

## Editor's Shelf

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Europeans are gravely concerned about America's intent to formulate a unilateralist future for itself, leaving behind its commitment to Europe and multinational institutions like NATO. As we rapidly approach the November 2002 NATO summit in Prague, students of US/European relations and American foreign policy continue their analysis of the issues and relationships that have defined America's ties to the continent for over 400 years. That analysis has resulted in an inestimable number of books, monographs, and articles. Of the hundreds that have crossed my desk, three recent books examining the future of Europe and two analyzing the American/European journey through the Cold War are particularly worthy of our readers' attention.



David P. Calleo's *Rethinking Europe's Future* provides a comprehensive and yet succinct evaluation of Europe's prospects as it enters the 21st century. The author's examination of the history, economy, and philosophy that defined Europe in the past provides the reader with a greater understanding of the trends that will dictate its future. Calleo presents a revealing analysis of the state system and its transition to strong nation-states from its autocratic beginnings. He then shifts focus to consider European legacies of the Cold War. His examination of the Atlantic Alliance, the European Union, and the global economy reveals how these three systems are competing to define the future of the continent.

The heart of Calleo's work is an analysis of Europe's future challenges resulting from a weak and inconsistent Russian government and the effects of German reunification. The author presents three models for a "new" Europe—each incorporating a different relationship with the United States and Russia. The models are based on the author's analysis of the challenges created by such events as adoption of the Euro, globalization, "Pan Europeanism," the adoption of hybrid constitutions, and the move to a new security system. The book closes with a look at how a strong European Union might redefine the world and the probability for countering increased American hegemony. David Calleo is wise enough to conclude that no one can predict Europe's future, but this very well-executed work provides the means to allow the reader to at least think about it.

Charles G. Cogan, a Senior Research Associate at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, has provided a comprehensive analysis of the efforts to create a European defense entity capable of acting independently of the United States. His *The Third Option: The Emancipation of European Defense, 1989-2000* examines the many challenges inherent in developing two independent and potentially competing defense organizations in Europe. Cogan believes the future economic and demographic size of the European Union will dictate that it pursue a military structure separate from but not duplicative of NATO. The author cites the NATO experiences in Bosnia and Kosovo as examples of how NATO can do little militarily without US involvement. He uses these examples to leverage his argument for a robust and efficient European military structure capable of acting independently of a US-supported NATO. Cogan's bottom line: Europe's growing economic power

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must be matched by an equally capable military, a “third option” beyond NATO-run and NATO-supported operations.

Another extremely well-researched and well-presented work following on Cogan’s theme of an autonomous European defense establishment is Michael Quinlan’s *European Defense Cooperation: Asset or Threat to NATO?*, a little gem of a book. Although small in size, this succinct summary provides the reader with an exhaustive history of European efforts to enhance military cooperation and collective security dating back to 1947. Quinlan draws on his years of experience as a defense specialist and former Permanent Under Secretary of State in the Ministry of Defence in the United Kingdom to present a seminal study of the cooperation between European nations in organizing and employing military forces since World War II. The focus of the author’s study is the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) published in 1999. Quinlan examines the major issues associated with this policy and its prospects for success. He concludes that there is a legitimate need for a European defense establishment that will complement NATO’s current organization and capabilities. This is a must read for anyone interested in the future of NATO, the European Union, or Europe in general.

In reviewing the genre associated with European defense, one is inextricably drawn to the events that defined the Cold War. Perhaps no other author has been as singularly successful in capturing these events as Ambassador Raymond Garthoff. Ambassador Garthoff’s book *A Journey through the Cold War: A Memoir of Containment and Coexistence* is by far one of the most personal and thoroughly credible accounts of this period. The author’s career and professional development coincided with many of the key events and policy decisions that marked the history of the Cold War. For over 40 years this observant insider participated in some of the most important policymaking events of the 20th century. From his beginning as an analyst of Soviet military affairs in the 1950s, to drafting national intelligence estimates for the CIA, to the State Department where he was directly involved in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 and later served as an adviser for the strategic arms limitations talks (SALT), and finally to his service as a senior Foreign Service inspector in the 1970s, Garthoff influenced some of the most important decisions of the Cold War era. With his appointment as the US Ambassador to Bulgaria (1977-79), Garthoff gained firsthand knowledge of the communist state and the Soviet bloc. Ambassador Garthoff’s anecdotes and observations will be of special interest to those studying America’s post-Cold War security policy. Of special interest to students of this period are chapters 17 through 19, outlining the decline of detente and the demise of the Cold War.

Sabrina A. Ramet and Christine Ingebritsen have edited *Coming in from the Cold War: Changes in U.S.-European Interactions Since 1980*, the first book of a two-volume set on US-European interactions in the postwar era. This collection examines the period from the early 1980s that witnessed the beginning of dramatic changes in East-West relations. Events such as the election of Ronald Reagan, the birth of Poland’s Solidarity trade union, and the financial insolvency of the Soviet Union would play key roles in the eventual dissolution of the Soviet bloc. The editors mark the end of this era with the election of Mikhail Gorbachev as Secretary General of the Communist Party in 1985. The book analyzes the changes in US relations with various European nations since then, influenced by such events as the demise of the Warsaw Pact, the expansion of NATO, and the growing strength of the European Union. This fresh and thorough assessment of the developing relationship between the United States and the principal European nations provides readers with riveting insights as to America’s future on the European continent. — RHT □