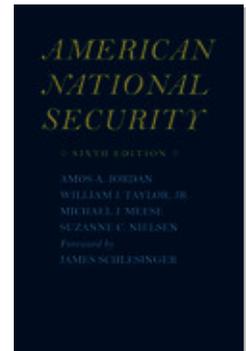# American National Security

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Published by Johns Hopkins University Press

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Europe

For more than four decades after World War II, U.S. security policy toward Europe focused on the East-West confrontation with the Soviet Union and the implementation of the policy of containment. The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU), conflicts in the Balkans (especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo), al-Qa'ida terrorist attacks within the United States and European countries, and military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq have all combined to cause a fundamental realignment of U.S. foreign policy toward the European continent.

Today, U.S. security interests in Europe continue to be shaped by shared values and a shared history. From mature democratic political systems to developed capitalist economies, the similarities between the United States and Europe offer a foundation for sustaining and building upon the close network of cooperation that developed over the years of Cold War. Yet in recent years, significant transatlantic rifts have developed; without attention, these disagreements will adversely affect the ability of the United States to continue to partner with the countries of Europe to advance common interests.

U.S. Interests in Europe

The dramatic transformations on the European continent since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the large-scale terrorist attacks in the United States and Europe in the early twenty-first century have quite logically led the United States to reassess its security interests in Europe. Five major topics deserve attention in looking to the future.

MAP 23.1   Europe

First, the United States has a continuing interest in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as an entity that promotes the security and stability of twenty-four European states (plus Canada) and contributes broadly to international peace and security. The collective defense provision of the alliance (Article 5) indicates that an attack on a member state will be considered an attack against the entire group of members. NATO successfully ensured the freedom of its members and prevented war in Europe during the forty years of the Cold War. However, some argue that with this success, NATO also ended the reason for its existence. Ongoing NATO operations in the Balkans, Afghanistan, and the Mediterranean Sea provide a counterargument and highlight the potential usefulness of continued U.S. participation in the alliance and transformation of its capabilities. Since its founding, The NATO alliance has served as the foremost means through which the United States cooperates with foreign partners in its initiatives relating to international peace and security and its continuing

operations suggest that it will remain a useful treaty organization into the foreseeable future.

Second, because of the large volume of trade and investment across the Atlantic, the stability of this region and security of transatlantic lines of communication remain key U.S. interests for economic reasons. In 2005, 21% of all U.S. exports went to the EU, while 19% of total U.S. imports were from the EU.[1] Yet trade disputes between the United States and the EU (often aired in the World Trade Organization) are frequent, and the existence of various tariffs and subsidies (particularly regarding agricultural products and the aircraft industry) strain this economic relationship.

Third, the United States has an interest in remaining engaged in the region to serve as a counterweight to the influence of the major successor state to the former Soviet Union, Russia. Despite arms reductions, Russia retains a large conventional arsenal and nuclear weapons capable of threatening its neighbors and the United States. Because intentions can change, and because of the possibility that these capabilities could fall into the hands of terrorists or be sold to other states openly hostile to the United States, Russia's military arsenal remains a major U.S. security concern. In addition, many countries in eastern and central Europe and central Asia fear the threat that a resurgent Russia could pose to their security and autonomy. The United States has an interest in the continued political and economic development of these countries and long-term peace and stability in Eurasia. (For more on Russia, see Chapter 22.)

Fourth, Europe's geographic proximity to other regions in which U.S. vital interests lie—particularly the Middle East—also makes it strategically valuable to the United States. Continued close cooperation with the countries of Europe can help the United States address security concerns beyond the European continent.

Finally, the global fight against terrorism necessitates cooperation against the extremist threat. The September 11, 2001, attacks were planned in Hamburg, Germany, highlighting the transnational nature of the threat. Furthermore, the difficulty many European countries are having in integrating large Muslim immigrant populations has led some analysts to raise concerns that some European environments serve as breeding grounds for extremists. The United States has a continuing national security interest in coordinating diplomatic, military, financial, and law enforcement approaches to combating international terrorist groups with European partners.

In sum, despite the transformation in East-West relations that began with the end of the Cold War, European security will continue to be extremely important to the United States. Nevertheless, it will be appropriate for specific policies—such as the U.S. military posture in Europe—to continue to evolve. To have the necessary context to evaluate contemporary policy options, it is useful to review briefly the history of U.S. involvement in Europe since the end of World War II.

History of U.S. Involvement in Europe

After World War II, Europe faced a bipolar world: Only the United States and the Soviet Union had sufficient capabilities to play significant leadership roles. When

Table 23.1 Europe Key Statistics

Country	Total Population (millions)	GDP US$ (billions)	GDP/ Capita (US$)	GDP Real Growth Rate	Unemployment Rate	Military Spending % of GDP	Military Spending 2005 (US$ millions)	Education Spending % of GDP	Research & Development Spending % of GDP	Foreign Aid Dispersed 2005	Human Development Index Ranking 2007/2008 (out of 177)
Albania	3.6	9.3	5,700	5	13.8	1.5	116	2.9	—	—	68
Austria	8.2	310.4	34,700	3.3	4.9	0.9	2,263	5.5	2.33	1,573	15
Belarus	9.7	28.98	8,100	9.9	1.6	1.4	2,700	6	0.62	—	64
Belgium	10.4	369.6	33,000	3	8.1	1.3	4,620	6.1	1.9	1,963	17
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4.5	9.2	5,600	6.2	45.5	4.5	175	—	—	—	66
Bulgaria	7.3	28	10,700	6.1	9.6	2.6	652	4.2	0.51	—	53
Croatia	4.5	37.5	13,400	4.8	17.2	2.4	600	4.7	1.14	—	47
Czech Republic	10.2	119.1	22,000	6.4	8.4	1.8	2,237	4.4	1.28	—	32
Denmark	5.5	258	37,100	3.5	3.8	1.5	3,557	8.5	2.63	2,109	14
Estonia	1.3	13.9	20,300	11.4	4.5	2	214	5.3	0.91	—	44
Finland	5.2	197.9	33,500	4.9	7	2	2,758	6.5	3.46	902	11
France	63.7	2,151	31,200	2.2	8.7	2.6	53,128	5.9	2.16	10,026	10
Germany	82.4	2,875	31,900	2.8	7.1	1.5	38,044	4.6	2.49	10,082	22
Greece	10.7	224	24,000	4.3	9.2	4.3	6,860	4.3	0.58	384	24
Hungary	10	113.2	17,500	3.9	7.4	1.8	1,453	5.5	0.88	—	36
Iceland	0.3	13.7	38,000	2.6	—	0	—	8.1	3.01	—	1
Ireland	4.1	203.8	44,500	5.7	4.3	0.9	948	4.8	1.21	719	5
Italy	58.1	1,785	30,200	1.9	7	1.8	31,384	4.7	1.14	5,091	20
Latvia	2.3	16.5	16,000	11.9	6.5	1.2	204	5.3	0.42	—	45
Lithuania	3.6	30.2	15,300	7.5	3.7	1.2	308	5.2	0.76	—	43
Luxembourg	0.5	34.53	71,400	6.2	4.1	0.9	264	3.6	1.81	256	18
Macedonia, Former Yugoslav Republic (FYR)	2.1	5.6	8,300	3.1	36	6	128	3.5	0.26	—	69

Malta	0.4	5.473	21,300	2.9	6.8	0.7	49	4.5	0.29	—	34
Netherlands	16.6	613.3	32,100	3	5.5	1.6	9,946	5.4	1.85	5,115	9
Norway	4.6	264.4	46,300	4.6	3.5	1.9	4,867	7.7	1.75	2,786	2
Poland	38.5	337	14,400	6.1	14.9	1.71	5,578	5.4	0.58	—	37
Portugal	10.6	176.8	19,800	1.3	7.6	2.3	2,966	5.7	0.78	377	29
Romania	22.3	80.1	9,100	7.7	6.1	2.5	1,948	3.4	0.4	—	60
Slovakia	5.4	47.72	18,200	8.3	10.2	1.9	838	4.3	0.53	—	42
Slovenia	2	37.92	23,400	5.2	9.6	1.7	574	6	1.61	—	27
Spain	40.4	1,084	27,400	3.9	8.1	1.2	13,175	4.3	1.1	3,018	13
Sweden	9	372.5	32,200	4.5	5.6	1.5	5,896	7.4	3.74	3,362	6
Switzerland	7.6	386.1	34,000	2.7	3.3	1	3,606	6	2.57	1,767	7
Ukraine	46.3	82.36	7,800	7.1	6.7	1.4	6,000	6.4	1.16	—	76
United Kingdom	60.8	2,346	31,800	2.8	2.9	2.4	51,696	5.4	1.89	10,767	16

Sources: CIA World Factbook, updated December 13, 2007, UNHDR Human Development Index 2007/2008; IISS Military Balance 2007.

victory ended the anti-fascist wartime alliance, conflicting ideologies and interests led to direct U.S.-Soviet competition in Europe. Faced with growing Soviet expansionism and bellicosity in central and eastern Europe, combined with Soviet threats directed against western and southern Europe, the United States responded strongly.

A first important American commitment was in reaction to the growing threat of communist insurgency within Greece and Turkey. On March 12, 1947, President Harry Truman announced what came to be known as the Truman Doctrine in a speech before a joint session of Congress. The Truman Doctrine identified the expansion of totalitarianism to be a threat to U.S. security and international peace and committed the United States to helping free peoples resist subjugation from militant minority groups and outside pressure. Within a year, the United States backed its words with action by sending military assistance and military advisors to Greece and Turkey.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the Truman Doctrine was the opening move in a strategy of worldwide containment through which the United States sought to confine the Soviet Union to its existing boundaries and limit its influence abroad. Recognizing that economic recovery from the effects of World War II would be vital to political stability and security in western Europe, the United States set forth the Marshall Plan in 1947. This plan played an important role in creating the conditions that allowed countries to recover from the massive physical devastation of the war and still stands today as an oft-cited model for how to facilitate a postwar recovery.[2]

The Formation of NATO and Its Evolution during the Cold War.   Although economic measures were important, they were by themselves insufficient. The Soviet-sponsored coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and the Soviet blockade of Berlin in 1948–1949 convinced Americans and Europeans alike of the need for a defensive military alliance. In 1949, twelve countries (Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States) signed and ratified the treaty that created NATO. NATO was designed as a collective defense organization in which an attack on one would be considered an attack on all. The new alliance's strategic policy stressed deterrence of Soviet aggression by alliance forces on the ground, supported by U.S. strategic nuclear weapons. NATO also provided for a joint command structure with joint planning capabilities and forces-in-being.

Except for the 1947 Rio Pact (see Chapter 24), which allied the United States with its Latin American neighbors, NATO represented America's first peacetime military alliance. The alliance was at first focused on deterring a Soviet attack by increasing the Soviet perception of the costs of such a venture. However, this deterrence strategy rapidly evolved, beginning with the North Korean invasion of South Korea in 1950. Many believed that the invasion was instigated by the Soviet Union and feared that this portended a similar Soviet move within Europe. NATO strategy began to emphasize defense as well as deterrence, and NATO countries sought—with limited success—to develop a substantial force on the European continent, one capable of repelling a massive attack with conventional as well as nuclear means.

NATO has been a successful, if not always harmonious, alliance. At different times in its history, geopolitical developments have tested intra-alliance relations; at each such juncture, the alliance has been able to adapt and survive. An early and serious cause of intra-alliance debate centered on the credibility of the U.S. commitment to European security in the face of growing Soviet nuclear capability in the late 1950s. Europeans became concerned about U.S. willingness to use its nuclear arsenal in the event of a Soviet attack on Europe and attempted to gather multiple strategic assurances to ensure that a credible deterrent was indeed in place.[3] To solve this strategic dilemma, the NATO allies repeatedly searched for a credible nuclear policy. However, the search itself became a source of more intra-alliance problems. An attempt at building a European multilateral nuclear force failed in the mid-1960s, leading to a NATO nuclear deterrent composed primarily of U.S. theater nuclear forces as well as the U.S. strategic deterrent. The presence of on-the-ground nuclear forces in Europe achieved an essential goal for the European allies in that it linked the conventional defenses along the East-West frontier with American strategic forces.

The later modernization of theater nuclear systems, made necessary by the introduction of Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles aimed at western Europe, caused renewed friction within the alliance. As a result, NATO adopted in 1979 a two-track policy by which it would modernize its theater nuclear forces while the United States negotiated with the Soviet Union to achieve reductions. The resulting talks on intermediate-range nuclear forces began in 1981 and concluded in 1987 with the signing of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) by President Ronald Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

NATO's shift from a *massive retaliation* strategy to a strategy of *flexible response* beginning in the 1960s also generated alliance problems (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of this strategy). Flexible response included the option of meeting a Soviet conventional attack, at least initially, by fighting a large-scale conventional war in Europe. The prospect of such a war naturally raised great concern in the countries whose territories stood to be devastated by it.[4] Flexible response also raised again the nuclear dilemma of the alliance. An increase in capability for conventional defense could imply less-than-full readiness to escalate to the use of nuclear weapons, thus undermining the credibility of nuclear deterrence.

As NATO coped with changes in doctrine necessitated by technology and an ever-shifting geopolitical environment, another common issue of debate was the fair distribution among the allies of the burden of providing for the common defense. It was a problem that was seemingly unavoidable for an alliance composed of a superpower, some medium powers, and smaller powers, with sometimes divergent goals.[5] The smaller NATO nations generally let their larger neighbors take the lead and pay the costs. Adding another dynamic to the situation, the French developed and deployed their own strategic weapons, the *force de frappe* and withdrew their forces from the military command of NATO in 1966, thus diminishing the capabilities of a concerted flexible defense in Europe. The Greeks and Turks engaged in a longstanding dispute over Cyprus and at times decreased their cooperation with NATO. Increasingly, the initiatives and the financial burdens shifted to Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

The End of the Cold War.   European security planners in the late 1980s appeared prepared to continue on the path of intra-alliance negotiation and fine-tuning of NATO's conventional and nuclear strategies when the European security landscape began to be significantly affected by Soviet "new thinking." The first demonstration of change in Soviet intentions occurred in the field of conventional arms control, an area that had languished in East-West relations. Negotiations to limit conventional military forces in Europe had occupied NATO and the Warsaw Pact for thirteen years with little result until 1986, when, in response to a NATO proposal, Gorbachev called for phased reduction of ground and air forces in Europe. The Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE), signed by the 16 member countries of NATO and the six countries that had belonged to the Warsaw Pact in November 1990, reflected the rapid transformation of the European security environment; more than one hundred twenty-five thousand battle tanks, armored combat vehicles, artillery pieces, combat aircraft, and attack helicopters would be removed or destroyed. This removal greatly reduced the threat of large-scale, surprise conventional attack by limiting the weapons systems most capable of it.

However, this promising CFE Treaty was rapidly overcome by events. By the conclusion of the conventional force negotiations, the Warsaw Pact dissolved, and Germany was approaching unification. These developments made the ceilings arranged by the negotiations too high. The collapse of the Soviet Union itself further challenged the conventional arms control regime established in 1990, requiring additional negotiations among seven of the former republics—Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan—before the CFE Treaty could be ratified and come into force in 1992. In July 1997, the thirty state parties to the original treaty agreed to reopen negotiations, with the intention of adapting the treaty to the new environment. The aim was to lower significantly the total amount of conventional weaponry allowed under the existing treaty and to replace the old system of East-West parity with new national and territorial ceilings that limited national forces and foreign forces stationed in a country.[6] An adaptation agreement taking these new requirements into account was signed on November 19, 1999, but it has not yet been ratified by all parties.[7]

Just as the arms control process was forced to adapt to the changing political and security environment, so was the Western security framework that had evolved over more than four decades of East-West confrontation and the Cold War. In view of the sharply declining threat from the Soviet Union caused by conventional arms control arrangements, unilateral Soviet military withdrawals, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, and the unification of East and West Germany, the policy of stationing military forces along the former border between NATO and the Warsaw Pact was growing increasingly inappropriate. The Soviet military withdrawals extended the warning time available to the West to organize a defense should a threat from the former Soviet Union re-emerge. In addition, it was incongruous to maintain forces positioned along the old East-West border that now ran through an allied country. Moving the border eastward would also be an inappropriate solution, because it would imply that the non-Soviet former Warsaw Pact states were still the enemy at a time when they were trying to democratize

their political systems. NATO needed to undertake a basic reassessment of its military and political strategy.

Evolution of NATO in the Early Post–Cold War Years.   NATO responded to the challenge created by the new environment by extending diplomatic liaison with the states of central and eastern Europe and announcing a fundamental political and military review at the London Summit of July 1990. The process of change begun with this summit had two major consequences. First, a new relationship was defined with the alliance's former enemies in the now-defunct Warsaw Pact. Second, a new strategic concept would have to be formulated for an alliance that found itself without an apparent adversary. The essence of NATO's political approach to the former Warsaw Pact states was encapsulated in the 1991 NATO Copenhagen communiqué:

> Our own security is inseparably linked to that of all other states in Europe. The consolidation and preservation throughout the continent of democratic societies and their freedom from any form of coercion or intimidation are therefore of direct and material concern to us.[8]

Although NATO initially stopped short of providing a security guarantee to the states of central and eastern Europe, it gradually became clear that the alliance was open to eventual expansion eastward.

By 1994, NATO had formulated the Partnership for Peace (PfP) to promote official military contact at all levels among the former enemies, as well as with traditionally neutral states. The PfP has focused on military matters, including transparency in defense planning; the democratic control of armed forces; the development of cooperative military ventures, such as peacekeeping and training exercises with NATO; and the training of troops better able to operate in the field with NATO forces.[9] For a variety of individual reasons, twenty-seven countries signed onto the program. Many undoubtedly hoped that membership in the PfP would lead to eventual membership in NATO itself. The PfP evolved until it became clear, at least unofficially, that it served two purposes: to prepare countries for membership in NATO and to enhance cooperation between NATO and those partners not likely to be admitted. Throughout 1996 and 1997, political debate raged over the possibility of expansion of NATO. Russia, in particular, was a stumbling block. Unsurprisingly, Russia saw eastward expansion of the alliance as a threat to its national security. Believing that enlargement would produce a stronger, more stable Europe and that it should not cave in to Russian concerns, NATO eventually decided to admit new members.

When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, NATO had sixteen member states; the original twelve members had been joined by Greece and Turkey in 1952, West Germany in 1955, and Spain in 1982. Since the end of the Cold War, ten additional countries have become NATO members in two waves of enlargement. The alliance's ranks first grew to nineteen when the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland joined in 1999. In March 2004, seven additional countries—Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia—formally joined the

alliance, bringing the total membership to twenty-six. This latter expansion may not be NATO's last. As of 2007, three countries—Albania, Croatia, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—are members of NATO's Membership Action Plan. In contrast to the PfP, which was broadly focused on enhancing security partnerships and not explicitly tied to future NATO membership, this plan is specifically designed to assist aspiring partner countries in meeting NATO standards and in preparing for possible future membership. Other states, such as the Ukraine and Georgia, have also indicated interest in joining. Some observers argue that expansion should not stop there. Because NATO has taken on global missions, they question why the alliance should limit its membership to countries from Europe or North America.[10]

Even as NATO was redefining its relationship with former adversaries and its basic security concept in the 1990s, it was also participating in an increasing number of operations. Beginning with involvement in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the wake of the Dayton Accords in 1995, the alliance moved beyond its Cold War task of defending member states and into crisis management outside its borders. NATO's new strategic concept, defined at the Washington Summit in April 1999, acknowledged the need for alliance participation in out-of-area peace support operations. This provided the underpinnings for NATO's intervention in Kosovo in the spring of 1999 to halt a humanitarian catastrophe and to restore stability in a strategic region. Despite strains, the alliance held together during seventy-eight days of air strikes encompassing more than thirty-eight thousand sorties.[11] (NATO missions in the Balkans are further discussed under "Disintegration in the East," below.)

Key Developments in the Twenty-First Century.   The 9/11 terrorist attacks within the United States forced the alliance to come to terms with the implications of collective defense in a new era.[12] On September 12, the alliance invoked Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty for the first time in its history, declaring "that an armed attack against one or more NATO member countries will be considered an attack against all."[13] The support that NATO provided to the United States in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks included five Airborne Warning and Control Systems aircraft and the deployment of the Standing Naval Force Mediterranean to the Eastern Mediterranean to begin a counterterrorism mission.[14]

NATO's Prague Summit of 2002 introduced the Prague Capabilities Commitment as well as the NATO Response Force, both adopted to improve military capabilities within the alliance.[15] Under the Prague Capabilities Commitment, NATO member countries agreed to improve their military capabilities in a wide range of specific areas. The development of the NATO Response Force was particularly noteworthy in that it created a force that can number up to twenty-five thousand designed to deploy within five days to crises anywhere in the world. Such a capability for worldwide force projection had never before existed within NATO. The Prague Summit also committed NATO to a leadership role in the United Nations–(UN-) mandated International Security Assistance Force operating in Afghanistan, marking the start of NATO's first and largest ground operation

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LURIE CARTOON NEWS MAGAZINE

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Joining the Parade

(**News Item:** The former East Bloc countries of Poland, Hungary and The Czech Republic are beginning talks leading to their entry into NATO during the organization's annual meeting in Madrid.)

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outside Europe. In October 2006, in another landmark step, the NATO Headquarters in Afghanistan took command of the international military forces in eastern Afghanistan from the U.S.-led coalition, expanding the alliance mission to the whole of Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, NATO's establishment of relationships with countries in other regions continued. The Istanbul Summit held in June 2004 opened the door to increased NATO responsibilities in Iraq. Though NATO has not assumed a combat role, NATO is supporting a training mission within Iraq that provides equipment, training, and technical assistance designed to support the creation of effective Iraqi security forces. The summit also placed a renewed emphasis on NATO's contacts in the Mediterranean and established the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative, which offers countries of the broader Middle East bilateral security cooperation with NATO. Further reforms sought to streamline and "Europeanize" the alliance. The number of commands within NATO underwent a drastic reduction under the NATO Command Structure streamlining initiative, and European officers were given more consideration for major commands that traditionally had gone to U.S. officers.

Debate over the Future of NATO.   Underlying the reforms has been an ongoing debate over the future of NATO and the value of NATO expansion.[16] Is there a real need for NATO now that the Soviet Union is gone? Is NATO expansion beneficial? On the first of these issues, the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union undoubtedly removed the overarching rationale for cooperation. This over-riding purpose had always superseded even contentious security policy differences among NATO members. In the absence of such an overarching threat, members began to probe their way through an entirely new environment. This led to questions about the transatlantic cooperation that had formed the bedrock of the NATO alliance.

On the issue of NATO expansion, the two sides in the debate have squared off on a fairly common set of issues. On the one hand, proponents argue for two positive side effects of NATO expansion. First, by admitting eastern and central European states, NATO will foster democracy and the development of market economies. Second, the expansion will increase security in Eastern Europe by serving as a stabilizing force in the region. In addition, some analysts have argued that expanding NATO not only hedges against a return of Russian hegemony but also locks in alliance partners who might otherwise be attracted to alternative arrangements.

The case against NATO expansion essentially argues that the merits presented are illusionary and that the EU is a better instrument for fostering democracy and market economies. Critics argue that expansion could easily result in decreased security in the region.[17] For example, expansion could increase Russian hostility toward the West at a time of renewed potential for cooperation. Although estimates vary widely, monetary costs to current members of expansion also could prove significant. An additional powerful argument made against adding new members is the decreasing ability of an expanding alliance to achieve consensus. The larger NATO grows, the more difficult decision making will become.

Another dynamic that will affect the future of transatlantic security cooperation arises from efforts by the EU to strengthen its institutions and play a more important international role. To this end, the EU has recently sought to develop its military capabilities (separate and distinct from those of NATO, although there is acknowledged overlap) through the European Security and Defense Program (ESDP). As the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces Europe General Bantz Craddock has commented, "The United States has supported ESDP with the understanding that it will create real additional military capabilities and conduct missions where NATO is not engaged while working in a manner that is cooperative, and not competitive, with NATO."[18] Recent EU operations in Bosnia, Macedonia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo have shown that this capability is real, although severe shortcomings still exist. Given its strategic lift shortfalls and hesitance to commit the force over an extended period of time, the EU's ability to project and sustain the force is questionable. The EU has also suffered internal political setbacks, the most notable of which was the 2005 failure to ratify a new constitution that was in part intended to increase its ability to set a common foreign policy (see the discussion of the EU in the "Integration in the West" section later in this chapter). Despite these limitations, the EU has acquired sufficient prominence to affect the calculus of U.S. security policy.

For the time being, NATO still appears to be the institution of choice for European nations to resolve matters involving the use of military force. The response to the Balkan crises, first in Bosnia-Herzegovina and then in Kosovo, showed the search for an effective institutional response eluded the UN and the Europeans acting alone. Fissures existed, but ultimately the NATO alliance committed itself to intervene in both troubled areas of the former Yugoslavia.

The Impact of the Iraq War on Transatlantic Relations.   Although the attacks of 9/11 provided a unifying moment, this unity became severely tested in 2003, when the United States led an invasion of Iraq. Several European allies vocally disagreed with U.S. assertions that this military action was connected to mitigating the dual threats of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and global terrorism. The failure to find WMD in Iraq after the invasion gave further credence to critics within Europe who had questioned the U.S. case for war. A divide between those European countries that supported the U.S. action (such as Poland and Romania) and those that did not (France and Germany) appeared to form largely along earlier East-West lines (with the important exception, of course, of the United Kingdom, which supported the United States). Highlighting this divide, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld referred to the "new" European allies of the United States in contrast to the "old" Europe, with the clear message that the United States sought to bypass the old to engage the new.[19]

The fact that the invasion of Iraq occurred without support from the UN greatly affected European perceptions of the war, with large antiwar protests occurring even in countries whose governments supported the intervention. An overwhelming majority of the European public believed that the U.S. policies on Iraq were wrong (see Table 23.1), and this conviction only deepened in the first few years after the fall of Saddam Hussein.[20]

Table 23.2   European Opinion on Iraq War

	Are you in favor of military action against Iraq?				*If military action goes ahead against Iraq, should your country support this action?*		
	No	*Only with U.N. Approval*	*If just U.S. & Allies*			*Yes*	*No*
Spain	74%	13%	4%	Finland		5%	79%
France	60	27	7	Spain		16	73
Luxembourg	59	34	5	Germany		24	71
Portugal	53	29	10	Ireland		29	69
Germany	50	39	9	Luxembourg		32	62
Denmark	45	38	10	France		29	61
Finland	44	37	6	Portugal		37	52
United Kingdom	41	39	10	Netherlands		35	52
Ireland	39	50	8	Denmark		42	41
Netherlands	38	51	7	United Kingdom		44	41

Source: Gallup International Poll Showing European Opposition to Iraq War in January 2003. Totals may not equal 100 percent because some responses have been excluded.

Key European Concerns and Developments

Analysis of future U.S. national security policies relevant to Europe has to take into account not only the history of U.S. engagement since World War II, discussed above, but also two parallel and defining processes on the continent: disintegration in the East and integration in the West.

Disintegration in the East.   The demise of the Soviet Union, the improved climate between the United States and successor governments in Russia, and the conventional arms control and verification regime negotiated in the early 1990s removed the threat of a massive attack on the territories of the Western allies by a single, well-defined enemy. With the end of the Cold War, however, new challenges to European security emerged. The end of the Soviet Union produced a lower level of threat but also introduced new instabilities into the strategic environment.

   Four major potential sources of post–Cold War European instability were of concern.[21] First was the possibility of a residual threat from the Soviet Union—and then Russia—whose military capabilities remained substantial. The second involved the future of the united German state. One fear was that a newly reunified Germany would reassert itself on the European continent, either as a result of insecurity stemming from regional instability or in a conscious attempt to exploit the power vacuum left by the end of the superpower rivalry. Other analysts were concerned that Germany might render NATO ineffective by building new, more exclusive relationships with eastern European states.[22] The third threat to the European security environment was the potential for conflict arising from ethnic and nationalist tensions in Eastern Europe, which stood to be heightened by the economic strain of transforming centrally planned economies to free market systems.

The fourth area of concern was the potential for mass migration from areas east and south of western Europe as a result of regional political and economic instability.

Russia and Germany as Early Post–Cold War Concerns.   Over time, the first two of these concerns—scenarios for instability involving Russia or Germany—appeared considerably less threatening. The prospect of an aggressive Soviet successor state grew less ominous during the course of the 1990s. The Soviet Union formally dissolved in December 1991, leaving the Soviet military machine under the control of the newly established Commonwealth of Independent States. Then, in June 1992, the conventional military assets of the former Soviet Union were divided among seven former Soviet republics. Though the vast bulk of the Soviet Union's conventional capability went to Russia, the deterioration of the Russian economy meant that resources once devoted to the Soviet military largely dried up. Although Russia's nuclear arsenal is still formidable, sizeable portions of its conventional armed forces are underpaid, underfed, and undertrained.[23] Of continuing and most immediate concern is Russia's potential contribution to the proliferation of WMDs. Many analysts are concerned that nuclear material could slip from Russian control due to a lack of proper security measures.[24] Importantly, too, Russia has recently been bolstered by high prices for its energy exports and, under President Vladimir Putin, has become increasingly confrontational as it attempts to reassert its status as a great power.[25] Particularly worrisome is Russia's use of energy policy to bully its neighbors, and its assertiveness in dealing with former Soviet Republics on its borders (see, for example, discussion of Georgia below and also Chapter 22).[26] Despite these developments, early fears of a "Weimar Russia" (a reference to Germany's Weimar Republic in the years between the two world wars) in which political instability and a sense of victimization would lead to the rise of nationalist leaders and bellicose policies in Europe have fortunately not been fully realized.[27]

A second early concern that has more completely vanished over time was Germany's role in post–Cold War Europe. The enormity of the commitment that the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) had to make to absorb the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) in 1990 was felt in the unified German state in the form of worrisome inflation and a widening fiscal deficit. These problems, along with the economic pressures of preparing for monetary union, preoccupied the German leadership. More importantly over the long run, with the signing of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty creating the EU, Germany became even more completely integrated into Europe.

Ethnic Nationalism as a Source of Conflict.   Though the first two security concerns listed above either somewhat or almost totally dissolved, the third has proven to be significant. Regional instability arising from ethnic and nationalist tensions became a reality with the dissolution of Yugoslavia and from events on the territory of the former Soviet Union in such places as Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, Moldova, and Chechnya. Even the peaceful division of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993 was a result of nationalist and

ethnic disputes. The processes of political and economic transition have in many cases been accompanied by sharp political, economic, and ethnic tensions.

From 1991 to 1995, fighting in the former Yugoslavia epitomized the dangers of ethnic conflict. The UN and the EU made several attempts to broker peace as war raged in Croatia and later in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Even with a large peace-keeping contingent, the UN proved unable either to separate the combatants or to negotiate sustainable cease-fires. At first the United States was content to let the EU and the UN handle the problem. However, as genocide and conflict fueled domestic political pressure to act, the Clinton administration began air strikes against Serb military targets. These strikes caused dissension between the United States and several European countries whose ground forces were participating in UN peacekeeping efforts. France and The United Kingdom, for example, believed that air strikes could threaten the lives of their peacekeepers. Briefly, it even seemed that disagreement over policy in Bosnia threatened the integrity of NATO.[28] Instead, the United States took a major part in resolving the conflict by pressuring the combatants to sign the Dayton Accords in 1995—an agreement which maintained the integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina while creating semi-autonomous regions within it–and by providing American peace enforcement troops. Backed initially by a NATO-led Implementation Force of sixty thousand soldiers, the Dayton agreement resulted in a fragile peace.

The ethnic conflict and killings in Kosovo also provoked a NATO reaction. Here, fighting between President Slobodan Milosevic's Serbian and Yugoslav security forces and the Kosovo Liberation Army, an Albanian guerilla group seeking independence for the province, resulted in approximately eight hundred fifty thousand displaced persons and numerous accounts of atrocities against civilians. Despite international calls for a cease-fire, Milosevic pointed to security concerns raised by Serbs living within Kosovo and refused to remove his forces from the province. Ultimately, NATO decided to use military force. When NATO began an air campaign on March 24, 1999, it marked the first time the alliance had engaged in offensive military operations designed to force compliance with international agreements. After seventy-seven days of bombing, Milosevic agreed to withdraw Yugoslav forces from Kosovo. Immediately, a NATO-led Kosovo Force entered Kosovo under a UN mandate. As of mid-2008, approximately eight years after the end of the conflict, the sixteen-thousand member NATO Kosovo Force is still responsible for establishing and maintaining a safe and secure environment in Kosovo.

NATO did not possess a UN Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force against Serbia over Kosovo, but the alliance justified its actions on the basis of an "international humanitarian emergency." Critics charged that NATO attacked a nonmember country that was not a direct threat, and Russia in particular sought to support the claim of its long-standing ally Serbia that the NATO intervention constituted an unjustified intrusion in its sovereign affairs. NATO countered by claiming that instability in the Balkans was a direct threat to the security interests of NATO members, and military action was therefore justified. For years after the war, the status of Kosovo remained unresolved, and a UN protectorate ran the day-to-day affairs of the province in conjunction with local authorities.

Simultaneously, a contact group consisting of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia worked on a long-term solution.

In February 2008, Kosovo declared its independence and by mid-2008 Kosovo's status as an independent country had been recognized by almost 50 countries including the United States and a majority of NATO and EU countries. However, these actions were accompanied by concerns that Kosovo's independence and subsequent international recognition of it would encourage separatist movements everywhere and result in an increase in violence in areas around the world still plagued by ethnic conflict. These concerns seemed to be somewhat validated in August 2008 when Russia intervened militarily in Abkhazia and South Ossetia—two conflict-torn regions in Georgia—and in September 2008 recognized these regions as independent states. Russian President Putin specifically cited the Kosovo precedent when justifying Russia's actions in recognizing the sovereign independence of these two areas along Russia's southern border, arguing that "it was not we who opened this Pandora's box."[29] As of September 2008, only Nicaragua had joined Russia in its recognition of these two regions while the United States and many of its allies sought to buttress the claims of Georgia and support its desire to preserve the integrity of its international borders. The challenges that still remain in establishing a secure and enduring peace in the Balkans as well as resolving conflict in Georgia reveal the difficulties that have been associated with efforts to defuse post-Cold War ethnic tensions in Europe.

Kosovo may have been a turning point for NATO and for European security in general. Future armed conflicts in Europe seem more likely to occur within national borders, making intervention problematic. Although UN actions to protect the Kurds in Iraq in the 1990s set a precedent for international intervention against a government's abuse of its citizens, and although the principles established by the Helsinki Final Act and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) embracing human rights and the self-determination of peoples could be taken to justify intervention, such interference holds dangers of its own.[30] Intervention in intrastate conflicts could, for example, lead to greater instability if it draws in outside participants with competing objectives. Lack of intervention, however, creates or contributes to other problems. First, the conflict could spill over national borders—a particularly potent threat in eastern Europe and the Balkans, where ethnic ties cross national boundaries. Second, the stability of neighboring nations can be affected even if they do not enter the conflict. Refugees from conflict-torn areas in eastern Europe could strain the capacity of western European nations to absorb them and potentially destabilize eastern European countries.

The international community—and U.S. security policy—must come to terms with a number of issues generated by the Yugoslav experience and subsequent developments along Russia's southern border. How should the United States respond to conflicts involving ethnically based claims of sovereignty? When does this type of conflict cease to be purely an intrastate matter and become an international concern? What are the costs of nonintervention in conflicts that may spread across borders? Limiting intervention to the provision of peacekeeping forces once a cease-fire has been achieved, in some cases, will merely amount to endorsement

of the territorial gains of the aggressor.[31] In effect, by not intervening to stop aggression in the first place, the international community is sending a signal to other potential aggressors that violation of the sovereign claims or rights of others will be condoned.

But has intervention in Bosnia and Kosovo achieved its aims? Although NATO interventions there were successful in establishing and keeping the peace, can they ensure the development of Bosnia as a cohesive, democratic entity and provide an atmosphere in Kosovo that respects minority rights even as Kosovo seeks to exercise its newly claimed independence? The lessons of the Balkans for European security are twofold: the value of conflict avoidance and the importance of conflict containment. In this twin context, the evolution of the EU and of European and transatlantic political and security institutions will play an important role.

Immigration.   Finally, the fourth immediate post–Cold War concern—demographic trends and immigrant integration issues—has the potential to create major long-term security issues for the European continent. A declining birth rate and aging population, coupled with increased immigration from outside Europe, have created economic strains that have led to numerous political and social issues. These strains may also manifest themselves in relation to population movements within the EU, as resentment against the possibility that eastern European workers could reduce wages in western European countries was reflected in the 2005 debates over the EU constitution. Even more divisive is the EU candidacy of Turkey. Concern over Muslim immigration led former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing to declare that Turkish EU membership would lead to the "end of Europe." Such comments suggest that Europe is a "Christian Club" that Muslims are not welcome to join.[32]

Indeed, the problem of integrating Muslims in Europe has profound security implications for Europe and for the United States. Some have even gone so far as to call it "critical to the future of Europe."[33] Most Muslim extremists in Europe are second- or third-generation immigrants who still do not identify with their country of residence. The less integrated people feel, the more attractive extremist groups with transnational identities and interests seem. Some assert that this alarming scenario is not entirely accurate: The "vast majority" of Europe's 15 to 20 million Muslims have nothing to do with radical Islamism and struggle to integrate into European society.[34] Still, the involvement of Europe's Muslims in the 2004 terrorist train bombings in Madrid, the 2005 terrorist attacks on the London subway system, the 2005 civil unrest and riots in Paris, and the 2007 attempted attacks at airports in London and Scotland have shown, even if just a small percentage of the overall European Muslim population feels separated from the society around it, this can have very large security implications. How Europe deals with this situation will affect the United States and the broader global struggle against international terrorism.

Integration in the West.   Even as the end of the Cold War promoted the forces of disintegration in eastern Europe as discussed in the previous section, western

Europe continued to advance toward greater economic and political integration. Progress in the integration process has meant the elimination of all barriers to the free flow of goods, services, capital, and labor among the fifteen EU members—introduced by the Single European Act of 1986—and agreement on the modalities for monetary union and greater political integration through the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. The process of European integration has shaped and will continue to shape the European political and security landscape in two significant ways: by acting as a magnet for the eastern European economies and by aligning the foreign as well as domestic policies of the member states. Analysis of the development and future prospects of the EU, therefore, must be an integral part of the continuing process of U.S. foreign and security policy formulation.

In the broadest sense, European integration may render an important verdict on one of the critical questions about international security writ large: whether a group of once-hostile states can transcend the risk of interstate conflict. If western Europe, an important engine powering the twentieth century's world wars, can make war a phenomenon of the past, it could point the way for other regions as well. But though the prospects are favorable, the jury is still out on whether Europe has made such a transition and, if so, whether the experience is transferable. Either way, much is at stake in European integration.

The EU had its origins in the European Coal and Steel Community developed in 1951 as part of a plan by Jean Monnet. Monnet, an economist and French public official, had two purposes in advancing his plan: first, to revitalize the steel industry in post–World War II France by ensuring access to German coal and coke; and second, to end centuries of Franco-German competition by organizing joint control of key mineral resources. The European Coal and Steel Community, which included Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, France, and Germany, created an impetus for a common internal market among its members, leading to the European Economic Community that was instituted for this purpose by the Treaty of Rome (1957). The further development of the European Economic Community from this organization of six members to a common market of twelve countries occurred incrementally and falteringly.

By the early 1990s, the European Economic Community appeared positioned to become a significant international actor as a result of the prospects for expansion and the development of a common foreign and security policy. Renamed the EU in 1994 as the Maastricht Treaty went into effect, it has thus far had limited success with regard to the forging of a common foreign and security policy. The additions of Austria, Finland, and Sweden in 1995 increased the political stature of the EU, but the development of a common foreign and security policy floundered. Still, even this qualified success proved to be a strong magnet for the rest of Europe. During the Copenhagen Summit in December 2002, the EU again embraced enlargement. Ten countries—Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia—officially joined in 2004, and Romania and Bulgaria joined in 2007, bringing the EU total to twenty-seven members.

Looking to the future of the EU, the candidacy of Turkey and its possible future accession has created heated controversy. The controversy stems from

Turkey's striking difference from the European norm in terms of economics, demography, culture, religion, and even basic geography, and it has exposed deep disagreements within the EU regarding the definition of "European." As journalist Mark Rice-Oxley writes:

> The crucial question is whether these differences will enhance or undermine the EU. Proponents say incorporating a Muslim-majority country for the first time will help the EU reach out to the Islamic world, and see Turkey's young, growing population and economy as a boon. . . . But opponents fret that a new member as large and poor as Turkey would adulterate European values. Lingering concern persists about the incorporation of 10 mostly East European countries . . . which some feared would dilute EU prosperity. Many feel that EU enlargement has run its course and that further extensions would make it unwieldy.[35]

On balance, it appears that Turkey's domestic, political, and economic life would be strengthened by association, as would its role as a bridge between Europe and the Middle East. Even so, it does not seem likely that Turkey will be admitted to the EU anytime soon.

Some analysts believe that the key challenge created by the end of the Cold War is one of choosing between enlargement (*widening*) or the creation of a stronger set of central EU institutions (*deepening*). Another perspective holds that in order to prepare for widening, the EU should first deepen by strengthening its institutions and shoring up its decision-making authority. Development of a common foreign and security policy is held to be a key aspect of this process of deepening.

In the last several years, the EU has made progress toward achieving a credible autonomous defense capability. The European Security and Defense Policy is the cornerstone of this effort, which seeks the capability to accomplish tasks ranging from humanitarian assistance to the rapid deployment of combat forces. The EU formally adopted these tasks with the 1997 signing of the Amsterdam Treaty and then with the 1999 creation of a European Rapid Reaction Force. These advances did not occur without vigorous debate. The British were at first reluctant but finally endorsed the plan in a 1999 joint declaration issued by French President Jacques Chirac and British Prime Minister Tony Blair. These two leaders affirmed that "the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises."[36]

To achieve this, European governments would have to bring into accord their force obligations to NATO and potential future commitments to the European Security and Defense Policy, coming to an understanding regarding which organization would lead an operation. At the 1996 NATO summit in Berlin, a short-lived Western European Union emerged as the overseer of the creation of a European Security and Defense Identity within NATO structures. The Berlin agreement allowed European countries (through the Western European Union) to use NATO assets if it so wished. By 2002, NATO and the EU had worked out a partnership regarding crisis management activities. In institutional terms, the partnership is reflected by the March 2003 Berlin-plus Agreement that allows the EU to use

NATO structures, mechanisms, and assets to carry out military operations if NATO declines to act.

Other developments changed the structure of the institutions involved in EU efforts to develop a common approach to foreign and security policy. In June 1999, the European Council incorporated the role of the Western European Union within the EU, effectively shutting down the Western European Union. Since then, the EU has taken steps to develop common policy agendas as well as an enhanced military capability, but most of these initiatives have not progressed beyond declarations of stated goals. For example, the EU failed to achieve on schedule (by 2003) the objective of creating a capability to rapidly deploy and sustain fifty thousand troops. The EU defense ministers approved "Headline Goal 2010" in May 2004, extending the timelines for this project, timelines that will likely continue to be extended.

The European Security Strategy overlaps strikingly with NATO's mission, leading to concerns that an independent European security pillar might result in the declining importance of NATO as a transatlantic forum. In 1998, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright outlined American expectations toward ESDP using the "three Ds": no duplication of what was done effectively under NATO; no decoupling from the United States and NATO; and no discrimination against non-EU members, such as Turkey. Since 2003, the EU has assumed the police mission in Bosnia from the UN, worked in cooperation with NATO in Macedonia from March to December 2003 (Operation Concordia), taken over NATO peacekeeping duties in Bosnia in December 2004 (Operation Althea), and embarked on a peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo conducted autonomously from NATO.

The proposed EU constitution sought to further the development of an EU political and security identity with the creation of an EU president, foreign minister, and External Relations Service. However, advocates for a stronger EU hit a significant stumbling block with the rejection of the constitution by French and Dutch voters in May 2005 and June 2005, respectively. It appears that many Europeans want the EU to pause before expanding or deepening further. As of mid-2008, fresh efforts were underway to produce a marginally weaker, less centralizing constitution; still, the prospects of EU-wide ratification are uncertain. The EU's development will shape the future division of labor across the Atlantic on a variety of international security tasks.

Another institution that plays a role in the future of European security deserves attention. The OSCE traces its origin back to the 1975 Helsinki Final Act and currently has fifty-six member states. Early hopes for a contribution by the OSCE to European security faded after 1992, as the organization demonstrated its limitations in dealing with the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia. The OSCE's decision-making structures and procedures, which require unanimity, prevented it from acting decisively and in a timely fashion in response to the crisis in Yugoslavia. The OSCE officially sponsored observer teams in Yugoslavia, but it delegated most of the mediation efforts among the parties in Yugoslavia to the EU and peacekeeping duties to the UN. The OSCE is caught in a dilemma: Its inclusivity imbues it with legitimacy but also limits its capacity for action.

The overall future of European integration remains uncertain. One possibility is that centrifugal tendencies will become increasingly prevalent among European countries and within the EU. If this were to happen, Europe would not be able to create its own autonomous defense capability and to play a more active role in world politics. However, many analysts think the opposite trend will occur: U.S. unilateral tendencies will be a catalyst for further European integration. It should be noted that an EU strengthened by these dynamics may be as inclined to seek subtle ways to work against the United States as it would be to work with the United States in common collaborative ventures.

Other Regional Trends and Security Issues.   Two additional issues deserve special mention: out-of-area military operations and access to energy. The decisions that Europeans make regarding these two issues will help shape their concept of security in the twenty-first century and will affect their relationship with the United States.

First, since the end of the Cold War, Europeans have shown a willingness to become involved outside the continent in peacekeeping, stability, and reconstruction operations. As evidenced by NATO's leadership in military operations in Afghanistan, the capability exists for fairly large-scale deployments at a strategic distance. Also, the political will to sustain these operations, even in the face of casualties, so far appears to exist. However, although these are encouraging developments from the perspective of the United States, NATO's involvement in Afghanistan has also highlighted shortfalls within the alliance. Many troop-contributing nations have placed caveats on their soldiers' involvement, limiting the commander's ability to call on them to perform certain actions. In addition, European nations have pressed to keep defense spending limited. Social programs remain the priority for many Europeans, and an unwillingness to fund military programs has created serious concerns about NATO's ability to execute the missions that its members have politically agreed upon. Increasingly, too, observers are calling for a restructuring of the common funding program to allow for greater flexibility in how NATO finances its operations. The current system of letting "costs lie where they fall," which mandates that member countries pay their own way during operations, needs review. NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer described the current arrangement as "a reverse lottery," noting that "[i]f your numbers come up, you lose money. If the [NATO Response Force] deploys while you happen to be in the rotation, you pay the full costs of the deployment of your forces."[37]

Second, energy and energy infrastructure security is another topic that will challenge Europe in the coming decades. As the economies of such larger developing countries as China and India grow, competition for scarce natural resources, especially oil, will become increasingly fierce. Unless and until it develops alternative energy sources, the West will remain dependent on imports of vast quantities of fossil fuels. This situation cannot change quickly and does not appear likely to change for the foreseeable future.

Conscious of their vulnerability as energy importers, European states are generally unwilling to confront energy-rich countries, from Saudi Arabia to Russia. The failure of Europe to condemn Russia's brutal treatment of the Muslim Chechens,

in part because Europe leans heavily on Russia's oil and gas, has enabled Islamic radicals to paint the West as complicit in the repression of an Islamic population. Of course, the U.S. invasion of Iraq has also enabled radicals to portray the Americans as repressing Muslims on behalf of oil. Despite their interventions to safeguard Muslim communities in Bosnia and Kosovo, Europe and the United States have not been successful in the crucial fight for Muslim public opinion.

Energy dependence could make it more difficult for Europe and the United States to find common ground when dealing with Russia, which has shown a readiness to use its energy exports as a political weapon. The January 2006 gas pipeline disruptions that Russia created over a dispute with Ukraine brought into stark relief questions about the reliability of the source of much of Europe's fuel. Europe obtains a quarter of its gas from Russia and and most of this supply crosses Ukraine by pipeline—a vulnerability that is impossible to counter in a short time.[38] Because of this, Europe's calculus when dealing with Russia on a wide array of policy issues will undoubtedly be affected by fears of a potential disruption in fuel supply. Under these conditions, U.S. and European priorities and perspectives on an array of Russian policy issues could diverge.

U.S. Policy Challenges for the Future

Although the Iraq War has contributed to a deep divide between the United States and Europe, the war may not be the only important dynamic at work. According to historian Niall Ferguson:

> As for Europe, one must not underestimate the extent to which the recent diplomatic "widening of the Atlantic" reflects profound changes in Europe, rather than an alteration in U.S. foreign policy. The combination of economic sclerosis and social senescence means that Europe is bound to stagnate, if not decline. Meanwhile, Muslim immigration and the prospect of Turkey's accession to the European Union are changing the very character of Europe. And the division between Americans and Europeans on Middle Eastern questions is only going to get wider.[39]

As Europe itself changes, and as Europe's attitudes toward the U.S. evolve, both sides of the Atlantic need to come to terms with the role and relevance of NATO. Should the United States continue to rely on NATO as the bedrock of the transatlantic relationship, or should American policy makers pursue "coalitions of the willing" when seeking allies in the foreign and security policy realms? The ad hoc arrangement of the latter option presents advantages and challenges. Although it does not tie the United States to any set of countries, it also creates less capability because an ad hoc coalition has not been working to create interoperability during peacetime.

The interoperability issue is one that also plagues the NATO alliance. Advances in military technology, supported by large amounts of U.S. defense spending, have left many European militaries struggling to operate effectively in a coalition with the United States without substantial assistance in training and materiel. Some argue that this gap in military capabilities between the United States

and its European allies inevitably limits interoperability, while others point to new arrangements that would allow alliance members to specialize in one niche area of need, thus benefiting all while simultaneously reducing national military costs.[40]

Although the rift over Iraq was not the first time that Europeans and Americans have disagreed, it is particularly significant. By not supporting the Iraq War, Germany vehemently opposed a major U.S. foreign policy decision for the first time since World War II. In the past, if The United Kingdom supported an American initiative and France opposed it, Germany would often play the role of intermediary. In the case of Iraq, however, Germany completely threw its weight behind the French-led opposition. Second, German assertiveness may be indicative of a larger generational change occurring in Europe. As *68-ers* (the generation associated with the often violent social protests of 1968), German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and his foreign minister, Joschka Fischer, not only were less willing to go along with U.S. initiatives but were willing to forcefully oppose them.

More broadly, as the collective memory of the American role in World War II and the reconstruction of Europe fades among younger Europeans, the European commitment to the transatlantic alliance may continue to diminish. Acrimony over troop commitments to the NATO mission in Afghanistan makes this diminution a priority for the United States. A related concern stems from potential European reactions to other possible future terrorist attacks; Europe could either adopt a unified front with the United States or blame the United States and its foreign policies. The quite different strategic responses of the Spain and the United Kingdom to the 2004 terrorist attack in Madrid and the 2005 attack in London, with the Spanish deciding to retrench and end their commitment in Iraq and the government of the United Kingdom reaffirming its international commitments and strategic partnership with the United States, reveal the range of possible reactions terrorist attacks on European soil could provoke.

Ultimately, the United States will necessarily continue to involve itself with and in Europe, but the form and structure of transatlantic cooperation will continue to evolve. Although NATO will clearly be the key near-term element in the overall transatlantic security relationship, over the long run it seems possible that NATO will mutate into a different institution or will be displaced from its position of primacy as other European institutions develop. If and when this occurs, the United States will find itself relying more on bilateral relationships or ad hoc coalitions than on established multilateral arrangements.

Discussion Questions

1. What are U.S. security commitments under NATO?
2. Given the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, is NATO still relevant today?
3. What factors have enhanced or limited the credibility of NATO?
4. How does the EU's desire for common foreign and defense policies (and an autonomous defense capability) affect U.S. interests?

5. What are the arguments for and against the expansion of NATO and the EU? How are U.S. security interests affected if either organization expands?

6. What role should the United States play in preventing and responding to ethnic- or nationality-based conflicts on the European continent? Does the U.S. still have an interest in maintaining a security presence in the Balkans?

7. When dealing with such global security concerns as terrorism, should the United States approach European states on a bilateral basis or through international organizations, such as NATO or the EU? What are the advantages and disadvantages to each approach?

8. How might the changing demographics of Europe affect U.S. security policies?

9. What does the future hold for transatlantic relations? Will the U.S. continue to view European states as key allies that are instrumental to American security interests?

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North Atlantic Treaty Organization, www.nato.int