



## Literature for the Transatlantic Bargain Paper(s)

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This review highlights authors, agencies, and organization that would be useful in outreach activities when compiling research and in mitigating the duplication of data. Annotated resources offer a brief summary of the source to the reviewer in order to help expedite project author work. The review has been provided to all confirmed Transatlantic Bargain authors.

### **Books and Pamphlets**

Adams, Gordon., et al. (1999) *Europe's Defense Industry: A Transatlantic Future* (London, UK: Center for European Reform). Available via [http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/p122\\_defence\\_industry.pdf](http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/p122_defence_industry.pdf) [accessed March 15, 2011].

Anderson, Jeffrey., John Ikenberry., and Thomas Risse., eds. (2008) *The End of the West?: Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).

\*This study examines core structural features of the transatlantic world to determine whether current disagreements are minor and transient or catastrophic and permanent.\*

Arnsward, Sven., and Marcus Wenig., eds. (2000) *German and American Policies towards the Baltic States: The Perspectives of EU and NATO Enlargement* (Baden-Baden, GER: Nomos).

Asmus, Ronald (2002) *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade itself for a New Era* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press).

\*Asmus, who was involved in negotiations leading to the inclusion of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic in NATO's 1999 expansion, provides a detailed account that spans both Clinton administrations. NATO expansion is of exceptional significance as a case study in his investigation of NATO's post-Communist diplomacy.\*

Beer, Francis (1969) *Integration and Disintegration in NATO; Processes of Alliance Cohesion and Prospects for Atlantic Community* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press).

\*Beer's treatise ranks as one of the seminal pieces of work pertaining to this topic\*

Black, Conrad (1998) *Britain's Final Choice: Europe or America?* (London, UK: Center for Policy Studies).

Bourantonis, Dimitris., Kostas Ifantis., and Panayotis Tsakonas., eds. (2008) *Multilateralism and Security Institutions in an Era of Globalization* (New York, NY: Routledge).

\*This book combines a variety of theoretical perspectives with detailed empirical examples that aim to analysis the evolution of particular concepts of multilateralism and whether international security institutions are the objects of state choice and / or consequential.\*

Brenner, Michael (1998) *Terms of Engagement: The United States and the European Security Identity* (Westport, CT: Praeger).

\*Brenner examines European efforts – and American responses – to reduced defense dependency in a post-Cold War world.\*

Canzoneri, Matthew., Wilfred Ethier., and Vittorio Grilli., eds. (1996) *The New Transatlantic Economy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).

Chilcoatm Richard., et al. (2006) *The Future of Transatlantic Security Relation: Colloquium Report* (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College).

Cimbala, Stephen., and Peter Forster (2010) *Multinational Military Intervention: NATO Policy, Strategy and Burden Sharing* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate).

\*This study looks at the experience of the United States and other member states of NATO in four situations of multinational military intervention: Lebanon, the Persian Gulf, the Balkans and in South Asia. In addition, this study considers the implication of nuclear arms reductions and nonproliferation for the US and NATO.\*

Cleveland, Harlan (1970) *NATO: The Transatlantic Bargain* (New York, NY: Harper & Row).

\*Cleveland's treatise ranks as one of the seminal pieces of work pertaining to this topic.\*

Coker, Christopher., et al. (2003) *Empires in Conflict: The Growing Rift between Europe and the United States* (London, UK: Royal United Services Institute for Defense and Security Studies).

Collins, Brian (2011) *NATO: A Guide to the Issues* (Westport, CT: Praeger).

\*Collins provides a high-level introduction and understanding of NATO, its history, current issues that the Allies are struggling with, and some questions about its future, and attempts to explain processes and concepts to provide the reader with an introduction to practical as well as theoretical aspects of NATO.\*

Cottey, Andrew (2007) *Security in the New Europe* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan).

\*This is a broad-ranging text that develops a comprehensive framework for understanding the key security issues and dilemmas confronting Europe in the twenty-first century.\*

Dannreuther, Roland., and John Peterson., eds. (2006) *Security Strategy and Transatlantic Relations* (New York, NY: Routledge).

\*The component chapters of this book are predominantly compiled by European based academics (particularly academics from UK universities).\*

Duke, Simon (1993) *The Burden-Sharing Debate: A Reassessment* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press).

\*This book does not aim to prove or disprove that one country carries an unfair burden, merely it does aim to examine critically the methodologies employed in the debate since the early 1950s.\*

Dunn, John (1992) *Building a Euro-Atlantic Community* (London, UK: Her Majesty's Stationery Office).

Forsberg, Tuomas., and Graeme Herd (2006) *Divided West: European Security and the Transatlantic Relationship. Chatham House Papers* (London, UK: Chatham House).

\*This book analyzes the genesis and process through which transatlantic strategic dissonance now defines a divided West.\*

Forster, Pete., and Stephen Cimbala (2005) *The US, NATO and Military Burden-Sharing* (New York, NY: Frank Class).

\*This study establishes that political, economic, and military-technological changes transform the international system and alter the way in which a state views its and others' responsibilities and burdens for responding to international crises.\*

Gansler, Jacques (2010) *Ballistic Missile Defense: Past and Future* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press).

Gariup, Monica (2009) *European Security Culture: Language, Theory, Policy* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company).

\*Using tools from political theory, linguistic analysis, and International Relations theory, this book examines the implications of discourse and practice in the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP).\*

Gärtner, Heinz., and Ian Cuthbertson., eds. (2005) *European Security and Transatlantic Relations after 9/11 and the Iraq War* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan).

\*This book examines the post-9/11 and Iraqi war security environment, especially the impact on NATO and transatlantic relations as the European Union seeks to build a unified foreign and defense policy that would enable Europeans to play a fuller role on the international stage.\*

Gompert, David., et al. (1999) *Mind the Gap: Promoting a Transatlantic Revolution in Military Affairs* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press).

\*Gompert warns of the growing disparity in combat capability between European and US forces over their respective exploitation of the revolution in military affairs (RMA).\*

Gompert, David., and F. Stephen Larrabee., eds. (1997) *America and Europe: A Partnership for a New Era: RAND Studies in Policy Analysis* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press).

Gordon, Philip (1997) *NATO's Transformation: The Changing Shape of the Atlantic Alliance* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield)

Hallenberg, Jan., and Håkan Karlsson., eds. (2006) *Changing Transatlantic Security Relations: Do the US, the EU and Russia Form a New Strategic Triangle?* (New York, NY: Routledge).

Hamilton, Daniel., et al. (1994) *Beyond Bonn: America and the Berlin Republic* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).

\*Beyond Bonn calls for a wide range of policy recommendations to reinvigorate one of America's most important relationships. Together, these recommendations constitute what the author believes to be a new post-Cold War transatlantic bargain.\*

Hendrickson, Ryan (2006) *Diplomacy and War at NATO: The Secretary General and Military Action after the Cold War* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press).

\*This study examines the first four post-Cold War Secretary Generals: Manfred Wörner, Willy Claes, Javier Solana, and George Robertson. The author also draws from interviews with former NATO ambassadors, Alliance military leaders, and senior NATO officials.\*

Hollowell, Jonathan., ed. (2001) *Twentieth-Century Anglo-American Relations* (New York, NY: Palgrave ).

\*This research, compiled by several leading political historians, creates a detailed study of Anglo-American relations during the 20th century.\*

Howorth, Jolyon., and John Keeler., eds. (2003) *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan).

\*Defending Europe seeks to clarify the competing ambitions, the contrasting visions and the transatlantic tensions related to the recent quest by Europe for autonomy in the sphere of security and defense.\*

Hunter, Robert., et al. (2002) *The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion or Competitor?* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND).

Ikenberry, John G., ed. (2002) *American Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).

\*This collection of essays seeks to explain why, despite its overwhelming power, the world has not balanced against the United States. Several well-noted authors give varying answers.\*

Kagan, Robert (2003) *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York, NY: Alfred Knopf).

Kahler, Miles., and Werner Link (1995) *Europe and America: A Return to History* (New York, NY: Council on Foreign Relations).

\*The two essays that form this book probe the transatlantic past as well as our understanding of it, seeking to draw lessons and guidance for the future.\*

Kaplan, Lawrence (2004) *NATO Divided, NATO United: The Evolution of an Alliance* (Westport, CT: Praeger).

Katzenstein, Pete., and Robert Keohane., eds. (2007) *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).

Kay, Sean (1998) *NATO and the Future of European Security* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield).

Kirchner, Emil., and James Sperling (2007) *EU Security Governance* (Manchester; New York, NY: Manchester University Press).

Krishna-Hensel, Sai., ed. (2006) *Global Cooperation: Challenges and Opportunities in the Twenty-First Century* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing).

Kupchan, Charles., ed. (1998) *Atlantic Security: Contending Visions, A Council on Foreign Relations Book* (New York, NY: Brookings Institution Press).

\*The three essays in this volume clarify the ongoing debate over plans to enlarge NATO into Central and Eastern Europe and uncover the different starting points for alternative policy choices.\*

Kurthen, Herman., Antonio Menéndez-Alarcón., and Stefan Immerfall., eds. (2006) *Safeguarding German-American Relations in the New Century: Understanding and Accepting Mutual Differences* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books).

\*This volume is concerned with the current state of affairs of the German-American relationship, the causes and sources of existing discontent, and opportunities for safeguarding the future of transatlantic relations.\*

Lansford, Tom (2002) *NATO's Response to the Terrorist Attacks on the United States: All for One* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate).

Larres, Klaus., ed. (2009) *A Companion to Europe Since 1945* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing).

\*This book examines the social, intellectual, economic, cultural, and political changes that have taking place throughout Europe during both the Cold War and post-Cold War periods.\*

Latter, Richard (1993) *A New Transatlantic Bargain* (London, UK: Her Majesty's Stationery Office).

Lis, John., and Zachary Selden (2003) *NATO Burden-Sharing and Enlargement* (Hauppauge, NY: Novinka Books).

Mahncke, Dieter., Wyn Rees., and Wayne Thompson (2004) *Redefining Transatlantic Security Relations: The Challenge of Change* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press).

Markovits, Andrei (2007) *Uncouth Nations: Why Europe Dislikes America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

Matthews, Lloyd., ed. (2000) *The Future of the American Military Presence in Europe* (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College).

McCausland, Jeffrey., and Douglas Stuart., eds. (2006) *US-UK Relations at the Start of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College).

Merlingen, Michael., and Rasa Ostrauskaitė (2008) *European Security and Defense Policy: An Implementation Perspective* (New York, NY: Routledge).

\*This book analyzes the implementation of EU military and civilian missions in the Balkans, Southern Caucasus, Africa and Asia and asks what impact they have on the ground.\*

Moore, Rebecca (2007) *NATO's New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International).

Papacosma, Victor., and Mary Ann Heiss., eds. (1995) *NATO in the Post-Cold War Era: Does it Have a Future?* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press).

\*The chapters in this volume combine to present a comprehensive investigation of the diverse problems confronting NATO. The contributions each provide relevant historical background before analyzing current conditions and projecting into the future.\*

Peters, John, et al. (2001) *European Contributions to Operation Allied Force: Implications for Transatlantic Cooperation* (Washington, DC: RAND).

Pond, Elizabeth (1999) *The Rebirth of Europe* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press).

Quinlan, Michael (2001) *European Defense Cooperation: Asset or Threat to NATO?* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Press).

Rodman, Peter., et al. (1999) *Drifting Apart?: Trends in US-European Relations* (Washington, DC: Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom).

Simon, Jeffrey (2001) *Roadmap to NATO Accession: preparing for Membership* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press).

Sloan, Stanley (2010) *Permanent Alliance?: NATO and the Transatlantic Bargain from Truman to Obama* (New York, NY: Continuum).

\*Sloan examines how US-European relations are evolving in response to the many global trends (both contemporary and historical) that are changing the strategic environment for the relationship.\*

Sloan, Stanley (2005) *NATO, The European Union, and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Challenged*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers).

Sloan, Stanley (2003) *NATO, The European Union, and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Reconsidered* (Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers).

Sloan, Stanley (1985) *NATO's Future: Toward a New Transatlantic Bargain* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press).

Sola, Natividad Fernández., and Michael Smith., ed. (2009) *Perceptions and Policy in Transatlantic Relations: Prospective Visions from the US and Europe* (New York, NY: Routledge).

\*In this book, experts from both sides of the Atlantic, examine the recent tensions between Western Europe and the United States over such issues as transatlantic security, policies towards terrorism and relations with Russia and the former Soviet Union, against the broader background of perceptions and misperceptions in transatlantic relations.\*

Tardy, Thierry., ed. (2009) *European Security in a Global Context: Internal and External Dynamics* (New York, NY: Routledge).

Thies, Wallace (2009) *Why NATO Endures* (New York: Cambridge University Press)

\*Thies examines the uniqueness of NATO as an alliance and why it endures beyond the presence of an external threat, in large part due to its 'built-in self healing' features: a collection of like-valued democracies, defacto mutual review and required tacit approval of each other's foreign affairs, noteworthy transparency of relations, capacity for disagreement without fear of stronger allies.\*

Thies, Wallace (2003) *Friendly Rivals, Bargaining and Burden-Shifting in NATO* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe).

\*This book shows how NATO members use a variety of strategies and tactics to try to get the better of each other without wrecking an alliance that realizes their shared goals, and from which they all benefit.\*

Toje, Asle (2008) *America, the EU and Strategic Culture: Renegotiating the Transatlantic Bargain* (New York: Routledge).

Treverton, Gregory., et al. (1990) *America's European Engagement* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars).

Webber , Douglas., ed. (2001) *New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy?: German Foreign Policy Since Unification* (Portland, OR: F. Cass).

Weidenfeld, Werner (2006) *Partners at Odds: The Future of Transatlantic Relations – Options for a New Beginning* (Gütersloh, GER: Bertelsmann Stiftung).

Williams, Geoffrey., and Barkley Jones (2001) *NATO and the Transatlantic Alliance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Twenty-Year Crisis* (New York, NY: Palgrave).

\*This book examines the nature of international politics in the 20th century. It encapsulates those essential features likely to be present in the 21st century. One important feature is the friction generated by nation states attempting to coexist in a still largely unequal and hierarchical system.\*

Yost, David (1998) *NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Role in International Security* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press).

\*For an excellent and thoroughly documented account of NATO's transformation in the 1990s.\*

## **Journals**

Aldrich, Richard (2004) "Transatlantic Intelligence and Security Cooperation," *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 04, pp. 731-753.

Allin, Dana (2004) "The Atlantic Crisis of Confidence," *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 04, pp. 649-663.

\*Allin argues that given divergence of policy between the US and European Allies, the transatlantic alliance needs to concentrate pragmatically on the key issues of international security: fighting terrorism, controlling WMD proliferation, and strategically selective state-building, in order to survive.\*

Asmus, Ronald (2003) "Rebuilding the Atlantic Alliance," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 02, pp. 20-31.

\*Asmus argues that despite the myriad setbacks of recent years, the US-European alliance is not doomed. But, as this article contends, repairing it will require a strategic overhaul no less bold than that which followed the end of the Cold War. Asmus goes on to contend that the United States and the European Union must forge a new 'grand strategy' capable of meeting the great challenges of the era: expanding the Euro-Atlantic community and stabilizing the greater Middle East.\*

Asmus, Ronald., Richard Kugler., and Stephen Larrabee (1993) "Building a New NATO," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 04, pp. 28-40.

Balanzino, Sergio Silvio (1995) "Adapting the Alliance: Restructuring NATO after the Cold War," *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 17, No. 02, pp. 34-28.

Barry, Charles., Sean Kay., and Joshua Spero (2001) "Completing the Transatlantic Bargain: The United States and European Security," *Current History*, Vol. 100, No. 644, pp. 129-137.

Berenskoetter, Felix Sebastian (2005) "Mapping the Mind Gap: A Comparison of US and European Security Strategies," *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 71-92.

\*This article analyzes the state of the transatlantic security relationship by comparing two recent key documents of transatlantic relations: the Bush administration's *National Security Strategy* (NSS) and the EU's *European Security Strategy* (ESS).\*

Berenskoetter, Felix Sebastian., and Bastian Giegerich (2010) "From NATO to EDSP: A Social Constructivist Analysis of German Strategic Adjustment after the End of the Cold War," *Security Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 03, pp.407-452.

\*This article addresses the question why Germany invested in what became the European Union's Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), a potential competitor to NATO. In addition to highlighting Germany's role in the development of ESDP, it offers a social constructivist explanation for this investment based on the concepts of friendship, estrangement, and emancipation.\*

Bereuter, Doug., and John Lis (2003) "Broadening the Transatlantic Relationship," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 01, pp. 147-162.

Bertram, Christopher (2001) "Starting over Again," *NATO Review*, Vol. 49, spring edition, pp. 12-14.

Biden, Joseph (2000) "Unholy Symbiosis: Isolationism and Anti-Americanism," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 04, pp. 7-14.

Binnendijk, Hans., and Richard Kugler (2002) "Transforming European Forces," *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 03, pp. 117-132.

\*These two authors helped develop the basic concept for the NATO Response Force.\*

Bolton, John (2000) "The End of NATO?" *The World Today*, Vol. 56, No. 06, pp. 12-14.

Boniface, Pascale (2001) "The Specter of Unilateralism," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 03, pp. 155-162.

Bowen, Wyn (2001) "Missile Defense and the Transatlantic Security Relationship," *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 03, pp. 485-507.

Bugajski, Janusz., Ilona Teleki (2005) "Washington's New European Allies: Durable or Conditional Partners?" *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 02, pp. 95-107.

Bulmer-Thomas, Victor (2004) "Pro- and Anti-Americanism in Britain: With Them or Against Them?" *The World Today*, Vol. 60, No. 01, pp. 9-10.

Chalmers, Malcolm (2001) "The Atlantic Burden-Sharing Debate – Widening or Fragmenting?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 03, pp. 569-585.

\*This article argues that the widening of the burden-sharing debate between the US and European Allies contains both dangers and opportunities. Chalmers highlights that this discord could lead to a fragmentation of the Atlantic Dialogue, with each side talking past the other on an increasing number of issues, ranging from global warming to Balkan peacekeeping.\*

Cimbalo, Jeffrey (2004) "Saving NATO from Europe," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 06, pp. 111-120.

Cornish, Paul (2004) "NATO: The Practice and Politics of Transformation," *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 01, pp. 63-74.

\*This article argues that what is needed is a shared determination among governments that NATO can continue to serve their needs.\*

Cornish, Paul., and Geoffrey Edwards (2001) "Beyond the EU / NATO Dichotomy: The Beginnings of a European Strategic Culture," *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 03, pp.587-603.

Crăciun, Ioan (2006) "NATO Policy towards the Wider Black Sea Area – A New Transatlantic Bargain?" *Strategic Impact*, Vol. 20, No. 03, pp. 47-50.

Daalder, Ivo (2003) "The end of Atlanticism," *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 02, pp. 147-165.

Daalder, Ivo (2001) "Are the United States and Europe Heading for Divorce?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 03, pp. 553-567.

\*Daalder argues that there are major differences between the US and Europe – including differing regional priorities, diverging issue agendas and fundamentally different approaches to meeting the challenges of the post-Cold War world. These differences, Daalder contends, suggest that the US-European relationship will continue to drift. Although continued drift has its costs (notably in the missed opportunities for cooperation on a host of international issues), the US and Europe should recognize that this change in the terms and nature of their relationship is made possible by the very success of their fifty years of partnership, which has produced a Europe that today is more peaceful, democratic, and united than at any time in history.\*

Deudney, Daniel., and G. John Ikenberry (2010) "The Unravelling of the Cold War Settlement," *Survival*, Vol. 51, No. 06, pp. 39-62.

Dobbins, James (2005) "New Directions for Transatlantic Security Cooperation," *Survival*, Vol. 47, No. 04, pp. 39-53.

Dunne, Timothy (2004) "'When the Shooting Starts': Atlanticism in British Security Strategy," *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 05, pp. 893-909.

Eekelen, Willem van (2007) "A European View of American Foreign Policy," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 151, No. 04, pp. 412-418.

Eyal, Jonathan (2003) "Europe and America: Battle of the Atlantic," *The World Today*, Vol. 59, No. 03, pp. 6-8.

Farrell, Theo., and Sten Rynning (2010) "NATO's Transformation Gaps: Transatlantic Differences and the War in Afghanistan," *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 05, pp.673-699.

Freedman, Lawrence (2005) "The Transatlantic Agenda: Vision and Counter-Vision," *Survival*, Vol. 47, No. 04, pp. 19-38.

Garden, Timothy (2003) "NATO: Decline and Fall," *The World Today*, Vol. 59, No. 03, pp. 4-5.

Garden, Timothy (2001) "Through American Eyes," *The World Today*, Vol. 57, No. 02, pp. 7-8.

Gärtner, Heinz (1998) "European Security, NATO and the Transatlantic Link: Crisis Management," *European Security*, Vol. 07, No. 03, pp. 1-13.

Gnesotto, Nicole (1996) "Common European Defense and Transatlantic Relations," *Survival*, Vol. 38, No. 01, pp. 19-31.

Golan-Vilella, Robert (2010) "NATO and Nuclear Weapons: Is a New Consensus Possible?" *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 40, No. 2, October, p.7.

Heisbourg, François., and Rob de Wijk (2001) "Is the Fundamental Nature of Transatlantic Security Relationship Changing?" *NATO Review*, Vol. 49, spring edition, pp. 15-19.

Hoffmann, Stanley (2003) "US-European Relations: Past and Future," *International Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 05, pp. 1029-1036.

\*In this revised text of a lecture delivered at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in June 2003, Hoffmann traces the history of America's close postwar alliance with Western Europe.\*

Hopkinson, William (2003) "Transatlantic Issues: New Relationships for Old," *The World Today*, Vol. 59, No. 07, pp. 16-18.

Howard, Roger (2009) "Russia's New Front Line," *Survival*, Vol. 52, No. 02, pp.141-156.

Howorth, Jolyon (2010) "The EU as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 03, pp. 455-474.

Howorth, Jolyon (2003) "France, Britain and the Euro-Atlantic Crisis," *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 04, pp. 173-191.

Hunter, Robert (2004) "A Forward-Looking Partnership: NATO and the Future of Alliances," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 05, pp. 14-18.

Hunter, Robert (2003) "Europe's Leverage," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 01, pp. 91-110.

Ikenberry, John G. (2009) "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 07, No. 01, pp. 71-87.

Ikenberry, John G. (2003) "Is American Multilateralism in Decline?" *Perspective on Politics*, Vol. 01, No. 03, pp. 533-550.

- Ikenberry, John G. (1998) "Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Persistence of American Postwar Order," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 03, pp. 43-78.
- Jones, Erik (2004) "Debating the Transatlantic Relationship: Rhetoric and Reality," *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 04, pp. 595-612.
- Kagan, Robert (2004) "America's Crisis of Legitimacy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 2, pp. 65-88.
- Kapstein, Ethan (2002) "Allies and Armaments," *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 02, pp. 141-155.  
 \*This article argues that one often neglected way to measure the health of the NATO alliance is through an exploration of European weapons-procurement policy. The author interestingly highlights that weapons-procurement decisions only provide a single case study with respect to alliance relations – that they hardly offer a complete view of the political landscape. But, as Kapstein goes on to contend, neither should transatlantic efforts to shape the defense acquisition environment be dismissed as tangential to security policy.\*
- Kopstein, Jeffrey (2009) "Anti-Americanism and the Transatlantic Relationship," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 07, No. 02, pp. 367-376.
- Krause, Joachim (2004) "Multilateralism: Behind European Views," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 02, pp. 43-59.
- Kupchan, Charles (2000) "In Defense of European Defense: An American Perspective," *Survival*, Vol. 42, No. 02, pp. 16-32.
- Lambert, Richard (2003) "Misunderstanding Each Other," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 02, pp. 62-74.
- Larres, Klaus (2003) "Mutual Incomprehension: US-German Value Gaps beyond Iraq," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 02, pp. 23-42.
- Lieber, Robert (2000) "No Transatlantic Divorce in the Offing," *Orbis*, Vol. 44, No. 04, pp. 571-584.
- Lugar, Richard (2002) "Redefining NATO's Mission: Preventing WMD Terrorism," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 03, pp. 7-13.
- Lukov, Vadim., et al. (2010) "Euro-Atlantic Security: A Path to the Future," *International Affairs*, No. 01, 2010, pp.40-49
- MacShane, Denis (2004) "Europe and America: Don't Divide," *The World Today*, Vol. 60, No. 06, pp. 10-11.
- Mandelson, Peter (2000) "Pro-American, Pro-European," *The World Today*, Vol. 56, No. 11, pp. 14-16.

Mankoff, Jeffrey (2007) "Russia and the West: Taking the Longer View," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 02, pp. 123-135.

Matlary, Janne (2006) "When Soft Power Turns Hard: Is an EU Strategic Culture Possible?" *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 37, No. 01, pp. 105-121.

\*Matlary poses the question of whether the European Union is likely to develop its own strategic culture. This article discusses the concept of human security as the possible basis for a novel type of such a culture. It argues that there are incentives for governments to 'pool' sovereignty in the security and defense fields on the logic of two-level games, while noting that EU institutions themselves are developing both political and military capacities at present.\*

Modelski, George (2009) "Rebalancing the Transatlantic Partnership," *Primavera*, No. 122, Series 04, pp. 139-150.

Moravcsik, Andrew (2003) "Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 04, pp. 74-89.

Muravchik, Joshua (1997) "Why Die for Danzig?" *Commentary*, Vol. 104, No. 04, pp. 40-45.

Nelson, Daniel (2002) "Transatlantic Transmutations," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 04, pp. 51-66.

Nikonov, Vyacheslav (2003) "Planet Earth: Russia and Transatlantic Relations," *International Journal*, LIX/1 winter, pp. 87-104.

Nunn, Sam (2010) "NATO Nuclear Policy and Euro-Atlantic Security," *Survival*, Vol. 52, No. 02, pp. 13-18.

Nye, Joseph (2000) "The US and Europe: Continental Drift?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 01, pp. 51-59.

\*This article is an edited version of the second C. Douglas Dillon lecture on European-American relations, delivered at Chatham House on June 24, 1999 by Joseph S. Nye Jr., in which he analyzes future relations between Europe and the United States.\*

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