontement en vue.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 22, no. 85, printemps 1999, p. 87-95.

- Pinto, Diana
The Great European Sea Change.
DAEDALUS, vol. 121, no. 4, Fall 1992, p. 129-150.

- Powell, Colin L.
The American Commitment to European Security.
SURVIVAL, vol. 34, no. 2, Summer 1992, p. 3-11.

- Prestre, Philippe Le
L' adaptation a la turbulence : les Etats-Unis face aux transformations
de l' OTAN, 1989-1991.
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 23, no. 1, mars 1992, p. 57-75.

- Rifkind, Malcolm
Need for an Atlantic Community to Better Reflect US-European Relations.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 43, no. 2, March 1995, p. 11-14.

- Rodman, Peter W.
The Fallout from Kosovo.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 4, July - August 1999, p. 45-51.

NATO began its air war against Yugoslavia with high hopes that the transatlantic relationship would find new purpose through robust humanitarian intervention. Alas, Milosevic remains as entrenched as ever. A messy diplomatic compromise is increasingly likely, but anything less than total victory will have grave consequences for America and its allies. Europe will be wary of cooperating with the United States on security and balk at future engagements that lack UN blessing. US isolationists will get plenty more grist for their mill. With its expectations set far too high, NATO will play the price when they come crashing back to earth.

- Roper, John
De toekomst van de Europees-Noordamerikaanse veiligheidssamenwerking.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 2, februari 1996, p. 78-81.

- The author presents here a proposal for the future of European-North American Cooperation. Only by developing effective European participation in a new transatlantic security partnership will we be able to have an effective European Security and Defence Identity as well as a renewed transatlantic security relationship of continuing relevance. While some substantial objections are likely to be raised against such an extended security partnership between the United States and Western Europe, left to the agenda of the Cold War the existing relationship (the Atlantic Alliance) could well perish for lack of substantial issues to sustain it.

- Rose, Francois de
Tensions euro-americaïnes.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 23, no. 92, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 745-750.

- Rosner, Jeremy D.
The American Public, Congress and NATO Enlargement, Part II : Will Congress Back Admitting New Members ?
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 1, January 1997, p. 12-14.

- Rosner, Jeremy D.
NATO's Enlargement's American Hurdle.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 75, no. 4, July - August 1996, p. 9-16.

Winning US approval for extending NATO will not be as difficult as opponents claim or as easy as supporters assume. The White House must lead the Senate eastward.

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

- Rudolf, Peter
The Strategic Debate in the USA : Implications for the American Role in Europe.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 44, no. 2, 1993, p. 111-119.

- Rudolf, Peter
The USA and NATO Enlargement.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 47, no. 4, 1996, p. 339-347.

For eastern Central European countries the liberation from Soviet rule and from the imposed socialist system in 1989/90 was synonymous with a 'return to Europe', a move which had previously been prevented by force. The logical consequence of this perception is a pronounced will to belong also to the international communities that Western Europeans have formed. NATO is the addressee of such desires with respect to international security. In this article, the author discusses in detail how the USA, as the leading power in the Atlantic Alliance, reacts to this desire and what prospects result for those countries seeking accession.

- Ruhle, Michael
Transatlantische Dissonanzen.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 49. Jg., Nr. 10, Oktober 2000, S. 16-17.

- Ruhle, Michael
Transatlantische Dissonanzen : sieben Thesen zu den Sicherheitsbeziehungen.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 55. Jahr, Nr. 4, April 2000, S. 43-46.

Die transatlantische Sicherheitspolitik ist und bleibt das management von Asymmetrie, postuliert der Autor, Mitglied des Internationalen Stabes der NATO. Auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks sollte die Maxime gelten, das krisengefahrdete Verhältnis nicht durch künstliche Themen zu belasten. Dazu gehöre die überflüssige Diskussion über den nuklearen Ersteinsatz ebenso wie die amerikanische Globalisierungsrhetorik.

- Ruiter, Bob de
De Atlantische crisis en het 'Europese falen' in Bosnie.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 7-8, juli - augustus 1996, p. 378-384.

The author examines the Transatlantic relationship and focuses on the divergent American and European views of the manner in which the Bosnian war should be dealt with. The European countries were united in their support for the peace agreements, brokered by the EU and UN mediators. They rejected American demands for air strikes and lifting of the arms embargo, which in turn were showing an ambivalent attitude towards the negotiating process. In short, the first priority of the Europeans was to end the war as soon as possible, while the US insisted on the necessity of achieving justice for the Bosnian government. The author argues that these Transatlantic frictions caused what is commonly perceived as the 'European failure' of Bosnia. When in 1995 a more coherent strategy was

produced, it reflected the views of the United States as well as those of the European countries.

- Russell, Richard L.
American Security Policy and NATO's Future.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 8, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 16-24.

NATO remains the United States' principal instrument for shaping the security environment in Europe. It acts as a long-run hedge against a possible resurrected Russian threat to the continent and to dampen the prospects for the renationalization of military and security policies in Europe. The United States faces formidable challenges to ensure the viability of NATO after the Cold War. Washington must be prepared to engage in a grand balancing act on several fronts to perpetuate the Alliance. It must support NATO enlargement to move the Alliance's geopolitical center eastward, but not to territory that would be practically indefensible in the event of a resurgent Russia. Out-of-area operations will preoccupy Alliance attention in the near future, but too great an appetite for undertaking peacekeeping missions might over time substantially erode the Alliance's ability to deter or withstand the political and military pressure from a resurgent Russia or major power or coalition on the outlying of the Eurasian landmass.

- Scharping, Rudolf
Europa und Amerika : gemeinsam auf dem Weg in das 21. Jahrhundert.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 48. Jg., Nr. 7, Juli 1999, S. 7-11.

- Schonberg, Karl K.
The Evolution of American Attitudes Toward the Atlantic Alliance : Continuity and Change from the Washington Treaty to NATO Enlargement.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 4, Winter 2000, p. 1-30.

This article contrasts the views of NATO expressed by American leaders in the 1998 debate over alliance expansion, with those expressed in the initial debate over the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1948 and 1949. A focused comparison of these cases is conducted primarily to illustrate the ways in which American attitudes toward the alliance have evolved since the years immediately following World War II, though more general conclusions about the ways in which US foreign policy adapts to meet the demands of new international conditions emerge as well. This study concludes that the American understanding of the transatlantic security relationship has changed significantly over time, and that traditional realist descriptions of the role of alliances in statecraft are no longer adequate to explain the US view of NATO.

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

- Schwarz, Benjamin C.
'Cold War' Continuities : US Economic and Security Strategy Toward Europe.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 17, no. 4, December 1994, p. 82-104.

This study asks four questions : how fast should NATO expand, if at all ? If it does expand, how far east should it go? If it expands, what is the ultimate purpose of the expansion ? Finally, is NATO itself the best instrument to secure and stabilize post-Cold War Europe ?

- Serfaty, Simon
Lasting Liaison.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 49, Spring 2001, p. 6-8.
<http://www.nato.int/docu/review.htm>

The author places the transatlantic relationship in its historical context.

- Sheetz, Mark S.
Exit Strategies : American Grand Designs for Postwar European Security.
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 8, no. 4, Summer 1999, p. 1-43.
- Shostal, Pierre
Renewing the US-European Relationship.
PARAMETERS, vol. 24, no. 4, Winter 1994 - 1995, p. 48-56.
- Silve, Benoit M.
From Leadership to Partnership : A New American Security Strategy for Europe.
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 50, no. 1, Sequence 357, Winter 1997, p. 88-103.

This article highlights, from a European perspective, some features of the present European security environment and considers a new orientation for US security strategy for this region. The first topic explored is the magnitude of the transformation of Western Europe, which is more controversial than was its economic recovery from the Second World War. Then the author considers the US security strategy for Europe; although it is widely recognized that in the next century new economic poles will emerge, American security strategy is tailored to the existing unipolarity in world affairs. Today's expert on security issues, the United States intends to retain its Cold War leadership in Europe and to control the regional security architecture through NATO. As the final part of this article submits, however, the risks that this strategy entails suggest that a new orientation will be required today, if the United States is to harvest in the next century the benefit of its leadership in the present era.

- Sirius
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La defense europeenne : rapports transatlantiques.
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- Sloan, Stanley
Transatlantic Relations in The Wake of the Brussels Summit.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 42, no. 2, April 1994, p. 27-31.
- Sloan, Stanley
Transatlantic Relations : Stormy Weather on the Way to Enlargement.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 5, September - October 1997, p. 12-16.

While agreement was reached in Madrid on inviting new members to join the Alliance, the author argues that the ratification process next year could be more trying. This process, converging with the imminent Bosnia pull-out in the summer, may see the resurgence of the old burden-sharing debate in the US Congress. Coupled with European complaints of US hegemony, this debate may put new strains on the transatlantic relations. In the ends writes Mr. Sloan, the US and Europe clearly have little practical choice but to continue their cooperation, but the debate on how to share costs and roles will determine the future complexion of the Alliance.

- Sloan, Stanley R.
An American Perspective on Future European Security Arrangements.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 30, no. 1, January - March 1995, p.
15-31.

- Sloan, Stanley R.
US Perspectives on NATO's Future.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 71, no. 2, April 1995, p. 217-231.

This article argues for the continuing relevance and desirability of a transatlantic alliance in the post-Cold War world. Reviewing the nature and durability of the attachment to NATO in the United States, as well as the fluctuations in enthusiasm for military involvement in Europe, the author contends that difficulties experienced by NATO in respect of the discussions around possible enlargement and its experience in relation to the Bosnian conflict should not be taken as evidence that NATO is no longer an appropriate or useful institution but rather as indications of lessons that should be learnt in order to build on the existing organization to construct a wider transatlantic community adapted to the new international environment.'

- Stenhouse, Mark
North America and Europe : US-European Relations in An Era of
Transition.
INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEW, Defense 1995, Special Issue, p. 71-77.

- Vershbow, Alexander
The American Perspective on European Security and Defence Identity.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 3, September - October 2000, p. 96-107.

- Walker, Jenonne
Keeping America in Europe.
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 83, Summer 1991, p. 128-142.

- Walker, Martin
Variable Geography : America's Mental Maps of a Greater Europe.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 3, July 2000, p. 459-474.

American backing for the process of European enlargement into central and east Europe remains strong despite differences of strategic interest, foreign policy choices and, during the past decade, a certain US ambivalence towards the transatlantic relationship. Drawing on a typology of 'mental maps', the author illustrates how the many and varied American ideas of what a future Europe might look like have guided US (and European) leaders in their attempts at defining this post-Cold War Europe. Whether these maps can combine into clear policy is debatable. Yet the overall American mental map of Europe is becoming clearer. It includes Turkey, and it may include Ukraine and even Russia. However, concerns remain among US officials that this conception of a Greater Europe, equipped with its own foreign policy and military force, may prove a mixed blessing.

- Walker, Martin
What Europeans Think of America.
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 17, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 26-38.

- Wallace, William
Europe : The Necessary Partner.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 3, May - June 2001, p. 16-34.

In many areas, transatlantic cooperation is stronger than ever before. Yet the common perception is of an increasingly fraught relationship, as evidenced by the well-known disputes over beef, bananas, and burden sharing. Assumptions are diverging over security risks and cultural values. Each side criticizes the other's unwieldy policymaking process without admitting its own shortcomings, while leaders pander to domestic interests and prejudices without educating voters on international issues. Europe nonetheless remains indispensable to a multilateral US foreign policy. The Bush Administration must acknowledge the European Union as a true partner, in political and military matters as well as in economics. America cannot expect its allies to share the burdens of global leadership without allowing them their say in the issues at stake.

- Wallace, William
Zielonka, Jan
Antieuropeismo en EE UU.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 13, no. 67, enero - febrero 1999, p. 69-83.

Cuando la UE lanza el euro, EE UU adopta una llamativa actitud antieuropeista, reflejo de una errónea interpretación de la naturaleza del proceso de integración europeo. Washington critica con frecuencia la incapacidad y limitaciones de la UE como actor político, cuando sin embargo desea continuar ejerciendo su liderazgo sin necesidad de consultar a sus socios.

- Wallace, William
Zielonka, Jan
Misunderstanding Europe.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 77, no. 6, November - December 1998, p. 65-79.

American commentators castigate their European allies as economic dinosaurs, hopelessly incoherent in their foreign policy and shamefully irresponsible in their duties to NATO. As Europe prepares to launch its single currency, US critics have found yet another target. But smug assumptions of American supremacy are wildly overdone. Europe's economies are robust and their cooperation increasingly productive. Besides, America is not so hot either. Today's Eurobashing endangers the transatlantic relationship as much as European anti-Americanism once did. America should address its own inconsistencies in foreign policy while granting its European partners the respect they deserve.

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EUROPA ARCHIV, 45. Jahr, 22. Folge, 25. November 1990, S. 655-662.

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Jenseits des Selbstverständlichen : Europa und USA brauchen einen
Neubeginn.
EUROPA ARCHIV, 49. Jahr, 13.-14. Folge, 25. Juli 1994, S. 365-372.

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p. 65-96.

- Zielonka, Jan
Transatlantic Relations Beyond the CFSP.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 4, October - December 2000, p.
27-40.

- Zoellick, Robert B.
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EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, vol. 4, no. 4, Winter 1990, p. 79-84.

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