

THE **A** TO **Z** OF



**NATO AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS**



MARCO RIMANELLI

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The A to Z of NATO and Other International Security Organizations

Marco Rimanelli

The A to Z Guide Series, No. 112



The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
Lanham • Toronto • Plymouth, UK
2009

Published by Scarecrow Press, Inc.
A wholly owned subsidiary of
The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
<http://www.scarecrowpress.com>

Estover Road, Plymouth PL6 7PY, United Kingdom

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The hardback version of this book was cataloged by the Library of Congress as follows:

Rimanelli, Marco, 1957-

Historical dictionary of NATO and other international security organizations / Marco Rimanelli.

p. cm. — (Historical dictionaries of international organizations ; no. 27)

Includes bibliographical references.

1. North Atlantic Treaty Organization—History—Dictionaries. 2. Security, International—History—Dictionaries. 3. International organization—History—Dictionaries. I. Title.


UA646.3.R485 2009

355'.03109—dc22

2008011568

ISBN 978-0-8108-6899-1 (pbk. : alk. paper)

ISBN 978-0-8108-7062-8 (ebook)

™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Printed in the United States of America

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Editor's Foreword

For a while it looked as if the end of the Cold War would bring about the demise of the military alliances it engendered. This has certainly not been the case for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In fact, since 1990 NATO has undergone four parallel phased renewals. It has accepted new members, turned its ex-enemies into partners, developed global security goals, and retooled its military hardware to accomplish them. This conversion of NATO has not been achieved by other security organizations, especially not the ex-Warsaw Pact, its erstwhile foe. The rest remain more or less quiescent, or closely working with NATO. But things could change in the future, as they so often did in the past. Thus a look at the other security organizations is more than justified, including those reaching further back into the past and whose experiences have shaped the present situation, smaller, regional bodies, and the very concept of "alliance."

The A to Z of NATO and Other International Security Organizations obviously focuses on the most powerful alliance that ever existed. The dictionary section contains numerous entries on NATO itself; its leaders, both civilian and military; its component bodies; its goals and strategies; and its operations and achievements, from the Cold War fears of a nuclear World War III to today's post-Cold War global threats. Other entries focus on the major international security organizations, most of which cooperate with NATO; few resist it. The broader interplay between NATO and various alliances and organizations is presented twice, first over time in a detailed chronology, then conceptually in the introduction. The acronyms list is also a key part of this volume, because it is difficult to know who is who and what is what without it. A comprehensive bibliography directs readers to additional material on all these topics.

This volume was written by Dr. Marco Rimanelli, who is director of International Studies and professor of U.S.–European, NATO, and Security Studies at Saint Leo University in Florida. He studied on both sides of the Atlantic, in Italy and the United States; was a NATO Fellow in 1984–1987; worked in the U.S. government on NATO and arms control in 1991–1992 and 1999–2001; and in 2004–2005 became the first Continental U.S. Fellow at France's War College-Institut des Hautes Études de Défense Nationale in Paris. Given this background, he has developed a broader view than most, also expressed in his many lectures and articles, as well as seminal works such as *NATO Enlargement after 2002: Opportunities and Strategies* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University/Unclassified U.S. Government document, 2001), *Comparative Peaceful Democratization in Single-Party-Dominant Countries* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), and *Italy between Europe and the Mediterranean: Diplomacy and Naval Strategy from the 1800s to NATO* (New York: P. Lang Publishing, 1997). It would have been impossible to provide so much information on the role of security organizations without such experience, and it would be impossible to understand recent historical events or current politics without considering that role.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Foreword

From time to time, a book is written that leads one to wonder why it was not written before. This is another way of saying that a work becomes a “standard” upon publication, a useful if not indispensable presentation of important material not otherwise available.

Professor Marco Rimanelli has achieved that remarkable feat with *The A to Z of NATO and Other International Security Organizations*. In the 60-year life of the alliance, a flood of articles and books have been written about its birth, its adolescence, and its maturity—leading up to its rebirth after the end of the Cold War and its second rebirth in the early years of the new century. In the 1990s, NATO remade itself to help deliver the promise—still not completely fulfilled—enunciated by President George H. W. Bush, of a “Europe whole and free and at peace.” This process brought many new terms into the European security lexicon—such as Partnership for Peace, Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, NATO–Russia Joint Council, and, in NATO’s new association with the European Union, and the European Security and Defense Policy. This remaking of the basis for European security was followed after September 11, 2001—now universally known simply as 9/11—by a further remaking both of NATO and of “European” security, as the Alliance moved even farther beyond its original ambit to take on the lead role of pacifying and, yes, “nation-building” in Afghanistan, as well as helping with earthquake relief in Pakistan and supporting the European Union in East Africa.

Thus NATO after the end of the Cold War did not go the way of the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union, and European communism to the “ash heap of history,” but rather has retained critical responsibilities for the future that rival in importance those of its past, with challenges facing it that make it as relevant as always.

With that relevance comes an intensified need to understand the past—what NATO has been until now, how it got that way, what needs it has answered, what precisely has been done, and by whom and why—to illuminate what is being and must be done to fulfill the promise that the original signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty had at the outset, to “safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilisation of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.” It is also important to understand how NATO as an alliance compares and contrasts with other international security organizations, to provide a solid basis for judging what works best, where, and when, and what can usefully be done in the future as security requirements spread beyond Europe to include, in particular, new insistence on security institutions and activities in the region of the greater Middle East.

Professor Rimanelli’s *The A to Z of NATO* will serve as the necessary compendium for analysis, discussion, debate, and decision, both about NATO and other relevant institutions for European and North Atlantic security, and about pointing the way forward to promotion of security in other parts of the world, with the term “security” understood in its broadest sense. This book should be ready at hand for these important purposes.

Robert E. Hunter
Washington, D.C., January 2008
U.S. Ambassador to NATO (1993–1998)

Acknowledgments

This work has been a labor, a toil, a challenge, a vision: a labor of patience to explain to nonspecialists the necessary information and multidisciplinary analyses on NATO and international security without losing the audience; a toil of countless days and nights of research and cities, and lands to travel and learn; a personal challenge of years to synthesize an entire field of study and beliefs for others to understand and work upon through a broad dictionary of historical references; and a vision of understanding the evolution of 50 years of transatlantic democratic values, Allied solidarity, American leadership, European renewal, and global interconnectedness in international security and diplomatic cooperation at NATO and elsewhere.

I wish to thank deeply and sincerely for his help, advice, and incredible patience my editor at Scarecrow Press, Jon Woronoff, who like me has endured countless doubts and years of toil, but has never relented from prodding me along the way to illumination and completeness.

I am very indebted to French Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin and the War College/Institut des Hautes Études de Défense Nationale-École Militaire in Paris for having selected me as First Continental U.S. Fellow at its 57th annual session during my 2004–2005 sabbatical and helping me better understand, as chair of Inter-Committee B, the political and security views of France, the European Union, and NATO, while laboring at night to finish this book.

I am deeply indebted to the U.S. government for my appointments in 1999–2001 and 1991–1992 as scholar-in-residence/senior analyst on NATO–European security, NATO–EU enlargements, peacekeeping, and arms control at the U.S. Inter-Agency (State Department, Central Intelligence Agency, Pentagon, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) in Washington, D.C., which opened my eyes to praxis proving how different government work is from academic thought.

I am grateful to Saint Leo University for letting me expand my knowledge of NATO and U.S./international security through sabbaticals and leaves, which have made this book possible.

I wish to thank Professor James Goldgeier, director of the George Washington University-Institute European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (IERES) in Washington, D.C., for selecting me in 1999–2002 as visiting professor/research associate to write this work, and also Professor Michael Sodaro at IERES for his advice, friendship, and corner office with leather furniture.

I especially thank Professor Hall Gardner, chair of International Studies at the American University of Paris (AUP), France, who has shared with me friendship, meals, a passion for NATO, and summer appointments at AUP since 2001 as visiting professor/research associate to revise this work.

Finally, year after year I find myself perennially grateful to my alma mater, Johns Hopkins University-School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington, D.C., where as an immigrant from Italy I earned three degrees in my field, and where my mentor, the late Professor Robert E. Osgood, director of both the U.S. Foreign Policy and International Security Programs, quietly fertilized and cultivated my views and understanding of a world of multidisciplinary consequences in politics, diplomacy, security, economics, ideological values, and especially Realpolitik!

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AAP	Allied Administrative Publications, NATO
ABL	Airborne Lasers
ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missiles (and 1972 Treaty, between the U.S. and the USSR, abolished 2001)
AC	Alliance Committee, NATO
ACCHAN	Allied Command Channel, NATO
ACCIS	Automated Command and Control Information System
ACCS	Air Command and Control System
ACDA	U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (absorbed by the U.S. State Department in 1993)
ACE	Allied Command Europe, NATO
ACE AMF (L)	Allied Command Europe Mobile Force-Land, NATO
ACLANT	Allied Command Atlantic, NATO
ACO	Allied Command Operations, NATO
ACOM	U.S. Atlantic Command
ACRI	African Crisis Response Initiative
ACSA	Allied Communications Security Agency, NATO
ACT	Allied Command Transformation, NATO
ADL	Armistice Demarcation Line
ADM	Atomic Demolition Munitions (eliminated by 1991 SNF Agreement)
AEF	Air Expeditionary Forces, U.S.
AEW	Airborne Early-Warning (System)
AFCENT	Allied Forces Central Europe, NATO
AFNORTH	Allied Forces Northern Europe, NATO
AFNORTHWEST	Allied Forces Northwestern Europe, NATO

AFSOUTH	Allied Forces Southern Europe, NATO
AGARD	Advisory Group on Aerospace Research and Development (in NATO's Research and Technology Agency (Organisation) (RTA[O]))
AHCDU	Ad Hoc Committee on Depleted Uranium, NATO
AID/OFDA	Agency International Development/Office Foreign Disaster Assistance
AIRCENT	Allied Air Forces Central Europe, NATO
AIRNORTHWEST	Allied Air Forces Northwestern Europe, NATO
AJL	Allied Joint Force
ALCM	Air-Launched Cruise Missile
ALLA	Allied Long Lines Agency, NATO
ALP	Allied Logistics Publications
AMF	ACE Mobile Force, NATO
AMIS	African Union Mission in Sudan, AU
ANCA	Allied Naval Communications Agency, NATO
ANZAC	Australia-New Zealand Army Corps
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand and United States Alliance (1951)
AOL	Area of Limitation
AO	Area of Operations
AOR	Area of Responsibility
AOS	Area of Separation
AP	Assembly Point
APAG	Atlantic Policy Advisory Group, NATO
APC	Africa-Pacific-Caribbean Countries (EU development program)
APC	Armored Personnel Carrier
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum
AQAP	Allied Quality-Assurance Publications, NATO
<i>Arab League</i>	Arab League (security organization of all Arab countries)
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ARFA	Allied Radio Frequency Agency, NATO
ARG	Amphibious Readiness Groups, U.S.

ARRC	Allied Command Europe (ACE) Rapid Reaction Corps, NATO
ARW	Advanced Research Workshop (NATO Science Programme)
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASG	Assistant Secretary-General
ASI	Advanced Study Institute (NATO Science Programme)
ASR	Alliance Standardisation Requirements, NATO
ASW	Antisubmarine Warfare
ATA	Atlantic Treaty Association, NATO
ATCA	Allied Tactical Communications Agency, NATO
ATDSIA	Allied Tactical Data-Systems Interoperability Agency, NATO
ATO	Air-Tasking Order
ATTU	Atlantic-to-the-Urals (Verification Zone in the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty-CFE, 1990)
AU	African Union (ex-Organization of African Unity, OAU)
AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control System
BALTAP	Allied Forces Baltic Approaches, NATO
BALTBAT	Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion (PfP), NATO
Balts	Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania)
BDA	Bomb Damage Assessment
BEAOR	British Expeditionary Army on the Rhine, NATO
BICES	Battlefield Information Collection and Exploitation System
BMEWS	Ballistic Missile Early-Warning System
Brussels Pact	Brussels Pact (renamed Western European Union in 1954)
BTWC	Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (known as BWC)
BW	Biological Weapons
BWC	Biological Weapons Convention (or BTWC)
C ²	Command & Control (military)

C ³	Command, Control & Communications (military)
C ³	Consultation, Command & Control (NATO's politico-military)
C ³ I	Command, Control, Communications & Intelligence (Cold War military)
C ⁴ ISR	Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (post-Cold War military)
CADC	Central American Defense Council (in Spanish as CONDECA)
CALS	Continuous Acquisition and Life-Cycle Support
CAPC	Civil Aviation Planning Committee, NATO
CAPS	Conventional Armaments Planning System, NATO
CARDS	Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Democratisation and Stabilisation (Stability Pact), EU
CARICOM	Caribbean Common Market
CAS	Close Air Support
CBC	Civil Budget Committee
CBDCOM	U.S. Army Chemical and Biological Defense Command
CBM	Confidence-Building Measures
CBW	Chemical and Biological Warfare
CCC	Capabilities Coordination Cell
CCMS	Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society, NATO
CCPC	Civil Communications Planning Committee, NATO
CDE	Conference on Security, Confidence-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CSCBMDE)
CEAC	Committee for European Airspace Coordination, NATO
CEDAO	Communauté des États d'Afrique de l'Ouest (in English as Economic Community of West African States-ECOWAS)

CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CENTAG	Central Army Group-Central Europe, NATO
CENTCOM	U.S. Central Command (USCENTCOM, ex-Rapid Deployment Force)
CENTRASBAT	Central-Asian Combined Peacekeeping Battalion (PfP), NATO
CEOA	Central Europe Operating Agency, NATO
CEP	Circle of Error Probability (old error rate in nuclear missiles strikes)
CEP	Civil Emergency Planning
CEPMO(A)	Central Europe Pipeline Management Organisation/Agency, NATO
CEPS	Central Europe Pipeline System, NATO
CFE-1A	Concluding Act of CFE Treaty's Personnel Strength Protocol (1992)
CFE/CFE II	Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (Treaty, 1990) and CFE II (1999)
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy, EU
CHANCOM	Channel Committee, NATO
CHODS	Chiefs of Staff, NATO
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency, U.S.
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIMIC	Civil-Military Cooperation (both NATO-EU)
CINC	Commander-in-Chief (generals/admirals in command of U.S. or NATO Commands)
"The CINC"	The Commander-in-Chief/President of U.S.A.
CINC-CENT	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM)
CINCEASTLANT	Commander-in-Chief, Eastern Atlantic Area, NATO
CINCENT	Commander-in-Chief, Allied Forces-Central Europe, NATO
CINC-EUR	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. European Command (EUCOM)
CINCHAN	Allied Commander-in-Chief, Channel and Southern North Sea dissolved in 1994), NATO

CINC-HOME	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Homeland Command (HOMECOM)
CINCIBERLANT	Commander-in-Chief, Iberian Atlantic Area, NATO
CINC-JFCOM	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Joint Forces Command (JFCOM)
CINCNORTH	Commander-in-Chief, Allied Forces-Northern Europe, NATO
CINC-NORTH	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Northern Command (NORTHCOM, ex-Space Command)
CINC-PAC	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Command (PAC-COM)
CINC-SAC	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Strategic Air Command (SAC)
CINC-SOC	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Special Operations Command (SOCOM)
CINCSOUTH	Commander-in-Chief, Allied Forces-Southern Europe (NATO)
CINC-SOUTH	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Southern Command (SOUTHCOM)
CINC-SPACE	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Space Command (SPACECOM)
CINC-STRAT	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Strategic Command (STRATCOM)
CINC-TRANSCOM	Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Transportation Command/Air Mobility Command (TRANSCOM)
CINCUKAIR	Commander-in-Chief, United Kingdom Air Forces, NATO
CINCWESTLANT	Commander-in-Chief, Western Atlantic Area, NATO
CIO	Chairman-in-Office, OSCE
CIOMR	Confederation Inter-Allied Medical Reserve Officers, NATO
CIOR	Confederation of Inter-Allied Reserve Officers, NATO
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States (ex-Soviet Union states, minus Baltic states)

CIS	Communications and Information Systems
CIVPOL	United Nations Civilian Police
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Force, NATO
C-M	Council Memorandum
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (best known as COMECON)
CMF	Commonwealth Monitoring Force
CML	Civil-Military Liaison
CMO	Chief Military Observer
CMO	Crisis-Management Operations
CMRC	Civil-Military Resources Coordination
CNAD	Conference of National Armaments Directors, NATO
COCOM	Coordinating Committee, on Multilateral Ex- port-Controls, NATO (dissolved 1992)
COEs	Centres of Excellence, NATO
COEC	Council Operations and Exercise Committee, NATO
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (also known as CMEA)
COMEDS	Committee of the Chiefs of Military Medical Services, NATO
COMESSA	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
Cominform	Communist Information Organization on So- viet Bloc ideological unity
CONDECA	Consejo de Defensa Centroamericano (in English as CADC)
CONMAROPS	Concept of Maritime Operations
CONUS	Continental United States (excludes Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Guam)
COPS	EU Political and Security Committee (only quoted under its French acronym)
COREPER	Committee Permanent Representatives/Am- bassadors-in-Residence, EU
COREU	Correspondances Européennes, EU
CP	Capability Package
CPC	Civil Protection Committee
CPC	Conflict-Prevention Centre

CPLP	Community of Lusophone Countries
CPX	Command Post Exercise
CRAF	Civil Reserve Air Fleet, U.S.
CRC	Conflict-Resolution Centre
CRG	Collaborative Research Grant (NATO Science Programme)
CRO	Crisis-Response Operations
CSAP	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Asia and Pacific
CSBMs	Confidence- and Security-Building Measures
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (by January 1995 as Organisation on Security and Cooperation in Europe-OSCE)
CSI	Container Security Initiative
CST	Conventional Stability Talks
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CTG	EU Counter-Terrorist Group
CTR	Cooperative Threat Reductions
CUSRPG	Canada-U.S. Regional Planning Group
CVBG	Carrier Battle Group
CW	Chemical Weapons
CWT/C	Chemical Weapons Treaty (or Convention, 1993)
“3 Ds”	Non-Duplication, Non-Discrimination, and Non-Devolution, NATO
D-SACEUR	Deputy-Supreme Allied Commander-Europe, NATO
DCA	Dual-Capable Aircrafts
DCI	Defence Capabilities Initiative, NATO
DEA	U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency
DGEUMS	Director-General EU Military Staff
DGP	Senior Defence Group on Proliferation
DIMS	Director of NATO International Military Staff-IMS
DMZ	Demilitarized Zone
DoD	U.S. Department of Defense (or Pentagon)
DPAO	Division of Defence, Planning and Operations, NATO

DPC	Defence Planning Committee, NATO
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations, UN
DPPI	Disaster Preparedness, Prevention Initiative, Stability Pact, EU
DPQ	Defence Planning Questionnaire
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of (North) Korea (or North Korea)
DRC	Defence Review Committee, NATO
DRG	Defence Research Group (NATO Research Technology Organisation)
DS	Division of Defence Support, NATO
DSAA	Defence Security Assistance Agency, U.S.
EADRCC	Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre, NATO
EADRU	Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Unit, NATO
EADS	Euro Airspace Defense Systems
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, NATO
EC	European Community (or European Economic Community-EEC)
ECCM	Electronic Counter-Countermeasures
ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Office, EU
ECM	Electronic Countermeasures
ECMM	European Community Monitoring Mission
ECOFORCE	Economic Community of West African States Force in Côte d'Ivoire
ECOMICI	Economic Community of West African States Mission in Côte d'Ivoire
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Military Observer Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States (in French CEDAO)
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community (absorbed in EC in 1957)
EDC	European Defence Community (not ratified in 1954 because of France's senate rejection)
EDIP	European Defence Improvement Programme
EDP	"Especially Designed or Prepared"

EEC	European Economic Community (European Community/Union, then as EC, now EU)
EF-2000	“Eurofighter-2000”
EFTA	European Free-Trade Association
EMP	Electromagnetic Pulse (electric fields collapse caused by nuclear explosions)
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union, EU
ENI	European Neighbourhood Instrument, EU
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy, EU
ENTG	EURO/NATO Training Group
EPC	European Political Community (1952 failed Italian Europeanist projects)
EPC	European Political Cooperation (1969), EU
EPM	Electronic Protection Measures
EPU	European Political Union (Delors Plan, 1988)
EPWs	Earth-penetrating Weapons
ESA	European Space Agency
ESDI/P	European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (NATO–EU name variations)
EU	European Union (ex-European Community, EC or EEC) with changing acronyms
EUMC	EU Military Committee
EUMM	EU Monitoring Mission
EUMS	EU Military Staff
EUCOM	U.S. European Command (or USEUCOM)
EUFOR	European Union Force in Bosnia (replaced SFOR in December 2004)
EURFOR	European Union Force in Macedonia
EUROCONTROL	European Organization for the Safety of Air Navigation, EU
EUROGENDFOR	EU European Gendarmerie Force (2004)
EUROGROUP	Informal Group, NATO European Defence Ministers (dissolved 1993)
EuroJust	EU Law Enforcement Agency (2004)
Euromissiles	Popular name of U.S. Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF)
EUROPOL	European Police Office

EUSC	EU Satellite Centre (ex-WEU Satellite Centre)
EV	Expert Visit (NATO Science Programme)
EW	Electronic Warfare
EWG	Executive Working Group
FAEU	Forces Answerable to European Union, EU (previously FAWEU)
FATF	Financial Action Task Force, EU
FAWEU	Forces Answerable to Western European Union (since 1999 FAEU)
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S.
FC/FCdr	Force Commander
FHQ	Force Headquarters
FMP	Multinational Protection Force
FMR	Force Mobile Reserve
FMS	U.S. Foreign Military Sales
FOFA	“Follow-on-Forces Attack”
FORACS	NATO Naval Forces Sensors and Weapons Accuracy Check Sites
FPG	Functional Planning Guide
FRP	Financial Rules and Procedures, NATO
FSC	Forum for Security Cooperation, OSCE
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Macedonia since 2004)
G-7/G-8	Group of 7-8 Most-Industrialized Countries (G-7 until 1995, then G-8)
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GLCM	Ground-Launched Cruise Missile
GLONASS	Global Navigation Satellite System
GNW	Group on Nuclear Weapons
GOEWDS	Group of Experts on Warning and Detection Systems, NATO
GOP	Guidelines for Operational Planning
GPS	Global Positioning System
GSZ	Ground Safety Zone
HCNM	High Commission on National Minorities, OSCE
HEAT	High-Explosive Anti-Tank Weapons

HEU	Highly Enriched Uranium
HLG	High-Level Group, NATO
HLTF	High-Level Task Force, NATO
HN	Host-Nation
HNS	Host-Nation Support
HOC/CMOC	Humanitarian Operations Center/Civil-Military Operations Center
HOMELANDCOM	U.S. Homeland Command (or CONUS)
HQ	Headquarters
HUMINT	Human Intelligence and Espionage
IADB	Inter-American Defense Board, OAS
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAF	Inter-African Force of OAU
IAF	Inter-American Force of OAS
IAPF	Inter-American Peace Force of OAS
IATA	International Air Transport Association
IBERLANT	Iberian-Atlantic Area, NATO
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
IC	International Community
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ICB	International Competitive Bidding
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles
ICC	International Criminal Court, UN
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IEBL	Inter-Entity Boundary Line in Bosnia, NATO–EU
IED	Improvised Explosive Devices
IEPG	Independent European Programme Group
IFF	Identification Friend or Foe
IFOR	Implementation Force in Bosnia–Herzegovina, NATO
IGC	Inter-Governmental Conference
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies of London
IMET	International Military Equipment and Training

IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMS	International Military Staff, NATO
INF	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (Treaty, for U.S./NATO and USSR/Warsaw Pact, 1987)
Info Ops	Information Operations
INTERPOL	International Police Agency
IO	International Organizations
IO	Interoperability Objective
IOM	International Office for Migration
IPAP	Individual Partnership Action Plan—Caucasus, NATO
IPF	Indian Peacekeeping Force
IPMT	International Peace Monitoring Team
IPP	Individual Partnership Programme (PfP), NATO
IPTF	United Nations International Police Task-Force
IRBM	Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missiles
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IRF	Immediate Reaction Forces
IS	International Staff, NATO
ISAF	Implementation and Stabilization Force in Afghanistan, NATO
IT	Information Technology
IW	Information Warfare
JCP	Joint Committee on Proliferation
JDAM	Joint Direct Attack Munitions
JFC	Joint Force Commander
JIATF	Joint Inter-Agency Task-Force, NATO
JOA	Joint Operations Area
JSB	Joint Service Board (MAS), NATO
JSOW	Joint Stand-off Weapons
JSRC	Joint Sub-Regional Command
JSTARS	Joint Surveillance and Target Attack Radar System
JTF	Joint Task-Force
JWG	NATO-Ukraine Joint Working Group on Defence Reform
KFOR	Kosovo Implementation Force, NATO

KLK	Kosovo Liberation Army (Kosovar Albanian Insurgents)
KVM	Kosovo Verification Mission, OSCE
LANDCENT	Allied Land Forces Central Europe, NATO
LANDSOUTH	Allied Land Forces Southern Europe, NATO
LANDSOUTHCENT	Allied Land Forces South-Central Europe, NATO
LANDSOUTHEAST	Allied Land Forces South-Eastern Europe, NATO
LCC	Land Component Commander
LCC	Logistics Coordination Centre
LG	Linkage Grant (NATO Science Programme)
LO	Liaison Officer
LOCs	Lines of Communications
LOTS	Logistics Over the Shore
LRTNF	Long-Range Theatre Nuclear Forces (Theatre Nuclear Forces, or INF-Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces, ended by 1987 INF Treaty)
LTDP	Long-Term Defence Programme, NATO
MAG	Movement and Transportation Advisory Group
MAP	Membership Action Plans, NATO
MARAIMED	Maritime Air Forces Mediterranean, NATO
MAREQ	Military Assistance Requirement
MARRI	Migration, Asylum and Refugees Regional Initiative, EU
MAS	Military Agency for Standardisation, NATO
MBC	Military Budget Committee
MBFR	Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions
MC	Military Committee
MCC	Multinational Counter-Narcotics Center
MCD	Military and Civil Defence Assets
MCG	Mediterranean Cooperation Group
MCM	Mine Countermeasures
MCMFORMED	Standing Mine Countermeasures Force-Mediterranean, NATO
MCS	Maneuver Control System
MCWG	Military Committee Working Group

MD	Missile Defense (ex-National Missile Defense-NMD), U.S.
M-Day	Start-Day for Mobilization
MDF	Main Defence Forces
MDG	Mediterranean Dialogue (or Mediterranean Dialogue Group), NATO
MEADS	Medium Extended Air-Defence Systems
MEF	Marines Expeditionary Force, U.S.
MET	Military Education and Training
MEU	Marine Expeditionary Unit
MFO	Multilateral Force and Observers
MFO	Multinational Force Organization in Sinai
MIF	Multinational Interdiction Force
MILREP	Military Representative (to MC)
MINUCI	United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire/Ivory Coast
MIRVs	Multiple Independent Reentry Vehicles (Nuclear Warheads)
MISAB	Inter-African Force in Central Africa
MJLC	Multinational Joint Logistic Centre
MLF	Multilateral (Nuclear) Force, NATO
MLM	Military Liaison Mission
MLRS	Multiple Launch Rocket Systems
MNC	Major NATO Command (renamed NATO Strategic Command)
MNF	Multinational Force I and II (in Lebanon)
MOB	Main Operating Base
MOB	Mobile Off-shore Base
MOD	Ministry of Defense
MOG	Military Observer Group
MONUC	United Nations Mission in Congo
MOOTW	Military-Operations-Other-than-War
MOT	Military Observer Team
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Military Police
MRC	Major Regional Conflict (Limited War)
MRCA	Multi-Role Combat Aircraft (TORNADO), NATO

MSC	Major Subordinate Command/Commander
MSC	Military Staff Committee
MSU	Multinational Security Unit
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
MTOE	Modified Table of Organization and Equip- ment
MTRP	Medium-Term Resources Plan
MTW	Major Theater War
NAA	North Atlantic Assembly, NATO
NAAG	NATO Army Armaments Group
NAC	North Atlantic Council, NATO
NAC-C	North Atlantic Cooperation Council, NATO
NACMA(O)	NATO Air Command and Control System (ACCS) Management Agency (Organisation)
NACOSA(O)	NATO CIS Operating and Support Agency (Organisation)
NADC	NATO Air Defence Committee
NADEEC	NATO Air Defence Electronic Environment Committee
NADEFCOL	NATO Defense College (new acronym is NDC)
NADGE	NATO Air Defence Ground Environment
NAEFW	NATO Airborne Early-Warning Forces
NAFAG	NATO Air Force Armaments Group
NAHEMA	NATO Helicopter (NH90) Design, Develop- ment, Production and Logistics Management Agency
NAMEADSMA	NATO Medium Extended Air Defence Sys- tem Management Agency
NAMFI	NATO Missile-Firing Installation
NAMMA(O)	NATO Multi-Role Combat Aircraft Develop- ment and Production Agency/Organisation
NAMP	NATO Annual Manpower Plan
NAMSA(O)	NATO Maintenance and Supply Agency (Or- ganisation)
NAPMA(O)	NATO Airborne Early-Warning and Control Programme Agency (Organisation)
NAPR	NATO Armaments Periodic Review
NASPO	NATO Starfighter Production Organisation

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NAU	NATO Accounting Unit
NAVNORTHWEST	Allied Naval Forces Northwestern Europe, NATO
NAVOCFORMED	Naval On-Call Force Mediterranean, NATO
NAVSOUTH	Allied Naval Forces Southern Europe
NBC	Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons
NCA	National Command Authorities
NC ³ A(O)	NATO Consultation, Command and Control Agency (Organisation)
NCARC	NATO Conventional Armaments Review Committee
NC ³ B	NATO Consultation, Command and Control Board
NCCIS	NATO Command, Control and Information System
NCISS	NATO Communications and Information Systems School
NDAC	Nuclear Defence Affairs Committee, NATO
NDC	NATO Defense College (ex-NADEFCOL)
NDMC	NATO Defence Manpower Committee
NDMP	NATO Defence Manpower Plan
NEFMO(A)	NATO European Fighter Aircraft Development, Production and Logistics Management Organisation (Agency)
NEOs	Noncombatant Evacuation Operations
NEPS	North European Pipeline System, NATO
NETMO(A)	NATO Eurofighter 2000 and TORNADO Development, Production and Logistics Management Organisation (Agency)
NFR	NATO Financial Regulations
NGOs	Nongovernmental Organizations
NHPLO	NATO HAWK Production and Logistics Organisation
NHQC ³ S	NATO Headquarters Consultation, Command and Control Staff
NIAG	NATO Industrial Advisory Group
NICS	NATO Integrated Communications System
NIDS	NATO Integrated Data Service

NIG	Networking Infrastructure Grant (NATO Science Programme)
NIMA	U.S. National Imaging Agency
NIMIC	NATO Insensitive Munitions Information Centre
NMA	NATO Military Authority
NMD	National Missile Defense (renamed Missile Defense-MD), U.S.
NMOG	Neutral Military Observer Group I and II
NMR	National Military Representatives to SHAPE, NATO
NNAG	NATO Naval Armaments Group
NORAD	North American Air-Defence System
NORTHAG	Northern Army Group-Central Europe, NATO
NPC	NATO Pipeline Committee
NPG	Nuclear Planning Group, NATO
NPLO	NATO Production and Logistics Organisation
NPR	Nuclear Posture Review, NATO
NPS	NATO Pipeline System
NPSC	NATO Project Steering Committee
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty on Nuclear Weapons (1968)
NRDC	National Resources Defense Council, NATO
NRF	NATO Reserve Force
NRF	NATO Response Force
NSC	National Security Council (Office of U.S. President)
NSC	NATO Standardisation Organisation
NSC	NATO Supply Centre
NSI	National Strategic Infrastructure
NSIP	NATO Security Investment Programme
NSLB	NATO Standardisation Liaison Board
NSN	NATO Stock Number
NSO	NATO Strategic Command/Commander (ex-Key NATO Command)
NTC	NATO Training Centre
NTG	NATO Training Group
NUC	NATO-Ukraine Commission

NW	Nuclear Weapons
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Unity (now African Union)
OAUPKF	Organization of African Unity Peacekeeping Forces
OCC	Operational Capabilities Concept
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OECS	Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States
OFDA	Office of Disaster Assistance, U.S.
OHQ	Operations Headquarters
OHR	Office of the High-Representative in Bosnia–Herzegovina
OMIK	OSCE Mission in Kosovo
ONS	Office for NATO Standardisation
ONUC	United Nations Operation in Congo
ONUCA	United Nations Observer Group in Central America
ONUCI	United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire/Ivory Coast
OOTW	Operations-Other-than-War
Op Cdr	Operation Commander, NATO–EU
OPCON	Operational Control
OPCW	Organization for Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OPLAN	Operation Plan
O-PLAN	Operational Plan (single or connected military operations)
OPORDERS	Operational Orders
OPTEMPO	Operational Tempo (Mobilization)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (ex-CSCE)
OSD	Office of the Secretary of Defense, U.S.

OTAN	Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord (NATO in French, as its second language)
PA	Division of Political Affairs, NATO
PACOM	U.S. Pacific Command (or USPACOM)
PAPS	Periodic Armaments Planning System, NATO
PARP	Planning and Review Process of Partnership for Peace, NATO
PBEIST	Planning Board for European Inland Surface Transport, NATO
PBIST	Planning Board for Inland Surface Transport, NATO
PBOS	Planning Board for Ocean Shipping, NATO
PC	Political Committee, NATO
PCC	Partnership Coordination Cell (PfP), NATO
PCC	Partnership Coordination Centre (PfP), NATO
PCG	Policy Coordination Group, NATO
Pentagon	U.S. Department of Defense (or DoD)
PERM-REPs	Permanent Representatives to NAC, NATO
PfP	Partnership for Peace, NATO
PGM	Precision-guided Munitions
PIC	Peace Implementation Council
PJC	(NATO-Russia) Permanent Joint Council
PLA	People's Liberation Army (Communist China)
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PMSC	Politico-Military Steering Committee on Partnership for Peace, NATO
PMSC/AHG	Politico-Military Steering Committee/Ad Hoc Group on Cooperation in Peacekeeping, NATO
PNET	Peaceful Nuclear Explosion Treaty (1976)
POL	Petroleum, Oil and Lubricants
POMCUS	Pre-positioned Organizational Materials Configured in the United States
PPCG	Provisional Policy Coordination Group, NATO
PRC	People's Republic of China (Communist China)
PRTs	Provincial Reconstruction Teams, NATO

PSC	Principal Subordinate Command/Commander
PSE	Partnership for Peace Staff Element, NATO
PSYOPS	Psychological Operations
PTBT	Partial Test-Ban Treaty (1963)
PU	Policy Unit
PWP	Partnership Work Programme (PfP), NATO
QDR	Quadrennial Defense Review, U.S.
QUAD	NATO's unofficial informal decision-making group (U.S., France, Germany, Great Britain)
QUARTET	International informal decision-making group on Middle Eastern issues (U.S., EU, UN, Russia, plus Italy added in 2008)
QUINT	NATO's unofficial informal decision-making group on Mediterranean–Balkan issues (U.S., France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy)
“3 Rs”	Readiness, Rationalization and Reinforcement, NATO
R&D	Research & Development
R&T	Research & Technology
RAF	Royal Air Force (Great Britain)
RC	Regional Command
RDF	Rapid Deployment Force (now U.S. Central Command-USCENTCOM)
Reay Group	Regional Mine Action Group, Stability Pact (EU)
RECAMP	Reinforcement of West African Peacekeeping Capabilities, CEDAO
REFORGER	“Return of Forces to Germany,” NATO
RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
ROE	Rules of Engagement
ROK	Republic of (South) Korea (or South Korea)
RRF	Rapid Reaction Force
RTA(O)	NATO Research and Technology Agency (Organisation)
RV	Rendezvous Point
S&R	Search and Rescue
SAA	Stabilisation and Association Area, EU

SAC	Strategic Air Command (now STRATCOM), U.S.
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander-Europe, NATO
SACLANT	Supreme Allied Commander-Atlantic, NATO
SACLANTCEN	SACLANT Undersea Research Centre (ex-SACLANTCHEN), NATO
SACLANTCHEN	SACLANT Anti-Submarine Warfare Research Centre (renamed SACLANTCEN), NATO
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SALT I/SALT II	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties I (1972) and II (1979), both between U.S. and USSR
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons Children-Soldiers
SALWCS	Small Arms, Light Weapons, and Children-Soldiers
SAM	Sanctions Assistance Missions
SAM	Surface-to-Air Missile
SAR	Search and Rescue
SATCOM	Satellite Communications
SC	United Nations Security Council
SC	Strategic Command, NATO
SCE	Support to Civil Environment
SCEPC	Senior Civil Emergency Planning Committee, EU
SCG	Special Consultative Group, NATO
Schengen	EU Borders and Internal Security Policy
SCMM	Standing Committee on Military Matters (Bosnian Peace Agreement)
SCP	Security Cooperation Programme
SDI	Strategic Defense Initiative (popularly known as “Star Wars”)
SEA	Single European Act (1986), EC/EU
SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organization (dissolved in 1975)
SEE	South-Eastern Europe

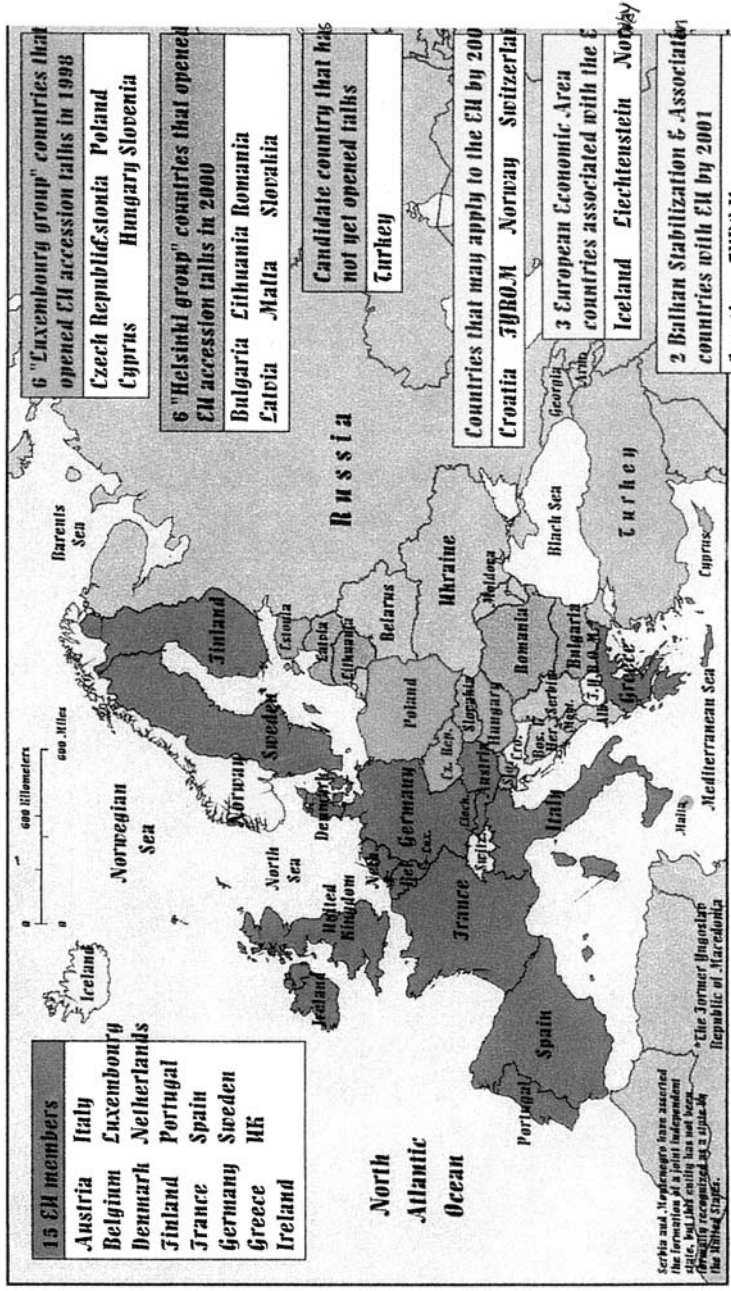
SEECAP	Common Assessment Paper on Regional Security Challenges and Opportunities (South-East Europe Cooperation Process, EU)
SEECP	South-East Europe Cooperation Process, Stability Pact, EU
SEEGROUP	South-East Europe Security Cooperation Steering Group, EU
SEEI	South-East Europe Initiative
SFOR	Stabilisation Force in Bosnia–Herzegovina, NATO
SfP	Science for Peace (SfP) Programme, NATO
SfPSG	Science for Peace Steering Group, NATO
SG	Secretary-General of NATO
SG	United Nations Secretary-General
SG/HR	Secretary-General/High-Representative of EU
SGP	Senior Political-Military Group on Proliferation
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, NATO
SHARE	Stock Holding and Asset Requirements Exchange, NATO
SHIRBRIG	Stand-by Forces High-Readiness Brigade, UN
SIS	Schengen Information System, EU
SITCEN	EU Joint Situation Centre
SLBM	Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles
SLCM	Sea-Launched Cruise Missiles
SLOCs	Sea Lanes of Communication
SLWPG	Senior Level Weapons Protection Group, NATO
SNF	Short-Range Nuclear Forces (Unilateral Agreements between U.S./NATO and USSR/ Warsaw Pact, 1991)
SNLC	Senior NATO Logisticians' Conference
SO	Standardisation Objective
SOCOM	U.S. Special Operations Command (or US-SOCOM)
SOF	Special Operations Forces
SOFA	Status of Forces Agreements, NATO

SOP	Standing Operating Procedures
SOUTHCOM	U.S. Southern Command (or USSOUTH-COM)
SPAI	Stability Pact Anti-Corruption Initiative, EU
SPC	Senior Political Committee, NATO
SPC(R)	Senior Political Committee (Reinforced), NATO
SPF	South Pacific Forum
SPOC	Stability Pact Fight against Organised Crime Initiative, EU
SPPKF	South Pacific Peacekeeping Force
SRB	Senior Resource Board, NATO
SSC	Small-scale Contingencies
STANAG	Standardization Agreement
STANAVFORCHAN	Standing Naval Force-Channel, NATO
STANAVFORLANT	Standing Naval Force-Atlantic, NATO
STANAVFORMED	Standing Naval Force-Mediterranean, NATO
“Star Wars”	Popular name of Strategic Defense Initiative, SDI
START I/START II	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties I (1991, between the U.S. and USSR) and II (1993, between the U.S. and USSR)
STC	SHAPE Technical Centre (NATO)
STF	Support to EU-led Force
STRATCOM	U.S. Strategic Command (or USSTRAT-COM)
STRIKFORSOUTH	Naval Striking and Support Forces, NATO
SUPLAN	Supporting Plan
TACMS	Tactical Missiles Systems (also Sea-TACMS)
TBM	Theatre Ballistic Missiles (also TNF or INF)
TCC	Temporary Council Committee
TCO	Transnational Crime Organization
TDA	Tactical Decision Aid (Meteorology)
TEEP	Training and Education Enhancement Programme
THAAD	Theatre Area Air Defense
TLE	Treaty-Limited Equipment (CFE, INF, SNF, START)

TMD	Theatre Missile Defense
TNF	Theatre Nuclear Forces (or INF, Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces)
TTBT	Threshold Test-Ban Treaty (1974)
TTPs	Tactics, Techniques and Procedures
TVDs	Theaters of Military Operations of the USSR
UAV	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle
UN	United Nations
UNAMET	United Nations Mission in East Timor
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda
UNAMSIL	United Nations Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone
UNCRO	United Nations Confidence Restoration Mission in Croatia
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDHA	United Nations Department of Humanitarian Assistance
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force I and II
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping in Cyprus
UNGCI	United Nations Guards Contingent in Iraq
UNHCR	United Nations High-Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations' Children Fund
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNITAF	United Nations Peacekeeping in Cyprus
UNITAF	United Nations Task-Force in Somalia, U.S.–UN
UNITAF	United Task-Force
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia–Herzegovina
UNMIH	United Nations Mission in Haiti
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo

UNMISET	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
UNMOP	United Nations Mission of Observers in Prevlaka
UNMOT	United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan
UNOCA	United Nations Observer Group/Mission in Central America
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNOMIG	United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia
UNOSAL	United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador
UNOSOM	United Nations Operations in Somalia I and II (1993–1994)
UNPA	United Nations Protected Areas (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
UNPF-HQ	United Nations Peacekeeping Forces Headquarters
UNPREDEP	United Nations Preventive Deployment Force
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protective Force (Bosnia and Croatia)
UNRRA	United Nations Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Agency
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCOB	United Nations Special Committee on Balkans
UNSCOM	United Nations Special Commission (Iraq Disarmament)
UNSF	United Nations Security Force
UNSMIH	United Nations Support Mission in Haiti
UNTAES	United Nations Transition Administration in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Sirmium
UNTAET	United Nations Transition Administration in East Timor
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
UNTMIH	United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti

USAF	U.S. Air Force
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development (now in State Department)
USAREUR	U.S. Army Europe
USCENTCOM	U.S. Central Command (or CENTCOM, ex- Rapid Deployment Force)
USEUCOM	U.S. European Command (or EUCOM)
USMC	U.S. Marine Corps
USMNF	U.S. Multinational Forces
USN	U.S. Navy
USPACOM	U.S. Pacific Command (or PACOM)
USSOCOM	U.S. Special Operations Command (or SO- COM)
USSOUTHCOM	U.S. Southern Command (or SOUTHCOM)
USSPACECOM	U.S. Space Command
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR dissolved December 1991)
USSSM	U.S. Sinai Support Mission
USSTRATCOM	U.S. Strategic Command (or STRATCOM)
UXO	Unexploded Ordnance (Ammunitions)
VCC	Verification Coordinating Committee
VIS	Visa Information System, EU
WEAG	Western European Armaments Group
WEU	Western European Union (absorbed by Euro- pean Union, 1999–2001)
WHO	World Health Organisation
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WMD-Centre	Weapons of Mass Destruction Centre, NATO
WPO	Warsaw Pact Organization (or Warsaw Treaty Organization)
WTO	Warsaw Treaty Organization (or Warsaw Pact Organization)
WTO	World Trade Organization (ex-GATT)
WUDO	Western Union Defence Organisation (ab- sorbed in NATO by 1950)
YATA	Youth Atlantic Treaty Association, NATO

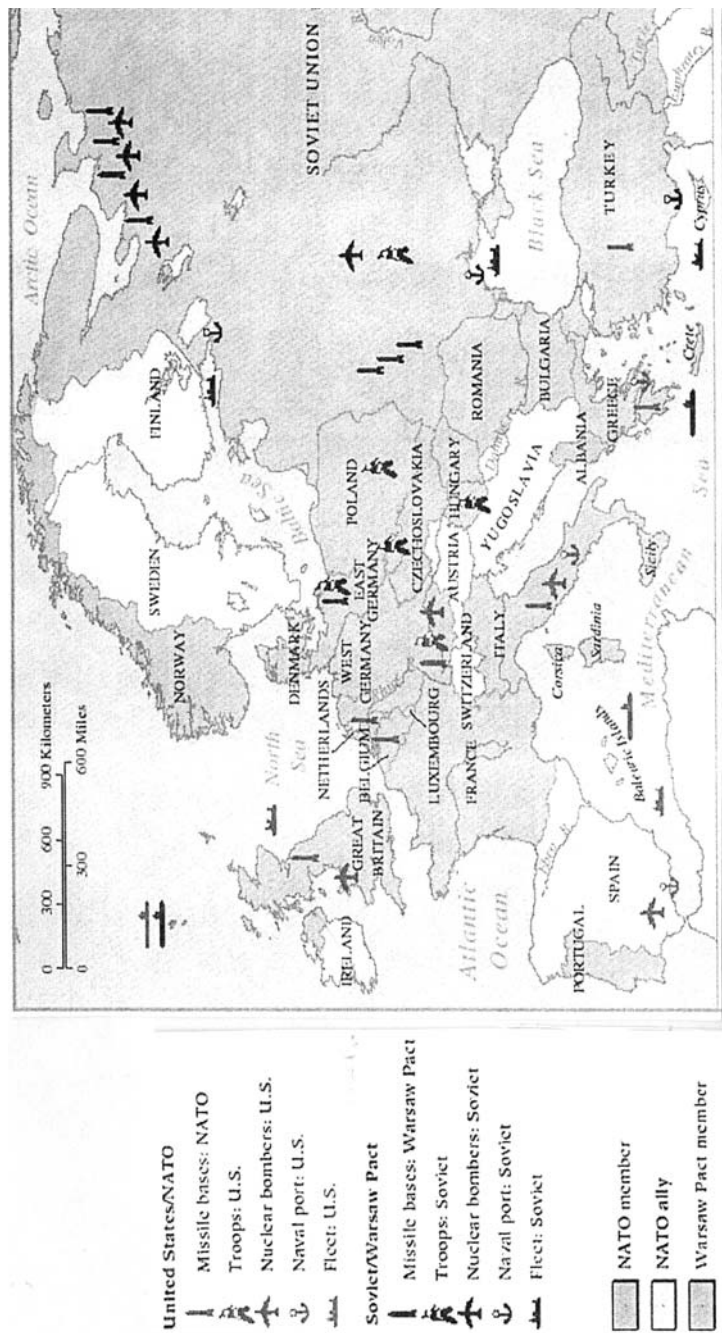


2. Unclassified Map. "E.U. and Its 13 Candidates," Courtesy Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. (U)

[illegible]

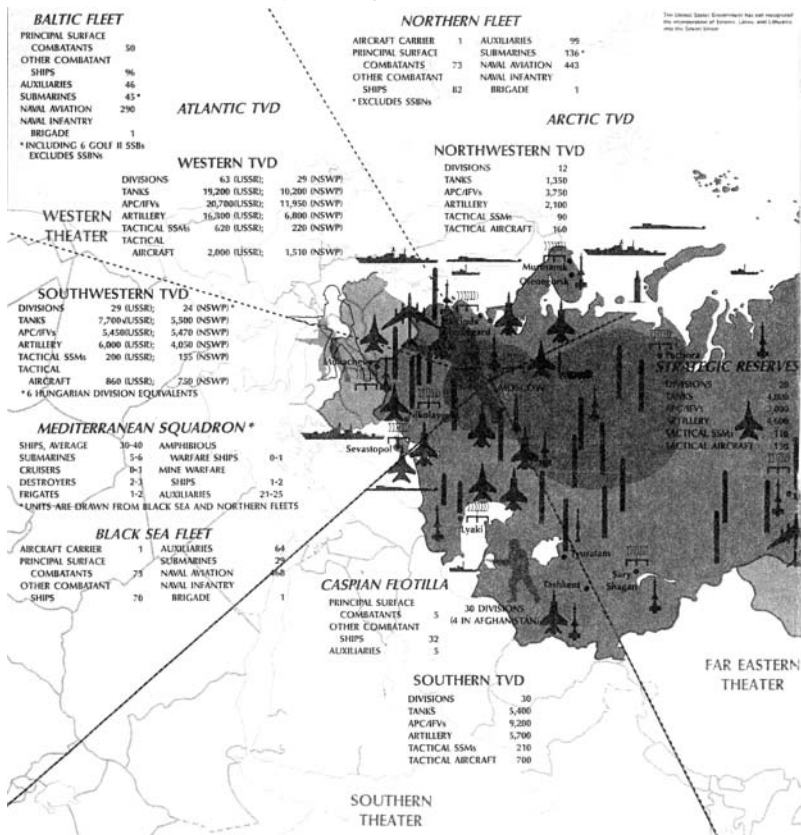
3. Unclassified Map. Courtesy U.S. Government (U).

Cold War: NATO—USSR/Warsaw Pact, 1949–1990⁴

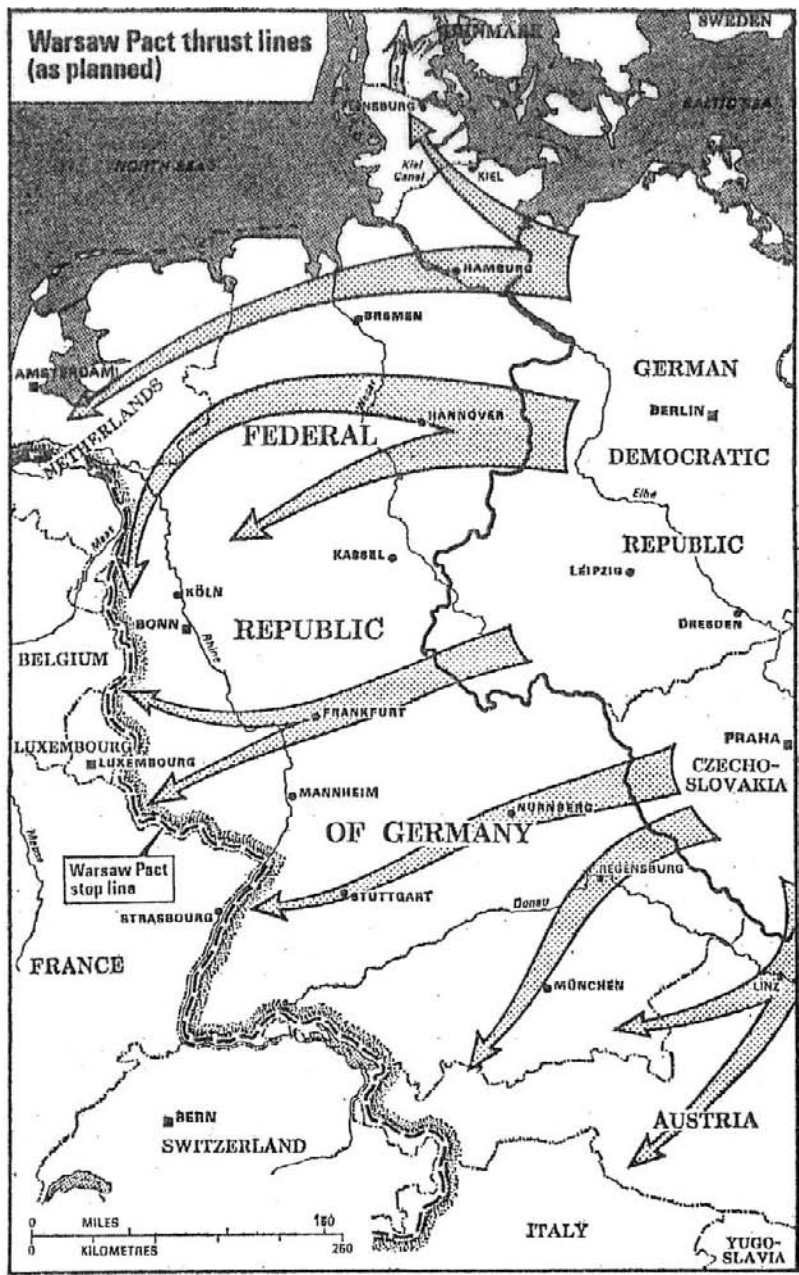


4. Unclassified Map. Courtesy U.S. Government (U).

Cold War: USSR Force—Projection against NATO, 1980s⁵

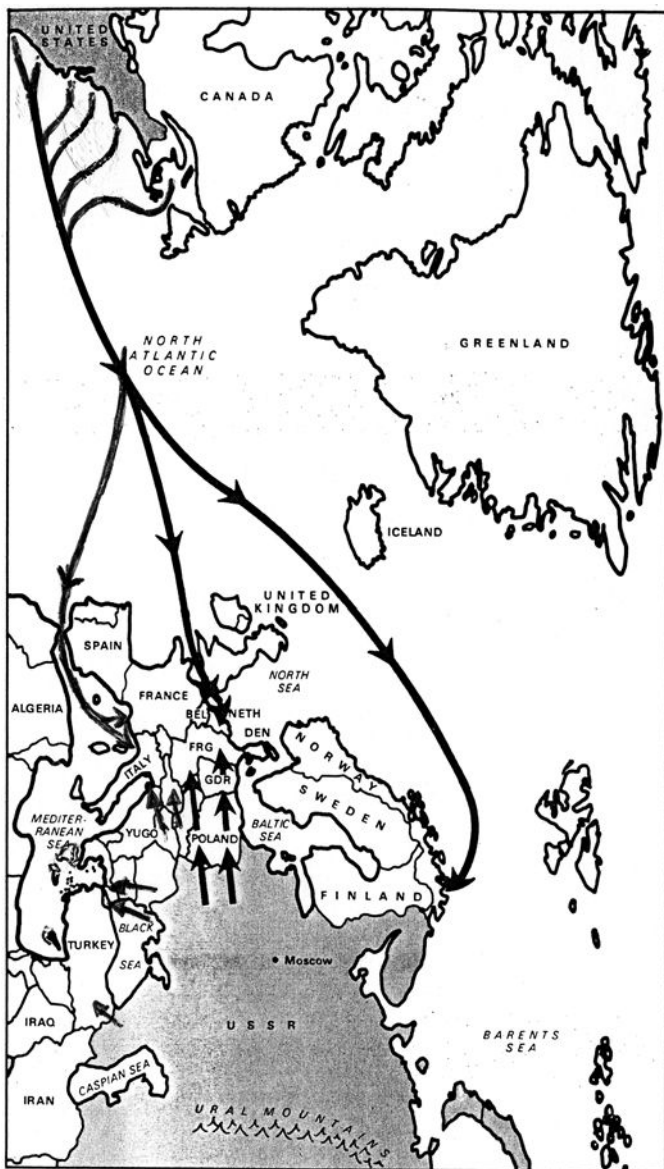


5. Unclassified Map. Courtesy U.S. Government (U).

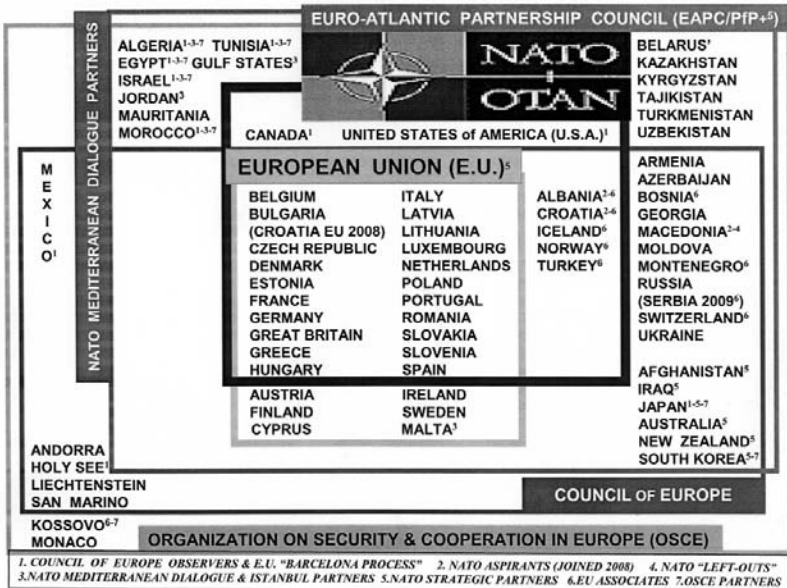


6. Unclassified Map. Courtesy U.S. Government (U).

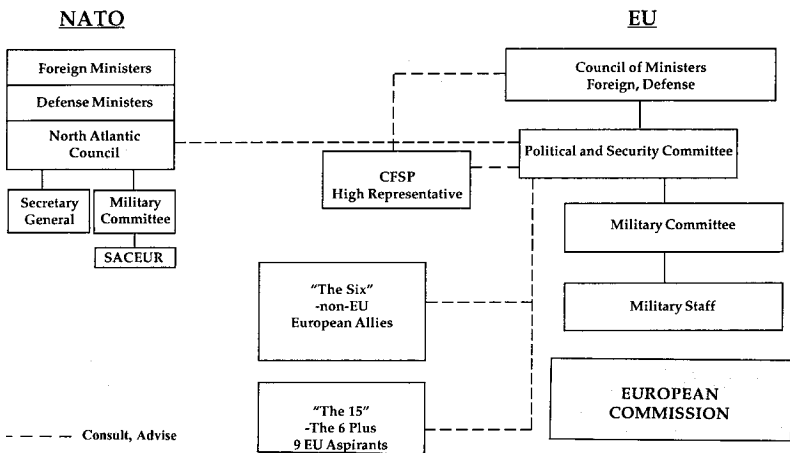
World War III: NATO's Reforger Rescue of Europe, 1980s⁷



7. Unclassified Map. Courtesy U.S. Government (U).



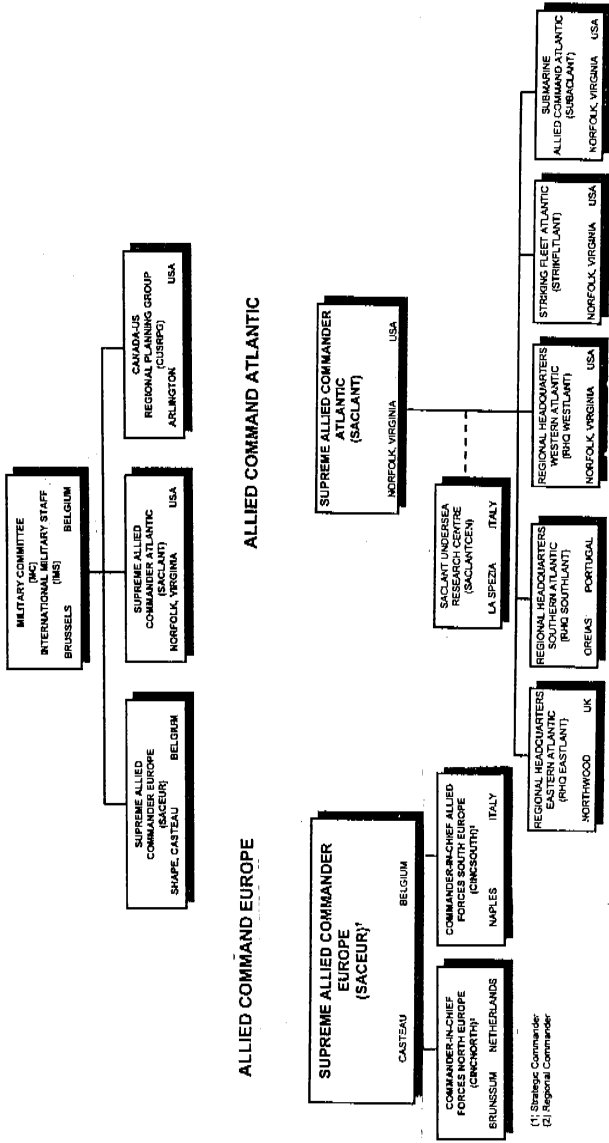
NATO-E.U. Security Decision-Making Institutions, 2008¹⁰



NATO-E.U. MEMBERS and ASPIRANTS, 2004-2010¹¹

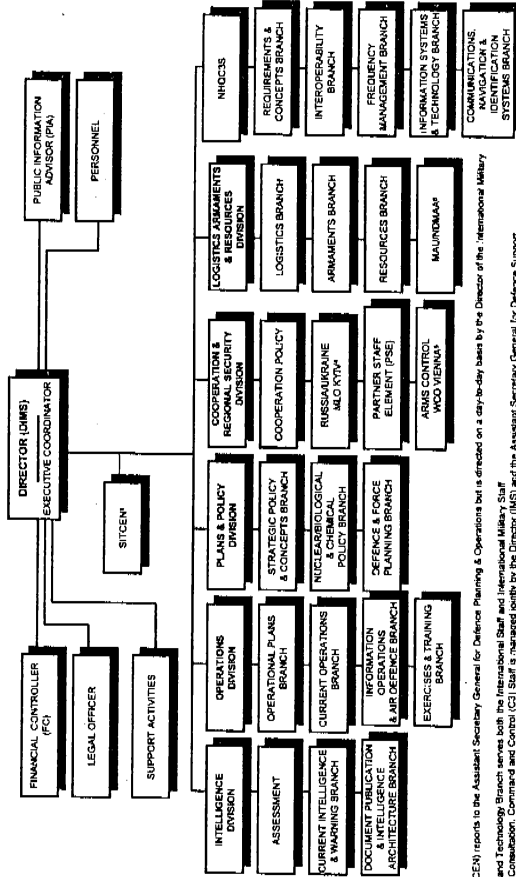
COUNTRIES:	NATO?	E.U.*	POPULATION	G.D.P.	MILITARY	RESERVES	BUDGETS
U.S.A.?	X	—	281,500,000	\$9.9tr.	1,367,000	1,211,500	\$294.7bn
GERMANY?*	X	X	82,500,000	\$1.8tr.	308,000	364,300	\$28.2bn
TURKEY?	X	2015?	67,600,000	\$210bn	515,100		\$10.7bn
GREAT BRITAIN?*	X	X	59,000,000	\$1.4tr.	211,400	303,000	\$33.9bn
FRANCE?*	X	X	59,000,000	\$1.3tr.	274,000	419,000	\$34.3bn
ITALY?*	X	X	57,200,000	\$1.1tr.	230,400	65,200	\$20.5bn
SPAIN?*	X	X	39,700,000	\$568bn.	143,500	448,000	\$7.1bn
POLAND?*	X	X	38,800,000	\$160bn.	206,000	406,000	\$3.2bn
CANADA?	X	—	31,800,000	\$705bn.	57,000	43,300	\$7.4bn
ROMANIA?*	X	X	22,200,000	\$38.4bn.	103,000	470,000	\$0.8bn
NETHERLANDS?*	X	X	15,800,000	\$347bn.	50,500	32,200	\$6.4bn
GREECE?*	X	X	10,700,000	\$113bn.	159,200	291,000	\$5.4bn
BELGIUM?*	X	X	10,200,000	\$238bn.	39,400	152,100	\$3.3bn
CZECH REPUBLIC?*	X	X	10,200,000	\$52bn.	53,600	240,000	\$1.1bn
HUNGARY?*	X	X	10,000,000	\$47bn.	33,800	90,300	\$0.7bn
PORTUGAL?*	X	X	9,900,000	\$104bn.	43,600	211,000	\$2.2bn
SWEDEN*	Aspirant?	X	9,000,000	\$239bn.	33,900	570,000	\$5.2bn
BULGARIA?*	X	X	8,200,000	\$12.8bn.	77,300	303,000	\$0.3bn
AUSTRIA*	Aspirant?	X	8,200,000	\$194bn.	34,600	75,000	\$1.6bn
SWITZERLAND	Partner	Aspirant?	7,450,000	\$245bn.	3,600	351,200	\$2.9bn
SLOVAKIA?*	X	X	5,400,000	\$19.6bn.	33,000	20,000	\$0.3bn
DENMARK?*	X	X	5,310,000	\$162bn.	21,400	65,000	\$2.4bn
FINLAND*	Aspirant?	X	5,200,000	\$120bn.	32,300	485,000	\$1.5bn
NORWAY?	X	Aspirant?	4,500,000	\$162bn.	26,700	222,000	\$2.8bn
CROATIA?*	X	2008?	4,400,000	\$19.4bn.	58,300	220,000	\$0.5bn
IRELAND*	Aspirant?	X	3,750,000	\$97.9bn.	10,500	14,800	\$0.7bn
LITHUANIA?*	X	X	3,650,000	\$11.2bn.	12,200	27,700	\$0.2bn
ALBANIA?	X	Associate	3,030,000	\$ 3.8bn.	27,000	155,000	\$0.1bn
LATVIA?	X	X	2,300,000	\$ 7.2bn.	6,500	14,500	\$0.07bn
MACEDONIA	Aspirant	Associate	2,000,000	\$ 3.6bn.	16,000	60,000	\$0.07bn
SLOVENIA?*	X	X	2,000,000	\$18.6bn.	7,600	61,000	\$0.2bn
ESTONIA?*	X	X	1,400,000	\$ 5.6bn.	4,500	10,000	\$0.08bn
CYPRUS (Greek part)*	Partner?	X	*790,000+215,000	\$ 5.5bn.	10,000+5,000	60,000+26,000	\$0.4bn
LUXEMBOURG?*	X	X	436,000	\$17bn.	900	N/A	\$0.1bn
MALTA*	Partner?	X	400,000	\$3.6bn.	2,100	N/A	\$0.02bn
ICELAND?	X	Associate	280,000	\$ 9bn.	120	N/A	N/A
TOT. "OLD" NATO	?	X	735,474,000	\$18.4tr.	3,448,590	3,774,000	\$460.95bn.
TOT.NATO POST-1999	?	X	844,530,000	\$1.1tr.	810,000	2,172,000	\$ 36.22bn.
TOT. "OLD" E.U.	X	*	376,036,000	\$7.8tr.	1,593,500	2,771,500	\$156.73bn.
TOT. E.U. POST-2007	X	*	474,600,000	\$8.2tr.	2,189,000	2,707,000	\$164.6bn.

NATO's Military Structure¹²



12. Unclassified Chart. Courtesy of NATO (U).

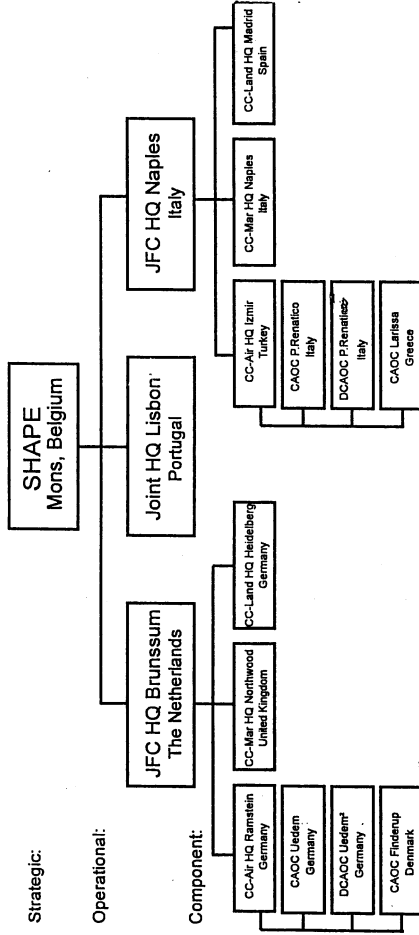
NATO's International Military Staff¹³



- (1) The Situation Centre (SITCEN) reports to the Assistant Secretary General for Defence Planning & Operations but is directed on a day-to-day basis by the Director of the International Military Staff.
- (2) The Information Systems and Technology Branch serves both the International Staff and International Military Staff.
- (3) The Information Systems and Technology Branch serves both the International Staff and International Military Staff.
- (4) MLC: Military Liaison Centre.
- (5) WCO: Western Consultation Office.
- (6) Management Advisory Unit/NATO Defence Manpower Advisory Authority.

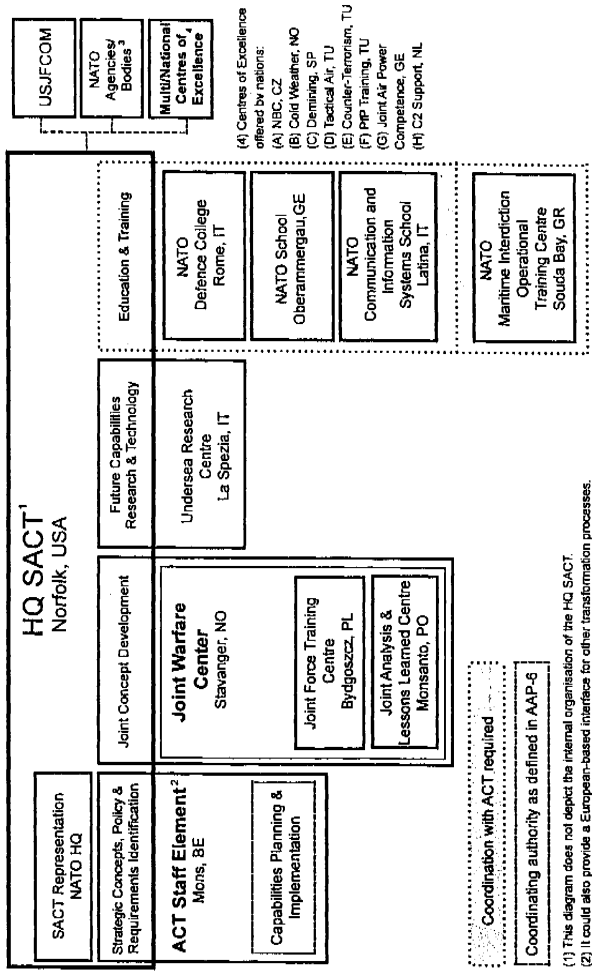
13. Unclassified Chart. Courtesy of NATO (U).

Allied Command Operations (ACO)¹⁴



14. Unclassified Chart. "Post-Cold War NATO's Military Commands & Committee, 2000s." Courtesy of NATO (U).

Allied Command Transformation (ACT)¹⁵



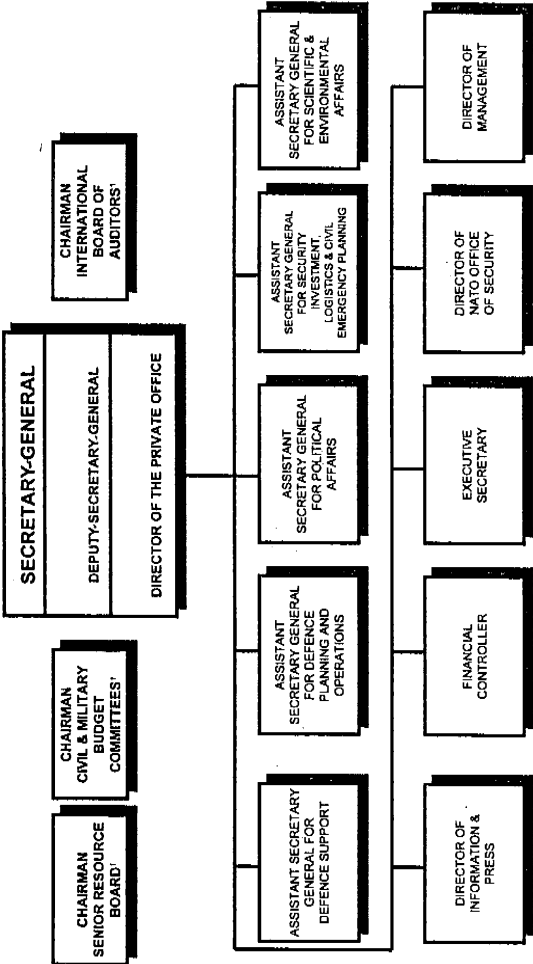
15. Unclassified Chart. "Post-Cold War NATO's Military Commands & Committees, 2000s." Courtesy of NATO (U).

[illegible]

- (1) Most of the above committees report to the Council. Some are responsible to the Defence Planning Committee or Nuclear Planning Group. Certain committees are joint civil and military bodies which report both to the Council, Defence Planning Committee or Nuclear Planning Group and to the Military Committee.
- (2) The Military Committee is subordinate to the North Atlantic Council and Defence Planning Committee but has a special status as the senior military authority in NATO. The role of the Military Committee is described in Chapter 11.
- (3) Senior Politico-Military Group on Proliferation plus Senior Defence Group on Proliferation.
- (4) NATO C3 (Consultation, Command and Control) Board
- (5) Reinforced with experts as required.

16. Unclassified Chart. Courtesy of NATO (U).

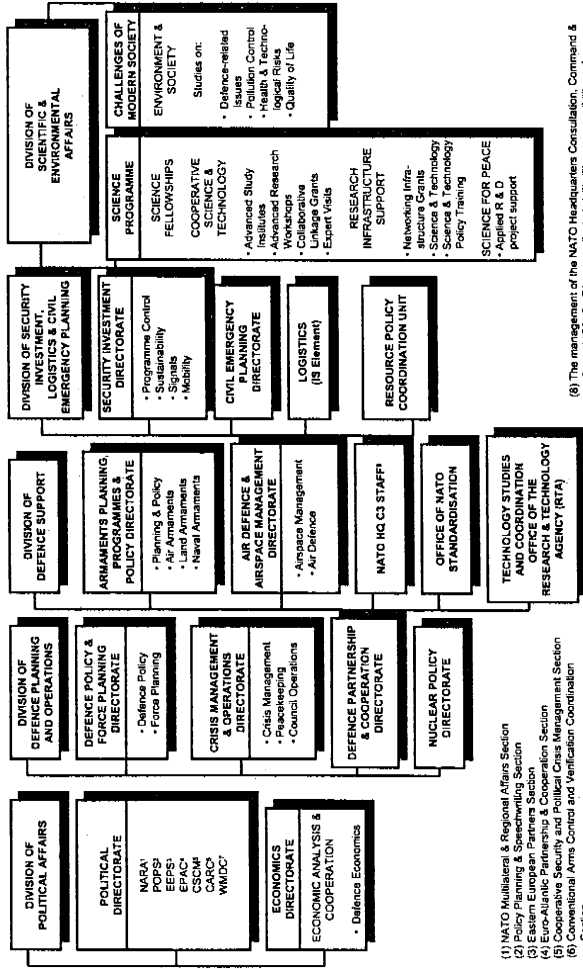
NATO International Staff¹⁷



(1) These positions are not filled by members of the International Staff but by national chairmen appointed by the Council.

17. Unclassified Chart. Courtesy of NATO (U).

Division of the International Staff¹⁸

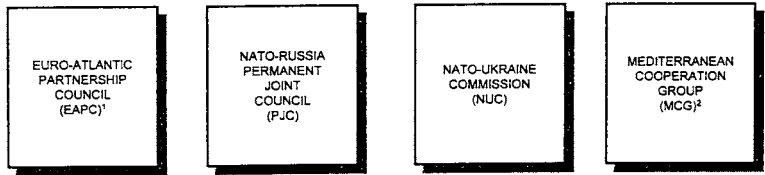


- (1) NATO Multilateral & Regional Affairs Section
- (2) Policy Planning & Speechwriting Section
- (3) Policy Planning & Speechwriting Section
- (4) Euro-Atlantic Partnership & Cooperation Section
- (5) Cooperative Security and Political Crisis Management Section
- (6) Conventional Arms Control and Verification Coordination Section
- (7) Weapons of Mass Destruction Centre

(8) The management of the NATO Headquarters Consultation, Command & Control (C3) Staff is a coordinated multinational responsibility and comes under the authority of both the Assistant Secretary General for Defence Support and the Director of MS.

18. Unclassified Chart. Courtesy of NATO (U).

Principal Institutions of Partnership Cooperation¹⁹



(1) Many NATO Committees regularly meet in EAPC or Partnership for Peace format (see Principal NATO Committees).
(2) In addition to meetings among Allies, the Mediterranean Cooperation Group also meets with representatives of countries participating in the Alliance's Mediterranean Dialogue.

Partnership for Peace (PfP-23), 2007¹⁰

Albania	Armenia	Austria	Azerbaijan	Belarus*
Bosnia	Croatia	Finland	Georgia	Ireland
Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Macedonia	Moldova	Montenegro
Russia	Serbia*	Sweden	Switzerland	Tajikstan
Turkmenistan	Ukraine	Uzbekistan	*Membership suspended	

EURO-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP COUNCIL (EAPC-47) ¹¹				
<i>Albania</i>	<i>Armenia</i>	<i>Austria</i>	<i>Azerbaijan</i>	<i>Belarus'</i> **
<i>Belgium</i>	<i>Bosnia</i>	<i>Bulgaria</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Croatia</i>
<i>Czech Republic</i>	<i>Denmark</i>	<i>Estonia</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>France</i>
<i>Germany</i>	<i>Georgia</i>	<i>Great Britain</i>	<i>Greece</i>	<i>Hungary</i>
<i>Iceland</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Kazakhstan</i>	<i>Kyrgyzstan</i>
<i>Latvia</i>	<i>Lithuania</i>	<i>Luxemburg</i>	<i>Macedonia</i>	<i>Moldova</i>
<i>Montenegro</i>	<i>Netherlands</i>	<i>Norway</i>	<i>Poland</i>	<i>Portugal</i>
<i>Romania</i>	<i>Russia</i>	<i>Serbia*</i>	<i>Slovakia</i>	<i>Slovenia</i>
<i>Spain</i>	<i>Sweden</i>	<i>Switzerland</i>	<i>Tajikstan</i>	<i>Turkmenistan</i>
<i>Turkey</i>	<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>United States of America (U.S.A.)</i>		<i>Uzbekistan</i>
<i>Algeria**</i>	<i>Israel**</i>	<i>Egypt**</i>	<i>Jordan**</i>	<i>Mauritania**</i>
<i>Morocco**</i>	<i>Tunisia**</i>	<i>*Membership suspended</i>		<i>**Mediterranean Dialogue Partners</i>

ORGANIZATION for SECURITY and COOPERATION in EUROPE (OSCE-49/57), 2007 ¹²				
<i>Albania</i>	<i>Armenia</i>	<i>Austria</i>	<i>Azerbaijan</i>	<i>Belarus'***</i>
<i>Belgium</i>	<i>Bosnia</i>	<i>Bulgaria</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Croatia</i>
<i>Czech Republic</i>	<i>Denmark</i>	<i>Estonia</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>France</i>
<i>Germany</i>	<i>Georgia</i>	<i>Great Britain</i>	<i>Greece</i>	<i>Hungary</i>
<i>Iceland</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Kazakhstan</i>	<i>Kyrgyzstan</i>
<i>Latvia</i>	<i>Lithuania</i>	<i>Luxemburg</i>	<i>Macedonia</i>	<i>Malta</i>
<i>Moldova</i>	<i>Montenegro</i>	<i>Netherlands</i>	<i>Norway</i>	<i>Poland</i>
<i>Portugal</i>	<i>Romania</i>	<i>Russia</i>	<i>Serbia-Yugoslavia**</i>	<i>Slovakia</i>
<i>Slovenia</i>	<i>Spain</i>	<i>Sweden</i>	<i>Switzerland</i>	<i>Tajikstan</i>
<i>Turkey</i>	<i>Turkmenistan</i>	<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>Uzbekistan</i>	<i>United States of America (U.S.A.)</i>
<i>Algeria*</i>	<i>Israel*</i>	<i>Egypt*</i>	<i>Jordan*</i>	
<i>Mauritania*</i>	<i>Morocco*</i>	<i>Tunisia*</i>		

U.S. MILITARY DEPLOYMENTS AND FORWARD-BASES, 2004-07¹³

REGIONS*	TOT. MILITARY	ARMY	NAVY	MARINES	AIR-FORCE	STAFF	FAMILIES	TOTAL
EUROPE	118,105	68,640	12,474	3,368	33,623	23,346	136,807	278,258
BELGIUM*	1,200ca.	800ca.	100ca.	30	300ca.	600	2,800	5,039
BOSNIA*	1,300ca.	1,300ca.	10	5	1	6	1	3,123
GERMANY*	43,000	42,630	300ca.	70ca.	15,248	16,488	97,571	185,057
GREAT BRITAIN*	10,500	400ca.	1,200ca.	100ca.	8,300ca.	2,084	14,905	28,307
GREECE	500 ca.	71	280ca.	84	68	100ca.	90ca.	708
GREENLAND (DANISH)*	103ca.	---	---	---	100ca.	3	---	103ca.
ICELAND*	1,200ca.	2	600ca.	48	550ca.	270	1,000ca.	3,485
ITALY*	11,000	1,900ca.	5,000ca.	100ca.	4,000ca.	2,406	12,000	26,914
KOSOVO (U.N.)	5,004ca.	5,000ca.	1	1	2	13	---	5,692
MACEDONIA	351	350	---	---	1	1	3	355
NETHERLANDS	676	360	23	12	281	298	1,283	2,257
PORTUGAL*	1,005.	15	58	7	925	164	1,302	2,471
SPAIN*	1,200ca.	38	1,000ca.	100ca.	200ca.	400	1,938	4,334
TURKEY	2,153	172	26	196	1,759	399	2,195	4,747
AT-SEA	4,703	---	2,632	2,071	---	---	---	4,703
WEST HEMISPHERE	14,015	307	12,560	764	384	300	1,064	15,379
CANADA	163	13	53	9	88	21	203	387
CHILE	337	5	5	319	8	---	39	379
(GUANTANAMO, CUBA)	557	6	419	132	---	201	475	1,233
HAITI*	1,400ca.	1,000ca.	200ca.	---	200ca.	---	---	---
HONDURAS	211 ca.	100ca.	1	10	100ca.	20	10	445
AT-SEA	12,014	---	12,014	---	---	---	---	12,014
EX-SOVIET UNION**	5,000ca.	3,000ca.	---	---	2,000ca.	500ca.	---	203
ASIA & PACIFIC	91,670	30,584	19,110	20,157	21,819	9,457	50,283	151,410
AUSTRALIA	803	8	61	663	71	9	218	1,030
JAPAN*	40,217	1,827	6,189	19,073	13,128	6,431	42,653	89,301
SOUTH KOREA*	41,000	32,000	400ca.	100ca.	8,500ca.	2,875	7,027	47,507
SINGAPORE	160	8	92	16	44	48	111	319
THAILAND	113	42	9	30	32	3	64	180
AT-SEA	12,578	---	12,382	196	---	---	---	12,638
ARAB/GULF AREAS	26,878	2,945	16,159	409	7,365	833	927	28,638
AFGHANISTAN*	12,000	10,000	---	---	2,000ca.	---	---	---
BAHRAIN*	2,000ca.	38	1,843	100ca.	27	286	543	2,894
(DIEGO GARCIA, G.B.)	590	4	557	---	29	5	44	639
EGYPT	500	341	30	57	72	67	110	677
IRAQ*	134/194,000	100,000	500ca.	24,500ca.	5,000ca.	---	---	---
KUWAIT	4,208	2,150	7	41	2,010	98	5	4,311
OMAN	673	---	122	7	544	5	16	694
QATAR*	1,500ca.	600ca.	300ca.	300ca.	300ca.	19	4	139
SAUDI ARABIA*	750ca.	200ca.	20	30	500ca.	305	43	5,153
U. ARAB EMIRATES	209	---	7	7	190	5	8	217
AT-SEA	13,000	---	13,000	---	---	---	---	13,546
BLACK AFRICA	279	46	6	209	18	7	138	424
U.S. FORCES/WORLD	251,098	102,561	60,315	24,988	63,234	33,946	189,268	474,312
U.S. FORCES/HOME	1,200,000							

NATO SECRETARIES-GENERALS



1952—1957
Lord Hastings Ismay
(Great Britain)



1957—1961
Paul-Henri Spaak
(Belgium)



1961—1964
Dirk U. Stikker
(Netherlands)



1964—1971
Manlio Brosio
(Italy)



1971—1984
Joseph M.A.H. Luns
(Netherlands)



1984—1988
Lord Peter Carrington
(Great Britain)



1988—1994
Manfred Wörner
(Germany)



1994—1995
Willy Claes
(Belgium)



1995—1999
Javier Solana
(Spain)



1999—2003
Lord George Robertson
(Great Britain)



2004—
Jaap de Hoop Scheffer
(Netherlands)

NATO SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDERS-EUROPE (SACEURs)



1951—1952
General of the U.S. Army
Dwight D. Eisenhower



1952—1953
General Matthew B. Ridgway
U.S. Army



1953—1956
General Alfred M. Gruenther
U.S. Army



1956—1962
General Lauris B. Norstad
U.S. Air-Force



1963—1969
General Lyman L. Lemnitzer
U.S. Army



1969—1974
General Andrew J. Goodpaster
U.S. Army



1974—1979
General Alexander M. Haig Jr.
U.S. Army



1979—1987
General Bernard W. Rogers
U.S. Army



1987—1992
General John R. Galvin
U.S. Army



1992—1993
General John M. Shalikashvili
U.S. Army



1993—1997
General George A. Joulwan
U.S. Army



1997—2000
General Wesley K. Clark
U.S. Army



2000—2003
General Joseph W. Ralston
U.S. Air-Force



2003—2006
General James L. Jones
U.S. Marines



2006—
General B. John Craddock
U.S. Army

Chronology

1914–1918 World War I ends with victory by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and imperial Japan over Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria.

1919 At the Versailles Peace Conference in France, the leading victors—United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—turn their alliance into the League of Nations, an international organization for world peace. Germany is occupied, demilitarized, and crushed by reparations; Austria-Hungary and Turkey are partitioned, creating Eastern European ethnic states and colonial mandates. Feeling shortchanged in war spoils, Italy and Japan quit the Allies, while ex-Czarist Russia, now the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), is isolated.

1920 The League of Nations is born in Geneva as an international organization. In the 1930s, it fails to prevent the expansionism of Japan in China, and of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany in Europe.

1939–1945 World War II, started by Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Japan, is won by the Allies, led by the United States, Great Britain, and the USSR, with Free France and Nationalist China, who share the democratic political-ideological principles of the Atlantic Charter (14 August 1941).

1945 At the Yalta Conference (February 1945), the “Grand Alliance” becomes the United Nations (UN), an international organization for world peace. The Allies jointly administer the defeated and disarmed countries, with elections in “liberated” European states and controversial new borders.

22 March 1945 The Arab League (League of Arab States) is created for regional defense.

26 June 1945 The United Nations and UN Charter are inaugurated in San Francisco, replacing the League of Nations in world affairs, with the victorious Allies in control of the UN Security Council.

June–July 1945 The Potsdam Conference (June 1945) divides defeated Germany into occupation zones (U.S., British, French, Soviet, and an unofficial Polish one), plus a “Four-Powers” administration of the capital, Berlin, located inside the Soviet sector. The same policy is applied for Austria and Vienna.

6–9 August 1945 U.S. atomic bombs destroy Hiroshima and Nagasaki, forcing Japan’s unconditional surrender. The U.S. nuclear monopoly spurs Soviet Premier Josef Stalin to also develop a nuclear arsenal by October 1949 to assure the USSR’s security, unleashing a nuclear arms race.

1945–1948 The “Grand Alliance” quickly collapses over the USSR’s brutal policies to consolidate control and divide Europe (the “Iron Curtain”) by creating, in 1946–1948, a buffer zone for the political-military “satellization” of Eastern Europe under Communist régimes; the de facto division of Germany; and Communist subversion in Greece, Turkey, and Iran.

March 1946 Ex-British Prime Minister Winston Churchill’s “Iron Curtain” speech at Fulton, Missouri, denounces the division of Europe caused by the USSR. A year later, the Cold War is officially declared with the Truman Doctrine of Containment (12 April 1947) after the collapse of Allied talks on peace treaties for Germany, Austria, and Japan.

1944–1947 The United States assists the UN Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) in the postwar recovery of Europe from economic collapse, 15 million dead, devastated cities, ruined industries, widespread poverty, food shortages, and inflation. The West fears popular discontent could prompt pro-Soviet Communist coups in Greece, Turkey, Italy, and France.

1946–1954 First Vietnam War: France fights Vietminh Communist guerrillas, but the United States rejects aiding France in its “colonial war” until the 1950–1953 Korean War globalizes Containment.

February 1947 Economic woes force Great Britain to end its traditional hegemony over India and the eastern Mediterranean and its political-military aid to Greece and Turkey against Communist subversion.

12 March 1947 In response to Great Britain's secret prodding, the United States takes over its role in resisting Soviet expansionism in Greece and Turkey. President Harry Truman's political-military Containment of the USSR and Communist subversion (Truman Doctrine) wins Congress's approval of \$400 million in aid for Greece and Turkey. U.S. isolationism is officially dead and replaced by a permanent international interventionist policy to contain further Soviet expansion in Europe.

5 June 1947 The Truman Doctrine of anti-Soviet political-military Containment is paralleled by the Marshall Plan's economic aid to rebuild Europe, announced by U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall at Harvard University. The European Recovery Program gives \$16 billion over a few years to most European states but is rejected by the USSR and its Eastern European satellites. By 1952, the Marshall Plan and close economic integration between Western European states in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) are catalysts for rapid regional economic growth.

1947–1948 In 1947, the United States and Great Britain economically unite their military occupation zones in Germany, creating "Bizonia." In 1948, France ends its opposition and also joins.

22–27 September 1947 Stalin opposes any reunification of Germany and rejects the Marshall Plan, launching the Molotov Plan to economically integrate Eastern Europe with the USSR, paralleled by creating the Cominform organization to ideologically control the Soviet bloc.

22 January 1948 British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin urges an anti-Soviet European alliance.

25–27 February 1948 Stalin completes the satellization of Eastern Europe with a coup in Czechoslovakia, shocking the United States and Western Europe, which now fear an imminent World War III, only a decade after another Czech crisis unleashed World War II.

17 March 1948 The Brussels Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration and Self-Defence (or Brussels Pact, with Belgium, France, Great Britain, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) is the first European anti-Soviet alliance, also designed to deter any revanchist German threat. But Europeans doubt that the Brussels Pact (renamed Western European Union in 1954) is really effective without

U.S. membership, despite its pledge to join at the onset of a World War III.

30 April 1948 The U.S.-led Organization of American States (OAS) is created for regional defense.

11 June 1948 The bipartisan Vandenberg Resolution in the U.S. Senate authorizes any peacetime U.S. alliance with regional or collective organizations for U.S. national security, thus authorizing the formation of NATO.

24 June 1948–May 1949 The USSR mounts the year-long Berlin blockade to seize the city's Western sectors and isolate it from the West. U.S. General H. Clay's plan to militarily bust the blockade is rejected; instead, the Berlin airlift resupplies three million Berliners (1,000 aviators die).

28 June 1948 Stalin has the Cominform expel Yugoslavia after unsuccessful Soviet attempts to topple Josip Broz Tito's autonomous Communist rule. The United States, Great Britain, and the rest of the Western countries provide military-economic assistance to help Communist Yugoslavia remain independent from the USSR.

6 July 1948 Secret talks on a North Atlantic peacetime alliance start in Washington, D.C., with the United States, Canada, and Brussels Pact nations joining North American and European defenses against the USSR.

10 December 1948–January 1949 The North Atlantic Treaty of regional self-defense becomes official when its seven founding members (Belgium, Canada, France, Great Britain, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and the United States) invite five geostrategic states (Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway, and Portugal) to join as equals. Greece and Turkey remain under direct U.S. protection. Ex-enemy Italy is initially opposed by London and a few others, but by January 1949 the support of France and Pope Pius VII win Italy's entry. The other members reject U.S. proposals a few years after the war to add democratic West Germany or Francoist Spain; Finland, Ireland, Sweden, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia remain Western "neutrals."

2 April 1949 Allied governments reject Soviet accusations that the North Atlantic Treaty is contrary to the UN Charter's collective security

and peace provisions. The West stresses that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a defensive regional alliance tied to the UN.

4 April 1949 The North Atlantic Treaty (or Washington Treaty) for regional defense is signed in Washington, D.C., against both external and internal threats to its 12 members (including the USSR or potential tensions between the members, such as German revanchism and Greek–Turkish conflicts in the 1960s and 1970s).

8 April 1949 NATO's five Brussels powers, Denmark, Italy, and Norway request U.S. military and financial assistance to modernize their defenses. The NATO treaty is ratified and in force by 24 August.

9 April 1949 The Western powers forge an independent, demilitarized, pro-NATO, West German federal state, with Allied occupation forces remaining in West Germany as anti-Soviet allies. In fall 1949, the USSR forms Communist East Germany (DDR).

4 May 1949 The London Ten-Powers Accord sets up the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France.

9 May 1949 The Berlin blockade is lifted by the USSR.

11 August 1949 The UN mandates Mixed Armistice Commissions for the Middle East.

17 September 1949 The first session of the North Atlantic Council (NAC) meets in Washington, D.C.

October 1949 Mao Tse-tung's Communist forces win the civil war in China and ally with the USSR.

6 October 1949 President Truman signs the Mutual Defense Assistance Act supporting NATO.

1950–1951 U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower becomes NATO's first Supreme Allied Commander-Europe (SACEUR), with British Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery as his deputy (D-SACEUR). On 20 December, the Brussels Pact's embryonic military organization in Paris (Western Union) is merged into NATO, and in 1951 Eisenhower forms a Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers-Europe (SHAPE) at the Chailot Palace in Paris. On 2 April 1951, SHAPE is transferred to permanent operational headquarters at Rocquencourt, outside Paris.

27 January 1950 U.S. President Truman approves \$900 millions in U.S. military aid for NATO.

9 May 1950 France launches the Schuman Plan for a single European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) among France, Germany, and four other states (Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) after the successful Western European political-economic cooperation of the European Recovery Program. The ECSC comes into force in 1951, but London refuses to join.

25 June 1950 North Korean Communist forces attack South Korea. The West fears that Communist expansion in Asia would unleash **World War III** with Soviet attacks on Europe. U.S.-led UN forces under General Douglas MacArthur liberate both Koreas but are thrown back in December by Chinese Communist forces. The Korean War stalls in 1951–1953 along the prewar inter-Korean border.

24 October 1950 French Prime Minister René Pleven’s “Pleven Plan” launches a European unified army with rearmed German forces in a NATO-supported European Defence Community.

2 November 1950 The UN passes the Uniting for Peace Resolution to overcome a Soviet veto in the Security Council and continue U.S.-led UN operations in the Korean War.

19 June 1951 The London agreement on NATO’s status of forces regulates the basing of Allied forces.

17–22 October 1951 NATO’s London Summit adds Greece and Turkey as members by February 1952, which since 1951 had helped NATO’s Southern Flank defenses in the Mediterranean. In 1952, the United States and Francoist Spain sign a bilateral defense treaty to support NATO in war.

January–April 1952 U.S. Vice-Admiral Lynde D. McCormick becomes the first Supreme Allied Commander-Atlantic (SACLANT) of the Allied Command Atlantic (ACLANT) in Norfolk, Virginia.

20–25 February 1952 A North Atlantic Council (NAC) meeting in Lisbon creates a Channel Command and turns NATO into a permanent organization (“Lisbon Decisions”), with Great Britain’s Lord Hastings Ismay appointed in March as NATO first Secretary-General and NAC Vice-Chair.

27 May 1952 The Paris Treaty for a European Defence Community (EDC) is signed by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany to form NATO's army against the USSR, but London does not join. The 1952 Petersberg Accords plan to end the Western Allies' (U.S., Great Britain, France) occupation of Germany and accept it as a sovereign, rearmed EDC member.

1953 The USSR's rigid control over Eastern Europe leads to bloody repression of East German protests.

5 March 1953 Stalin dies and is succeeded by Nikita Khrushchëv, who sidelines his rivals (Malenkov, Molotov, Zhukov) and proposes an ambiguous East–West peaceful coexistence as “the continuation of the struggle between the two social systems but by peaceful means.”

23 July 1953 The Panmunjom Armistice ends the Korean War. U.S. troops remain in South Korea.

20 August 1953 The USSR explodes its first hydrogen bomb.

4–8 December 1953 The United States, France, and Great Britain hold the Bermuda Conference (with NATO as an observer).

1954 End of First Vietnam War (1946–1954): France loses and North Vietnam becomes Communist. The United States supports an independent, antiCommunist South Vietnam. Beginning of the Algerian War.

25 January–18 February 1954 Cold War tension continues over the reunification of Germany and Berlin after the failure of the Four-Powers Conference of Berlin to reach a final peace settlement.

7 May 1954 The United States and Great Britain reject the USSR's provocative propaganda bid to join NATO.

29 August 1954 The EDC collapses after France's National Assembly does not ratify it, hoping to scuttle the rearmament of German troops because Stalin's death and the end of the Korean War appear to make them no longer necessary as a defense against the USSR.

September 1954 The South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is created at the Manila Conference.

28 September–3 October 1954 The London “Conference of Nine” (Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Luxembourg,

the Netherlands, and the United States), seeking to offset the EDC's collapse, leads to the Paris Agreements of October on West Germany's integration into Western defenses.

22–23 October 1954 With the Paris Agreements the three Western Powers terminate their occupation of West Germany, recognizing it as a sovereign state. Italy and West Germany join the Brussels Pact (WEU).

24 February 1955 The Baghdad Pact creates the Middle East Treaty Organization (METO; Great Britain, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, with the United States as associate) for anti-Soviet regional defense.

January–May 1955 To forestall West Germany's entry into NATO, the USSR agrees to reunify Austria as a neutralized independent state (Austrian State Treaty, 15 May 1955). All Four Powers evacuate neutralized Austria, while Vienna secretly plans military cooperation with NATO to forestall an inevitable Soviet invasion of both West Germany and Italy.

6 May 1955 Germany joins NATO.

14 May 1955 The USSR reacts to West Germany's entry into NATO by merging its 10-year-old bilateral defense treaties with Communist Eastern European satellites in the Warsaw Pact (Warsaw Treaty): Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany.

February–April 1956 At the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress in February, Khrushchëv denounces Stalin's atrocities and "cult of personality." Despite dissolving the Cominform in April, the USSR refuses to relinquish strict control over its oppressed Eastern European satellites.

25 March 1956 Following the ECSC's December 1955 Conference of Messina in Italy, the 1956 Rome Treaties create the European Economic Community (EEC) and Euratom, in force by January 1957, among the six ECSC members: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. Great Britain persists in its refusal to join both the ECSC and EEC.

May–December 1956 NATO's Committee of Three on Non-Military Cooperation ("Three Wise Men"), composed of the foreign ministers of Canada (Lester Pearson), Italy (Gaetano Martino), and Norway (Hal-

vard Lange), reforms the North Atlantic Council into a forum for national decision-making policies to prevent NATO situations like the July–October 1956 Suez Canal crisis.

June–November 1956 The USSR’s rigid control over its Eastern Europe satellites sets off antiCommunist rebellions in Poland in June (solved peacefully) and the Hungarian Revolution of September–November, later crushed by Soviet troops on 4 November despite U.S.-NATO protests and the UN General Assembly condemnation of Soviet intervention on 14 September.

July–November 1956 Egypt’s President Gamal Nasser nationalizes the Suez Canal (run by Great Britain and France) on 26 July in reaction to U.S. retaliation for secret Soviet arms shipments to Egypt (the U.S. terminated World Bank loans for the Aswan Dam on the Nile). Seeking to topple Nasser, a secret alliance among France, Great Britain, and Israel starts the Suez Canal War in October: Israel conquers the Sinai, and Anglo–French forces take the Suez Canal. The United States forces all parties to withdraw, ending Anglo–French colonial power and weakening NATO (once the allies saw their national interests sacrificed).

November 1956 The UN Emergency Force I (UNEF I) peacekeepers deploy by 15 November to demilitarize the Sinai after U.S. pressures force Israel to withdraw.

5 November 1956 NATO’s crisis in the Suez Canal War is stabilized by the “Three Wise Men.”

16 May 1957 Paul-Henri Spaak (Belgium) succeeds Lord Ismay as NATO Secretary-General.

July 1957 The Four-Powers Summit of Geneva collapses after the USSR rejects talks on Eastern Europe, subordinating German reunification to the dismantlement of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The USSR also seeks a pan-European security treaty on recognizing postwar borders (the future Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe), without U.S. participation.

29 July 1957 France, West Germany, Great Britain, and the United States issue the Berlin Declaration on the identity of their policies concerning European security and German reunification under West Germany.

4 October 1957 The USSR launches the world's first satellite, *Sputnik*; the United States and NATO fear this as the beginning of a future Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) threat.

Late 1957 A flood of Soviet propaganda “peace messages” to NATO governments offer an East–West Summit, a nonaggression pact, ending nuclear tests, a “no first use” policy of nuclear weapons in combat to buttress conventional forces, and creating “nuclear-free zones” in Europe. NATO rejects the USSR’s proposals as ploys to weaken Atlantic tactical nuclear defenses against superior Soviet conventional forces and split the allies by “decoupling” U.S.–European security.

16–19 December 1957 At NATO’s Paris Summit all allied heads of government reaffirm the principles of the Atlantic Alliance, officially closing the 1956 transatlantic rift over Suez.

15–17 April 1958 In Paris, NATO’s defense ministers reaffirm the Atlantic defensive strategy.

10 November 1958 Soviet Premier Khrushchëv announces the imminent end of the Four-Powers Agreement on Berlin and the inception of full control of Berlin by Communist East Germany. The three Western Powers—the United States, Great Britain, France—reject this on 3 December, with full NATO support on 16–18 December.

1959 Guerrilla insurgents Fidel Castro and “Che” Guevara lead a Communist revolution in Cuba.

11 June 1959 There is a Four-Powers Foreign Ministers Meeting in Geneva (France, Great Britain, the United States, and the USSR) on Germany. During a brief East–West détente Soviet Premier Khrushchëv visits the United States.

19 August 1959 The anti-Soviet Baghdad Pact regional alliance is renamed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), with headquarters in Ankara after Iraq withdraws (the members are Great Britain, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United States). It is dissolved on 26 September 1979, after Islamic Iran withdraws.

15 March 1960 The UN Ten-Powers Disarmament Committee talks start in Geneva but collapse by 27 June, when the USSR and Soviet bloc countries quit the conference.

1 May 1960 A U.S. U2 spy plane is shot down over the USSR. Soviet Premier Khrushchëv uses this as a pretext to quit the Four-Powers Summit in Paris and to denounce the United States, ending the brief *détente*.

12 July 1960 After the Belgian Congo gains its independence, President Joseph Kasavubu and Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba request UN military assistance to quell their civil war.

14–15 July 1960 UN Operation in Congo (ONUC) peacekeepers are deployed.

21 April 1961 Dirk U. Stikker (Netherlands) succeeds Spaak as NATO Secretary-General.

June 1961 U.S. President John F. Kennedy's summit with Soviet Premier Khrushchëv in Vienna fails to solve the German question and stop the massive flight of East Germans to the West via Berlin. Khrushchëv's separate peace treaty with East Germany threatens Western access to Berlin.

July 1961 Khrushchëv cancels new reductions of Soviet forces and increases defense spending. Kennedy calls for a buildup of NATO forces, and the USSR threatens to call up reservists.

20 July–October 1961 Kuwait's independence on 10 June is guaranteed by the Arab League on 20 July against threats from Iraq; an Arab League force deploys to Kuwait in September–October.

13 August–December 1961 To stop citizens from escaping to the West, East Germany builds the Berlin Wall, which is condemned by NATO on 13–15 December.

18 September 1961 UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld dies in a plane crash in Congo.

Late 1961 Yuri Gagarin of the Soviet space program is the first man in outer space.

24 November 1961 UN Resolution 169 allows ONUC to fight Katanga mercenaries in Congo.

1962 France loses the Algerian War. Algeria becomes independent, and a million French leave the country. By July 1962, NATO ceases to consider ex-French Algeria part of the area of Atlantic defense.

January 1962 NATO adopts the “Declaration of Paris” to strengthen the Atlantic Community.

4–6 May 1962 NATO foreign and defense ministers review the “Athens Guidelines” on using nuclear weapons in any possible war against the USSR.

21 September 1962 The UN Security Force (UNSF) is mandated and is deployed in October.

22 October–20 November 1962 The Cuban Missile Crisis suddenly threatens a U.S.–Soviet nuclear war and exposes NATO to superpower conflicts outside the alliance’s defense areas (“out-of-area”). The USSR’s secret installation of nuclear missiles in Cuba seeks to blackmail the United States and the West into leaving West Berlin and giving official U.S. pledges not to invade Cuba, as a trade-off for Cuba’s nuclear disarmament. Instead, the United States denounces this as a threat of war against the Western hemisphere. A U.S. naval blockade of Cuba, paralleled by secret U.S.–Soviet talks, narrowly averts World War III, forcing the USSR to withdraw its nuclear missiles in exchange for a U.S. pledge not to invade Cuba and the secret pullout of old U.S. nuclear missiles from Turkey.

18–20 December 1962 President Kennedy and British Premier Harold Macmillan agree at Nassau, Bahamas, to assign part of their strategic nuclear forces to NATO (Multilateral Force, MLF).

1963 The Sino–Soviet split occurs when Communist China accuses the USSR of ideological weakness and indecisiveness against the capitalist United States. Mao leaves the Soviet fails to replace the USSR as leader of the Communist bloc or to bring the Soviet satellites onto his side (the exception being Albania).

February 1963 The Arab League force withdraws from Kuwait after Iraq stops its earlier threats.

20 June 1963 The U.S.–USSR “Hotline” accord is reached in Geneva to prevent repetition of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

July–August 1963 The United States, the USSR, and Great Britain agree on the “Partial Test-Ban” Treaty of Moscow to ban nuclear tests in air, the outer space, and under water, effective 10 October 1963.

22–23 October 1963 NATO's Operation Big Lift airlifts 14,500 American soldiers from the United States to Germany as a rapid reinforcement of NATO forces in Europe in case of a military crisis.

22 November 1963 U.S. President John Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas, Texas.

4–13 March 1964 UN Peacekeeping in Cyprus (UNFICYP) becomes permanent.

30 June 1964 ONUC concludes its UN peacekeeping mission and leaves Congo.

1 August 1964 Manlio Brosio (Italy) succeeds Dirk Stikker as NATO Secretary-General.

Mid-1964 U.S. military intervention to support South Vietnam against North Vietnamese Communist infiltration and local Vietcong insurgency begins. NATO refuses to be committed.

14 October 1964 Soviet Premier Khrushchëv is deposed by Vice Premier Leonid Brezhnev.

16 October 1964 Communist China explodes its first atomic bomb.

28 April 1965–22 October 1966 U.S. forces occupy the Dominican Republic in April 1965 to stop a revolution and by 23 May are replaced by the Inter-American Peace Force (IAPF), which remains until October 1966.

31 May–1 June 1965 A NATO defense ministers' meeting in Paris focuses on the defense problems of Greece and Turkey and on improving participation in planning nuclear forces.

September 1965–April 1967 Since 1957, improved Soviet nuclear forces with ICBMs had fed European and mostly French fears that the U.S. nuclear umbrella strategy of massive retaliation against Soviet aggression could no longer protect NATO. French President Charles de Gaulle's dissatisfaction with U.S. leadership of NATO, alliance nuclear defenses, and its integrated command structure results in his 9 September 1965 decision to end France's military integration in NATO by 1969 and expel NATO Headquarters and forces by 1 April 1967. The allies fear NATO's impending collapse as France completes its withdrawal by

1966, but NATO survives by relocating its Headquarters on 31 March 1967 to Brussels, Belgium, and the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers-Europe (SHAPE) to Casteau/Mons.

14 December 1966 NATO creates the Nuclear Planning Group (NPG).

1967 Belgian Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel proposes a study on NATO's "Future Tasks."

21 April 1967 A military coup in Greece establishes the Colonels Fascist régime.

16 May 1967 Egypt forces UNEF I to withdraw from the Sinai and remilitarizes the area against Israel.

June 1967 Israel wins the Six-Day War against a coalition of Arab states. NATO reviews the Middle East situation.

12 December 1967 NATO's Defence Planning Committee finally replaces its massive retaliation nuclear strategy with the new U.S. "flexible response" doctrine of a nonautomatic, balanced range of political-military reactions to any Soviet attack, from conventional to nuclear. NATO integrates nuclear weapons into its entire force structure and revises both its antiballistic and tactical nuclear weapons and Allied participation in nuclear planning. NATO adopts high-readiness force levels and creates a NATO Standing Naval Force-Atlantic (STANAVFORLANT).

13 December 1967–25 June 1968 NATO adopts the Harmel Report, which recommends stabilizing relations with the Communist bloc through Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) conventional arms control talks, confirmed at the 24–25 June 1968 NATO ministerial meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland.

19 January 1968 The United States and USSR draft the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in Geneva.

August 1968–1969 The USSR's hegemony over its East European satellites is challenged by Czechoslovak Premier Alexander Dubček's Prague Spring reforms. The "Brezhnev Doctrine" reasserts the USSR's and Warsaw Pact's right to militarily preserve Communist bloc orthodoxy. Czechoslovakia is invaded by the USSR, Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, and Poland.

13–16 November 1968 NATO creates the Eurogroup and officially condemns the Soviet–Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia as contrary to the UN Charter.

28 May 1969 NATO creates the Naval On-Call Force-Mediterranean (NAVOCFORMED).

July 1969 U.S. astronaut Neil Armstrong is the first man to walk on the Moon, during the Apollo 11 mission.

6 November–10 December 1969 On NATO's 20th anniversary, U.S. President Richard Nixon prompts alliance scientific programs to establish a Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) to study pollution, disaster assistance, alternative energy, and monument preservation.

March 1970 U.S.–Soviet nuclear parity encourages East–West détente and arms limitation talks after the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty on Nuclear Weapons (NPT) comes into force.

April 1970–26 May 1972 In Vienna the United States and USSR negotiate the nuclear Strategic Arms Limitations (SALT I) and Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaties, both signed in Moscow on 26 May 1972.

11 June 1970 A NATO Defence Planning Committees ministerial session activates NATO's naval on-call force in the Mediterranean to counter the rapid expansion of the Soviet naval presence there.

2–4 December 1970 The United States declares that it will not cut forces in Europe except through mutually balanced East–West arms reductions. NATO adopts the study, "Alliance Defence in the '70s," and 10 European allies form the special European Defence Improvement Programme (EDIP).

1970–1971 Secret U.S.–Chinese talks lead to détente, bilateral normalization, and a visit to Mao Tse-tung by President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

October 1971 Joseph Luns (the Netherlands) replaces Manlio Brosio as NATO Secretary-General and begins talks with the USSR and other NATO allies on mutually balanced conventional force cuts.

May 1972 NATO's Bonn Ministerials approve the Helsinki November East–West Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

(CSCE) among NATO, “neutrals,” and Warsaw Pact countries. On 26 May 1972, the United States and USSR sign the ABM and SALT I nuclear arms control treaties in Moscow.

3 June 1972 The foreign ministers of France, Great Britain, the United States, and the USSR agree on the Quadripartite Accord on Berlin, which forestalls potential East–West Berlin crises by making the city’s status quo official.

21 November 1972 Negotiations begin between the United States and USSR on Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty II.

21 December 1972 The Basic Treaty is signed between West Germany and Communist East Germany, backed by the Four Powers, which sponsor both states’ membership in the UN.

1 January 1973 Denmark, Ireland, and Great Britain join the European Economic Community (EEC).

January–October 1973 The NATO allies begin formal exploratory East–West talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) in Vienna to set ceilings on ground forces in Europe.

11 May 1973 NATO’s Standing Naval Force-Channel (STANAVFORCHAN) is established.

July–November 1973 CSCE’s July 1973 multilateral accord leads to a conference in Helsinki on 22 November on three topics: (1) European security and confidence-building measures (CBMs); (2) economic, scientific, technological, and environmental cooperation; and (3) humanitarian cooperation, culture, and education.

6–24 October 1973 An Arab coalition attacks Israel in the Yom Kippur War. The United States and USSR airlift arms to their respective allies. A U.S. nuclear alert stops Soviet troops from coming to aid of the losing Arab states in the Middle East.

Mid-October 1973 The Arab-led Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) quadruples oil prices to punish Western support of Israel. The First Oil Shock provokes the 1973–1974 world recession. The United States rejects the idea of military seizure of oil fields. NATO Security Concept adds economic risks.

25 October 1973 The UN Emergency Force II (UNEF II) is mandated, but Israel holds Sinai until UNEF expires in July 1979. Following the U.S.-mediated 1980 Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel, the Sinai is demilitarized again, with the deployment of non-UN MFO peacekeepers under the United States.

25 April 1974 A military coup d'état in Portugal puts it briefly under local communist control, with NATO worried that secret nuclear defense plans might be spirited out to the USSR.

June 1974 The NATO "Declaration on Atlantic Relations" or "Ottawa Declaration" is issued.

July–August 1974 A pro-Greece Greek-Cypriot coup d'état leads to Turkish invasion of northern Cyprus. Greece condemns NATO inaction, while a Greek military dictatorship collapses. Greece briefly withdraws its forces from NATO's integrated military structure.

23–24 November 1974 At the U.S.–Soviet Vladivostok Summit, President Gerald Ford and General-Secretary Leonid Brezhnev discuss future SALT II bilateral strategic nuclear arms cuts.

1975 The United States withdraws from South Vietnam. Communist North Vietnam later conquers the South.

April 1975 The Lebanese Civil War erupts, lasting until 1988.

1 August 1975 Heads of state/government of 35 East–West states sign the CSCE Helsinki Final Act, recognizing Europe's postwar borders, human rights, and fundamental freedoms.

21–22 January 1976 NATO's Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) defense ministers meet in Hamburg, Germany, to discuss the continuing rise in Soviet strategic nuclear capabilities despite SALT.

2 February 1976 NATO's European allies create the independent European Programme Group to foster joint cooperation in research, development, and production of NATO and national military equipment.

June–October 1976 The Arab League's Symbolic Arab Security Force is created to stop Syria's intervention in the Lebanese Civil War.

The Arab League's Riyadh Summit Conference of 18 October transforms the Symbolic Arab Security Force into the Arab Deterrent Force.

7–10 December 1976 NATO defense ministers on the Defence Planning Committee meet to discuss the Warsaw Pact's relentless conventional military growth, despite MBFR arms control talks. NATO reacts by strengthening conventional forces and rejects Warsaw Pact proposals for bilateral "no first use" of nuclear weapons. NATO also rejects any cap on future alliance membership.

1977 Despite East–West arms control accords, Soviet forces continue to strengthen while NATO defense spending and forces remain static; the continuing imbalance undermines both the strategic nuclear balance achieved through SALT I and II and NATO's deterrent strategy, especially with the rapid Soviet deployment of SS-20 multiple-warhead intermediate-range nuclear missiles targeted at Western Europe.

March–April 1977 Katangese rebels based in Angola invade Zaire/Congo's mine-rich Shaba region (ex-Katanga) and massacre locally based European civilians. France launches Operation Shaba I in April, airlifting Moroccan troops and forcing Katangese rebels back into Congo.

10–11 May 1977 U.S. President Jimmy Carter urges the NATO London Summit to increase national defense budgets to 3 percent of GNP yearly with interoperable equipment and munitions.

12 October 1977 NATO's Nuclear Planning Group creates the NPG/High-Level Group on modernization of theater nuclear forces (INFs) in the face of Soviet deployment in Eastern Europe of SS-20s.

March 1978 In retaliation for attacks by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Israel seizes South Lebanon up to the Litani River. On 19 March the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) deploys to separate the fighters, and Israel withdraws.

13 May–June 1978 In Operation Shaba II in Zaire/Congo on 13 May, French and Belgian paratroopers rescue civilians. By June, the Inter-African Force replaces Franco–Belgian forces.

5–6 December 1978 NATO creates the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS).

June 1979 The SALT II Treaty is signed in Vienna by President Carter and Premier Brezhnev.

4 November 1979 The pro-U.S. Iran collapses in the face of the Islamic Fundamentalist Revolution, led by Ayatollah Khomeini. The U.S. Embassy is seized and 53 hostages are held for a year; a U.S. rescue attempt in 1980 fails.

15 November 1979 The Lancaster House Agreement is signed, transforming Rhodesia into Zimbabwe and mandating a Commonwealth Monitoring Force (CMF) for local elections by December.

12 December 1979 A special meeting of the NATO foreign and defense ministers is called to discuss the “Euromissiles” Crisis after the USSR deploys more than 130 SS-20 missiles with 390 warheads in 1977–1979. NATO adopts a “dual-track” decision to modernize its theater nuclear defenses in Europe by 1983 with 572 single-warhead U.S. Pershing II missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles, while starting new arms control talks to cut INFs. NATO also withdraws 1,000 old nuclear warheads from Europe.

25–29 December 1979 The USSR invades Communist Afghanistan, its ally since 1978, to repel local Muslim guerrillas. East–West détente collapses as the Soviet invasion is condemned by a NATO special summit on 29 December, and President Carter refuses to submit SALT II for ratification by the U.S. Senate. A million Afghans and 15,000 Soviets die in this 1979–1989 First Afghan War.

4 May 1980 President Tito of Yugoslavia dies.

June–Fall 1980 Israel invades Lebanon again to destroy PLO bases in the south, then withdraws.

31 August 1980 The near-collapse of Poland’s economy in 1980 inspires the creation of the Solidarność trade union and national strikes, forcing reforms from the Polish government.

12 September 1980 The Turkish military stages a coup against local extremist political forces.

1980–1988 Saddam Hussein’s Iraq invades a weak Islamic Iran in September 1980, starting the Iran–Iraq War.

20 October 1980 Greece rejoins NATO's integrated military structure.

1 January 1981 Greece joins the European Community (EC).

January 1981 U.S. President Ronald Reagan launches a massive military buildup in response to the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan and freezes all East–West arms control talks.

Fall 1981 Soviet concerns about Poland's economic collapse and demonstration against Communist rule result in martial law being declared in October. NATO warns that any Soviet military repression in Poland would violate the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and CSCE Helsinki Final Act.

18 November 1981 U.S. President Reagan begins new U.S.–Soviet Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START I) and INF talks based on the “Zero Option”: NATO would not deploy Pershing and cruise missiles if Soviet SS-20s were withdrawn.

10 December 1981 NATO stresses common democratic values and accepts Spain as its 16th member.

13 December 1981 Poland's military chief, General Wojćek Jaruzelski, stages a military coup against Solidarność, making 5,000 arrests. The coup prevents a direct Soviet military intervention.

1982 NATO's European allies are worried about East–West tensions and local Western pacifist hysteria; there are mass demonstrations in Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United States against NATO's deployment of U.S. Pershing and cruise INF missiles, but NATO holds firm.

11 January 1982 A Special Ministerial Session of NATO condemns the Polish military coup.

2 April–14 June 1982 War breaks out in the Falklands between Argentina and Great Britain.

10 June 1982 At the NATO Summit in Bonn, the East–West “Six-Points Program for Peace in Freedom” calls for Soviet restraint and joint NATO positions on nuclear and conventional arms control talks.

June–12 September 1982 Israel invades and conquers half of Lebanon and Beirut, destroying all PLO bases. On 15–19 August, Israel and Lebanon allow U.S.-led Multinational Force I (MNF I) peacekeepers from the United States, France, and Italy to evacuate besieged PLO forces from Beirut.

20 September 1982–1984 The Christian Falangist militia takes revenge for old PLO atrocities by massacring Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Chatila camps. MNF II peacekeepers from the United States, France, Italy, and Great Britain return on 28 September but are unable to stabilize Lebanon.

1983 NATO urges improved conventional defenses and equitable U.S.–European burden-sharing. France urges revitalizing the Western European Union (WEU) as NATO’s “European Pillar.”

23 March 1983 U.S. President Reagan announces the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or “Star Wars” research program to eliminate the threat of Soviet strategic nuclear missiles.

23 October 1983 Iran-backed Islamic Fundamentalist Hezbollah guerrillas in Lebanon secretly use suicide truck-bombs twice to destroy the U.S. Embassy and then kill 241 U.S. Marines and 58 French soldiers at their own MNF II bases. Hezbollah’s role is unmasked only in the 1990s.

24 October–15 December 1983 U.S. and East Caribbean (OECS) forces under an OECS and UN mandate stage an antiCommunist military intervention in Grenada. U.S. forces leave by 15 December.

27 October 1983 NATO defense ministers meeting in Montebello, Canada, agree to withdraw another 1,400 nuclear warheads from Europe (“Montebello Decision”).

23 November–9 December 1983 The USSR’s stalling of East–West nuclear talks forces NATO to deploy INF cruise missiles in Great Britain. Moscow terminates INF, START, and MBFR talks, but NATO’s 9 December 1983 “Declaration of Brussels” reiterates its “Dual-Track” INF policy.

13 December 1983 Military rule in Turkey ends, with elections and a civilian government.

February 1984 Soviet leader Yuri Andropov dies and is succeeded by Konstantin Chernenko.

20 February–31 March 1984 Italy withdraws from MNF II and U.S. Marines redeploy to ships off coast. By 22–31 March 1984 Great Britain and France also withdraw from MNF II.

12 June 1984 In Paris seven NATO allies reactivate the WEU.

25 June 1984 Lord Peter Carrington (Great Britain) replaces Joseph Luns as NATO Secretary-General.

26–27 October 1984 The “Rome Declaration” by NATO and WEU seeks increased bilateral cooperation.

March 1985 Ailing Soviet leader Chernenko dies. The reforms (*glasnost* and *perestroika*) of his successor, Mikhail Gorbachëv, challenge a Soviet economy plagued by low productivity, waste, and shortages, while cutting defense spending by resuming East–West détente and arms talks.

26 April 1985 Under Soviet pressure, the 1955 Warsaw Pact is renewed for 20 more years.

19–21 November 1985 At the U.S.–Soviet Geneva Summit, President Reagan and Premier Gorbachëv agree on a future 50-percent strategic nuclear arms cut and an interim-INF accord.

1 January 1986 Portugal and Spain join the EC.

12 March 1986 In a referendum sponsored by Socialist Premier Felipe Gonzalez, Spanish voters support keeping Spain in NATO, but temporarily place it outside the integrated military command.

15 April 1986 U.S. stages air raids against Libya in retaliation for its sponsorship of terrorist attacks.

26 April 1986 Nuclear accident in the USSR at the Chernobyl civilian nuclear power plant in Ukraine result in permanent catastrophic local radiation fallout and global panic, as nuclear fallout spreads to Eastern and Western Europe. The USSR rejects Western offers of help.

29–30 May 1986 A NATO Foreign Ministerial meeting in Halifax, Canada, urges the USSR to promote effective East–West dialogue, arms control, and security (“Halifax Declaration”).

September 1986 The “Stockholm Document” is issued by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on East–West Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs) calling for reciprocal inspections of NATO and Warsaw Pact exercises.

11–13 October 1986 The U.S.–Soviet Reykjavik Summit on arms control ends in public failure; an initial accord on START between President Reagan and Premier Gorbachëv is scuttled when the USSR surreptitiously reintroduces previously rejected limitations on the SDI. U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz briefs a special session of the NAC with allied foreign and defense ministers.

11 December 1986 NATO’s “Brussels Declaration on Conventional Arms Control” seeks new CSBMs and an end to Soviet superiority in conventional forces from the Atlantic to the Urals (ATTU).

17 February 1987 NATO–Warsaw Pact talks take place in Vienna on ATTU conventional cuts in Europe.

27 March 1987 At a North Atlantic Council emergency meeting, NATO Secretary-General Lord Carrington offers to mediate a new dispute between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean.

5 June 1987 Canada redirects wartime reinforcements from Norway to NATO’s Central Front.

19 June 1987 Germany’s Chancellor Helmut Kohl proposes a joint Franco–German brigade as the first step toward a joint, integrated European army alongside NATO.

22–23 July 1987 Soviet Premier Gorbachëv accepts NATO’s “Zero Option,” eliminating all Soviet–U.S. land-based INFs globally and in Siberia.

28 August–7 October 1987 U.S. on-site inspectors survey USSR/ Warsaw Pact military maneuvers near Minsk in August, the first ever inspection under the CSCE’s September 1986 “Stockholm Document,” and Soviet inspectors attend NATO’s October exercises in Turkey.

27 October 1987 The Western European Union adopts the “Hague Platform on European Security Interests,” drafted in August; the WEU is supposed to take over U.S.-led Western patrols of the Persian Gulf to

protect international oil shipping during the 1980–1988 Iran–Iraq War, but the plan collapses.

8–10 December 1987 At the U.S.–Soviet Washington Summit, President Reagan and Premier Gorbachëv sign the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty to globally eliminate all U.S.–Soviet INFs with ranges of 500–5,500 kilometers (670 Soviet missiles with 405 triple-headed SS-20s, plus 440 U.S. Pershing I and cruise missiles). For the first time, an entire category of nuclear weapons is eliminated, with the superpowers accepting strict reciprocal on-site inspections, including monitoring each other's nuclear test-site explosions (9 December).

11 December 1987 The United States, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and the Netherlands sign accords to implement the INF Treaty disarmament provisions and related on-site inspections.

22 January 1988 An accord between France and Germany creates the joint Franco–German Brigade.

2–3 March 1988 The NATO Brussels Summit discusses unity and East–West conventional arms control.

15 May 1988–15 February 1989 Soviet troops withdraw from Afghanistan.

31 May 1988 At the U.S.–Soviet Summit in Moscow, Presidents Reagan and Gorbachëv ratify the INF Treaty.

9–10 June 1988 Spanish forces reintegrate in NATO's common military structure.

24 June 1988 The NATO Composite Force is created to reinforce northern Norway in wartime and replace Canada's CAST Brigade, which is reassigned to NATO's Central Front ("Canada's 1987 Plan").

28 June–1 July 1988 The XIXth Communist Party Congress in Moscow approves Gorbachëv's comprehensive semiliberalizing political, constitutional, and legal reforms for the USSR.

1 July 1988 German Defense Minister Manfred Wörner succeeds Lord Carrington as Secretary-General of NATO, thus giving Germany the highest allied command for the first time after World War II.

20 August 1988 After an extensive mediation, a UN cease-fire ends the 1980–1988 Iran–Iraq War.

14 November 1988 Portugal and Spain join the Western European Union.

7 December 1988 Soviet President Gorbachëv adopts the “New Thinking” military doctrine to cut conventional forces and reorganize them on a purely defensive basis. At the UN General Assembly, he announces unilateral Soviet conventional force cuts of 500,000 troops and 14.2 percent in defense spending, including withdrawing from Eastern Europe 50,000 Soviet troops, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery pieces, and 800 planes. The Warsaw Pact also unilaterally cuts the armed forces of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, and Poland.

8 December 1988–January 1989 NATO salutes the Soviet and Warsaw Pact cuts and proposes an East–West Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty and new CSBMs. The January 1989 Vienna CSCE Meeting agrees, and on 6 March opens both CFE talks among 23 NATO–Warsaw Pact members and CSBMs on military exercises among all 35 CSCE members.

4 April 1989 A special NATO Summit celebrates the alliance’s 40th anniversary.

5 April–June 1989 Poland allows free elections, which are won in June by the banned union, Solidarność.

12 May 1989 U.S. President George H. W. Bush proposes “Open Skies” arms control on verification of East–West military activities, through reciprocal opening of national airspace.

31 May 1989 In West Germany, U.S. President Bush urges that East–West détente allow free elections and pluralism in Eastern Europe and that the Berlin Wall be dismantled.

3–4 June 1989 The Chinese military violently suppresses unarmed prodemocracy student demonstrations in Beijing, with major unrest also crushed in other cities, followed by internal purges.

24 August 1989 Poland has its first nonCommunist government in 40 years, led by Solidarność.

September–October 1989 Hungary opens its own border section of the “Iron Curtain,” allowing massive flights of East German tourists to the West as refugees, while an additional 6,390 tourists who had flooded Western embassies in Prague seeking asylum are also allowed to escape to the West.

6–7 October 1989 In East Berlin, Soviet President Gorbachëv urges reforms in East Germany and refuses to send Soviet forces to help crack down on widespread local protests.

18 October 1989 East German Communist leader Erich Honecker is replaced by Egon Krenz, but daily prodemocracy unrest and massive refugee flights to the West continue.

23 October 1989 Hungary becomes a “free, democratic independent state,” with elections scheduled for 1990.

November–December 1989 In East Germany, daily massive demonstrations climax on 6 November, when 100,000 protesters call for democracy, an end to Communist dictatorship, and the dismantling of the Berlin Wall. On 7–8 November, both the DDR government and the Communist Party Politburo resign. On 9 November, the Berlin Wall falls, and unrestricted travel to the West is allowed. Pro-reunification mass demonstrations in Leipzig on 20 November result in intra-German talks under the old Four-Powers Allied basis (“4 + 2 Talks”), with formal reunification in late 1990.

17 November–29 December 1989 Violent repression of student demonstrations in Prague triggers massive prodemocratic opposition (“Velvet Revolution”) by the Civic Forum under Vaclav Havel and ex-Premier Dubček. Communist Czechoslovakia collapses, and Havel becomes president.

2–3 December 1989 A U.S.–Soviet Summit is held in Malta, attended by President Bush and Premier Gorbachëv.

4 December 1989 The NATO Brussels Summit is briefed by President Bush on the U.S.–Soviet Summit in Malta. The parallel Warsaw Pact Summit in Moscow denounces the Soviet–Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the “Brezhnev Doctrine” of limited sovereignty.

11 December 1989 Bulgaria's communist government collapses after mass demonstrations in favor of elections.

19 December 1989 Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze makes a historic first visit to NATO Headquarters for talks with NATO Secretary-General Manfred Wörner and allied ambassadors.

20–25 December 1989 Communist Romania's police and army fire on thousands of protesters in Timisoara, plunging the country into a brief but bloody civil war. Nicolae Ceaușescu's despised government falls on 22 December; the dictator is arrested and executed on 25 December. Ion Iliescu's National Salvation Front wins in free elections and slowly democratizes the country.

6 February 1990 Soviet Premier Gorbachëv, popular in the West but mistrusted at home, shakes up the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee and promises radical reforms, including political pluralism, a new constitution, and the end of the Communist Party's monopoly on power.

12–14 February 1990 At the "Open Skies" Conference in Ottawa, Canada, NATO, Warsaw Pact, and CSCE foreign ministers approve "4 + 2 Talks" on Germany and a CFE accord, to be achieved by late 1990.

11 March 1990 Lithuania announces its independence from the USSR, but Soviet troops remain in the country.

3 May 1990 President Bush cancels the modernization of nuclear artillery shells deployed in Europe and of Short-range Nuclear Forces (SNF), while calling for U.S.–Soviet SNF arms cuts.

4–8 May 1990 Latvia and Estonia announce their secession and independence from the USSR.

9–10 May 1990 At a defense ministerial meeting in Kananaskis, Canada, NATO debates the impact on European and NATO security of the 1989–1990 revolutions in Eastern Europe and the Baltic states.

22–23 May 1990 Hungary announces that it will withdraw from the Warsaw Pact.

30 May 1990 Boris Yeltsin is elected president of the Russian Republic within the USSR.

30 May–2 June 1990 A U.S.–Soviet Summit takes place in Washington.

7–8 June 1990 At Turnberry, Scotland, a NATO foreign ministerial meeting issues the “Message from Turnberry,” announcing the end of the Cold War and offering friendship and cooperation with the USSR and all European states (both “neutrals” and East European ex-satellites).

5 July 1990 NATO’s London Summit reacts to the uncertainty of the geopolitical changes in Eastern Europe and the USSR. NATO’s “London Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance” restates the “Message from Turnberry”: that the Cold War is over and NATO no longer sees the USSR and Eastern Europe as enemies, while also seeking cuts in Short-range Nuclear Forces.

13–17 July 1990 NATO Secretary-General Wörner and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl agree with Premier Gorbachëv in Moscow on NATO’s “London Declaration” and German reunification, based on East Germany also joining the alliance and the European Community.

2 August 1990–March 1991 The First Gulf War begins when Iraq invades Kuwait to annex its oil wealth. On 6–8 August the UN condemns Iraq’s annexation of Kuwait and forms a U.S.-led multinational coalition to enforce UN Security Council sanctions and military actions against Iraq. Although NATO is not formally involved, the NATO Special Foreign Ministerials meeting agrees in August–September 1990 on allied support of the UN against Iraq, with all allies as the core of the U.S.-led coalition and joint WEU-coalition navies in the Gulf enforcing UN sanctions against Iraq on 4 September.

September–3 October 1990 A U.S.–Soviet Summit on the Gulf crisis is followed by the signing in Moscow on 12 September of the “2 + 4 Treaty” on Germany’s reunification, to be achieved by 3 October 1990.

15 October 1990 Soviet Premier Gorbachëv is awarded the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize.

25–26 October 1990 First Deputy-Minister of Defense and Chief of the Soviet General Staff, General M. A. Moiseyev, makes a historic visit to NATO.

17–21 November 1990 On 17 November, the CSCE adopts the “Vienna Document” on CSBMs. At the CSCE Summit in Paris on 19–21 November, 22 NATO and Warsaw Pact states sign the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty on arms cuts and a Joint Non-Aggression Declaration, plus the “Charter of Paris for a New Europe,” signed also by CSCE “neutrals.”

26–29 November 1990 NATO’s North Atlantic Assembly admits as associates parliamentarians from the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland.

6–7 December 1990 NATO’s Ministerials of the Defence Planning Committee and Nuclear Planning Group in Brussels unveil NATO’s “New Strategic Concept” for the post–Cold War world.

1991 The democratization of ex-Communist Eastern Europe is rapid but chaotic, because of painful transformations into market economies and political turmoil. All ex-satellites seek rapid inclusion in both NATO and the EC as new “Western” states. NATO’s support of Eastern Europe states also aims at postponing their membership to avoid a crisis with the USSR/Russia.

2 January–5 March 1991 During the standoff before the First Gulf war between Iraq and the U.S.-led coalition, NATO’s Allied Command Europe (ACE) Mobile Force (AMF) jets from Europe and Germany deploy to southeast Turkey to deter Iraqi attacks against that country. After the war NATO’s AMF is withdrawn.

11 January 1991 NATO condemns Soviet intimidation of the secessionist Baltic states.

17 January 1991 Following UN Security Council resolutions, after Iraq refuses to withdraw from Kuwait, U.S.–coalition forces start the First Gulf War with 30 days of air strikes against Iraq.

24–28 February 1991 The U.S.-led coalition forces’ ground offensive destroys Iraqi forces and liberates Kuwait. U.S. President Bush stops the offensive short of conquering Iraq.

1991–1998 NATO supports UN Security Council resolutions imposing unrestricted access by United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) weapons inspectors to disarm Iraqi weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

25 February–1 July 1991 In Budapest, Hungary, Warsaw Pact Eastern European states dissolve the Soviet-led alliance by 1 July. The COMECON economic union is dissolved on 28 June.

13–26 March 1991 The United States completes INF Treaty withdrawals of nuclear missiles from Europe.

May–June 1991 Neutral-Communist Yugoslavia collapses in civil war as a result of economic recession and rival Serb and Croat nationalism. As Slovenia secedes and repels the Yugoslav Army's attacks, other secessions and civil wars erupt in Croatia (1991), Bosnia (1992), and Kosovo (1998–1999), where Yugoslav troops back armed Serb minorities. The European Union (EU) later recognizes the new states, but Yugoslavia's civil wars threaten to destabilize Eastern Europe's Hungarian and Albanian minorities, while the USSR resists secessionism in the Baltics, Georgia, and Azerbaijan.

12 May 1991 The USSR finishes destruction of its SS-20 missiles under the 1987 INF Treaty.

21 May 1991 To cash in on the post–Cold War “Peace Dividend,” the U.S. House of Representatives calls for cutting U.S. forces in Europe from 250,000 to 100,000 by 1995.

6–7 June 1991 A NATO Copenhagen Foreign Ministerial turns the Eastern Europeans into partners.

30–31 July 1991 At a U.S.–Soviet Summit, Presidents Bush and Gorbachëv sign the START I Treaty, reducing by 50 percent their bilateral strategic nuclear weapons.

19–21 August 1991 Premier Gorbachëv is arrested during a military coup by antireformist Soviet Communist hard-liners in the military and government. A NATO emergency Ministerial condemns the coup and warns the USSR against ending democratic reforms, threatening to freeze Western aid. Russian President Yeltsin and the Duma (Parliament) rally popular opposition against the coup, which soon collapses: Gorbachëv is freed, coup leaders are arrested, and Yeltsin is triumphant.

25–29 August 1991 Gorbachëv dismantles the Soviet military leadership, KGB security, and the Communist Party. On 26 August, he an-

nounces the end of the USSR's opposition to secession by Soviet republics. The EC and UN recognize the three Baltic states by 17 September.

27 September 1991 U.S. President Bush unilaterally cuts 50 percent of U.S. Short-range Nuclear Forces (SNF), destroying all ground-launched SNF missiles and removing to a U.S. central storage all SNF cruise missiles from submarines and warships, while also seeking Soviet cuts.

6 October 1991 Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland stress in Krakow, Poland, their wish to join NATO. Gorbachëv reciprocates U.S. unilateral actions by cutting 50 percent of Soviet Short-range Nuclear Forces (SNF), removing them from warships, submarines, and naval aircraft.

17 October 1991 NATO Defense Ministerials in Taormina, Italy, announce sweeping cuts in East–West nuclear forces, reducing sub-strategic nuclear weapons in Europe by 80 percent.

7–8 November 1991 NATO's Rome Summit unveils the New Strategic Concept for the Post-Cold War: Forces are reduced, military commands restructured, and permanent close cooperation with all ex-Communist and "neutral" partners is formalized with the "Rome Declaration on Peace and Cooperation" and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C).

December 1991 Russia, Ukraine, and all Soviet Republics secede from the USSR. On 8 December in Minsk, Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine set-up a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as a new common security structure. On 21 December in Alma-Ata, 11 ex-Soviet republics join it. On 13 December, Russia's First Deputy-Prime Minister Gennadij Burbulis briefs NATO Secretary-General Wörner on the collapse of the USSR and the CIS's birth.

9–10 December 1991 At the Maastricht Summit, the European Community (EC) adopts the Maastricht Treaty on further integration, transforming itself into the European Union (EU), with a Common Foreign and Security Policy. European Allies of NATO become associate members of the WEU.

19 December 1991 NATO Foreign Ministerials in Brussels condemn the violence in Yugoslavia and pursue NATO humanitarian aid to the USSR.

20–25 December 1991 Yeltsin terminates the USSR. NATO's NAC-C adds also ex-Soviet CIS states.

January 1992 All Baltic and ex-Soviet CIS states join the UN and CSCE. New regional security accords are developed for the Baltic and Black Sea areas.

22–23 January 1992 A 47-nation international conference is held in Washington on providing aid to the ex-USSR countries.

February 1992 The civil wars in the former Yugoslavia escalate, with Serb atrocities and “ethnic cleansing” of Croats and Bosnian Muslims after the secession of Bosnia.

21 February–8 June 1992 The UN Protective Force in Bosnia and Croatia (UNPROFOR) deploys, with NATO security and logistic support. Canada withdraws all 1,100 of its forces in Europe by 1994.

5–7 March 1992 In Copenhagen, the foreign ministers of Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Russia, and Sweden form the Council of Baltic Sea States.

10 March 1992 NATO's NACC “Work Plan for Dialogue, Partnership and Cooperation” integrates the allies, the partners of Eastern Europe, and “neutrals” with the former Soviet independent states.

April–September 1992 UN Operations in Somalia (UNOSOM) peacekeepers land in September.

30 April 1992 NATO's new Standing Naval Force-Mediterranean (STANAVFORMED) replaces the Alliance's Naval On-Call Force-Mediterranean.

15 May 1992 A CIS Summit is held in Tashkent to discuss redistribution of CFE Treaty area disarmament duties.

June 1992–September 1993 A CIS South Ossetia Force is deployed in Georgia, and CIS troops are deployed in Tajikistan.

15 June 1992 The Japanese Diet allows Japanese forces to join UN peacekeeping operations.

16 June 1992 At a U.S.–Russian Summit, in a new START II Treaty, Presidents Bush and Yeltsin agree to further cut the remaining strategic nuclear missiles, down to 3,500 warheads each.

19 June–December 1992 The WEU issues the Petersberg Tasks list and criteria for future humanitarian and peacekeeping missions, which are later also incorporated by NATO.

1 July 1992 UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali issues a new report, *Agenda for Peace*.

2 July 1992 The United States completes the SNF withdrawal from Europe of nuclear artillery shells, LANCE missiles, and tactical nuclear weapons from U.S. warships and submarines. Under U.S.–Russian pressure, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine ratify START I.

June–10 July 1992 The June 1992 NATO–NAC-C Foreign Ministerials in Oslo on NATO’s case-by-case support of CSCE and UN peacekeeping are ratified on 10 July by 51 states at the joint NATO–CSCE Summits in Helsinki. An accord is also reached on a joint NATO–WEU naval blockade to enforce UN sanctions in the Adriatic and Danube to stop the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia, and the Personnel Strength of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE 1A) is signed.

2 October–6 November 1992 NATO’s Allied Command Europe (ACE) creates the Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC) at Bielefeld, Germany, NATO operational headquarters for UNPROFOR.

20 November 1992 Greece joins the WEU; Turkey, Norway, and Iceland become associate members.

15 December 1992–12 April 1993 UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali orders NATO’s Airborne Early-Warning Forces (NAEWF) activated for “Operation Allied Harmony” by 12 April 1993, to establish a “no-fly zone” against Serb air forces to protect “safe havens” and NATO operations in the former Yugoslavia.

18 December 1992 “NAC-C Work Plan 1993” on Joint NATO–NAC-C peacekeeping is issued.

1993 The UN establishes the International Tribunal on Yugoslavia to prosecute war crimes.

1 January 1993 Czechoslovakia splits peacefully in two states, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

3 January 1993 U.S. and Russian Presidents Bush and Yeltsin sign the START II Treaty in Moscow, agreeing to cut strategic nuclear weapons by de-MIRVing all intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs).

13 January 1993 The UN Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), a total ban, is signed by 127 states.

21 January 1993 An agreement is reached on NATO's use of the Franco-German Euro-Corps.

February 1993 A CSCE mission goes to Moldova.

10 March 1993 The NATO military develops plans to implement a UN Peace Plan in Bosnia.

15 March 1993 North Korea ejects inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and plans to withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) régime.

3–4 April 1993 U.S. President Bill Clinton meets Yeltsin at the U.S.–Russian Summit in Vancouver.

5 April 1993 The WEU, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania cooperate on UN sanctions against Serbia.

6–22 May 1993 The UN creates six civilian “safe zones” to protect Bosnian Muslims and a “Joint Action Program” by UN Security Council members France, Russia, Spain, Great Britain, and the United States.

5 June 1993 Mohammed Aidid's Somali forces in Mogadishu kill 24 UN Pakistani peacekeepers.

10–11 June 1993 NATO–NAC–C Foreign Ministerials in Athens offer air protection in case of Serb attacks on UNPROFOR and joint peacekeeping to support UN, OSCE, and NATO forces.

18 June 1993 The UN adds 300 U.S. troops to the 700 UN troops in Macedonia as a preventative force.

2–9 August 1993 With UN peacekeeping collapsing because of the Serb blockade of UN humanitarian aid to Bosnian areas, a NATO special

meeting on Bosnia plans air strikes to stop Serb “ethnic cleansing” and the military-economic strangulation of UN “safe zones” and Sarajevo.

20 September 1993 NATO–NAC–C calls for an end to civil war in Georgia after the Abkhaz secession.

21 September–4 October 1993 Russian President Yeltsin suspends the Duma and calls for elections in December. Vice President Alexander Rutskoi and Parliament Chair Ruslan Khasbulatov launch the “Reds and Browns Coup” of hard-line Communists and ultranationalists. They occupy the Duma until Yeltsin has the Russian military attack and force their surrender.

3 October 1993 The UN Task Force in Somalia (UNITAF) clashes with Aidid’s forces in Mogadishu.

4 October 1993 The UN Security Council authorizes peacekeepers in Croatia to use force if necessary.

5 October–10 December 1993 The UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda fails to stop ethnic clashes.

1 December 1993–19 February 1994 The CSCE sends missions to Nagorno-Karabakh and Tajikistan.

7 December 1993–1 January 1994 EUROGROUP merges on 1 January 1994 with NATO and WEU. Eleven members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) sign the Mechanism for Prevention, Management and Settlement of Disputes.

10–11 January 1994 NATO’s Brussels Summit unveils the Partnership for Peace (Partnership Framework Document), bilateral training of 30 NAC–C–CSCE members in Individual Partnership Programs. NATO strengthens its “European Pillar” defenses through small, mobile, multinational forces and NATO–EU coordination in the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) and European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI). NATO also threatens air strikes on Serb forces in Bosnia.

14 January–30 May 1994 U.S. and Russian Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin sign an accord ending their mutual strategic nuclear missiles targeting by 30 May 1994. On 15 February, Great Britain and Russia sign a nuclear detargeting protocol, effective 30 May 1994.

27 January 1994 A NATO–Russia accord on military cooperation and training is signed in Moscow.

6–21 February 1994 After a mortar attack on a crowded market, UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali requests NATO to prepare air strikes against Serb artillery around besieged Sarajevo. NATO threatens air strikes on Serb heavy weapons within a 20-kilometer “Sarajevo Exclusion Zone” by 20 February 1994, but both NATO and UN rescind this threat once Serb heavy weapons are withdrawn.

28 February 1994 NATO jets destroy four Serb jets violating the UN “no-fly zone” in Bosnia.

10–27 April 1994 NATO jets protect UN forces in Goradze, a Bosnian UN “safe zone”; on 16 April a British jet is shot down. On 22 April, NATO threatens air strikes unless Serbs withdraw heavy weapons 20 kilometers from Goradze and all “safe zones” by 27 April. The Serbs comply.

15 April 1994 CIS peacekeeping forces are sent to Georgia.

28 April 1994 NATO establishes a new Partnership Coordination Cell (PCC) at SHAPE Military Command in Mons and Permanent Representations at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, Belgium.

9 May 1994 A WEU Meeting in Kirchberg, Luxembourg, announces as new associate partners Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia.

26–27 May 1994 At the Paris Conference on a “European Stability Pact,” foreign ministers debate new initiatives to prevent ethnic conflicts over minorities in Eastern Europe and to promote democracy.

23 June–21 August 1994 French forces briefly intervene to help civilians in Rwanda’s civil war.

11 July 1994 NATO stresses its future role in implementing any UN peace accord on Bosnia.

12 July 1994 Germany’s Constitutional Court approves deployment of German forces abroad for UN, NATO, or WEU peacekeeping, overruling leftist vetoes since 1985.

31 July–5 October 1994 On 31 July, the UN authorizes use of force to depose Haiti's military leaders, enforced on 19 September by a joint U.S.–UN peacekeeping intervention, followed on 5 October by troops from Barbados, Belize, Jamaica, and Trinidad.

5 August–22 September 1994 Renewed Serb attacks are followed by selective NATO air strikes on Serb forces.

13 August 1994 NATO Secretary-General Manfred Wörner dies in office.

31 August–8 September 1994 Russian troops leave Estonia, the last Baltic state; on 1 September they also leave Germany and Berlin. On 8 September, the United States, Great Britain, and France leave Berlin.

2–10 September 1994 The first joint U.S.–Russian peacekeeping exercises are held in Russia.

12–16 September 1994 NATO's first joint partnership training exercise ("Cooperative Bridge") takes place near Poznan, Poland, with participation by 13 NATO and partner member-states.

29 September–17 October 1994 NATO appoints Belgian Deputy-Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Willy Claes as new Secretary-General.

4 November 1994–March 1995 The UN withdraws UNOSOM peacekeepers by the end of March 1995.

14 November 1994 A WEU Summit and the Noordwijk Declaration endorse the formulation of a common European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP).

21–24 November 1994 NATO retaliates for Serb attacks on Bosnian targets in Bosnia's Bihać enclave with the largest air strikes yet on Serb forces at Udbina airfield and Otoka in Serb-held Krajina in Croatia. Serb forces briefly detain hundreds of UN peacekeepers to deter further NATO air strikes.

6 December 1994 In Budapest, the CSCE is renamed the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

15 December 1994–February 1995 In February, NATO launches the Mediterranean Dialogue cooperation body, with Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia.

1 January 1995 The European Union expands to 15 members with the entry of Austria, Finland, and Sweden. There is a cease-fire in Bosnia.

Mid-January 1995 The United States, Russia, and Ukraine sign an accord on Ukraine as a nonnuclear weapons state.

1 March 1995 The United States, France, Germany, and Italy jointly develop a Medium Extended Air-Defence System (MEADS), renamed European Arms Defense System (EADS).

6 March 1995 Croatia forms a military alliance with the Bosnian Muslim-Croat Federation.

8 March 1995 NATO Secretary-General Claes and U.S. President Clinton discuss in Washington the possible extraction under fire of UN peacekeepers from Croatia and Bosnia.

18–20 March 1995 A 50-state pan-European Security Conference in Paris adopts a Stability Pact to try to prevent crises in Europe, as well as measures relating to borders and ethnic minorities' rights.

11 April–11 May 1995 UN Security Council Resolution 984 protects nonnuclear members of the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty from nuclear threats/attacks. The NPT is extended indefinitely on 11 May.

May 1995 NATO conducts partnership talks with Russia and Ukraine about separate Partnership Charters.

25–25 May 1995 The UN orders NATO air strikes on a Bosnian-Serb ammunition depot at Pale, while NATO demands an end to Bosnian-Serb attacks on UN “safe zones” and peacekeepers.

July 1995 NATO air strikes do not prevent the Serb conquest of Bosnia's Srebrenica UN “safe zone” and the massacre of all the Muslim Bosnian men who surrender. A UN International Tribunal on Yugoslavia indicts Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadžić and Chief General Ratko Mladić for genocide.

August–September 1995 The U.S. House of Representatives lifts the Bosnian arms embargo; NATO’s “Operation Deliberate Force” strikes all Serb command and control posts and troops in Pale and besieges Sarajevo. Croatia attacks and overruns Serb-held Krajina and enters Bosnia.

12 September–19 December 1995 The Wassenaar Accord is signed in The Hague by 28 states as the successor to COCOM; it addresses export controls on conventional arms and dual-use technologies.

21–28 September 1995 The “Study on NATO Enlargement” outlines requirements to join NATO.

2 October 1995 There is a cease-fire in Bosnia; the Serbs agree to return occupied Eastern Slavonia to Croatia.

21 October–1 December 1995 NATO Secretary-General Claes resigns after being indicted for illicit financing in Belgium and is replaced by Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana.

November–December 1995 In Dayton, Ohio, the United States mediates the Bosnian (“Dayton”) Peace Accord, which is signed in Paris on 14 December by Presidents Slobodan Milošević of Serbia, Alija Izetbegović of Bosnia–Herzegovina, and Franjo Tuđman of Croatia. NATO Foreign and Defense Ministerials on 20 December enforce “Dayton” by deploying to Bosnia NATO’s Implementation Force (IFOR): 60,000 troops, with for the first time 4,000 from Germany and ex-UNPROFOR troops. France returns to NATO’s Military and Defence Planning Committees.

28 November 1995 EU and 12 Mediterranean states sign the Barcelona Accords on cooperation.

4 January 1996 The OSCE adopts confidence-building and arms-control measures in Bosnia.

5–26 January 1996 Russian forces join NATO’s IFOR in Bosnia. The UN Security Council sends 5,000 troops with NATO air support to Eastern Slavonia, Croatia. Russia joins the Council of Europe.

9 May 1996 A Memorandum of Understanding is signed by NATO and the UN International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia for the search and seizure of war criminals in Bosnia.

15–31 May 1996 A CFE Treaty Review Meeting in Vienna agrees on “Flank Agreement” revisions.

3–4 June 1996 NATO’s Foreign Ministerials in Berlin strengthen its “European Pillar” with a European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI).

18 June 1996 NATO’s “Operation Sharp Guard” and the UN embargo on the former Yugoslavia end.

24 September 1996 China, France, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States sign a nuclear test-ban treaty.

2–3 December 1996 An OSCE Summit in Lisbon adopts the “Declaration on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe in the Twenty-First Century.”

9 December 1996 German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Jacques Chirac sign a bilateral mutual security and defense treaty.

10–20 December 1996 NATO replaces IFOR’s expiring mandate with a Stabilisation Force in Bosnia (SFOR) as a follow-up military expeditionary force backed by the UN, to keep implementing the Dayton Peace Accord and reestablish regional stability.

17 December 1996 Kofi Annan becomes new UN Secretary-General.

4 February 1997 In his State of the Union address, U.S. President Clinton supports NATO’s enlargement by 1999 and a “stable partnership” with Russia.

20 February 1997 The NATO allies seek key changes to the CFE Treaty to limit conventional forces in Europe within individual members, rather than the old ATTU regional levels, while accepting Russia’s desire for territorial limits to prevent NATO from deploying troops near its borders.

28 March–April 1997 Following Albania’s economic collapse after a speculative financial crash, the UN endorses 6,000 Italian-led Multinational Protection Force (FMP) peacekeepers in “Operation Alba,” with NATO’s logistical support, to protect humanitarian aid and stabilize the country.

April 1997 The three Baltic defense ministers meet in Vilnius, Lithuania, to form the BALTBAT joint peacekeeping battalion and BALTRON joint naval squadron.

24–29 April 1997 The UN Chemical Weapons Convention enters into force after U.S. Senate approval.

14–27 May 1997 Talks in 1996 lead to the NATO–Russia Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security, as well as the NATO–Russia Permanent Joint Council (PJC).

29–30 May 1997 A NATO–Ukraine special “Charter for a Distinctive Partnership” is signed. The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) replaces the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C) with a stronger cooperative structure for member-states.

16–17 June 1997 A European Union Summit in Amsterdam crafts a new EU treaty. The WEU and EU will jointly provide humanitarian, peacekeeping, and crisis-management missions.

20–22 June 1997 Russia becomes a member of the “G-7” Summit, renamed “G-8.”

26 June 1997 A Conference on Disarmament meets in Geneva to discuss a gradual ban on land mines.

8–9 July 1997 NATO’s Madrid Summit pushes forward the alliance’s transformation by inviting three ex-enemy, ex-Communist countries—the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland—to join NATO by April 1999 as its first new members since early 1980. NATO’s “Open Door” policy stresses that any aspirant partner that meets Article X qualifications can join.

11 July 1997 U.S. Army General Wesley Clark replaces General George Joulwan as Supreme Allied Commander-Europe (SACEUR).

March–June 1998 Ethno-nationalist conflict increases in Kosovo province over the Serb government’s repression and “ethnic cleansing” of Kosovar Albanians. NATO, NATO-Russian PJC, EAPC, OSCE, EU, and Contact Group (France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and the United States) pressure both Yugoslavia and secessionist Kosovar Albanians to settle, to no avail. NATO also backs an OSCE mission to Croatia to resettle Croat-Serb refugees.

May 1998 NATO, the United States, and Russia condemn Indian and Pakistani nuclear missile tests and urge them to join the Non-Proliferation Treaty and CTBT. NATO/EAPC form the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC).

Mid-1998 Taliban Islamic fundamentalists conquer most of Afghanistan and host the Al-Qaeda Islamic terrorist group.

15 June–24 September 1998 The NATO air exercise “Determined Falcon” in Albania and Macedonia on 15 June fails to pressure Yugoslavia. In August and September, NATO warns Yugoslavia that it has military options to stop the Kosovo humanitarian crisis, and on 24 September it starts its Activation Warning for air campaigns.

9–13 October 1998 NATO and Russia pressure Yugoslavia and Kosovar Albanian insurgents (Kosovo Liberation Army, KLA) to reach a political-diplomatic solution to the crisis. On 13 October, NATO issues Activation Orders for air strikes and an air campaign in Yugoslavia by 27 October.

20–27 October 1998 After meetings in Yugoslavia and improvement of the humanitarian situation in Kosovo, NATO Secretary-General Solana puts NATO air forces on standby.

December 1998–30 January 1999 After meetings in December 1998, on 30 January 1999 NATO, EAPC, EU, OSCE, Russia, the UN, and the Contact Group summon Yugoslavia and Kosovar rebels to attend new peace talks in Rambouillet, France, in February, or face NATO air strikes. In “Operation Joint Guarantor,” NATO’s Extraction Force evacuates OSCE’s Kosovo Verification Mission.

Mid-January 1999 With Bosnia stabilized since the 1995 Dayton Accords, NATO cuts its 25-state peacekeeping Stabilisation Force (SFOR) from 32,000 to 28,800 troops.

18–28 January 1999 NATO SACEUR General Clark meets in Belgrade with Yugoslav President Milošević over Kosovo; on 28 January new UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan visits NATO for the first time to coordinate joint diplomatic-military responses on Belgrade to stop massacres.

February–March 1999 NATO’s 1999 enlargement to include the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland prompts an adjustment of al-

liance cost sharing for budgets and civil–military structures. NATO readies a new multinational peacekeeping force for Kosovo to implement any peace accords.

23 February–March 1999 The Rambouillet Kosovo Peace Conference ends in failure.

24–26 February 1999 At NATO’s seminar in Valencia, Spain, NATO and six Mediterranean Dialogue states (Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia) enhance their military ties.

1 March 1999 NATO’s new military command structure for the post–Cold War period is activated, reducing NATO Command Headquarters from 65 to only 20, based on multinationality, flexibility, and the integration of new allies from enlargements to Eastern Europe.

3 March 1999 An independent arbitrator, Roberts Owen, declares the ex-Serb strategic Bosnian district of Brčko neutral. This decision is backed by NATO and is accepted by all warring parties.

Early March 1999 NATO teams assist Serbs, Bosnian Croats, Bosnians, and the Albanian military in destroying thousands of tons of armaments at 140 storage sites in Bosnia and 11 sites in Albania.

8 March 1999 At the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies (RUSI) in London, NATO Secretary-General Solana summarizes the alliance’s post–Cold War three transformations: European unity through NATO–EU enlargements, integrating Russia, and stronger transatlantic links.

10 March–10 June 1999 NATO’s new Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR) deploys to Albania and Macedonia to support a peace accord or prepare air strikes. On 14 March, final peace talks on Kosovo fail in Paris, and on 19 March violence escalates into a humanitarian catastrophe. Yugoslavia “ethnically cleanses” Kosovo by expelling 85 percent of the Kosovar Albanians as internally displaced refugees, and 430,000 more flee to Albania and Macedonia, where NATO sets up overcrowded “tent cities” and aid. To stop Balkan regional instability, NATO launches air strikes against Serb forces in Kosovo and Yugoslavia (Operation Allied Force, 23 March–10 June 1999), with UN, NATO, and EU sanctions. UN support is tacit, given Russian–Chinese hostility to international military actions in the internal affairs of UN members.

3–25 April 1999 A NATO Summit in Washington on the alliance's 50th anniversary reconfirms NATO's "Open Door" policy on future enlargements. Aspirants' membership is strengthened by Membership Action Plans (MAPs) in six-month cycles of reform assistance. NATO's revised Strategic Concept redefines five security roles in the post-Cold War world based on NATO's Washington Treaty and the UN Charter: (1) Euro-Atlantic security and "out-of-area" missions; (2) transatlantic political-military consultation on each member's vital interests; (3) deterrence and common defense against threats to NATO allies; (4) Euro-Atlantic, case-by-case consensus on crisis management for regional security and peacekeeping; and (5) NATO-partners joint security and peacekeeping in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), as well as political-security cooperation with the Mediterranean Dialogue states (Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia). NATO-WEU-EU will form a joint European security pillar in the European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) for EU operations, using NATO assets. NATO's Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI) will improve multinational operations, mobility, and combat readiness, while the NATO Weapons of Mass Destruction Centre (WMD-Centre) will integrate intelligence on nonproliferation and arms control.

28 April–20 May 1999 The UN High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) states that in only one month one million ethnic Kosovar Albanian refugees fled Kosovo, with 500,000 refugees going to Albania, 250,000 to Macedonia, and 62,000 to Yugoslavia's Montenegro. NATO supports UNHCR, building 13 main refugee camps and distributing 13,500 tons of humanitarian aid.

End May 1999 NATO's 30,000 air sorties blast Yugoslav forces, with few civilian casualties. NATO's KFOR deploys 48,000 men from 6 allies and 18 partners (Argentina, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Latvia, Lithuania, Morocco, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UAE, Ukraine, and the United States). Milošević is indicted as a war criminal by the UN International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

June–July 1999 NATO's KFOR troops increase to 60,000 men, while 727,000 refugees quickly repatriate from Albania and Macedonia.

KFOR provides food aid from international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), but paradoxically also must protect ethnic Kosovar Serbs (10 percent of local population) from retaliatory killings by Kosovar Albanians.

4 June 1999 NATO Secretary-General Solana is appointed the first EU High-Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy.

10–19 June 1999 President Milošević agrees to withdraw Yugoslav forces from Kosovo, which is soon occupied by NATO's KFOR peacekeepers under UN Security Council Resolution 1244 and the UN Interim Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). Pro-Yugoslav SFOR Russian troops leave Bosnia to dash into Kosovo, forcing KFOR to include them by 19 June. NATO's KFOR oversees security, aid, war crimes searches, reconstruction, and repatriation of a million Kosovar Albanians.

14 June 1999 The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe sends experts to implement Kosovo's peace plan with NATO, as well as four missions in Albania, Bosnia, Croatia, and Macedonia.

July 1999 NATO's KFOR repairs vital infrastructure, bridges, and water and power supply lines while assisting the UN, EU, and OSCE in forming a new civil police force in Kosovo and in disarming unexploded ordnance and minefields along the northern Albanian border.

30 July 1999 The European Union Summit in Cologne creates a South-Eastern Europe Stability Pact to regenerate the entire Balkan region with political, social, and economic development.

August–October 1999 British Defense Minister Lord George Robertson becomes NATO Secretary-General, while Solana remains EU High-Commissioner of Foreign Policy.

19 August 1999 The United States and Russia affirm that the 1972 ABM Treaty banning anti-missile defense systems remains the cornerstone of East–West strategic stability. By mid-2001 the U.S. will abolish the ABM Treaty after signing a new U.S.–Russian strategic arms reduction accord.

September–December 1999 KFOR's Multi-National Brigades from 21 nations and 49,000 troops secure a tense multi-ethnic peace in

Kosovo while confronting Albanian Kosovar retaliatory ethnic cleansing of gypsies and Serbs, with daily clashes in the divided city of Mitroviça.

22 September 1999 NATO's joint multinational Corps North-East for defense and peacekeeping from Denmark, Germany, and Poland is inaugurated in Stettin/Szczecin, Poland.

24 September 1999 After Islamic fundamentalist guerrillas from Chechnya attack inside Russia, President Yeltsin and Premier Vladimir Putin launch an invasion of the secessionist state. In a few weeks Chechnya is reconquered and reannexed to Russia, despite continuing insurgency.

30 September 1999 New NATO Joint Headquarters Southwest (JHQ-Southwest, under Allied Forces Southern Europe) in Madrid marks Spain's reentry into NATO's integrated military. Other headquarters opened are JHQ-Southeast (in Izmir, Turkey) and JHQ-South Central (in Larissa, Greece).

27 October 1999 NATO's SFOR "Operation Harvest" in Bosnia buys back illegal weapons.

3 November 1999 U.S. General Joseph W. Ralston, Air Force Chief of Staff, succeeds General Wesley K. Clark as NATO Supreme Allied Commander-Europe (SACEUR).

10 November 1999 There is increased cooperation between NATO's 19 members and 25 EAPC partner countries in 2000–2002 through a 44-country action plan in civil emergency planning, defense planning, budgeting, and crisis management.

17 November 1999 NATO's KFOR cooperates with international organizations, NGOs, and the UN Interim Administration in Kosovo to distribute food and fuel in "Exercise Shelter Express."

Late 1999 NATO, the United States, the EU, Japan, and Russia successfully preempt a feared world computer meltdown from the "Y2K"/millennium bug, a software glitch that it is feared could stop storage after 2000.

1999–2000 The 1995 Dayton Peace Accords authorize NATO-led SFOR forces in Bosnia to investigate and arrest Serb, Croat, and Bos-

nian officials indicted by the UN International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia for war crimes during the Yugoslav civil wars. There are few arrests, with Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadžić and General Ratko Mladić in hiding until 2006.

February 2000 “CMX-CRISEX 2000” is the first joint NATO/WEU crisis-management exercise.

1 February–20 March 2000 NATO’s annual major military Exercise Adventure Express in northern Norway trains forces from 12 allies in severe winter conditions.

2 February 2000 At the annual “Wehrkunde” Security Conference in Munich, Germany, NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson outlines the lessons learned in Kosovo and the need for European allies to improve their military capabilities within NATO.

Early February 2000 Kosovar Albanian ethnic attacks on Serbs and in the divided city of Mitroviça are followed by nonviolent demonstrations against KFOR’s defense of the Serbs.

15 February 2000 The death of Croatian dictator Franjo Tudjman prompts local democratization and closer ties with NATO, seeking to join the partnership in 2000 and later NATO (2008) and EU as well.

15 February–15 March 2000 NATO–Russian relations resume after the Moscow visit of NATO’s Secretary-General Lord Robertson to President Putin. Russia had opposed NATO’s Kosovo War against Yugoslavia and had frozen relations with NATO until 15 March 2000.

17 February–1 March 2000 NATO conducts its annual antisubmarine warfare (ASW) “Exercise Dogfish” in the Ionian Sea with 11 allied navies.

1 March 2000 Ukraine strengthens its ties with NATO by agreeing on Partnership for Peace exercises, Open Skies Treaty overflights, defense reforms, and civil emergency disaster relief.

6 March 2000 NATO-led SFOR and military officials of two rival Bosnian entities (the Bosnian and Croat Federation and the Republika Srpska) agree on cyclical, 15 percent annual reductions of Bosnian forces between 1999 and 2005, until a smaller combined national army can be formed after 2005.

16 March 2000 NATO's 45 Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) countries cooperate on common policies for export controls and tracing small arms and light weapons (SALW).

18 March 2000 NATO's allies and five partners conduct the annual "INTEX 2000 International Warning and Detection Exercises" to exchange information on radioactive, chemical, and other hazards and practice interoperable emergency procedures between NATO and national warning centers.

19 March–10 April 2000 NATO's "Exercise Dynamic Response 2000" deploys Strategic Reserve Forces to Kosovo to demonstrate rapid operational readiness to reinforce NATO-led KFOR peacekeeping forces in maintaining peace in the Balkans. NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson's report, *Kosovo One Year On*, urges peaceful cohabitation among rival ethnic inhabitants.

31 March 2000 International donors and the EU donate 2.4 million euros to the Balkans Stability Pact.

14–18 April 2000 Russia's parliament ratifies Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty II (START II) and the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty.

18 April 2000 EuroCorps (Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, and Spain) starts its first operational command as a six-month rotational command of NATO's KFOR forces in Kosovo.

3 May 2000 General Clark is succeeded as SACEUR and Commander-in-Chief (CINC) of the U.S. European Command (EUCOM) by General Joseph W. Ralston (Air Force), previously vice-chair of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

9–10 May 2000 Croatia is able to join NATO's Partnership for Peace and Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) because of its domestic reforms, support of NATO on the Dayton Peace Accords, improved relations with Bosnia, return of Serb refugees, and cooperation with the ICTY. Croatia is now a candidate for full membership in the EU and is a NATO aspirant.

10 May 2000 The NATO Caucasus Networking Accord promotes political-regional stability and information exchange among Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia.

17 May 2000 The Vilnius Group seeks NATO membership by 2002 for all 10 NATO aspirants (Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Macedonia).

20 May–10 June 2000 The NATO “Exercise Dynamic Mix” in the Mediterranean by NATO’s Southern Region (AFSOUTH) practices dealing simultaneously with a crisis and humanitarian operations.

22 May 2000 NATO’s Weapons of Mass Destruction Centre opens at NATO Headquarters in Brussels to coordinate nonproliferation, arms control, and joint intelligence.

29 May–10 June 2000 The NATO–Partners exercise “Cooperative Banners” is conducted in Scandinavia with 16 allies and partners for interoperable naval, land, and air forces “out-of-area” peacekeeping.

7 June 2000 NATO and the UN reject allegations by Amnesty International that NATO violated the laws of war in Kosovo, in which between 488 and 527 civilians were killed. Chief Prosecutor Carla Del Ponte of the ICTY confirms to the UN Security Council that NATO did not deliberately target civilians during its bombing missions. NATO condemns Albanian insurgent attacks in Macedonia.

19–20 June 2000 The EU Feira Summit in Portugal strengthens the common European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), crisis management through capability goals and EU use of NATO assets.

3 July 2000 NATO increases partnership assistance to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzia, and Uzbekistan to combat Islamic terrorism, drug trafficking, and arms smuggling in Central Asia.

1 September 2000 NATO insists on allied consultation over the U.S. development of a national missile defense (NMD) against limited nuclear missile strikes from “rogue states.”

16 September 2000 The CIS Collective Peacekeeping Force is formed.

19 September 2000 The first NATO–EU meeting on common strategic interests and “Headline Goals” is held.

21–22 September 2000 At the annual NATO Review Conference in Berlin, NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson, NATO ambassadors,

senior officials, and experts work on NATO's post-Cold War agenda, which focuses on Kosovo, Bosnia, NATO-Russian relations, NATO's second enlargement, NATO-EU cooperation, NATO-partners cooperation, NATO defense capabilities, and the U.S. NMD.

October 2000–January 2001 NATO transfers command of SFOR and KFOR in the Balkans from Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) in Brussels to Allied Forces South (AFSOUTH) Regional Command in Naples, to allow SHAPE to focus on strategic issues.

20 October 2000 NATO's EAPC creates an International Risk Assessment Network for Cold War Facilities and Environmental Legacies in 13 countries.

10 November 2000 After years of expulsion, Yugoslavia rejoins the OCSE as its 55th member.

21 November 2000 At the Capabilities Commitment Conference in Brussels, defense ministers of the EU and its partners pledge substantial forces for the EU "Headline Goals" of the EU Helsinki Summit held in December 1999, to deploy more than 60,000 EU troops for crisis management by 2003.

22 November 2000 NATO stresses the fundamental role in "the European security equation" of Turkey and five other non-EU European states, including them in the European defense project.

30 November 2000 NATO condemns the Albanian insurgency in the Presevo Valley of Serbia.

7 December 2000 An EU Summit in Nice, France, strengthens the ESDP and EU-NATO defense ties.

10–15 January 2001 NATO's Committee of Chiefs of Military Medical Services (COMEDS) rejects health risk allegations about depleted uranium munitions from the 1999 Kosovo War.

25 January–April 2001 NATO's Maintenance and Supply Agency (NAMSA) helps destroy Albania's and Moldova's antipersonnel mines and munitions.

18 February 2001 NATO's "Exercise Relieve Discomfort" provides humanitarian assistance in the Caribbean after tropical hurricanes hit Curaçao island.

27 February 2001 NATO, the UN, the EU, the OSCE, and the UN-HCR act in southern Serbia's demilitarized ground safety zone (GSZ) and Presevo Valley to stop Kosovar Albanian insurgency.

14 March–24 May 2001 NATO, with the support of the UN, EU, OSCE, and UNHCR, allows the conditional return of the Yugoslav army to the GSZ, after NATO had brokered on 12 March a local cease-fire between Yugoslavs and Albanians.

19 March 2001 High-Representative for Bosnia–Herzegovina Ambassador Wolfgang Petritsch and NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson reject the Bosnian-Croats' plan to withdraw from the Bosnian Federation government to create a third (Croat) Bosnian entity.

19–26 March 2001 NATO's 19 allies and 27 partners condemn renewed Albanian insurgency in Macedonia and reinforce security by deploying additional troops to KFOR to patrol the Kosovo-Macedonian border and support the Red Cross on humanitarian missions in the Balkans.

24 April 2001 Israel is the first Mediterranean partner to sign a joint security accord with NATO.

28–29 April 2001 NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson condemns Albanian insurgents for killing Macedonian security forces near the city of Tetovo in the Albanian-inhabited west.

May–June 2001 NATO and the international community condemn repeated attacks by ethnic Albanian secessionist insurgents and their occupation of towns and villages in north Macedonia.

1 May 2001 NATO allies are concerned by U.S. President George W. Bush's "unilateralist" foreign policy. NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson supports U.S. policies on missile defense and challenges to global security, and pledges to consult with allies.

11–12 May 2001 NATO's KFOR in Kosovo seizes the largest cache of heavy weapons being sent to ethnic Albanian guerrillas in Serbia's Presevo Valley.

11–22 June 2001 NATO conducts its first partnership “Exercise Co-operative Partner 2001” with the ex-Soviet Republic of Georgia on naval, amphibious, and land training in humanitarian assistance.

12–13 June 2001 NATO participates in Zagreb, Croatia, in a “Working Table on Security Issues” of the EU's Stability Pact on South-Eastern Europe (Balkans), including ex-enemy Yugoslavia.

20 June–26 September 2001 Macedonia asks NATO to deploy 3,000 men in “Operation Essential Harvest” to disarm ethnic Albanian insurgents of the National Liberation Army after the 5 July cease-fire and 13 August constitutional reforms accord is reached among all parties.

29 June 2001–February 2004 NATO destroys Albania's 1.6 million antipersonnel mines.

26 July 2001 NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson, EU High-Representative for Foreign and Security Policy Solana, and OSCE Chairman Mircea Geoana visit Macedonia.

11 September 2001 Al-Qaeda Islamic fundamentalist terrorists headed by Osama bin Laden and backed by the Taliban Islamic regime of Afghanistan hijack four civilian airplanes, destroying the World Trade Center in New York and hitting the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., resulting in some 3,000 deaths. NATO's special meeting declares full allied support for the U.S. under Article V on collective defense against terrorism. Russia, as a partner, joins on 13 September.

19 September 2001 Macedonia requests a follow-up NATO mission to “Operation Essential Harvest” for additional security for national authorities implementing constitutional reforms.

26 September 2001–16 December 2002 NATO mandates Task Force “Amber Fox” as NATO's second mission in Macedonia, replacing NATO's “Operation Essential Harvest” after its mission was extended four times at Macedonia's request to maintain local security and peace.

October 2001–Spring 2002 With NATO logistical support, a United States–Great Britain–France coalition attacks Al-Qaeda and Taliban

bases in Afghanistan, defeating them in spring 2002 and putting the anti-Taliban Northern Coalition in power, but Osama bin Laden evades capture.

9 October 2001–16 May 2002 In a historical first, following a U.S. request, NATO sends seven E-3A Airborne Early-Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) aircraft from Geilenkirchen Air Base in Germany to the United States for homeland security against terrorism, in “Operation Eagle Assist.” NATO’s Standing Naval Force-Mediterranean (STANAVFORMED) is deployed to the Eastern Mediterranean on antiterrorism protection of sea traffic in “Operation Active Endeavour.”

1 January 2002 UN International Stabilization Force in Afghanistan (ISAF) peacekeepers arrive.

28 January 2002 Senior U.S. officials brief NATO on international terrorism, while NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson stresses that modernization of NATO armed forces must meet new threats, like terrorism, if NATO wants to remain relevant. NATO allies and Russia reiterate their commitment to fight terrorism in Afghanistan and anywhere in the world.

15–16 March 2002 An EU Summit in Barcelona offers to replace NATO’s Task Force “Amber Fox.”

9–10 April 2002 NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson discusses security in Washington, D.C., with President George W. Bush, Vice President Richard Cheney, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld.

17 May 2002 A common NATO–EU defense forum called “New Defence Agenda” is created for political decision-makers, governments, industry analysts, and the wider European public.

18 July 2002 U.S. Marine General James L. Jones replaces General Ralston as NATO SACEUR.

October 2002 NATO helps destroy munitions and missiles and cleans up military sites in Georgia.

21–22 November 2002 A NATO Summit in Prague with its allies and partners strengthens security ties with Russia. A second enlargement includes Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and

Slovenia as new members, completing Europe's unification after 50 years of Cold War.

29 November 2002 NATO destroys 133,000 tons ammunition and 1.5 million weapons in Ukraine.

16 December 2002 The EU–NATO Framework is created for closer political-military cooperation.

1 January 2003 The European Union Police Mission arrives in Bosnia.

15 January 2003 Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) Group North in the Netherlands becomes an international NATO military headquarters, with six members (the Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, and Poland).

February–August 2003 NATO escorts shipping in the Mediterranean and Straits of Gibraltar.

6 February–3 May 2003 NATO's "Operation Display Deterrence" provides defensive aid against an Islamic threat to Turkey by deploying AWACS aircraft at Konya airbase, as well as Patriot air-defense missiles and chemical and biological defenses at Diyarbakir and Batman.

March 2003 NATO assists Turkey with civil emergency planning for humanitarian emergencies, refugee inflows, or chemical-biological attacks in case of a new war with Iraq.

A U.S.-led coalition attacks Iraq in the Second Gulf War, rapidly conquering the country and overthrowing Saddam Hussein's totalitarian régime. The coalition receives post-facto, reluctant support from the UN, NATO, and the EU in rebuilding Iraq, but no Iraqi WMDs are found and a long, bloody insurgency harasses the coalition's occupation of the country until 2009 at least.

31 March–December 2003 NATO–EU cooperation in Macedonia takes the form of EU's EURFOR peacekeepers taking over "Operation Allied Harmony" (NATO), renamed "Operation Concordia."

April–May 2003 The United States assembles a coalition, the Iraq Stabilization Force.

2 April 2003 NATO supports Azerbaijan in clearing unexploded ammunition.

10 April 2003 NATO stresses to Bosnia that military reform is prerequisite to ties with NATO.

12–13 May 2003 The UN mandates the Congo International Force (MINUCI), led by France.

13 May 2003 The first meetings of the NATO–Russia Council take place in Moscow.

14–15 May 2003 NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson supports Caucasus regional stability.

20 May 2003 Serbia seeks to become a NATO partner and begins to arrest war criminals.

3–4 June 2003 NATO foreign ministers in Madrid debate new missions in Afghanistan and Iraq.

11 June 2003 NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson and Georgia's President Eduard Shevardnadze inaugurate NATO's Internet "Virtual Silk Highway" to the Caucasus and Central Asia.

12–20 June 2003 NATO approves historic reform of NATO Commands, with NATO's Allied Command Atlantic in Norfolk, Virginia, United States, renamed Allied Command Transformation (ACT).

30 June 2003 In London NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson outlines five cooperation areas between NATO and its seven Mediterranean Dialogue partners: antiterrorism, countering weapons of mass destruction, crisis management, defense reform, and military cooperation.

2 July 2003 Russian troops withdraw from the NATO-led peacekeeping force in Kosovo.

23 July 2003 Greece and Turkey agree on confidence-building measures in exercise schedules.

29 July 2003 An EU–NATO joint partnership on security in the Western Balkans is formed to end conflicts.

31 July 2003 NATO destroys 11.6 thousand tons of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in Albania.

11–20 August 2003 NATO provides security around Kabul in Afghanistan, in the alliance's first mission for its 5,500-strong ISAF peacekeeping force beyond the Euro–Atlantic area.

1 September 2003 NATO Allied Command Europe is renamed Allied Command Operations.

22 September 2003 NATO appoints Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaap de Hoop Scheffer as Secretary-General of NATO, to succeed Lord Robertson starting on 1 January 2004.

7–10 October 2003 In Romania, 1,700 emergency personnel from 19 NATO and partner states train in “Exercise Dacia 2003” against a terrorist radiological “dirty bomb.”

8 October 2003 The NATO Response Force opens new headquarters in Brunssum, the Netherlands.

23 October 2003 NATO's new experimentation Joint Warfare Centre opens at Stavanger, Norway.

1 December 2003 NATO's new Multinational Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear Defence Battalion becomes operational.

December 2003–June 2004 NATO-led SFOR peacekeepers in Bosnia cut forces to 7,000 men, while expanding the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Kabul, Afghanistan.

22 January 2004 At the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, NATO Secretary-General de Hoop Scheffer restates the strategic partnership between NATO and the European Union.

29 January–7 February 2004 On a visit to Washington, D.C., Paris, and Berlin, NATO Secretary-General de Hoop Scheffer urges France, Germany, and the United States to overcome their differences on the Second Gulf War and work together on common post–Cold War security threats.

12 February 2004 Nine countries provide NATO with strategic sea-lift capability for rapidly deploying forces through an accord with NATO's Maintenance and Supply Agency (NAMSA).

19–20 February 2004 NATO assists Greece in protecting the Athens Olympics.

23–25 February 2004 Russia protests NATO’s AWACS deployment to Latvia and Lithuania.

2–29 March 2004 NATO officially enlarges its allies to 26, extending its nuclear and air space umbrella to Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

8 March 2004 The first NATO–Russian joint computer-simulated tactical missile defense exercise is conducted.

11 March 2004 NATO condemns Islamic terrorist bombings in Madrid, Spain.

16 March 2004 NATO expands “Operation Active Endeavour” to the entire Mediterranean region.

19–22 March 2004 Renewed anti-Serb violence in Kosovo by the Albanian majority pushes NATO to redeploy troops from the operational and strategic reserve to help KFOR quell strife.

April–May 2004 NATO begins developing a ground surveillance system for operations, to be ready by spring 2005.

2 April 2004 The first meeting of the NATO–Russia Council “at 27” issues a declaration against terrorism.

22 June 2004 The Iraqi government requests training and technical assistance from NATO.

27 June 2004 NATO’s Joint-Force Command (JFC) in Naples assumes control of NATO’s Response Force (NRF), with its 20,000 troops—land, sea, and air—deployable on short notice.

28–29 June 2004 The NATO Summit in Istanbul resolves to build transatlantic unity, expand peacekeeping in Afghanistan, improve intelligence-sharing and antiterrorism defenses, and train Iraqi troops, and adds to the Partnership for Peace both Mediterranean Dialogue and Middle Eastern states (Istanbul Cooperation Initiative).

12 July 2004 NATO Secretary-General de Hoop Scheffer urges NATO and EU to expand their strategic partnership beyond the Balkans.

23 July–August 2004 EuroCorps leads NATO’s ISAF in Afghanistan to protect local elections.

15 August 2004 NATO's ISAF in Afghanistan airlifts the Afghan army in Herat.

27 August 2004 NATO Secretary-General de Hoop Scheffer strongly condemns Chechen terrorist bombing of two Russian passenger aircraft. NATO–Russia joint action against terrorism.

20 October–10 November 2004 Tajikistan boosts support for NATO's ISAF mission in Afghanistan, which is extended to 2007.

23 November 2004 NATO issues a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Great Britain, France, and Italy for new Italian SICRAL satellite communications in 2005–2020 for allied forces.

2 December 2004 NATO ends the SFOR mission in Bosnia, replaced by the EU's follow-on European Force (EUFOR). A residual SFOR remains to hunt war criminals and train Bosnians.

8 December 2004 Russia joins the NATO Mediterranean antiterror Operation Active Endeavour.

13 December 2004–July 2005 NATO's Allied Command Transformation (ATC) creates new multinational Centres of Excellence (COEs) at Kalkar in Germany (January 2005), Ankara in Turkey, and Stavanger in Norway (July 2005), for NATO and partners' antiterrorism training.

2005 NATO donates bridges to Indonesia after the Indian Ocean tsunami kills 240,000 people.

February 2005 NATO plans the largest single demilitarization effort in the world in the Ukraine.

9–10 February 2005 NATO Foreign Ministerials in Nice, France, expand ISAF peacekeeping in Afghanistan from eastern and northern to western regions, plus action in Iraq and other parts of the Middle East.

16 March 2005 NATO's Theatre Missile Defence (TMD) Program becomes the centerpiece of new Active Layered Theatre Ballistic Missile Defence capability, to be developed by 2010.

29 March–5 April 2005 NATO Secretary-General de Hoop Scheffer holds talks on global security cooperation and information sharing with Australia, New Zealand, and Japan.

April 2005–March 2006 The NATO–EU first “out-of-area” humanitarian intervention airlifts 3,000 UN peacekeepers (from Gambia, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, and South Africa) of the African Union (AU) into Darfur, Sudan, and Chad to protect secessionist refugees from ethnic cleansing by pro-Sudanese government Arab militias. NATO’s Allied Movement Coordination Centre in Europe and the European Airlift Centre support the AU Mission in Sudan (AMIS), AU’s Joint Forward-Based Movement Cell, and Deployed Integrated Task Force.

21 April 2005 Russia joins NATO’s partnership status of forces agreement (SOFA) to regulate movement of NATO forces in Russia and of Russian troops in alliance territories.

26 April 2005 NATO and partners civil emergency officials agree on antiterrorist measures.

22 June 2005 The United Arab Emirates joins NATO’s Istanbul Cooperation Initiative Partnership.

September–November 2005 Hurricanes Katrina and Rita in the Gulf of Mexico devastate the United States and New Orleans, with more than 1,200 dead, forcing the United States to request NATO relief (food, medicine, and logistics). NATO’s EADRCC airlifts from Europe 100 tons of emergency supplies from 27 allies and partners, but food aid spoils due to U.S. bureaucratic snafus that quarantine non-U.S. food.

Mid-September 2005 The NATO-led ISAF airlifts 1,200 Afghan National Police for national elections.

4–6 October 2005 NATO’s Secretary-General and NAC’s 26 ambassadors tour Afghanistan.

8 October 2005–February 2006 NATO’s EADRCC airlifts from Germany and Turkey tons of supplies to millions of homeless in northern Pakistan after a devastating earthquake on 8 October.

3–9 November 2005 NATO Secretary-General de Hoop Scheffer promotes NATO–OSCE cooperation both in and outside of Europe, with financing from the UN Office on Drugs and Crime to fight terrorism.

Fall–December 2005 NATO launches an Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) for security cooperation with Caucasus partners Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia.

December 2005 The NATO–Russia Council provides antinarcotics training for Afghan and Central Asian states. NATO donates \$120 million in arms and equipment to Iraq’s army in 2005, training 1,000 officers in Iraq and 500 more in Europe.

30 January 2006 Croatia reaffirms its desire to join both NATO and the EU by 2007.

9–10 February 2006 NATO–Mediterranean partners hold their first security cooperation conference in the Sicilian town of Taormina, Italy, planning a 25,000-strong NATO expeditionary force.

27–28 April 2006 NATO’s Foreign Ministers Meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria, agrees to build global strategic partnerships, not a “global alliance” with non-NATO partners in Europe, the Afghanistan, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and South Korea that support NATO peacekeeping.

Spring 2006 Despite UN, NATO, and EU pressures, Serbia-Montenegro does not arrest Bosnian-Serb leaders Karadžić and Mladić for the UN ICTY. EU freezes membership talks with Belgrade.

May 2006 Serbia-Montenegro breaks up into two separate states. Serbia remains isolated abroad.

4 May 2006 Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Aso at the NATO Council pledges partnership on Afghanistan and Iraq, by building upon the NATO–Japanese strategic dialogue since the 1990s.

5 July 2006 NATO calls on North Korea to stop its proliferation of ballistic missiles, which threaten the region and the international community.

28–31 July 2006 NATO authorizes ISAF to expand its area of operations into southern Afghanistan, assuming command from the U.S.-led coalition.

July–August 2006 After Hezbollah guerrillas in Lebanon attack an Israeli patrol across the border, Israel starts a one-month air war, de-

stroying Lebanese infrastructure, while soldiers destroy Hezbollah bases in South Lebanon. Hezbollah launches thousands of missiles at Israel.

July–September 2006 At the Rome international summit in Italy offers 3,000 soldiers for an international peacekeeping force from either NATO or a joint EU–UN mission to replace Israel and Hezbollah in South Lebanon. The UN Security Council is undecided, and the United States, Great Britain, and Germany decline to send troops. Kept out of the Middle East “quartet,” by September Italy’s troops match France’s 2,000 men in an enlarged UNIFIL peacekeeping force of 15,000 troops.

August 2006 NATO accredits the Centre of Excellence in Defence against Terrorism in Ankara, Turkey.

6 September 2006 NATO Secretary-General de Hoop Scheffer and President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan sign a bilateral Framework for Enduring Partnership Co-operation for Afghanistan’s independence, territorial integrity, defense reform, and interoperability with NATO.

9 September–November 2006 NATO accredits a new Civil-Military Co-operation Centre of Excellence in Budel, the Netherlands, to enhance stabilization missions in the Balkans.

16 October 2006 NATO opens the Intelligence Fusion Centre in Support of NATO in Molesworth, Great Britain, to share global intelligence among NATO allies and partners. NATO and Israel sign an Individual Cooperation Programme (ICP) under the enhanced Mediterranean Dialogue Partnership, with participation in NATO’s maritime “Operation Active Endeavour” against terrorism.

23–26 October 2006 The NATO–Russian “Exercise Lazio 2006” is conducted in Montelibretti, Italy, with emergency response teams from Austria, Croatia, Hungary, Italy, Romania, and Russia practicing dealing with the consequences of a simulated radiological “dirty bomb” attack in Italy.

24 October 2006 NATO’s ISAF, in its largest combat in Afghanistan, defeats Talibani insurgents.

28 November 2006 At a NATO Summit in Riga, Latvia, on post–Cold War security, ISAF assumes complete peacekeeping control of

Afghanistan, including U.S. forces; and NATO signals its readiness for a third enlargement to include Albania, Croatia, and Macedonia, plus joining the Partnership for Peace membership are Bosnia, Montenegro, and Serbia; creates a Training Cooperation Initiative with partners in the Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) and Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI) Middle East partners; and strengthens global strategic partnership with 18 non-NATO partners against new common threats like terrorism, drugs, arms trading, illicit diamonds, and cyber attacks.

9 January 2007 NATO–Chinese informal talks on world security (first begun in October 2002) take place.

12 January 2007 NATO–Japanese talks on bilateral strategic partnership take place, resisting proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, as in North Korea.

17–29 January 2007 Secretary-General de Hoop Scheffer urges a tighter NATO–EU Strategic Partnership in Afghanistan and Kosovo, renewed NATO combat operations in Afghanistan, new Strategic **Partnerships** worldwide, joint military capabilities, and a 2008 NATO Summit in Bucharest on future enlargements.

23 January 2007 NATO and France certify the Air Operations Centre of Excellence in France. NATO and Pakistan call for stronger cooperation on world peace and a stable Afghanistan, where NATO's 32,000-strong ISAF peacekeeping force supports local reconstruction and battles Talibani insurgents infiltrating via the Pakistan–Afghanistan border. A joint Afghan–ISAF–Pakistani intelligence center has opened in Kabul. Bilateral NATO–New Zealand security talks are conducted on a future strategic partnership and joint cooperation in Afghanistan.

24 January 2007 NATO Secretary-General de Hoop Scheffer and new UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon visit NATO Headquarters, calling for closer NATO–UN peacekeeping and institutional cooperation, as both institutions share similar global peace goals and NATO forces increasingly operate under UN mandates, as in Kosovo and Afghanistan.

26 January 2007 NATO foreign ministers agree to increase civilian and military aid, as well as troops, to boost reconstruction in Afghanistan.

29 January 2007 NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer calls for a tighter NATO–EU Strategic partnership in Kosovo and Afghanistan, joint military capabilities, and political dialogue.

31 January 2007 Bilateral NATO–Israeli security talks take place in the context of enhancement of the political dimension of the Mediterranean Dialogue, decided on at the June 2004 NATO Istanbul Summit.

27 February 2007 Allied Joint-Force Command Naples is NATO's center for new partners and their integration into NATO and EU, following the 2006 NATO Riga Summit, invited Bosnia, Montenegro, and Serbia to join the 23 states in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC).

28 February 2007 NATO and Russian military experts stress NATO–Russian defense cooperation.

2 March 2007 NATO–African Union talks are conducted on long-term cooperation in Sudan's strife-torn Darfur.

6 March–Fall 2007 NATO's ISAF fights Talibani insurgents infiltrating from Pakistan's Tribal Territories, who launch guerrilla attacks and suicide bombings in southern and eastern Afghanistan, while NATO air raids provoke local protests over high civilian casualties. NATO's Operation Achilles in the spring is the largest ISAF ground operation in southern Afghanistan, followed in the summer by Operation Hammer ("Chakush") in Helmand Province.

29 March 2007 NATO's Supreme Allied Commander-Europe, General John Craddock, visits NATO Training Mission-Iraq (NTM-I) in Baghdad and Joint Staff College and Iraqi Military Academy of Ar Rustamiyah (IMAR), which trains hundreds of Iraqi officer cadets.

April 2007 NATO members agree that the United States and Europe must be protected from missile threats from Islamic Iran and North Korea, placing 10 U.S. interceptors in Poland and radar in the Czech Republic. Russia disagrees with NATO that this would not affect their bilateral strategic balance. The allies reiterate their intention to ratify the CFE Adapted Treaty once Russia applies the decision to pull out its remaining forces in Georgia and Moldova.

May–June 2007 NATO agrees to help the African Union with a strategic airlift to Somalia of Ethiopian AU peacekeepers.

June 2007–Summer 2008 NATO repeatedly condemns Russia's opposition to a NATO Missile Defense shield in Eastern Europe and Moscow's unilateral suspension of the CFE Treaty and other arms control accords.

Fall 2007 NATO–EU airlifts hundreds of EU troops to Chad to help bolster local UN peacekeepers from the African Union (AU), which NATO had deployed since 2005 in Darfur, Sudan, and Chad to protect secessionist refugees from ethnic cleansing by the pro-Sudanese government Arab militias.

Introduction

From 1500 to 1945, the world was dominated by Europe's politics, economics, military, and colonies, but none of its rival great powers succeeded in turning the Old World into a durable, unitary European empire, despite centuries of war, imperialism, and cyclical drives for regional supremacy. European security depended both on the strength of national armies to preserve the independence of only the great powers and on the balance of power system to lessen the impact of constant war while preventing any single power from becoming the continent's imperial hegemon. Through its centuries-long subtle automatism, the balance of power kept Europe fragmented by pitting against any rising hegemon a countervailing coalition of the other great powers, until World War II brought immeasurable damage and millions of deaths. Europe was shattered and then split among hostile superpowers during the ensuing Cold War (1946–1990).

The 20th century also saw a slow, peaceful drive for a lasting, pan-European unity through two parallel trends. The European Community/Union (EC/EU) pursued a quasi-confederal, political-economic integration, while the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ensured political-military security and regional integration in both Europe and a wider transatlantic area. For 45 years the Cold War forced Europe to replace the exclusive equation of national security against everybody with the urgency of never-before-attempted collective defense institutions, to permanently connect all members' national survival to an international security architecture of shared regional identities: the U.S.-led democratic industrial West and NATO, in cooperation with the United Nations (UN).

Since World War II, the U.S.–European partnership has been based equally on the security and peace guaranteed by U.S. forces and their nuclear umbrella and on Europe's regional integration and economic

growth. This twin regional integration kept at bay both the old nationalist hatreds and the ideological-military threat of the Soviet Union (USSR), while Europe's governments and businesses embraced a semi-confederal EU as an opportunity to restore the continent's past international political-economic role, while ensuring that none of its members would become a new imperialist power. Only through close cooperation with the United States and NATO could the EU's economic growth benefit from regional security and peace within a multilayered, Euro-Atlantic security architecture.¹

Such parallel NATO-EU regional integration is even more important in the post-Cold War world, because the collapse of both Communism and the USSR released pent-up ethno-nationalisms and pushed NATO from its rigid, East-West collective defense strategy to an evolving one of regional collective security and "out-of-area" peacekeeping, such as during Yugoslavia's civil wars (1991-1995, 1998-2000). Europe's post-Cold War security architecture combined a reformed NATO (a lean, highly mobile, integrated, multinational force for both combat and peacekeeping) with widening circles of pro-Western regional security integration, encapsulating Western European states, ex-"neutrals," the Western European Union (WEU), the Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE/OSCE), and the EU, while cooperating with former Warsaw Pact enemies of Eastern Europe and former Soviet states in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C), Partnership for Peace, and Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC). In time, once they had embraced democratic values, conflict resolution, and active regional peacekeeping with the alliance, all aspirant partners joined both NATO as full allies in three historic enlargements (1999, 2002-04, and 2008) and the EU (2002-07). At the same time, a pro-NATO "European Pillar" began to emerge after the EU's absorption of the WEU (1999-2001) and the failure of French-led attempts to forge an autonomous European army out of the Franco-German Brigade (1986-1992) or European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (ESDI/P).

NATO and the EU have mutually complemented their regional policies to stabilize European security throughout the continent, addressing everything from fears of a World War III nuclear holocaust during the Cold War, to post-Cold War concerns over far-ranging, "out-of-area" regional instabilities, to Islamic fundamentalist terrorism. Since the be-

gining of the Cold War it has been impossible to set aside NATO or its current evolving transatlantic security architecture in favor of any elusive French-led or EU-based security integration. European security remains grounded even today in its tight bonds between the EU's ESDI/P and a wider NATO, as the repeated ineffectiveness of EU diplomacy and Western indecision proved in the Middle Eastern crises (Iraq, Iran) and Balkan ethno-nationalist strife. In the post-Cold War political-military vacuum, only NATO bridges the cleavages among divergent European postures (the anti-interventionism of France, Greece, and Germany versus hawkish drives by Great Britain, Italy, and the United States), with "out-of-area" peacekeeping relying on joint U.S.-European troops, such as the Implementation Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina (IFOR), the Stabilisation Force-Bosnia (SFOR), the Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR), and the Implementation and Stabilization Force in Afghanistan (ISAF).²

Europe's security has prospered since World War II, but only within the bonds of a common transatlantic identity and institutions, cementing together North America, Western and Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet states of Eurasia. NATO and the EU will continue to grow and overcome internal divisiveness, which remains the natural by-product of forging a common Western destiny replacing centuries of bloody rivalries. But although the end of the Cold War and the NATO-EU enlargements have finally made Europe whole and militarily secure, both institutions now face unsettling security dilemmas from unconventional new threats: the proliferation of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction (WMD) among rogue states (Iraq, Iran, Libya, and North Korea) and Islamic fundamentalist terrorism (such as the 11 September 2001 9/11 attacks on America by Al-Qaeda). Europe's foreign and security disarray since 2003 is the result of both the EU's desperate resolve to pursue at all cost even fruitless diplomatic negotiations and NATO's combat missions beyond the Balkans and Afghanistan. These issues came to the fore during the Second Gulf War in 2003, when bitter divisions within NATO and EU prevented both organizations from finding a single voice on the Iraqi threat. The U.S. coalition's preemptive strike to destroy Saddam Hussein's régime included most NATO-EU members (Great Britain, Italy initially, Spain initially, Poland, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, and Eastern European allies) but was rejected by antiwar Western opponents (France, Germany,

Belgium, Greece, Austria, Sweden, Luxembourg, and split public opinions in Spain, Italy, and Great Britain) backed at the UN by Russia and China, who argued that UN inspectors needed time to disarm Iraq's alleged WMDs.

Despite recurrent bouts of European divisiveness on international security, the political consensus remains anchored in comprehensive, pan-European security integration and peacekeeping, based on U.S.–NATO leadership and NATO–EU partnership, rather than on dreams of an improbable future EU defense structure.³

NATO AND EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY: ALLIANCE DEFENSE AND COLD WAR TENSIONS, 1945–1989

Europe's history from 1500 to 1945 was marked by two conflicting trends: imperial unification through war and national independence through regional fragmentation. On the one hand, the continent's war-driven, imperialist unification was attempted cyclically by leading hegemonic powers: Austria-Spain's Empire of Charles V and Philip II (1517–1600s); France under Louis XIV (1640s–1713) and Napoleon (1790s–1815); and Germany in both world wars (1914–1918, 1939–1945). Their territorial wartime successes soon sparked unplanned but unavoidable supranational centralization at the regional level of all conquered lands. On the other hand, Europe's ethno-nationalist, political-economic mosaic was preserved by the balance of power's automatic, antihegemonic mechanisms, which foiled imperialist unification and preserved national independence, although only at the 11th hour did Europe's rival great powers finally rally together against common threats. In the end, 450 years of struggle for continental mastery failed to either permanently revive the myth of ancient Rome's universal rule over Europe or preserve unchallenged the existing fragile balance between rival nation-states (each a rival, sovereign, centralizing great power in the political-economic and military fields). Such an impossible strain finally destroyed both the balance of power and the European great powers' global economic-colonial reach in World War II, while making a mockery of the old nationalist-centered security of European states. The end of Europe's global sway and its division into rival ideological-military

camps during the Cold War dramatically fulfilled predictions since the 1800s of future continental doom under the heels of the rising Russian and American “semibarbarian” superpowers.

Yet amid old nationalist hatreds, a different vision slowly emerged in the 20th century of a peaceful, consensual European integration. After World War I, Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi was the first to propose a “pan-European movement.” In 1929–1931, French and German Foreign Ministers Aristide Briand and Gustav Stresemann together forged plans for a semi-confederal European Union to reconcile the old Franco-German enemies. During World War II, the 1943 *Ventotene Manifesto* of imprisoned Italian anti-Fascists Altiero Spinelli and Franco Rossi called upon the Allies to defeat Adolf Hitler’s totalitarian unification of the continent (the 1940–1944 autarchic “Festung Europa”), but to preserve Nazism’s administrative-economic unification as the vital network to build a democratic, European political-economic federation that could overcome both European rival nationalisms and German imperialism. Spurned by the nationalist Allies, Spinelli and Rossi escaped to become partisan leaders, and their federalist ideas spurred Europeanist initiatives in 1944–1949 for military, political, and economic coordination, which resulted in the 1948 Brussels Pact and 1949 Council of Europe.

Europeanists agreed that Nazism’s yoke was the culmination of the historical regional clash of nationalism, power politics, and imperialism, which by 1945 left Europe destroyed and split under the rival external influences of the United States and the Soviet Union. The only alternative to either the old cycle of imperialist wars for European hegemony or the new humiliating demotion and dependency on the superpowers’ global policies was to forge a consensual, democratic, supranational, pan-European political-economic and security integration. This postwar Europeanist vision was supported after 1945 by U.S. Presidents Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower, who saw Europe’s political-economic and military integration as both the harbinger of a “United States of Europe” after America’s model (while stabilizing Germany within such a regional union) and an integrated European military against the USSR’s ideological-military expansionism.⁴

The Cold War’s sharp bipolar partition of Europe into rival political-ideological spheres and Anglo–French nationalist opposition to integration

(1948–1954) soon smothered these early pan-European federalist plans. Consequently, Europeanism evolved by default along two parallel, but separate, paths: on the one hand, regional political-economic integration in the form of the 1950 European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), absorbed into the 1957 European Community/Union (EC/EU) for most of Western Europe, and on the other hand, a broader, U.S.-led Western military alliance under NATO starting in 1949 (North America, Western Europe, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean), with a parallel “European Security Pillar,” including West Germany, through the 1950–1954 Pleven/Monnet Plan for a European Defence Community (EDC) and the 1948 Brussels Pact’s transformation into the Western European Union (WEU) by 1954.

In the security arena, NATO’s success as the longest peacetime military alliance was facilitated by the imminence of the Soviet threat between 1945 and the 1980s, in the form of the Red Army’s occupation of Eastern and Central Europe and East Germany in 1945; Communist satellization of Eastern Europe (1946–1949); Soviet pressures on Turkey, Greece, and Iran in 1945–1948; the 1948 Czechoslovak Communist coup; the 1948–1949 Berlin Blockade; Soviet support for the Chinese Communist Revolution; the Korean War (1950–1953); recurrent East–West regional crises over German reunification and Berlin until the 1972 Quadripartite Accord; the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962; the Arab–Israeli wars in the Middle East; the Vietnam Wars; and other conflicts in the Third World. These international crises had the potential to suddenly escalate into global clashes between the superpowers, overshadowing the constant buildup in Eastern Europe of Soviet conventional and nuclear forces (intermediate-range nuclear forces—INF). Despite East–West détente and arms control talks in the 1970s, the USSR openly prodded Western antinuclear pacifists to derail NATO’s nuclear modernization (1979–1983), undertaken in response to Soviet INF deployments between 1977 and 1985. These crises hardened Western fears that Soviet Communist expansionism in the Cold War could precipitate an all-out conventional-nuclear World War III against America and Europe. Thus, European wariness of future conflicts reinforced its political-economic integration, while forcing the United States to replace isolationism with a global doctrine of antiCommunist containment and a global U.S. alliance network that would assert America’s self-identification as a new “European” power within NATO.⁵

Isolation from world politics was both the traditional shield and the shackle overshadowing America's national interests once the country became strong enough to defend itself successfully. American independence in 1783 left U.S. foreign and security policies conditioned by the inherent military weakness of a "decolonized," immense frontier country, where the vastness of territory and abundant natural resources could not compensate for a still weak trade-industrial base and indefensible borders. Although national independence from Great Britain was achieved on the battlefield, the first U.S. president, General George Washington, knew well that only French and Spanish supplies and direct military intervention had finally secured victory. The Anglo-American War in 1812–1815 reconfirmed America's inherent military weakness and reliance on foreign threats (the Napoleonic Wars in Europe) to force to a draw the much superior British foe. Throughout the 19th century, it was the much reviled balance of power and Great Britain's Royal Navy that kept any unified European hegemonic threat away from U.S. shores and the Latin American republics (despite U.S. rhetoric in the 1823 Monroe Doctrine). President Washington's Farewell Address in 1796 promoted an enduring policy of neutral isolationism, rigidly continued by most successors through four "unchallengeable" principles, until World Wars I and II.

First, as the youngest and weakest Western nation, America's vision of itself as democratic and morally superior relied on steadfast isolation from the corrupt, reactionary European powers, whose constant wars and global colonial reach threatened the fragile United States with ideological dissension and outright invasion. America instead would be a beacon of liberty and democracy to any nation following its example and a safe harbor to all persecuted peoples washing up on its shores.

Second, U.S. economic-military vulnerability dictated selfish rejection of peacetime entangling alliances with European powers, regardless of debts of honor (France, 1783–1788) or ideological kinship (France, 1789–1815; Piedmont/Italy, 1849–1870). Otherwise America would have to join its stronger European allies in foreign wars of no import to U.S. interests, while any military reversal could imperil its own national survival.

Third, America shared Great Britain's traditional fear of a large, permanent domestic military establishment, seen as a potential threat in the hands of a reactionary government against both parliament and people

(such as the English Civil War, 1640–1660). Therefore, the United States ostensibly supported small, peacetime, professional armed forces, backed by a popular militia and volunteer forces. Yet a penny-pinching U.S. Congress never supported even a minimal professional army, leaving national defense to unorganized volunteer troops and the country's natural geographic seclusion between vast oceans (the Atlantic and Pacific) and weak neighbors (Canada and Mexico). Even when serious wars forced massive military buildups and boosted its international status as a regional power (during the Mexican–American War, 1845–1848, and the Civil War, 1861–1865), as a world power (during the Spanish–American War in 1898 and World War I), or as a superpower (since World War II), America always rapidly demobilized in each postwar period, forfeiting global influence until the Cold War.⁶

Finally, the apparent exception to isolationism was the Monroe Doctrine, with which the United States sought to protect newly independent Latin American states from any renewed European colonial intervention. Americans never considered national isolationism as excluding the weak Latin America, always seen as America's own greater backyard. But despite U.S. rhetoric, Western Hemisphere defense remained the exclusive domain of Great Britain's Royal Navy and economic hegemony, until the United States finally took over in the 1890s (through the pan-American conferences, the Theodore Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, "Dollar Diplomacy," the "Good Neighbor" policy, the Organization of American States, and the Inter-American Bank).

As a consequence of these isolationist principles, U.S. foreign policy remained strangled by self-imposed inaction and scarce military force from the 1790s though 1898 and between 1921 and 1939. Later, America's wars and global reach (1898–1921 and 1939–1945) were justified as temporary ad hoc crusades, which did not officially jettison the empty isolationist principles of yore, while still refusing to embrace its antithetical rival internationalist approach based on rational national interests (the balance of power, Realpolitik). Thus, interventions in both World Wars were disingenuously justified as supporting global peace and collective security through Idealism as a doctrine backed by international organizations (the League of Nations and United Nations), while the dangers of revamped seclusion from world affairs still lurked (neo-isolationism, the Vietnam syndrome).

Only the Cold War, unexpectedly unleashed immediately after World War II by Soviet Communist control of Eastern Europe and the threat of an even more catastrophic World War III, finally forced the United States to abandon its past complacency and reluctantly assume a permanent, active leadership of the “Free World” and to protect Europe. Twin new policies replaced the old isolationism: The Truman Doctrine’s “Containment” of Soviet expansionism in 1947 was backed by the Marshall Plan, using U.S. credits to rebuild Europe from wartime ruins and thus allow it to better defend itself against the Soviet threat. But this could hardly stop a militarily threatening USSR, given the lack of Western and U.S. forces and the deterrent of peacetime alliances exacting America’s early entry into a future war on its friends’ side. In Europe as well, many favored integration as a tightly knit, political-military structure within a broad Western defense architecture to anchor the United States to Europe and deter or repel threats by either Germany or the USSR. This became the official U.S. strategy, once the Truman Doctrine, the Vandenberg Amendment (1948), and the Korean War had codified anti-Soviet Containment and U.S. military interventionism worldwide. Military integration was pursued haltingly at the European level (in the Brussels Pact, Pleven Plan, and EDC) until the post-Cold War period. Yet it became more efficient on the transatlantic level when NATO’s slow enlargement, from 12 founding members, reached 28 states (1949—Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United States; 1952—Greece, Turkey; 1955—West Germany; 1982—Spain; 1999—the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland; 2002–2004—Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia; 2008—Albania and Croatia) and tens of partners.⁷

Initially NATO was only an intergovernmental defense alliance, too weak to protect its territory because it lacked forces, equipment, and a peacetime integrated command structure. When the Korean War threatened to spill over into Europe or even become World War III, NATO finally created a Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers-Europe (SHAPE), in 1951. Traditionally, SHAPE and NATO have been led militarily by a U.S. Supreme Allied Commander-Europe (SACEUR); and the first one, unanimously selected in 1950–1952, was popular U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had been the SACEUR of Allied forces in Europe

during World War II. The Deputy-SACEUR, traditionally a European general, was Great Britain's equally famous Field Marshal Viscount Bernard Montgomery of El Alamein. By April–June 1951 Eisenhower had activated SHAPE, NATO's new Allied Command Europe (ACE), and its subordinate headquarters: Allied Forces-Northern Europe (AFNORTH), Allied Forces-Central Europe (AFCENT), and Allied Forces-Southern Europe (AFSOUTH) for the Mediterranean. Allied defense plans for Europe were enhanced by the 1952 NATO Lisbon Summit's ambitious force goal of 90 NATO divisions, which was never attained because fears of World War III ebbed after Josef Stalin's death in 1953. Nevertheless, the successful buildup of NATO defenses reassured war-weary Europe, and General Eisenhower left in May 1952 to run for U.S. president.

NATO's peacetime, alliance-building policy truly quelled European fears of U.S. abandonment, and its effectiveness was closely tied to creating a pro-Western, neutral, rump West German state to allow permanent allied occupation forces to remain in-country as NATO defenses. But here too any meaningful supranational political-military integration collapsed due to wavering European resolve and nationalist distrust. Too weak after World War II to secure a credible, independent, national defense, the Europeans still objected to pooling their meager resources and abandoning national hostility to integration. This dichotomy in security views made it plain that, regardless of threats, no integrated European defense could succeed without U.S. leadership to provide sufficient military might for a united Western front while taming old hatreds and strengthening Europe's faltering resolve. This transatlantic bond was enshrined in the Truman Doctrine of anticommunist containment; the creation of NATO in 1949; and U.S. rearmament during the Korean War, which applied Truman's NSC-68 plan to build a World War II-style U.S. military, while globalizing containment and enlarging NATO to include Greece, Turkey, and Germany.⁸

America's post-1950 global military containment against the Soviet threat and fears of World War III turned NATO into a full-fledged, integrated, military alliance for European and Western defense, both at the conventional and tactical nuclear levels. America also secured West Germany's rearmament and integration into NATO (1950–1955), regardless of earlier pledges to the contrary extracted by the Europeans'

vehement anti-German opposition. Under U.S. leadership, NATO emerged in the 1950s as the only truly integrated Euro-Atlantic military alliance against the USSR, while preserving each member's national control and dampening old ethno-nationalist rivalries in Western Europe. (Eastern Europe's ethno-nationalist rivalries were vigorously suppressed under Soviet military hegemony and political-ideological communist harmonization.) The price of peace was enhanced European political-psychological dependency on America's nuclear umbrella after 1949 and on a global alliance network, as well as on U.S.-led "out-of-area" peacekeeping operations, such as those in the Yugoslav civil wars (1991–1995) and in Bosnia and Albania after 1995; in Kosovo in 1999; and in Afghanistan in 2001–2002. All too often NATO's partnership and fragile unity vacillated during inner crises, whenever Europeans felt that Soviet Communist threats of invasion, nuclear holocaust, or domestic subversion were decreasing (in 1953–1956, 1963–1968, 1970–1978, and 1987–1990s), when they deemed America's anticommunist crusade to be unilateralist and globalist (in 1956, 1962, 1964–1969, 1979–1986, 1989, and 1990), or when U.S.–European divisiveness over "out-of-area" crises threatened NATO's security and ability to respond (such as during the Persian Gulf patrols in 1986–1988, Operation Desert Storm in 1990–1991, and the Second Gulf War in 2003).⁹

NATO's first four internal crises during the Cold War occurred between 1952 and 1955, when the European allies failed three times (at the 1952 Lisbon and 1954 NATO Summits, followed by the Radford Plan) to fully implement joint plans to expand NATO's conventional forces and integrate German troops to create 30 to 60 divisions to face the superior Red Army. President Eisenhower sought to redress NATO's conventional weakness with a less costly way to defend Europe against any potential massed Soviet armored attack. The "new approach" relied heavily on U.S. tactical nuclear weapons with a 0- to 5,500-kilometer range: demolition mines, artillery shells, bombers, and short- and intermediate-range missiles. But this tactical nuclear defense option suddenly collapsed in 1956. NATO's "Carte Blanche" war games had hypothesized tactical nuclear combat against a Soviet invasion, yet they unexpectedly annihilated (on paper) enemies and friends alike within the entire Central Front (both Germanies, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, and Poland). Popular outcry in Europe made

NATO's tactical nuclear weapons politically unusable, except as a "last warning" of nuclear doom against any Soviet aggression (after NATO adopted in its 1957 new strategy the U.S. doctrine of massive retaliation based on America's strategic nuclear umbrella, wielded by the U.S. Air Force's Strategic Air Command).

Between 1956 and 1958, NATO's transatlantic political solidarity fell into disarray after U.S. political-financial broadsides undermined the Anglo-French-Israeli attacks against Gamal Abdel Nasser's Egypt during the Suez Canal War. Many allies now saw U.S. leadership of NATO as focused exclusively on global superpower rivalries, with America cavalierly overruling its European allies' vital colonial or national security interests, such as Anglo-French influence in the Arab world and the Suez Canal. America's anticolonialism from the 1940s through the 1960s helped demote European colonialism but failed to draw Arab nationalists away from the USSR's influence in the 1950s through the 1970s, slowly increasing U.S. military presence in the Middle East:

- external support through NATO in 1955–1958 of the Middle East Treaty Organization in METO, or the Baghdad Pact: Great Britain, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey
- the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1958, designed to contain Nasserite radical nationalist subversion of pro-U.S. moderate Arab states (Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen)
- the Iraqi revolution in 1958 and its exit from METO, renamed the Central Near-Eastern Treaty Organization (CENTO)
- the Iranian fundamentalist revolution and the dissolution of CENTO in 1979
- the Carter Doctrine in 1980, designed to respond to any attack on Gulf oil flows
- U.S. support of the Egyptian-Israeli peace process (the Camp David Accords, 1980)
- multilateral force interventions in Lebanon in 1982–1984
- Persian Gulf patrols against Iran in 1986–1988
- Operation Desert Storm/the First Gulf War against Iraq in 1990–1991
- U.S.–EU support of Arab-Israeli-Palestinian peace processes in 1991–2001
- the Second Gulf War against Iraq in 2003¹⁰

Thereafter, any independent European action or criticism of U.S. intervention continued to be seen in America as contrary to the spirit of Atlantic partnership (examples being the Suez Canal War; French independent tendencies; Middle East; the Vietnam War, and conflicts in Iraq), and Europeans complained of U.S. indifference to their views. Another series of Atlantic crises occurred in the 1960s over rival nationalist attempts to modify Europe's security structure. On the one hand, French President Charles de Gaulle strove unsuccessfully to transform NATO into an all-powerful "triumvirate," with France elevated to co-equal leader with America and Great Britain, and to commit NATO to "out-of-area" missions. His three Fouchet Plans (1959–1962) did not succeed in turning the EC into a French-led political-security bloc antithetical to NATO. On the other hand, Washington failed to implement either President John F. Kennedy's 1962 proposals for an integrated political-economic "European Pillar" in NATO or the U.S. suggestions in 1963–1965 that it share NATO's nuclear security with European members through an integrated multilateral nuclear force to replace the independent Anglo–French national nuclear forces. In both cases, the allies feared that any strong "European Pillar" would weaken ("decouple") the U.S. nuclear umbrella and automatic protection of Europe, while de Gaulle rejected France's junior status and sharing of French nuclear forces in a supranational Euro–Atlantic force, whose European staff would not control the U.S. nuclear arms entrusted to them. De Gaulle's powerlessness was exacerbated by Kennedy's failure to consult France and key allies (Canada, Great Britain, Italy, and West Germany) during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, which almost ended in a U.S.–Soviet nuclear war when the U.S. unilaterally (but by extension including NATO) threatened nuclear war to force the USSR to withdraw its secret nuclear missiles from Cuba.

In late December 1965, de Gaulle's reelection allowed him to push openly for a "grand design" that would cast France in a more independent role between the superpowers and enhance French global status in a period of relative East–West calm. De Gaulle's policies sought to create a "third force," independent France, leading a loose, confederal "Europe of Nations." In July 1966 he withdrew French forces from NATO's military structures (but not from its political wing, the North Atlantic Council) and sought a dual U.S.–Soviet pull-out of forces from Europe, while stalling EC integration and British membership. Despite repeated

unsuccessful allied attempts to mediate, de Gaulle forced SHAPE and several NATO headquarters to leave France by April 1967, hoping the alliance would collapse. Instead, NATO quickly regrouped. NATO forces and logistics for AFSOUTH were rerouted through Belgium, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and West Germany, while relying on Portugal, Italy, and Spain for AFSOUTH logistics; NATO's political headquarters moved to Brussels, Belgium; SHAPE's new command facilities moved to Mons/Casteau, Belgium; AFSOUTH moved to Brunssum, the Netherlands; and AFSOUTH left Toulon for Naples, Italy. Moreover, France found itself isolated when the Soviet threat did not fade away, belying de Gaulle's "grand design" pipe dreams. In 1968 the Warsaw Pact invaded Communist-reformist Czechoslovakia to reimpose Soviet Communist rule (the "Brezhnev Doctrine" of intervention) and increased Red Army forces along the inter-German border. NATO thoroughly revised its plans and coordinated with France its military role in the alliance should the Warsaw Pact ever attack. De Gaulle's legacy was officially retained after he resigned from office in late 1969, but French Presidents Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (in the 1970s) and François Mitterrand (in the 1980s) gradually realigned French defenses alongside NATO, and the EC overturned French vetoes, admitting Great Britain, Denmark, and Ireland by 1973.¹¹

Between 1967 and 1973, Europe's leftist popular demonstrations and many nonleftist politicians opposed Atlantic solidarity and violently condemned U.S. intervention in the Vietnam War and aid to Israel during the Yom Kippur War (the U.S. airlift in 1973). These events were followed by the First Oil Shock and the Greek-Turkish clash over Cyprus in 1974, which resulted in Greece's temporary withdrawal of its forces from NATO. Leftist anti-Americanism waned only reluctantly during the 1970s, as European politicians praised East-West relaxation of tensions during détente (1969–1979) and U.S.–Soviet nuclear arms control measures, including the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaties (SALT I and II, in 1972 and 1979). Some even perversely feared that détente might lead to some sort of U.S.–Soviet "Con-Dominium" worldwide. But on the military side, SHAPE criticized the decade-long, failing conventional arms control talks of the NATO–Warsaw Pact forces ("mutually balanced force reductions"), which together with transatlantic crises between 1966 and 1974 combined to weaken NATO's combat effectiveness. In 1970 SHAPE issued a major study,

Alliance Defense Problems in the 1970s, which balanced East–West arms control with key improvements in allied command and Europe’s conventional and nuclear forces, as stressed in NATO’s new strategic planning.

From 1977 to 1985, the massive Soviet–Warsaw Pact buildups in both conventional forces and SS-20 triple-headed nuclear missiles led to rising East–West tensions in Europe, forcing NATO’s controversial but vital decision in December 1979 to achieve “dual-track” modernization by 1983 of its own “Euromissiles” with U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles to supplement NATO’s inadequate conventional military forces. After the collapse of East–West détente after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, NATO aggressively promoted bilateral INF arms control talks to eliminate both the deployed Soviet INFs and NATO’s planned INFs before deployment. The USSR rejected outright NATO’s “dual-track” policy and supported massive leftist and antinuclear pacifist demonstrations in key NATO states (Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, and the United States). The demonstrators blamed NATO’s INFs and the new U.S. neutron bomb for destabilizing the situation, ignoring earlier Soviet escalations. Eventually the U.S. neutron bomb was shelved, but not the French ones (no pacifist bothered to condemn the French for this). Pacifist protest collapsed after NATO’s 1983 deployment of U.S. Pershing and cruise nuclear missiles in Great Britain, Germany, and Italy.¹²

This Soviet-inspired “Second Cold War” was exacerbated by the 1981 Polish crisis, which pitted the prodemocratic Solidarność labor movement against the Polish military coup d’état of General Wojciech Jaruzelski. NATO readied its own military measures in case Poland collapsed into civil war and the USSR intervened militarily there. The alliance was strengthened by Greece’s military reintegration in 1980 into the allied command in Europe; tactful changes were made to NATO’s Southern Flank command to balance Greek and Turkish concerns. In 1981–1982 NATO was enlarged to include newly democratic Spain. In the early 1980s, NATO conventional defenses were further boosted by its “Rapid Reinforcement Concept,” the “Long-Term Infrastructure Plan,” and especially the revolutionary “Airland Battle 2000/Follow-on-Forces Attack” (FOFA) plan to fight a Warsaw Pact invasion by launching NATO attacks deep inside Eastern Europe that would destroy Soviet–Warsaw Pact second- and third-echelon forces before they could reinforce an initial Red Army offensive on NATO’s fronts. After 1983,

fears of pro-Soviet political “Finlandization” evaporated, as both NATO’s “Montebello Decision” to withdraw 1,400 nuclear warheads from Europe and its “dual-track” decision finally forced a hostile USSR to accept their mutual complete dismantling (the “zero solution”) in the 1987 INF Treaty. Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachëv’s rise to power in the mid-1980s and the restarting of détente with the West also contributed to eliminating these fears. In 1988–1989, although the sudden collapse of Soviet control over Eastern Europe led the allies and European public opinion in general to enthusiastically dismiss a rapidly receding Soviet threat, critics still assailed U.S. “slowness” to match Gorbachëv’s 50 percent conventional and nuclear arms reduction offers.¹³

Despite occasional severe intra-Atlantic disagreements on East–West conventional and nuclear defense, as well as arms control, the U.S.-led Euro–Atlantic partnership prevailed because of its flexible nature and diplomatic compromises, which overcame all internal crises. This contrasts sharply with the USSR’s military and political-ideological hegemony over the Warsaw Pact. For more than 50 years, NATO’s functional Euro–American partnership symbolized the West’s remarkable success in building a stable, political-military front in peacetime for common defense, with a permanently deployed, integrated military. Few military alliances have lasted this long—only Otto von Bismarck’s Triple Alliance in 1882–1914 with Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy lasted more than 30 years—and none developed NATO’s complex array of integrated political-military structures. This attests to the strength of Western democratic values, alliance partnership, and long-term, joint defense planning, even in the face of eroding domestic consensus about high defense budgets in times of declining external threats or cyclical crises in alliance cohesion. Examples of the latter include U.S. failure to consult allies and rival national interests, France’s Gaullist policy, U.S. reliance on Great Britain and Germany to counter France, the Greek–Turkish clash over Cyprus in 1973, and European mistrust of Germany in 1945–1953 and 1990.

NATO’s weaker military forces were backed by U.S. and Western European economic supremacy, which weathered better than the USSR/Warsaw Pact/COMECON the immense costs of bloc defense, regional integration, and national economic growth. When Gorbachëv unsuccessfully sought to reform the USSR’s collapsing economy and rigid domestic politics, the Kremlin had to slowly abandon its dream of mil-

itary superiority and ideological expansion. Consequently, the resumption of East–West détente and radical arms control reductions in the mid-1980s sought to reduce military spending and inject new resources into each country’s domestic economy (the “peace dividend”), while preserving the superpowers’ minimal national security and alliance requirements. By 1987, the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty had globally eliminated all U.S.–Soviet ballistic missiles in the 500- to 5,000-kilometer range (1,766 Soviet SS-20s with 3,074 warheads and 846 U.S. single-warhead Pershing and cruise missiles), establishing the first on-site inspections and INF destructions. The success of mutual on-site inspections was also duplicated in arms control treaties matching Moscow’s sweeping 1988–1989 proposals to cut all Soviet forces in Europe by 50 percent. The 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaties (CFE) halved NATO and Warsaw Pact armies, while U.S.–Soviet strategic nuclear weapons were first halved in 1991 (START I) and then scheduled to be cut to 3,500 each by 2010 (START II, 1993). Finally, the 2002 U.S.–Russian Strategic Treaty cut these weapons to a minimal national nuclear deterrent of 2,500 each.¹⁴

Once the U.S.–Soviet INF and CFE treaties came into force, the risk of World War III disappeared, because any surprise Warsaw Pact attack on the West had become impossible. Since the 1950s, NATO’s conventional defense of the Central Front had been based on the untenable “forward defense” strategy, vital to politically bolster a vulnerable West Germany, relying on post–World War II deployments of allied occupation troops. This left the stronger U.S. and French forces concentrated in safer southern Germany, with German, U.S., and Anglo–Canadian forces thinly spread along the inter-German border in the north. Pre-1988 Soviet military plans against the West relied on the USSR–Warsaw Pact’s traditional conventional superiority over NATO’s weaker, immediately deployable, combat-ready forces. World War III would be a surprise conventional offensive, with massive firepower and rapid armored breakthroughs along the Central Front to destroy NATO and conquer West Germany’s industrial Rhine-Ruhr areas within three-weeks, before U.S. airlifted forces could rescue NATO and Germany from collapse. However, in such a limited time, East–West conventional combat could easily escalate into nuclear warfare, should a desperate United States gamble to stop World War III and NATO’s certain defeat through limited nuclear strikes against Warsaw Pact conventional targets. This,

in turn, would escalate uncontrollably and expose the North American continent to retaliatory Soviet nuclear strikes, ending in an apocalyptic global nuclear holocaust.

In any World War III scenario, NATO could benefit from the fact that even with its ready reserves in western Russia, the USSR–Warsaw Pact lacked the classic three-to-one superiority in forces considered to be the minimum necessary for any successful rapid offensive against well-entrenched enemy defenses. Soviet power would also be sapped by the wartime unreliability of both Eastern European and Soviet Central Asian conscripts. Furthermore, 40 percent of the Soviet Army was concentrated outside Europe, the majority along the extensive Sino–Soviet border opposite four million lightly armed Chinese troops; 100,000 Soviet forces in the First Afghan War; and other forces facing U.S. forces in Japan and South Korea. Furthermore, Moscow’s lead in tanks, artillery, and aviation (the Soviets had 7,240 planes in the “Atlantic-to-the-Urals” region, as opposed to NATO’s 2,975) was partially offset by several Western advantages: NATO’s more modern tanks and high-tech anti-tank weaponry, NATO’s command of the seas and air for sustained resupply of Europe (REFORGER), Franco-Spanish military coordination with NATO in the 1980s, and America’s ability to airlift in two weeks several combat-ready divisions with predeployed matériel in Europe. Finally, 60 percent of Soviet air power was only short-range defense-capable, giving NATO the lead in long-range ground attack to support its mobile counteroffensive strategy of deep strikes inside Warsaw Pact states to destroy C³ and reserves.¹⁵

This traditional bipolar military balance was radically changed by the Soviet political-economic decline following the dramatic U.S.–Soviet détente and arms control breakthroughs between 1987 and 1991, which also fostered the unexpected end of the Cold War and triple collapse of the Soviet bloc in 1989–1990, the USSR in 1991–1992, and Communism itself in 1992–1993. At the same time, runaway U.S. budget deficits under Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush exacerbated domestic pressures in the United States and Europe for further defense cuts and sharper conventional forces reductions. By 1989, Gorbachëv’s rapid sociopolitical democratization in the USSR had overtaken the much slower and chaotic economic reforms, military cuts, and industrial reconversions, unexpectedly trapping the Kremlin in a vise. On the one hand, political liberalization at home to forestall impending eco-

nomic collapse unleashed antiCommunist fragmentation; on the other, to keep the Soviet bloc and USSR from disintegrating, all reforms might be ended, with bloody repression of democratic forces both in the restive Eastern European satellites and in the USSR. The end of the Cold War came suddenly in 1989–1990 with peaceful antiCommunist revolts, democratization in Eastern Europe, and the fall of the Berlin Wall. Gorbachëv's indecision resulted in the USSR losing Eastern European and Mongolia, as well as Warsaw Pact front-line defenses against NATO, followed by the 1990 reunification of Germany and radical arms reductions in NATO and Warsaw Pact conventional forces, including the 1990 CFE Treaty and START treaties.

By 1988, deep cuts in Soviet forces had already left the NATO–Warsaw Pact conventional balance in Europe and America roughly equal, with 4,788,000 Warsaw Pact troops to 4,771,000 NATO and 493,000 French troops. However, the Warsaw Pact retained a superiority of 1.5/2:1 in total armor-equivalent combat power, 2.5:1 in tanks, and 2.4:1 in artillery, plus a faster wartime mobilization capacity with an immediate 20 percent combat ratio boost to 2.3:1, tank ratio to 3.6:1, and artillery ratio to 3.8:1, plus 202 divisions compared to NATO's 121. Only the CFE Treaty eliminated the risk of a surprise Soviet strike by deeply cutting NATO and Warsaw Pact forces in the “Atlantic-to-the-Urals” (ATTU) region for each alliance: 20,000 tanks (16,500 in active units), 30,000 armored combat vehicles (27,300 active), 20,000 artillery pieces (17,000 active), 6,800 combat aircraft, and 2,000 attack helicopters. For the first time, on-site inspectors could verify the destruction of excess units, while U.S. and Soviet forces in Europe were further cut to 195,000 each. After the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and reunification of Germany within NATO, the USSR was forced to completely withdraw all its forces from its former Eastern European satellites by 1994. U.S. Presidents George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton reciprocated by further cutting U.S. forces in Western Europe, from 336,000 in 1989 to 192,000/175,000 by 1992, 154,700 in 1993, and 100,000 in 1995, despite protests of NATO and European allies that such levels undercut NATO's deterrent position.

NATO's London Summit in July 1990 increased détente's momentum by declaring the Cold War officially over and the USSR no longer a “foe.” European allies pushed the London Summit to advocate bilateral U.S. and Soviet cuts in short-range nuclear forces (0- to 500-kilometer

range). This led to the 1991 Bush–Gorbachëv SNF Unilateral Agreements, which provided that all U.S. and Soviet ground-launched SNF weapons, mostly in Europe, were to be withdrawn to the United States and Russia, with the majority being destroyed; all U.S. and Soviet naval tactical nuclear weapons (cruise missiles, depth-charges, bombs) on warships, submarines, and naval aviation were to be halved and centrally stored in each country; NATO’s nuclear deterrent in Europe was to be radically cut, to 800 dual-capable aircraft with bombs; U.S. strategic MX and Midgetman ICBMs were to be eliminated; and U.S. and Soviet/Russian strategic bombers and ICBMs were to be placed off alert. NATO also withdrew U.S. chemical weapons from Europe and engaged in INF/SNF arms destruction and on-site inspections in both Western and Eastern Europe. The Warsaw Pact and COMECON both collapsed in 1991, with many former enemies openly advocating membership in NATO, while the USSR itself collapsed and disintegrated in 1991–1992, after the failed 1991 ultra-Communist coup unleashed the secession of the Baltics, Caucasus, Moldova, and Ukraine. This emboldened Russian leader Boris Yeltsin to break up the USSR and end Communism, leaving a fragmented Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) around Russia by Christmas 1991. Despite futile calls to dissolve NATO as well, it was both Gorbachëv and his successor, Yeltsin, who were forced by severe domestic woes and national disintegration to foster ties with the once-hated West and NATO to secure financial aid, East–West arms cuts, and political cooperation under the UN in dealing with foreign crises, such as the First Gulf War, the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia, in Somalia, and the proliferation of nuclear weapons in Iraq, Iran, and North Korea.¹⁶

EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY AND POST-COLD WAR PEACEKEEPING: BOSNIA, KOSOVO, AND MACEDONIA

The end of the Cold War allowed the United States and its allies to scale down their military budgets and NATO commitments. The EU’s political-economic integration since the Maastricht Treaty of 1991 renewed the debate on an autonomous EU political-security force parallel to NATO. On the one hand, many in Europe feared that the end of the Cold War, the Soviet collapse, and German reunification would free Ger-

many to expand again, especially if the United States pulled out of Europe and NATO became weaker. On the other hand, in the post-Cold War period Western “out-of-area” missions multiplied rapidly in the face of regional destabilization in the oil-rich Middle East Gulf (Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan) and ethno-nationalist hatred in the Balkans (Yugoslavia). Such crises threatened both Europe’s security and NATO’s existence, either by affecting vital oil supplies or by flooding the West with refugees and bringing the ravages of wartime right to the doorstep of that very European home that NATO had vowed to defend and all East Europeans sought to join.

The Cold War era’s bipolar nuclear and conventional balance of terror paradoxically had ensured an unprecedented degree of regional stability. East–West deterrence and inter-bloc “policing” had cajoled reluctant European allies to overcome past nationalist hatreds and cooperate as partners within NATO’s and the Warsaw Pact’s political-military alliance integration. The Cold War’s end exposed the unexpected fragility of the superpowers’ regional security, which had kept peace and stability within each bloc, clamped down on local ethno-nationalist rivalries, and maintained a unified front against the enemy bloc. Once freed of control mechanisms, the pent-up nationalist and religious hatreds exploded during the 1990s, affecting mostly the former Yugoslavia and parts of the former USSR, threatening to spread out of control to most of Eastern Europe and the successor states. Local ethno-nationalist clashes proved impossible to stop by traditional international conflict-resolution mechanisms enshrined in the OSCE, EU, and UN, and only by 1995 the risks of exponential regional destabilization forced NATO to change its missions in this new strategic environment, from anti-Soviet conventional and nuclear deterrence to mobile regional intervention and peacekeeping.¹⁷

NATO’s slow response to outside threats reflected its consensus-based three missions during the Cold War: conventional and nuclear self-defense against the Soviet–Warsaw Pact threat; regional alliance-building and forces standardization; and integration of new members. With the relaxation of East–West relations during *détente* (1969–1979, 1985–1991), NATO integrated its security missions with comprehensive East–West conventional and nuclear arms reduction treaties (ABM, SALT I and II, CFE, INF, SNF, START I and II) to ensure alliance security at verifiable, lower force levels. Moreover, in 1986–1995, NATO

remained paralyzed by political and public fears of bloody guerrilla warfare. It failed repeatedly to intervene militarily in vital “out-of-area” regional crises ignited by the collapsing Cold War system, which threatened Western security and economic interests. These included the Western protection of oil tankers in the Persian Gulf in 1986–1988 during the Iran–Iraq War, the First Gulf War to keep Iraq from controlling regional oil assets, and the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia. From the 1980s to 2001, NATO’s finely tuned military was often not involved in “out-of-area” controversies, which were patched up by U.S.-led, military-financial, Western ad hoc “coalitions of the willing.” These include the Sinai from 1980 to the present; Lebanon I and II, 1982–1984; Persian Gulf naval patrols, 1986–present; Desert Storm, 1990–1991; southern and northern watch air patrols against Iraq, 1992–2003; and the Second Gulf War, 2003.¹⁸

In the post–Cold War world, NATO’s success in regional self-defense and arms control reductions has led the alliance to a triple emphasis. First is regional integration and NATO enlargements. Second is new security structures, such as the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C), Partnership for Peace, Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), and NATO–Russia and NATO–Ukraine Charters. Third is “out-of-area” peacekeeping missions in adjoining theaters, like NATO’s air-naval support of UN peacekeeping in Yugoslavia; both the International Force and Stabilisation Force in Bosnia (IFOR, SFOR); the Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR); Albania; and briefly Macedonia; and the International Security of Afghanistan Force (ISAF). Change was necessary to avoid stagnation and death, as NATO soon found out. The alliance was suddenly targeted by domestic and media advocates of its dismantlement and recycling of military funds into social priorities, drawing erroneous parallels with the Warsaw Pact: unconcerned by the difficulty of quickly replacing in any crisis a military alliance such as NATO, which had taken decades to build, Western domestic advocates blindly extolled universal peace after the USSR’s collapse.

To preserve stability in a wider European area and gradually draw in newly democratic ex-enemies from Eastern Europe and the former USSR, NATO and the West changed the Atlantic security system into a pan-European, interlocking security system, tying to NATO the CSCE/OSCE, WEU, and EU. Initially during the new *détente* of 1986–1990, while the Soviet bloc was still very much alive, the West

transformed the CSCE into the main forum for East–West security issues and arms control. By 1990–1991, as the Cold War ended and the Soviet empire disintegrated, the CSCE/OSCE had become an institutionalized, pro-Western, pan-European organization for conflict resolution, retaining both superpowers as “European” powers. American leadership of the West and NATO was tied to its permanent commitment to European security, while Russia just survived as a “courtesy power.”¹⁹

Just as NATO had revamped its traditional collective defense and East–West war-fighting missions, the alliance retooled its security concepts (at the 1991 and 1999 NATO Summits) to allow “out-of-area” peacekeeping, humanitarian, and collective security missions within a broader Euro–Atlantic security area, supporting the OSCE and UN. With the USSR/Russia and former Warsaw Pact countries no longer enemies, NATO forged a wider Euro–Atlantic security architecture, encompassing all of Europe and the former USSR in the NAC-C, EAPC, and Partnership for Peace. Patterned on the OSCE forum, beginning in 1991 the NAC-C provided permanent political-security consultation to tie Eastern Europeans and former Soviet republics to NATO, sidestepping requests for full NATO military membership from 13 East European states. Known as aspirants, these states saw NATO as their guarantor of pan-European regional stability, collective security, and political-military and democratic integration into the West as protection from any Russian “revanchism” or regional ethno-nationalist crises. However, the United States and allies were concerned that NATO’s eastward enlargements would provoke anti-Western resentment in a Russia isolated after the collapse of its empire, as well as destabilizing NATO if festering ethno-nationalist controversies persisted among old members (Greece, Turkey) and new ones (the 13 aspirants).

In the early 1990s, U.S. Presidents George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton postponed NATO enlargement by integrating as partners all 13 Eastern European aspirants, Russia, and former Soviet successor states in the OSCE and then the Partnership for Peace, seeking to bring Moscow into close cooperation with the West as a symbolically “equal” partner. However, the OSCE failed to live up to its inflated expectations as a new regional conflict-resolution power broker during the former Yugoslavia’s civil wars and Serb-led ethnic cleansing, which derailed all UN, EU, and NATO diplomatic mediations. In Russia, the political clash between Yeltsin’s reformist government and a Communist-Nationalist (“Reds and Browns”) parliament promoted ultranationalist

anti-Western policies in Yugoslavia and Iraq in an effort to retain a fragment of past international influence. By 1995, Russia opposed NATO's expansion toward its borders, while rejecting both a French-proposed NATO–Russia nonaggression pact and a Franco–German European stability pact designed to provide diplomatic stabilization of Eastern Europe and former Soviet states.²⁰

NATO's multinational and strategic transformation coincided with the departure from the former East Germany of the last Russian/Soviet troops, dispelling any impression in a reunited Germany that foreign "occupation forces" remained. Mounting domestic pressures in the West by advocates of a "peace dividend" (radical cuts in defense spending redirected to increased social programs) and dissolution of NATO itself, or a greater European role in NATO, forced SHAPE into its first major reorganization. It severely cut back military expenditures, reduced U.S. and allied forces, scaled down its commands, and turned over to Europeans several influential posts traditionally held by Americans. Its *Right Mix Studies* on future force structures shifted NATO training and exercises away from their Cold War focus to newer mobile forces, like ACE's Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC). Although Presidents George H. W. Bush (reluctantly) and Bill Clinton (readily) drastically cut U.S. and NATO forces, straining available forces for future peace-keeping missions, NATO remains the only integrated military alliance capable of guaranteeing permanent U.S. commitment to European security and quickly intervening in regional conflicts.

By 1995 NATO had created four mobile, integrated, multinational corps on the old Central Front, each 50,000–75,000 strong: the U.S.–German 5th Corps, the German–U.S. 2nd Corps, the German–Dutch Corps, and the Danish–German Corps. All national units in these multinational corps are under NATO command, with orders given in English, bilingual officers, and joint intercorps multinational planning and communication. The United States had always opposed putting its forces under direct foreign/allied command, but NATO's full operational integration is effective only in wartime, when all national control of allied forces automatically falls under the U.S.–NATO integrated command in Europe through SACEUR (always a U.S. general). French and other allied forces on the Central Front (Belgium and Great Britain), as well as the Northern Flank (Great Britain and Norway) and

Southern Flank (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and the U.S. Sixth Fleet), remain under their original organizational command structure, although all have been sharply reduced and some forces have been basically “redeployed” back home (to Canada and Belgium).

NATO’s structure retains allied operations and combat efficiency even with fewer troops, and multinational corps lessen the defense burden for smaller allied countries unable to field full armed forces. Although NATO did not openly fight in the First Gulf War (1990–1991) because of the opposition of Germany and Greece, most allies and NATO assets did contribute to the U.S.-led coalition under UN mandate. SHAPE also protected Mediterranean allies from feared Iraqi missile strikes through NATO airborne early-warning aircraft, naval protection of Mediterranean shipping, massive logistics, and air defense of Turkey. NATO’s reorganization brought to fruition the combat lessons learned in Desert Storm (the bulk of U.S. troops were drawn from NATO forces in Germany) and allowed for smooth U.S.–NATO peace-keeping deployments in Bosnia, Macedonia, Albania, Kosovo, and Afghanistan.²¹

The chaotic post–Cold War world has experienced ethno-nationalist disintegration and genocide (in the former Yugoslavia and to a lesser extent in the former USSR), two international wars against Iraq, proliferation of WMD (in Iraq, Libya, Iran, and North Korea), and the global onslaught of Islamic fundamentalist terrorism (linked to Al-Qaeda). In this milieu, U.S. international stabilization initiatives have often been hampered by lack of funds to promote a new “Marshall Plan” of extensive aid and economic recovery in the new democracies (in Central America, Eastern Europe, the former USSR). In addition, the sharp reduction in U.S.–NATO military expenditures made the alliance’s enlargements part of a concerted drive to unify both sides of the “Iron Curtain” into a broad pan-European political-security area encompassing most OSCE and NAC-C partners, rather than focusing exclusively on alliance force building. Indeed, NATO’s enlargements entail both sharp cutbacks in former Warsaw Pact forces and modernizing the rest into NATO-compatible rapid-deploying units. Finally, although the United States has sought to counter the erosion of Euro–Atlantic cooperation that resulted from divisive perceptions of and reactions to future threats (e.g., the two international wars against Iraq, nonproliferation, and Islamic terrorism), between the 1980s and 1994 new visions of European

security emerged through intermittent French attempts to promote a non-NATO, integrated European defense identity. These initiatives range from reviving the dormant WEU, to the Franco–German axis, to debates on a future EU militarization from its 1991 Maastricht integration and 1999–2001 merger with the WEU, while remaining subordinated to NATO’s revamped military command and new pan-European security cooperation.

Dormant since 1955, the WEU was resurrected in 1980–1984 under French pressures to enhance intra-European collaboration concerning the INF missile deployment crisis and to stop any German slide from NATO into domestic antinuclear neutralism. Because this coincided with renewed U.S.–Soviet tensions between 1980 and 1985, an unprecedented degree of close French cooperation with NATO and the United States emerged during the 1980s, seeming to complete a 15-year reversal of Gaullist anti-Atlanticism in favor of “common” policies. However, the French “reversal” was really the forced reaction of President François Mitterrand to generalized fears that Germany and NATO might cave in to the pincher offensive of Soviet antinuclear diplomacy and Western European pacifist movements’ hysteria during the Euro-missile Crisis (1979–1983). At the October 1984 NATO and WEU Ministerial Meetings in Rome, the WEU became NATO’s symbolic “European Pillar,” while Great Britain insincerely pledged to reverse its past hostility and support the WEU as a new forum for integrated European security. The Hague Accord of October 1987 established a WEU-led, joint European, flexible nuclear strategy, indirectly correlating the Anglo–French independent nuclear arsenals with NATO, while WEU membership also grew to embrace the most important and populous countries important to Western European defense, including Portugal and Spain in November 1988. Between 1974 and 1981, Paris also strove to revive the 1963 stillborn “Franco–German axis”: French President Valéry Giscard d’Éstaing and German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt institutionalized regular high-level bilateral political-military cooperation to strengthen EC integration and Euro–Atlantic relations. Bilateral Franco–German relations grew closer between 1982 and the 1990s, to stall Germany’s slide toward neutralist pacifism. By 1998–2001, London was also pursuing close Anglo–French cooperation to rebalance Franco–German ties and differences in the U.S. and French positions on NATO’s supremacy in an integrated EU/WEU regional defense

force. By 1985–1986, effective bilateral security integration had emerged, with a joint Franco–German brigade, routine joint military maneuvers and officer training in NATO tactics, and bilateral security planning on wartime deployments of France’s rapid deployment forces in Germany, and France’s nuclear missiles.²²

In the 1980s, Europe’s security cooperation also forced a reassessment of the EC/EU’s political-economic importance and size. As the main arena for pan-European economic and political integration, as well as security cooperation parallel to NATO, the EU has grown from 12 countries and 344 million people in 1986 to 28 members with more than 500 million people by 2007, encompassing virtually the entire continent. Inevitably, this has also bolstered calls from France and several other members for future security integration outside NATO, which has been resisted both by the United States and most Euro–Atlantic members, who oppose duplicating NATO, while their public opinions were unwilling to fund military expansion. Between 1989 and 1992, the unexpected reunification of Germany and collapse of both the Warsaw Pact and USSR prompted speculation about the impending demise of NATO, which would jeopardize U.S. forces in Europe as well, and Europe’s political and security future. French presidents especially became obsessed by such fears, with both the Socialist Mitterrand and the Gaullist Jacques Chirac promoting a French-led Eurocentric security structure to counter NATO’s erosion and replace it, while also bringing the German giant under France’s influence. NATO remained handicapped by France’s continual absence since 1966 from its integrated military command (despite Paris’s unofficial military partnership with NATO since the 1970s), and French diplomacy strove in the 1980s and 1990s to “capture” both the WEU and Franco–German axis to forge an integrated European security community “outside U.S. control.” Yet France fell short of attaining exclusive European defense responsibility: the Franco–German axis has control only over joint bilateral military forces and could not become a comprehensive regional security body without absorbing other European forces or the WEU, which by statute remain NATO’s “European Pillar.”

The United States, although uncertain about the extent of its post–Cold War security commitments abroad, consistently refused to dissolve NATO and strongly opposed any transformation of the

Franco-German brigade into an autonomous “European army,” enlarged to include other continental military forces, as an unnecessary, inefficient copy of NATO’s existing structure. In 1993 NATO negotiated with France and Germany an agreement on joint Eurocorps–NATO missions, but insisted on NATO’s primacy. Initially, Europeanists seemed willing to ignore U.S. opposition and even tolerate France’s veiled drive for political-military leadership in such a Eurocorps expanded to the WEU, as long as it could provide a parallel effective political-military structure like NATO, but geared exclusively to European security integration and expanded membership within the EU. Thus, although the WEU emerged from the 1980s through the 1990s as another European security forum, any autonomous growth was stifled by its subordinate role as NATO’s “European Pillar,” while infighting between Atlanticists and pro-French Europeanists scuttled Paris’s repeated attempts to promote the WEU as a non-NATO, parallel, integrated European security body. Finally, popular policies to cut defense budgets (the “peace dividend”) also dashed French hopes of financing a French-led new European army to rival NATO.²³

The WEU’s absorption by the EU in 1999–2001, as the basis of a new controversial European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (ESDI/P), briefly reignited the security debate on NATO’s preeminence over the EU. But France’s pro-ESDI/P initiatives lost all traction after the 1999 and 2002–2004 enlargements of NATO and the EU, while the Second Afghan War and the Second Gulf War have proven that no coalition of countries can politically and militarily rival the United States and Great Britain as the world’s most modern military powers. The 2004 Istanbul NATO Summit decision to allow the ESDI/P to relieve NATO peace-keeping in Bosnia by 2005 reconfirmed EU security and logistics subordination to NATO in missions where “the alliance chooses not to be involved,” not the other way around.

Another reason why European interest in an autonomous regional security organization collapsed in the 1990s and NATO’s irreplaceable role was reconfirmed was the five bloody Yugoslav civil wars, which ensued when multi-ethnic Yugoslavia collapsed as the Serb-dominated government under Slobodan Milošević opposed the secession of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia. Ethno-nationalist hatreds were inflamed, resulting in violence, ethnic cleansing, and atrocities unseen since World War II. NATO became involved in this humanitarian catastrophe (more

than 250,000 dead, tens of thousands of rapes, and hundreds of thousands of refugees escaping to other parts of Europe) as the military instrument of UN international efforts to stop fighting in Croatia and Bosnia among the three warring factions (mostly Bosnian Serbs against Croats and Bosnian Muslims). However, EU and UN mediations failed, and NATO also had to confront U.S. and allied divisiveness over possible ground combat operations to restore peace regionally in its first “out-of-area” peacekeeping mission in the Balkans.²⁴

At first NATO supported the UN with air and naval patrols of the Adriatic Sea (Operation Maritime Monitor, 1992), then imposed a UN naval embargo against arms shipments to the former Yugoslavia (Operation Maritime Guard, 1992–1996). By June 1993 all NATO and WEU warships in the Adriatic were put under direct NATO command through AFSOUTH (Operation Sharp Guard). After the UN declared a “no-fly zone” over Bosnia to prevent attacks by the three warring factions, NATO monitored it (Operation Sky Monitor, 1992–1993) and conducted air strikes against the Serbs (Operation Deny Flight, April 1993). These were NATO’s first combat actions since its founding in 1949. In 1994 several limited air strikes made at UN request shot down Bosnian Serb bombers attacking Bosnian Muslim positions and destroyed selected Serb positions. NATO also provided humanitarian airdrops, protected UN humanitarian convoys from the air, and monitored Bosnian Serb heavy weapons. But allied divisiveness and U.S. opposition prevented any NATO ground combat operation from rescuing trapped UN peacekeepers, stopping Serb violence and atrocities, or implementing Lord Owens’ UN Peace Plan for Bosnia (scuttled by Bosnian Serb duplicity in 1993).

From Naples, Italy, AFSOUTH implemented and protected UN sanctions and the naval blockade of the former Yugoslavia, as well as planning combat contingencies for either NATO close air support of UN peacekeepers in Bosnia if fired upon by the Bosnian Serbs or extracting withdrawing UN peacekeepers if they were attacked. After the Bosnian Serbs overran the UN-declared “safe zone” of Šrebrenica in summer 1995, slaughtering all Bosnian Muslim males and attacking two more UN “safe zones,” NATO launched Operation Deliberate Force (August–September 1995), with air strikes on all Bosnian Serb command-control and heavy weapons positions, supported by Croatia’s entry into the war, which defeated the bewildered Serb forces both in Croatia (in the Serb-controlled Krajina area) and Western Bosnia.²⁵

These parallel, independent NATO–Croat actions forced all warring ethnic factions to sign the UN Dayton Peace Accords (November 1995), which enforced disarmament and peace on the ground by transferring peacekeeping duties from the UN to NATO peacekeepers (Operation Joint Endeavour) of the IFOR. AFSOUTH then organized NATO's large-scale peacekeeping force, the largest and most complex military operation in Europe since World War II. During the winter IFOR deployed 50,000 NATO troops from all allies plus 17 non-NATO partners with Russia and ex-UN peacekeepers, to quickly separate the three ethnic armies into cantonment and storage sites while transferring areas between hostile communities. NATO's 65,000 IFOR peacekeepers integrated all non-NATO members through its 1994 Partnership for Peace military cooperation, and even Russian opposition was overcome by naming a Russian general as Deputy-SACEUR for Russian IFOR/SFOR troops until 2004. IFOR's successful peace mission did not ensure a permanent end to instability in Bosnia or a safe NATO withdrawal, and in 1996 NATO's Bosnian Peace Implementation Conferences replaced IFOR with a smaller, 32,000-strong SFOR mission in Operations Joint Guard/Joint Forge. SFOR force were gradually reduced through six-month reviews (NAC+N Meetings).

NATO fought its first conflict in the Balkans, the 1999 Kosovo War, to stop ethnic cleansing of Albanian Muslims in Serbia's province of Kosovo. During heavy fighting in Kosovo in 1998, international diplomacy coupled with NATO's threat of air strikes on the former Yugoslavia had forced President Milošević to withdraw large numbers of Serbian security forces, while NATO ground forces were prepared to protect the OSCE's international verification mission in Kosovo. However, fighting resumed in January 1999 between Kosovar Albanian insurgents and massive Serb reinforcements violating the October 1998 accord, and only renewed threats of NATO air strikes forced the two sides to sit down at the Rambouillet talks in France (February–March 1999). The talks collapsed when only the Kosovar Albanian insurgents accepted a peace agreement and the Serb forces had evicted 80 percent of Kosovo's Albanians by late May 1999. More than 800,000 had fled abroad and 580,000 more were homeless inside Kosovo. As OSCE observers fled Kosovo, NATO launched massive air strikes between March and May, making more than 38,000 sorties and extensive use of

precision-guided munitions, as well as quickly building refugee camps with vast amounts of aid for the catastrophic humanitarian crisis. Despite some differences among allies (like Greece) and a temporary conflict with pro-Serb Russia and China, NATO remained united during the conflict, and its preparations for a major ground offensive forced the Serb forces to abandon Kosovo after 9 June 1999, when it was taken over by a NATO-led peacekeeping force (KFOR).

Notwithstanding the return of all refugees and NATO/international aid to rebuild Kosovo, ethnic tensions remained high, forcing KFOR to protect the remaining local Serbs from revenge. When in summer 2001 civil war threatened to break out in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia between insurgent Albanian Muslims and the majority Slav Macedonians, NATO's Task Force Harvest was deployed in just five days, successfully enforcing a cease-fire and collecting all weapons within a month, while its peacekeepers stabilized the situation (in Operation Amber Fox) until turning over their task to EU peacekeepers (in Operation Concordia).²⁶

EUROPEAN UNITY AND NATO–EU ENLARGEMENTS, 1990–2010s

As the cornerstone of Euro–American security, NATO has been the most effective alliance in history, protecting its members for more than 50 years through collective defense, Western values (democracy, freedom, and the market economy), U.S. leadership with its nuclear umbrella, and political-military cooperation among equal allies. The EU has fostered Europe's prosperity by integrating the region's fractured economies and rival governments. NATO has enlarged its membership and its definition of "transatlantic area" in cyclical waves. During the Cold War the threat of a World War III prompted NATO to increase its membership in phases, from 12 allies in 1949, to 14 in 1952, to 15 in 1955, and then to 16 in 1982.

In 1949 and 1950, the United States could not overcome allied opposition to membership for both a newly democratic West Germany and Fascist Spain, despite their vital geostrategic role in European defense against the USSR. In 1952, Greece and Turkey were upgraded from U.S. military charges under the Truman Doctrine's political-military aid

to full NATO members, consolidating Western control of the Mediterranean and enclosing the USSR in the Black Sea and Balkans. The United States secured Francoist Spain's parallel, unofficial aid to NATO with a bilateral defense treaty. In 1955, after the EDC collapsed, the Allies finally let West Germany join NATO. In 1982, Spain, fully democratic since 1975, was also allowed to join NATO.

Finally, the collapse of Communism in East Germany in 1989 and the "4 +plus 2 Treaty" of 1990 (the four World War II Allies and two Germanies) peacefully reunified Germany without disrupting its dual NATO–EU identity, now extended to the former East Germany.

By 2002–2004, NATO's expanded Euro–Atlantic area encompassed more than 26 allies, several aspirants, and 16 partners. The collapse of Communist rule in Eastern Europe and the USSR had revolutionized transatlantic security, with "neutrals," former satellites from Eastern Europe, and former Soviet republics fleeing to join their erstwhile enemies—NATO, the United States, and the EU—to attain national security and economic integration in the West. To survive, NATO had to transform itself by replacing traditional Article V transatlantic defense with Art. IV collective security and peacekeeping. NATO underwent a triple evolution in identity, size, and missions against new threats.

First, the post–Cold War security challenges include regional ethno-nationalist instability, global terrorism, peacekeeping, and democratization in a wider Euro–Atlantic area. Thus, in the 1990s NATO moved from a regional alliance against the threat of Soviet Communism to collective security in a Euro–Atlantic area from Vancouver to Vladivostok—with long-term peacekeeping in Bosnia, Kosovo, Albania, and Macedonia. Second, NATO's vision of a U.S.-led Europe has led both NATO and the EU to enlarge to include friends and old foes, forging a "Europe whole, democratic and free," economically integrated and secure in the transatlantic alliance. NATO's "Open Door" and enlargements added three new allies in 1999, seven between 2002 and 2004, two more may take place by 2010), while supporting reforms and cooperation with 30 "neutrals" and former Communist states through the Euro–Atlantic Partnership Council. Finally, since the Islamic terrorist strikes of 11 September 2001 in the United States, NATO has invoked for the first time its Article V defense clause to support a U.S.-led global coalition war against terrorism in Afghanistan, institutionalizing "out-of-area" missions beyond Europe with controversial military assistance in Afghanistan and Iraq.²⁷

Immediately after the end of the Cold War, the Visegrad Group (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia) vainly sought NATO to join the number of aspirants in 1990–94. Later increased to 13 (adding Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, and Romania), while Croatia's conflict with Yugoslavia and Bosnia delayed its candidacy until it joined the Partnership for Peace in 1999, NATO in 2008, and became an EU aspirant in 2002. In both EU–NATO enlargements in 1997–99 and 2002–04, the United States and the allies remained divided on future memberships. As the United States and NATO retained leadership over a slowly evolving Western security architecture, the alliance could not fathom how to manage future NATO–EU enlargements and parallel NATO–Russian reconciliation while debating possible peacekeeping interventions in the Yugoslav civil wars. No step-by-step blueprints (NATO *Acquis*) had existed during the earlier limited expansions (1952, 1955, 1982), and Spain's admission was a decade old by the 1990s and not comparable to the unprecedented flood of 13–14 eager ex-enemies. NATO's Cold War enlargements had integrated new members under its Article V collective defense structure, with large conventional forces and vital geostrategic links to consolidate fragmented allies and fronts against a compact Soviet bloc, whereas post–Cold War integration of many Soviet-trained ex-foes required broad reorganizations in doctrine, combat techniques, standardization, and resources within NATO and each nation, rather than individually for each aspirant state.²⁸

Economically weak East European aspirants also pursued political and economic fusion in the EC/EU to reinforce Europe's dual enlargement identity, while jointly preserving the transatlantic bonds with America and mutual institutional security cooperation (NATO–ESDP). The EU cyclically integrated multiple aspirants through complex multiyear, broader economic reforms (EU *Acquis Communautaire*), but fell short of any security protection. It grew from the 6 members of the 1950 ECSC and 1957 EC/EU (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands), to 9 members by 1973 (adding Denmark, Great Britain, and Ireland), 12 by 1986 (adding Greece, Portugal, and Spain), and 15 by 1995 (adding Austria, Finland, and Sweden). By 2002, the EU had deepened its political-economic union before gradually widening to include some 15 aspirants: in 2002–04, the “Luxembourg-6” (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, and

Table I.1 North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 1949–2010²⁹

NATO-12: 1949		NATO-16: 1982		NATO-26: 2002		NATO-33: 2010?	
BELGIUM CANADA DENMARK FRANCE GREAT BRITAIN ICELAND	ITALY	GREECE	NATO-19: 1999 NATO-16?: 1990 (EAST GERMANY)	BULGARIA	CROATIA (READY)	NATO-33: 2010?	CROATIA (READY)
	LUXEMBOURG	TURKEY		ESTONIA	AUSTRIA (READY?)		AUSTRIA (READY?)
	NETHERLANDS			LATVIA	FINLAND (READY?)		FINLAND (READY?)
	NORWAY			LITHUANIA	SWEDEN (READY?)		SWEDEN (READY?)
	PORTUGAL			ROMANIA	ALBANIA (UNREADY)		ALBANIA (UNREADY)
UNITED STATES				SLOVAKIA	IRELAND (UNREADY)		IRELAND (UNREADY)
				SLOVENIA	MACEDONIA (UNREADY)		MACEDONIA (UNREADY)

Slovenia), “Helsinki Group” (Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, and Slovakia), followed by the economically weak Bulgaria and Romania in 2007. Unstable Croatia and Turkey would join later, while only after pro-European fears of political-economic marginalization finally overcome narrow neutralist majorities in the rich isolationists Iceland, Norway, and Switzerland, these countries will also join the EU. Instead, throughout the 1990s, EU inclusion of 10 former Communist countries was never really perceived by Moscow as the economic threat it actually was to Russia’s declining regional influence, and thus was even encouraged openly by both the United States and Russia, as a substitute for NATO’s more controversial enlargements. In the end, the EU will likely reach 30 members by 2015.

Although dual NATO–EU membership has been the goal of all aspirants since 1990, initially both America and Europe recoiled at immediately accepting as new members 13 former enemies. Between 1990 and 1992, U.S. President George H. W. Bush was especially opposed to NATO’s eastward enlargement, seeking to turn Russia into a semidemocratic friend, rather than alienating it. The United States and the allies feared that NATO’s rapid enlargements would destabilize the Eurasian region if a struggling, democratizing Russia collapsed in internal authoritarian coups, sparking a new Cold War. But Bush could neither fully consolidate U.S.–Russian relations nor appease the Visegrad Group aspirants in uncontroversial, broad, Euro–Atlantic conflict-resolution fora, such as the NAC-C and OSCE. Both the NAC-C and OSCE were later undermined by Yugoslavia’s collapse in five ethno-nationalist civil wars (between 1991 and 2001). For different reasons, both the allies and the aspirants feared that Eastern Europe could become a “no-man’s land” between weak pro-Western semidemocracies and violent postCommunist national-populist or ethno-nationalist secessionists, while NATO would be paralyzed by members’ refusal to engage in “out-of-area” peacekeeping. Western critics of enlargement worried that NATO’s downsized military and cohesion risked collapsing if NATO expanded too rapidly and broadly to unprepared aspirants without recasting its political-military missions.³⁰

In 1993–1994, U.S. President Bill Clinton was swayed by German, Polish, and Czech pressures to support integrating into the West the newly democratic Eastern European states, but between 1993 and 1995 NATO remained too deeply fractured to agree either on enlargements or on “out-of-area” actions in the Yugoslav civil wars. Finally, in 1995 in

1995 U.S.–NATO and Croat interventions against the Bosnian Serbs made NATO peacekeeping inevitable to impose a tense regional peace with the 1995 Dayton Accords. Thereafter in 1995–97, Clinton could finally rely on allied and bipartisan domestic support to promote a slow NATO enlargement, while countering critics who decried the high costs of integrating into NATO economically and militarily weak aspirants or warned of a new Cold War along the Polish–Russian border. On the one hand, NATO’s 1994 Brussels Summit integrated all NAC-C and OSCE members into its new bilateral defense cooperation in the Partnership for Peace, but the 1995 *Study on NATO Enlargement* advocated alliance membership only for aspirants truly committed to transatlantic security burden-sharing and common values (democratization, pro-Western political-economic reforms, partnership activities, NATO peacekeeping, and use of geostrategic and logistic assets). On the other hand, Russia’s parallel integration into the West and Partnership for Peace was completed via the 1997 NATO–Russia Founding Act and the NATO–Ukraine Charter, which avoided isolating an embittered anti-Western Russia, secured Russian and Ukrainian troop participation in NATO’s Balkan peacekeeping efforts (IFOR-SFOR, KFOR), and kept in check Russia’s objections to the enlargements.

By 1997, strong U.S. and German advocacy pushed the allies to agree that at least the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia were worth integrating militarily and geostrategically into NATO. However, all 13 Central and Eastern European aspirants insisted that only their quick “bloc integration” into NATO and the EU would guarantee them full European identity, prosperity, and national security. Most aspirants also hoped to remain “consumers of security” by integrating into NATO at lower budgetary costs to enhance their economic conversion to capitalism and parallel EU integration between 2002 and 2007. After the steep decline of aspirant military establishments following their rejection of Soviet–Warsaw Pact domination, NATO saw aspirant “military criteria” (minimal military interoperability as “producers of security” with partnership cooperation, peacekeeping, and membership action plans) lagging behind geostrategic and “political criteria” (democracy, economic transformation, participation in the Partnership/EAPC), which all aspirants advocated as balancing their small size and weak MAPs.

The balance of these criteria favored only the strongest aspirants: the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, plus Slovakia and Slovenia. Poland and the Czech Republic protect Germany's eastern frontiers and bring NATO defenses up to the Russian–Belarus border, while Hungary, Slovakia, and Slovenia provide vital geostrategic land bridges linking NATO to the Balkans. Bulgaria, Croatia, and Romania sought to bolster their weak military candidacies and shallow democratization by stressing their role as a vital geostrategic land bridge linking Italy and Hungary with Greece and Turkey (Romania also anchors NATO's eastern border to Ukraine and Moldova, shoring up their independence), as well as their support of NATO operations in Bosnia (1995), Kosovo (1999), and Macedonia (2001). All 12 new allies who joined in 1999, 2002–04, and 2008 are good, sound members, but only Poland can field a large and well-prepared military, as the others labor in a decade-long process to complete MAPs, reshape their military to NATO standards, and implement realistic budgets and domestic reforms.³¹

NATO's enlargements between 1999 and 2008 faced the same challenges and policy options:

1. Lack of unifying external threats in the post-Cold War: The USSR's collapse freed the allies from their unifying external threat but also deprived them of a common vision for NATO's size, scope, and enlargement options, as a result of members' contrasting geostrategic views, aspirants' unreadiness, and fears of a NATO–Russian clash. Only the 9/11 Islamic terrorist attacks have fostered closer NATO–Russian ties against a new common threat.

2. Balkan instability: Five Balkan civil wars between 1991 and 2001 almost destroyed NATO because of its reluctance to intervene in inter-ethnic conflicts prior to 1995, and the diplomatic conundrum also prevented reaching allied consensus on NATO enlargement. Once the United States took the lead, NATO redefined its role to include averting wider wars by embracing “out-of-area” combat and peacekeeping missions. NATO has preserved regional Balkan stability (through political-economic reforms, democratization, and upholding minorities' rights), while slowly reducing peacekeeping forces by turning over more responsibilities to UN and EU civilian agencies. Billions of euros in EU funds and association accords are rebuilding the region (e.g., through the

EU Stability Pact). Finally, the 2004 NATO Istanbul Summit agreed to give full peacekeeping and operational control of Bosnia to the EU's own ESDP by year's end.

3. Russia's "red lines": Most Europeans dreaded even an enfeebled Russia, given its "red lines" against any NATO integration of former satellites (Eastern Europe) and republics (the Baltics, Ukraine, the Caucasus, and CIS states in Russia's "near-abroad" sphere of influence). Between 1997 and 1999, most allies reluctantly agreed that NATO's first enlargement would add only three Central and Eastern European aspirants (the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland), while excluding the controversial three Baltic states. NATO's enlargement strategy also minimized clashes with Russia by holding in Germany the bulk of alliance forces and tactical nuclear weapons as a minimal regional nuclear shield, while NATO forces in Eastern Europe would be drawn mostly from the new allies' militaries. The 1997 NATO–Russia Founding Act watered down the threat of Russian opposition to NATO enlargement, while the allies expected Washington to take the lead in countering any Russian retaliation, such as the much feared temporary suspension of arms control deals (as in 2007–08) by putting tactical nuclear weapons in Kaliningrad and pro-Russian Belarus.³²

Despite being the most volatile NATO partner, Russia only once suspended bilateral relations (1999–2000), in reaction to NATO's military operations against the former Yugoslavia during the Kosovo War, but never to protest NATO's previous enlargement. The allies also resisted Russian efforts to extract new "concessions" for its "acquiescence" to a second enlargement (implicit Western commitment to always exclude Moldova, the Caucasus, Ukraine, Belarus, and the CIS states as part of Russia's area of influence). By 2002, despite German and British objections, most allies discounted any Russian blow-out if NATO expanded even to all of the aspirants, and bipartisan U.S. pressure secured both Baltic and Balkan entry. Russia's self-interests and feeble military power prevented a rupture with NATO, so after failing to stop the enlargements, Moscow has maintained correct bilateral ties with most new allies (except local contrasts with the Baltic states).

4. Missile Defense (MD): Initial U.S.–Allied divisiveness over a U.S.-based National Missile Defense (NMD) plan against "rogue states" revealed many Europeans' fear of "decoupling" the transatlantic nuclear umbrella. On the one hand, Europeans feared Russia's anger over NMD

and the U.S. abrogation in 2001 of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. On the other hand, Europe and NATO remained split on how to reduce their vulnerability to future proliferation of WMDs by rogue states. Most allies believed they could postpone the WMD threat through preventive diplomacy and were skeptical of U.S. assertions of its immediacy and willingness to react forcibly if necessary. By spring 2002 President George W. Bush had broadened support by expanding the Missile Defense area from just North America to NATO as a whole through close military cooperation with Canada, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, and Turkey. Despite some pacifist opposition, the allies agreed to support MD, as they had no illusions about George W. Bush's determination to implement MD with or without them. Washington then defused allied concerns about Russia through a new U.S.–Russian Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty in 2002, cutting nuclear arsenals to less than 2,000 warheads each. U.S.–Russian cooperation extended to Moscow's acknowledgment that rogue states' WMD proliferation requires regional defenses, thus reconciling its rival 2001 proposal of joint EU–Russian anti-WMD theater missile defense. Even Chinese opposition became muted after 9/11. However, since spring–summer 2007, Russia denounced MD radars in the Czech Republic and Poland, stopped negotiating future Russian MD participation, and even froze Russian compliance with CFE and other East–West arms-control treaties.

5. NATO–EU defense harmonization and gaps: The traditional gap in NATO–EU defense capabilities had to be bridged by tying both organizations to the EU's European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (ESDI/P) through joint planning and tight political-military consultations, including all countries that became EU members between 2002 and 2007, plus Iceland, Norway, and Turkey—each given its shared security duties. ESDI/P's real test is to close the U.S.–allied defense capabilities gap, which was dramatically widened by the Kosovo War. The United States and NATO support ESDI/P's "Headline Goal" of building within a few years a 60,000-strong force for peacekeeping missions (actually numbering 180,000 men; once every six months the deployed troops are rotated together with out-processing forces and the next replacement contingent being readied). However, France's dreams of a European army and opposition to joint NATO–EU planning meant that NATO still feared being weakened as a "two-tiered alliance" should the EU fall short of its ambitious goal, which was possible given many EU members' inability to finance additional resources and forces. Further

grief came from Turkey's veto of agreed-upon NATO–EU joint planning, based on its fear that the EU would use NATO assets and Turkey's large forces without consulting Ankara in full. With France's dreams dashed, it is the EU's failure to narrow its capabilities gap with NATO that now limits ESDI/P to "low-end peacekeeping" in the Balkans.³³

Once these international challenges had been met or seriously addressed at NATO, enlargement and aspirants' preparedness took center stage in inter-allied diplomatic negotiations. Three U.S. administrations, under Presidents George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush, concurred that parallel NATO–EU enlargements represented the capstone of more than 50 years of struggling to integrate the continent's halves into a peaceful "Europe, united and free." NATO then addressed both the state of unreadiness of most aspirants and rival options through which various combinations of aspirants could be admitted as new NATO and EU members despite Russian opposition.

Between 1994 and 2002, the 13 aspirants' unreadiness provoked some U.S. critics and Great Britain to decry the exorbitant costs of enlarging NATO. However, they were overruled by the U.S. government, Germany, France, Italy, and most allies, who accepted in 1999 the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland because of their antiCommunist credentials, strong economic-democratic growth, geostrategic protection of Germany, and high level of combat readiness. Yet, Criticism of the disproportionate role of geostrategic and political criteria increased after 1999 when the three new allies failed to keep up with other NATO members' combat-readiness goals. On the other hand, in 2000 the 10 "left-out" aspirants formed the Vilnius Group to counter accusations of unreadiness and weak democracies by effectively streamlining their military integration and reforms through the "Open Door" and "Perry Principles" to meet objective "military criteria" as "producers of security."

Despite misgivings on the part of all aspirants and many allies, the "Perry Principles" for NATO membership crafted mandatory objective readiness benchmarks ("military criteria"). Aspirants submitted detailed, biannual MAPs to streamline political-military reforms, military budgets, resource allocation, peacekeeping, NATO-style training, interoperability, and civil-military professionalism. Mandatory MAP military readiness and "Perry Principles" constitute a virtual NATO *Acquis* process similar to the EU *Acquis Communautaire* extensive accession regulations, enhancing aspirants' defense planning, combat readiness,

and NATO interoperability for common European security. Weaker MAPs can be supported with stronger geostrategic and political criteria. By the 2002 Prague NATO Summit, all 10 aspirants had completed several six-month MAP cycles of painful political-economic and civil-military reforms, although only the three Baltic nations, Slovakia, and Slovenia were truly ready.³⁴

NATO's decision-making dynamics require gradual intergovernmental, diplomatic consensus, whereas both enlargements were shaped by quiet U.S. leadership and diplomacy to overcome recurrent "softness" or divisiveness in allied resolve, with minor members usually following Washington's lead on key aspirants and options.

NATO'S FIRST- AND SECOND-TRANCHE ENLARGEMENTS OPTIONS, 1994–2004

During NATO's first-tranche enlargement debates in 1994–1999, the the Allies initially feared Russia's opposition and consequently rejected U.S.–German proposals to enlarge NATO to some former Communist Eastern European states. In 1994–1995, agreement focused on just two aspirants (the Czech Republic and Poland) to minimize Russian opposition. But by 1996–1997, both the open U.S. endorsement of a larger enlargement and the weakening of Russia's opposition had split allied national interests over several rival options on behalf of four to seven aspirants. America, Germany, and most allies agreed on the "Visegrad-3 Mini-Enlargement" option (the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland; see table I.2) because they offered good militaries, politically important ethnic votes for U.S. elections, historical antiCommunist insurgencies (Hungary, 1956, 1989; Czech Republic, 1968, 1989; Poland, 1970, 1981, 1989), and the fastest democratic political-economic growth after the 1989 revolutions, reflecting NATO's own democratic values since the 1974–1975 fall of Fascism in Greece, Portugal, and Spain.

The controversial "Central and Eastern Europe (Visegrad-13)" option collapsed under the allies' cumulative fears of Russian "red lines" against enlargements and rejection of ethnically and politically unstable aspirants (Albania, Croatia, and Macedonia). Most allies, along with France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy, dodged the Russian "red lines" by accepting Poland and vetoing the controversial Baltic states,

Table I.2. NATO's First Enlargement Options, 1997–1999³⁵

1999 DECISION	1997 LIKELY	1997 REJECTED	II ENLARGEMENT 2002?
Visegrad-3 Mini-Enlargement CZECH REPUBLIC* HUNGARY* POLAND*	Maximalist-Mitteuropa Czech Republic Hungary Poland Romania Slovakia Slovenia	Central and Eastern European (Visegrad-13) Albania Croatia Bulgaria Czech Rep. Estonia Hungary Latvia Lithuania Macedonia Poland Romania Slovakia Slovenia	Left-outs (Vilnius-10) + Neutrals Albania Bulgaria Croatia Austria Estonia Latvia Lithuania Finland Macedonia Romania Ireland Slovakia* Slovenia Sweden

*Ready vs. weak aspirants

sponsored in NATO only by the marginalized Nordic countries (Denmark, Iceland, Norway, plus the EU's Finland and Sweden). Instead, all allies advocated Baltic membership first in the EU, then in a distant NATO third enlargement.

By 1997, rivalries among southern Allies (France, Greece, Italy, Spain, and Turkey) had resolved into cosponsoring, with the United States, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia, the "Maximalist-Mitteuropa" option. But between 1997 and 1999, U.S.-allied support for these aspirants waned because of their stalled political, military, and economic reforms; exclusive reliance on geostrategic and political criteria as consumers of security; and unstable, anti-Western, antireform governments (in Romania and Slovakia), which delegitimized them. U.S. pressures overcame French and Italian resistance, and the "Visegrad-3 Mini-Enlargement" option was chosen at NATO's Summits in Madrid (1997) and Washington (1999), despite severing geostrategic links to Hungary and opposition from the Nordic and southern allies.³⁶

Concerning NATO's second-tranche enlargement after 2002, the shock of NATO's Kosovo War led to a temporary decline in popular and elite support, political fatigue, and resentment, leaving the allies bereft of leadership. Inward-looking Germany was content with the first enlargement and indifferent about the future. Great Britain was marginalized by its steadfast opposition to both NATO enlargements as unready and too costly, but it never vetoed final alliance decisions. France and Italy played a low-key role after all the southern allies were upset by the 1997–1999 U.S. push to admit only the strongest Visegrad-3 aspirants; after 2000 the southern allies and Hungary "recandidated" Bulgaria, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Romania as new southern allies whose political, logistic, and military aid to peacekeeping in the Balkans would rebalance NATO's shift in 1999 toward northern aspirants under German influence.³⁷

In 1999–2000, most allies tacitly preferred that NATO's second enlargement accept at least a modest "2 + 1" option (see table I.3), with better-prepared Slovakia and Slovenia plus possibly Lithuania completing Central Europe's security integration and to geostrategically link isolated Hungary, while defusing Russian opposition. The allies feared any major enlargement would negate NATO's strategic gains by adding many militarily insignificant aspirants, whose greater numbers could weaken alliance cohesion and combat readiness while precipitating a

NATO–Russian clash over the Baltic states. Long-term costs would also be high: The “2 + 1” aspirants were too few and small, alienating the United States and those allies who favored Baltic and southern aspirants; Balkan and Baltic instability would remain; Russia would hold a “veto” on NATO decisions; and dispirited, “left-out” aspirants would shed costly reforms and blame NATO’s mini-options as a pretext to shut the “Open Door” to future members and reduce them to “buffer states.” In both enlargements minor allies settled for minimal options, like the “Visegrad-3 + Slovakia and Slovenia” or “2 + 1” options but always following the U.S. lead.

Many allies could even accept a “North-South” option that would avoid the controversial Baltic states while integrating the better-prepared Slovakia and Slovenia, plus geostrategically vital Bulgaria, Romania, and perhaps Croatia, despite their weak MAPs and domestic reforms. This would consolidate NATO’s defenses into a contiguous whole, linking historically isolated Greece, Hungary, and Turkey. All allies also rejected Albania and Macedonia, as the least-ready MAPs and unstable aspirants, postponing their case to a third enlargement (in 2008) that would include better-prepared Croatia and possibly EU “neutrals” to finish Europe’s dual NATO–EU integration of both institutions’ members and aspirants. Despite support from Bulgaria, Greece, Poland, Romania, and Turkey for Ukraine’s entry into NATO and EU, most allies oppose any future enlargement that would include economically weak and unstable countries (Bosnia, Kosovo, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, and Soviet successor states), while also fearing NATO’s ultimate watering down as a new OSCE saddled by “permanent objections” from Russia. The United States and allies rejected in April 2001 both the “Zero” and “Moratorium” options that would close or postpone the “Open Door” until a slower EU enlargement, because this would alienate aspirants, split NATO, and embolden Russian obstruction.³⁸

All Vilnius-10 aspirants, but few allies, advocated the maximalist “Big-Bang/Regata” options (2000 Vilnius Declaration), which were seen as stabilizing both Baltic and Balkan nations; limiting clashes with Russia by “hiding” Baltic entry in a one-sweep, wider enlargement; and linking isolated Greece, Hungary, and Turkey. But most of the aspirants were less ready or chronically unstable, with limited military and “consumers of security” (weaker MAPs and political-economic reforms). A

Table I.3. NATO's Second & Third Enlargements Options, 1999-2010³⁸

<i>2002 II Enlargement Decision</i>	<i>2002 Likely</i>	<i>2002 Unlikely</i>	<i>2008 III Enlargement</i>	<i>2010 IV Enlargement</i>
"Mini-Bang Enlargement" BULGARIA ESTONIA LATVIA LITHUANIA* ROMANIA SLOVAKIA SLOVENIA* 2002 UNLIKELY: "7+1 Mini-Bang" 7 Aspirants + Croatia*	"2 + Baltics" Slovakia* Slovenia* Estonia Latvia Lithuania*	"2 + 1" Slovakia* Bulgaria Slovenia* Romania Lithuania* Slovakia*	"Left-outs" CROATIA* ALBANIA* Macedonia (2008 rejected) Slovenia*	"Neutrals"? Austria Ireland Finland Sweden Malta Cyprus Switzerland
REJECTED OPTIONS: "Big-Bang"/"Regata" All 10 Aspirants (including Albania, Croatia, Macedonia)	EXPUNGED OPTIONS: "Zero"/"Moratorium" No Enlargement/Postponement of Years (expunged April 2001)			

*ready vs. weak aspirants.

major exception in both enlargements was Croatia, whose support of NATO against the former Yugoslavia in 1995 and 1999, combat-experienced troops, and vital geostrategic location allowed it finally to join the Partnership for Peace in May 2000, but its delayed entry into the “Vilnius Group” (2001), MAPs (2002), and EU membership talks (2003) postponed Croatia’s entry into NATO to April 2008. The allies rejected the sequential “Regata” (locked-in memberships with delayed individual entries upon completion of MAPs), unless the United States would push for it and the best-prepared “neutrals”—Austria, Finland, Ireland, Sweden—would join in to complete dual NATO–EU integration and joint power-projection through ESDI/P.

By 2001, the most likely options were the “2 + Balts/North” and “7/Mini-Bang,” initially supported only by a few allies (the Czech Republic, Denmark, Hungary, Iceland, Norway, and Poland) and opposed by Germany and Great Britain. Both options included the three best-prepared aspirants (Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia) and the barely ready but geostrategically vital ones (Estonia and Latvia, plus Bulgaria and Romania as swing aspirants in the second option). By early 2001, U.S. and allied support for all other minimalist options remained weak, strong opposition to the “Big-Bang” killed it, and support had increased for the “2 + Balts/North” option after President George W. Bush capitalized on domestic bipartisan support to advocate Baltic entry along with Slovakia and Slovenia, just as U.S.–Russian cooperation dispelled fears of a bilateral clash. Yet by mid-2002, this option also had waned, after the U.S. administration and Senate approved NATO enlargement funds for up to seven new allies (Freedom Support Act, June 2002), adding also Bulgaria and Romania to repay their political, logistic, and peacekeeping support of NATO in Bosnia and Kosovo.

Once again, the final decisive political factor was quiet U.S. diplomacy and strong bipartisanship for joint Baltic entry with Slovakia and Slovenia, later extended to Bulgaria and Romania. Concerns about Russian opposition were defused in 2001–2002 by closer U.S.–Russian and NATO–Russian ties on joint geostrategic actions: additional nuclear arms cuts, WMD nonproliferation, antiterrorism, and cooperation in Afghanistan. Thus, the “Mini-Bang” option was secretly agreed upon at NATO before its September 2002 Defense Ministerials in Warsaw, Poland, and the 2002 November Prague Summit accepted the seven new allies in 2004. The “Mini-Bang” option stabilized both the Baltic and Balkan countries while finally linking to NATO geostrategically

isolated Hungary, Greece, and Turkey. Contrary to anti-enlargement criticism, NATO proved that it could absorb many aspirants at relatively moderate costs despite uneven MAPs. The aspirants' minor military role and lower MAP bar (long-term military integration costs and economic weakness) were balanced by solving in one action all pending political-military controversies by locking in reforms, rounding out European defenses, and sidestepping Russia by hiding the Baltic countries in wider regional and dual NATO–EU expansions. The “left outs” were Croatia (the newest, most capable aspirant) plus the chronically unstable Albania and Macedonia. All three finally joined NATO in the 2008 third enlargement, once their reforms were completed, but Macedonia was vetoed by Greece as still unstable. The allies also hoped that several “neutrals” would finally join by 2010 (Austria, Finland, and Sweden).⁴⁰

Europe's post–Cold War historical unification was finally completed by parallel NATO–EU enlargements of 1999, 2002–2004, and 2008 (NATO's Washington, Prague, and Bucharest Summits, and the 2002 EU Copenhagen Summit), which added to the EU all new NATO allies of 1999–2008 (minus Croatia and Albania), plus Cyprus and Malta, and maybe Turkey after 2010, hopefully followed afterward by the last “hold-outs” (Croatia, Albania, Macedonia, Bosnia, Iceland, Norway, and Switzerland).⁴¹ (see table I.4)

TRANSATLANTIC CRISES AND NEW THREATS: WMD, 9/11, AFGHANISTAN, AND IRAQ

NATO's continued transatlantic security has been questioned cyclically since the USSR's collapse in 1989–1992. The magnitude of new threats, from Balkan ethno-nationalist wars to WMD proliferation to global Islamic terrorism, shocked America and Europe in the 1990s and 2001, “imperil[ing] NATO's goal of building a Europe whole, free and at peace,” according to U.S. ambassador to NATO Nicholas Burns. But instead of being “an alliance for a conflict with a Soviet Union that was no more,” as simplistic critics argued after the end of the Cold War, “NATO is at the center of nearly every major security issue facing Europe and America,” requiring the forging of common transatlantic policies on new threats, peacekeeping, Balkan stabilization, expanding to include new allies and partners, and even applying for the first time Article V collective defense to the post-9/11 “war on terror.” “Out-of-area”

Table 1.4. EU Fourth Enlargement Options, 2002–2010s⁴²

<i>COPENHAGEN DECISION 2002–2004</i>		<i>FOLLOW-UP 2007</i>	<i>1998–2004 OPTIONS</i>	<i>1999–2004 OPTIONS</i>	<i>2008–2010s FIFTH ENLARGEMENTS?</i>	
Luxembourg + Mini-Helsinki		Left-outs (3–4)	Luxembourg Group-6	Helsinki Group (6+1)	West Balkans + Hold-outs (2008–2010)? (2010s)?	
Cyprus	Czech Republic	Bulgaria		Turkey	Albania	Croatia
Estonia	Hungary	Latvia	Hungary	Lithuania		
Switzerland		Croatia?	Estonia	Malta		
Lithuania	Malta	Romania	Hungary	Romania	Bosnia	Serbia
Slovakia	Poland	Turkey?	Slovenia	Turkey	Macedonia	Iceland
						Moldova?

missions and the war on terror have expanded NATO's Euro-Atlantic area and strategic vision well beyond Europe's periphery, to include Mediterranean Dialogue partners, the Caucasus, Central Asian partners, and even Afghanistan, despite the increased strains on allies and partners of additional peacekeeping missions. The political-military decline of Russia has curtailed opposition, while assiduous U.S. diplomatic efforts to "defuse" Russia have sought since 2001 to co-opt Sino-Russian national security needs to support the U.S.-led global war on Islamic fundamentalist terrorism through even closer cooperation on missile defense, nuclear arms cuts, European security, and the NATO-Russia Joint Partnership Council.

NATO's Summits at Prague (2002) and Istanbul (2004) also confronted new threats (international terrorism and WMD proliferation) made inescapable by the 9/11 terrorist attacks and NATO's commitment since 2001 "to strike at threats anywhere in the world, and harden domestic targets and urban centers against terrorists with WMD and missiles." The NATO-Russia Council addressed the long-neglected terrorist threat with international coordination and new NATO capabilities (airlifts, precision-guided missiles, missile defense, nonproliferation, and modernization). But the severe transatlantic rift of 2003–2004 cast doubt on NATO's past successes on enlargements and peacekeeping, as well as on the U.S. global leadership role as "sole superpower."⁴³

America's "first-tier" strategy against new threats had spearheaded the Second Afghan War in 2001–2002, followed by NATO's International Security Assistance Force-Afghanistan (ISAF) peacekeeping and NATO-Russian-EU cooperation against terrorism and WMD through NATO's Rapid Deployment Force alongside the EU's sluggish ESDI/P. Speculation that the United States discounted NATO increased when Washington chose not to fight exclusively an alliance war (Article V), but kept the Second Afghan War a three-tiered global coalition, based first on U.S.-British forces, followed by an ad hoc coalition, then by NATO's ISAF peacekeepers. This inter-allied controversy over U.S. "unilateralist" policies under George W. Bush was soon overshadowed by growing sharp international and allied divisiveness over the U.S.-led coalition fighting the Second Gulf War in Iraq, which kept the divided UN, NATO, and EU out of this new conflict. Atlantic relations were shaken: France, Germany, and a few other members opposed NATO's involvement, but most allies joined the anti-Iraq coalition.

On the one hand, the rift was sparked by U.S. President George W. Bush's highly controversial "Preventive Doctrine," which added to his war on Islamic fundamentalist terror (the "first tier") a parallel "second tier" of preventive "out-of-area" campaigns against rogue states (the "axis of evil": Iraq, North Korea, Iran, and Libya), which were seeking proliferation of WMD and ballistic missiles. The urgency to quickly strike diplomatically and/or militarily at rogue states (especially Iraq) before they could mature their individual WMD programs was based on Bush's unsubstantiated allegations that Iraq or others could provide WMD technologies to Islamic terrorists as a way to indirectly strike at the West. Such fears could seem plausible in the context of the compelling international consensus among U.S., UN, and all the powers' intelligence services, plus high-placed witnesses (like Saddam Hussein's sons-in-law, before he had them killed) that some Iraqi WMD programs and weapons had survived the First Gulf War (1990–1991), UN sanctions, and UN inspectors' forced disarmament (1991–1996). Thus, in 2001–2003 George W. Bush and the U.S. "neo-cons" focused on Iraq as the next target of the "Preemptive Doctrine" against WMDs. After the Second Gulf War in 2003, these intelligence allegations (WMDs and ties to Al-Qaeda) were found to be embarrassingly unsubstantiated.⁴⁴

Starting in fall 2002, America's "second-tier" strategy was widely condemned as unilateralist and publicly rejected by Russian, Chinese, and French calls for multilateralism, supported by an unlikely front of a few allies/partners (France, Germany, Greece, Belgium, Turkey, Austria, and Sweden), semi-rivals (Russia, China), and Western leftist public opinion (in Great Britain, Italy, and Spain). Acrimonious public opposition and growing anti-Americanism scuttled U.S. attempts to forge an interventionist consensus and enlist the UN, EU, and NATO in the coalition to fight a Second Gulf War against Iraq, but it could not prevent the war. Although all allies, partners, the EU, the UN, Russia, and China agreed that WMD proliferation put all countries equally at risk, they still supported diplomatic responses and America's "third-tier" international strategy of multilateral pressures and sanctions. The dramatic nuclear "race" between North Korea in 2002 (which violated its 1995 accord with the United States and the 1967 Non-Proliferation Treaty) and Islamic Iran in 2003 (also an NPT transgressor) is at best being slowly and painfully "negotiated away" and at worst being contained by multilateral diplomatic pressures and threats of sanctions. In 2004 Libya and in 2007 North Korea agreed to full U.S./UN inspections

and disarmament of their WMD programs. The “Iraqi lesson” had perversely accelerated the first two rogue states’ WMD arms race, as a hoped-for national shield or bargaining chip against “preventive” U.S. strikes after the defeat of Iraq, and only Libya took the lesson to heart by successfully bargaining away its WMDs in exchange for international reintegration and the end of a decade of debilitating UN sanctions, which were punishment for its terrorist activities of the 1970s and 1980s.

The international and transatlantic objections to America’s uncoordinated “three-tiered” strategy against new threats is due mostly to resentment and fear of unilateral U.S. global strength as the sole superpower in the post–Cold War world, coupled with the realization that the strategy is just a series of ad hoc, knee-jerk policy reactions to the 9/11 terrorist attacks and WMD threats, not a long-range, multilateral, new doctrine based on diplomatic leadership of all allies, partners, the UN, the EU, Russia, and China on common security concerns. Thus, the global storm of anti-U.S. criticism reflects the dramatic chasm in style and international authority between George H. W. Bush’s Desert Storm coalition against Iraq in 1990–1991, which quickly defeated Saddam, versus George W. Bush’s Second Gulf War coalition, which destroyed Iraq and captured Saddam but fractured the country among rival Iraqi insurgencies (Baathists and nationalist Sunnis, Al-Qaeda Islamic terrorists, and Shi’a fundamentalists).⁴⁵

But especially troubling were the Franco–German antiwar vetoes (backed by a few other allies, plus Russia and China) against the U.S.-led Second Gulf War in Iraq, which risked undermining NATO’s 50 years of common security gains and transatlantic solidarity, until in 2006–2007 the German and French governments reversed their positions to support of U.S. policies. The stark Franco–German opposition was the product of both domestic leftist-pacifists (in Germany and other European countries) and anti-American nationalist opposition (in France, Russia, and China). In Germany, seeking to salvage his razor-thin majority in the face of massive economic woes, Socialist Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder embraced strong pacifist rhetoric, sacrificing traditional U.S.–German bonds by gambling on strong pacifist undercurrents in Germany (and in the formerly Communist East German *Länder*). In France, Gaullist-Conservative President Jacques Chirac’s overwhelming hold on power gave fresh impetus to Paris’s international ambitions, rationalized via the diplomatic rhetoric that UN

inspectors needed a few more months in Iraq and that France would lead the “international community” in opposition to a preemptive war against Saddam as both unnecessary and untimely.

Yet the real essence of this bitter transatlantic divisiveness was not France’s and Germany’s opposition to America within NATO, the EU, and the UN, but rather the unprecedented tone and acrimoniously public anti-Americanism that characterized the antiwar opposition, breaking, for the sake of national (France) and domestic (Germany) expediency, nearly 40 years of inter-allied Cold War courtesy and diplomatic “agreements to disagree” on controversial common security issues since earlier painful transatlantic clashes (the 1956 Suez Canal War and France’s 1966 rejection of NATO’s integrated military command). This transatlantic confrontation was also the result of Chirac’s diplomatic débâcle, when he and his advisors became entrapped by their own ideological views and totally misjudged both the Bush administration’s political-military determination and France’s capability to internationally impose its own “independentist” diplomacy. At the UN, France wholly blocked the Security Council, together with Russia, China, and Germany, but at the price of almost threatening an unprecedented “veto” against the United States and Great Britain. France has been marginal in NATO since 1966, in spite of its potential veto of alliance involvement in Iraq being backed by Germany, Greece, and Belgium. French influence at the EU has rapidly waned since 2002, the result of many European members’ resentment of Chirac’s high-handed leadership there and attempts to split ESDI/P from NATO; France’s failure in 2005 to ratify the EU Constitution it had crafted further isolated it. Even French ascendancy through the old “Franco–German axis” has disappeared since 2005, when Berlin’s government changed and German diplomacy switched to a pro-American policy.⁴⁶

This dramatic transatlantic rift and international opposition did not stop the United States from waging war against Iraq, in fact strengthening the Bush administration’s view of NATO, the UN, and the EU as institutions whose exclusive commitment to diplomatic mediation constrains U.S. global interventions against unconventional threats rather than supporting transatlantic resolve. Although deeply divided domestically over George W. Bush’s leadership, America remains the sole superpower, committed to a failing Iraq regardless of virulent anti-coalition insurgency. Europe has also been targeted by mass terrorism (such

as in Madrid in 2002, in Casablanca in 2003, in London in 2005, and at Heathrow in 2006).⁴⁷

The “Arc of Crisis” in the 1990s–2000s indicates the global emergence of diffused new threats (WMDs, ethno-nationalist civil wars, Islamic terrorism, illegal migration, drug trafficking, pandemics, ecological blight), which contrasted starkly with the optimistic Euro-transatlantic “Arc of Stability” that replaced Cold War divisions with a new spirit of international cooperation. The dynamics and the security requirements of both “arcs” pushed NATO and the United States to implement their third major military reorganization in 12 years, to better cope with the entire range of both eventualities. On the one hand, NATO’s Central Front Allied Command Europe (ACE) was changed into Allied Command Operations (ACO), with responsibility for operations throughout the entire NATO and Euro–Atlantic area, and Allied Command Atlantic is now Allied Command Transformation (ACT), focusing on innovative technologies and policies. On the other hand, after years of planning the United States announced in 2004 that between 2006 and 2016 it would massively restructure its forces for the third time since the end of the Cold War, by pulling 70,000–100,000 troops and 100,000 dependents out of Europe and Asia. In 2004 the United States had 100,000 troops in Europe, mostly in Germany, where 70,000 are deployed. Fifty percent of these will leave, including two U.S. armored divisions. The U.S. Navy–Europe London Headquarters will be moved to AFSOUTH in Naples. NATO bases in Germany will be cut, and thousands of U.S. troops will be transferred to new rapid-deployment bases in Eastern European countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Romania).

Half of the 100,000 U.S. troops in the Asia-Pacific theater will leave within a decade, including some from South Korea, but the 150,000 U.S. troops in Afghanistan and Iraq will remain deployed for some time. Ninety percent of the coalition forces are U.S. troops, and 90 percent of casualties are also American, while coalition members in Iraq are gradually pulling out (Spain, Italy, Portugal, Poland, and Great Britain). The long-term U.S. and NATO defense restructuring, with the United States planning to pull 35,000 U.S. troops out of Germany in a decade, is justified by global strategic repositioning and training difficulties resulting from German environmental laws, not as “punishment” of Berlin for opposition in 2002–2005.

Once the UN openly supported the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq and Franco–German opposition dwindled, both allies publicly mended fences with America and NATO, at the 2004 Istanbul, 2006 Riga, and 2008 Bucharest Summits. At those summits the new Eastern European allies were formally integrated into both NATO and EU (plus Croatia and Albania only in NATO in 2008); NATO–Russian antiterrorism coordination was expanded to the EU; NATO turned over to the EU its peacekeeping in Macedonia (EURFOR in mid-2003) and Bosnia (EURFOR in December 2004); NATO agreed to train Iraqi forces battling insurgents; ISAF’s peacekeeping in Afghanistan was expanded to the entire country, with NATO fighting the resurgent Taliban terrorists in 2006–2008; the alliance’s “out-of-area” reach has been expanded to encompass as new partners both the Mediterranean Dialogue and Gulf states (via the Istanbul Initiative); while new Strategic Partnerships in 2006–2008 have been formed with Australia, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea, India, and Pakistan. Finally, domestic political shifts in 2006 brought Berlin back to its traditional pro-U.S. posture, under Chancellor Angela Merkel, followed surprisingly in 2007 by conservative French President Nicolas Sarkozy’s own pro-U.S. ties and June 2008 reintegration in NATO’s military command.⁴⁸

CONCLUSION: NATO AND THE FUTURE OF TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY

Fifteen years after the dramatic end of the Cold War and the USSR, NATO’s enduring strong security role, triple restructuring of forces, and expanding missions confounded critics, who in the early 1990s and again after 2001 predicted its demise. America’s commitment to European security after two world wars, the Cold War, and new post–Cold War crises remains vital. NATO has been revamped, from a regional–international defensive alliance that deterred the Soviet threat of invasion to a global collective security network of expanding allies and partners within the broader Euro–Atlantic and Mediterranean areas, with “out-of-area” peacekeeping missions for regional stability, arms control, WMD antiproliferation, and antiterrorism.⁴⁹

The NATO and EU enlargements in 1999–2008 and by 2010 will “strengthen the Alliance and the community of democracy in Europe, Eastward, Southward and onward,” reaching 28 to 30 members by

2010. Yet any future “NATO at 30” must also revise decision-making and voting by strengthening recent unofficial NATO rules that limit unanimous consensus to Article V collective defense and enlargements, plus introducing a “consensus-minus-one” voting formula on Article IV noncollective defense missions. Critics worry that a “NATO at 30” will have integrated too quickly too many militarily weak “free riders,” leaving it a hollow “toothless, political institution” like the OSCE, unable to increase military capabilities in line with its rising security commitments. It is also Russia’s secret hope to emasculate NATO, despite the 2002 NATO–Russia Council enhancing its voice without vetoes in NATO (on terrorism, peacekeeping, and regional crises) or Russia’s attempts to flex its muscle internationally through higher oil prices and by halting temporally since 2007 East–West arms control accords.⁵⁰

NATO’s expanded defenses, global commitments, and geostrategic enlargements do require more defense allocations, not less European burden sharing (most allies spend less than 2 percent of GNP on defense, and this situation has worsened with the post-Cold War “peace-dividend”), to keep strengthening European security, peace, and democracy on the periphery at a fraction of the cost of independent national defenses. In the face of wavering, pacifist-leaning public opinion and the pervasiveness of a diffused “Arc of Crises” and new threats, NATO must remain the key U.S.–European and Western political-strategic conduit for international security, with all allies quickly adding their forces to those of the United States for joint Euro–Atlantic missions in “out-of-area” crises or U.S.-led coalitions. This will also strengthen Europe’s voice in transatlantic debates and dampen new U.S. “unilateral” adventures. Otherwise, U.S. leadership failures under any administration to forge and maintain a broad global diplomatic consensus among its global alliances will only exacerbate divisiveness among key allies and the UN, as well as a sense of drift at home.⁵¹

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The Dictionary

– A –

ABKHAZIA. *See* OSCE MISSION TO GEORGIA.

ACCIDENTAL WAR. Cold War concept that an East–West conflict between the **nuclear**-armed **United States** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and the **Soviet Union (USSR)** and **Warsaw Pact** could accidentally spark a nuclear **World War III**. The most common scenario focuses on mutual misperceptions that an accidental launch of **intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM)**, missile tests, or a space missile launch could be perceived by the other side as a nuclear strike. To prevent this threat, the superpowers accepted bilateral **confidence-building measures (CBMs)** and **arms control** notification prior to missile tests. Nuclear-armed India and Pakistan do not have such CBM missile-launch notifications, and they routinely alternate secrecy and sudden test launches to surprise their adversary as diplomatic-military provocations.

ACHESON, DEAN G. (1893–1971). Influential lawyer, diplomat, and U.S. secretary of state. Acheson was born on 11 April 1893 in Middletown, Connecticut; he received a B.A. from Yale (1915) and a law degree from Harvard (1918). An influential lawyer and key figure in the Democratic Party, under President Franklin D. Roosevelt he became undersecretary at the Treasury Department (1933–1945). He was central in creating the 1940 U.S.–British–Dutch oil embargo against Japan’s expansionism, which provoked its 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor; the 1941 Lend-Lease Act to support **Great Britain**; the International Monetary Fund (1945); and the World Bank (1945).

The closest confidant of President **Harry S. Truman**, he became undersecretary of state and acting secretary of state (1945–1948); was central in applying worldwide the U.S. **strategy of containment** devised by George Kennan against the Soviet Union (USSR) through the **Truman Doctrine**, **Marshall Plan**, and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. He replaced General **George C. Marshall** as secretary of state (1948–1953).

Acheson's first foreign policy task was to conclude the final talks on the **North Atlantic Treaty** (Washington, 4 April 1949) among the **United States**, **Canada**, and **Brussels Pact** nations (**Belgium**, **France**, Great Britain, **Luxembourg**, and the **Netherlands**), including the decision to invite others to become member-states. The **allies** and U.S. officials agreed on the geostrategic value of **Denmark** (for Baltic Sea access), **Iceland** (as the North Atlantic linchpin between North America and Great Britain), and **Portugal** (as the central Atlantic linchpin, with the Azores Islands, to the Mediterranean). But between December 1948 and February 1949, disagreements arose about the geostrategic value of **Norway** (in the North Sea) and **Italy** (in the Mediterranean), with many U.S. and allied officials swayed by Acheson to add Norway, but rejecting Italy (as a former enemy), until French pressures and Italian support of Atlanticism led Truman to add both states, bringing NATO's founding members to 12.

Acheson was vilified for his unfortunate foreign policy remarks in 1950 about East Asia being a "U.S. defense perimeter arc" from Japan to Australia, omitting South Korea and thus indirectly encouraging Communist North Korea's invasion of the South in June 1950. Acheson swiftly convinced Truman to craft a **United Nations (UN) Article 42** combat mandate for a U.S.-led international coalition to fight the **Korean War** (1950–1953) under U.S. General Douglas MacArthur, with most NATO allies joining on an individual basis, because the **alliance** was still being organized as an integrated military pact by **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** U.S. General **Dwight D. Eisenhower**. Soviet **veto**s in the Security Council threatened UN participation in the Korean War, but the **Acheson Plan** (3 November 1950), renamed "**Uniting for Peace Resolution**" by the U.S.-controlled General Assembly, bypassed the deadlocked Security Council. Acheson also convinced Truman in 1950 to rescind his opposition to France's First **Vietnam War**

(1946–1954), providing U.S. aid to finance up to 75 percent of the French military effort, as part of the global containment of Soviet-led global communism. Ironically, Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy and Richard Nixon accused Acheson and Truman of “**appeasement**” because containment was seen as not aggressive enough and because Truman had sacked MacArthur for publicly criticizing the president for not using **nuclear weapons** against the USSR and China.

In retirement, Acheson was a key foreign policy advisor to President **John F. Kennedy**, helping craft the U.S. strategy of Flexible Response, and in his ExComm cabinet during the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis**, as well as to **Lyndon B. Johnson**, on the Second Vietnam War (1964–1975), advising peace talks with Communist North Vietnam, and even ex-enemy Nixon. Acheson won the Pulitzer Prize (1970). He died on 12 October 1971.

ACHESON PLAN (1950), UN. See “UNITING FOR PEACE RESOLUTION.”

ACP COUNTRIES. Term used by the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)** for its aid and preferential trade ties to its members’ ex-colonies in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific (ACP) to help their economic development, through the two Yaoundé (1963, 1968) and four Lomé Conventions (1975–present). The ACP system has institutions similar to the EU: a Council of Ministers, Committee of Ambassadors, and **Joint Assembly**. The EU’s **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)** in the 1990s, and its **European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI/P)**, make the ACPs potential areas of involvement by EU **peacekeeping** and **humanitarian** missions (**Petersberg Tasks/Criteria**), such as **Great Britain’s** 2001 operation in Sierra Leone and **France’s** 2003 operation in Congo, as **Nation-Cadre/Leaders**.

ACQUIS COMMUNAUTAIRE, EU. French technical term for “acquisition” of the Community: the non-negotiable 31 chapters of the *Acquis Communautaire* are the **European Union’s (EU)** entire body of laws, treaties, and regulations that all candidate/**aspirant** states must adopt upon joining the EU. It includes EU principles and political goals; synchronized national–EU legislation; European Court of Jus-

tice decisions; EU justice and internal affairs; EU **Common Foreign and Security Policy**; and international agreements between EU members. Each aspirant can only negotiate with the EU presidency and **European Commission** chapters and timetables, or limited “transition periods” of three to seven years. Then the European Council must unanimously admit a new member, and the European Parliament ratifies this by absolute majority vote, followed by ratification by all EU members and aspirants or popular referenda. Only **Norway** (1973, 1995) and **Switzerland** (1995), after being accepted by the EU, were kept out by negative domestic referenda (**Great Britain** won its referendum in 1972). The *Acquis Communautaire*’s complexity was greatest in the **EU enlargements** of 2002–2007, which brought in East European aspirants (Helsinki and Luxembourg Groups), following the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Enlargements**.

ACTION PLANS FOR EASTERN EUROPE AND SOUTH MEDITERRANEAN, EU. *See* EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY.

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON DEPLETED URANIUM (AHCDU), NATO. Formed by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to study and finally refute false allegations by **Yugoslavia** and human rights NGOs that NATO’s depleted uranium munitions, used during the 1999 Kosovo War, posed health risks. The committee met in January 2001 with NATO’s **Committee of the Chiefs of Military Medical Services (COMEDS)**, consisting of the surgeons-general of the **allies**; 19 NATO allies; 30 **partners** and non-NATO members of the NATO-led **peacekeeping forces** in the **Balkans** (SFOR, KFOR); **Yugoslavia**; the World Health Organization; the UN Environmental Programme; the **Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)**; and the **European Union (EU)**. All international scientific and medical inquiries rejected allegations of radiological contamination.

ADENAUER, KONRAD (1876–1967). Germany’s second “Iron Chancellor,” during the Cold War. Born on 5 January 1876 in Cologne (Köln), Konrad Adenauer was leader of the Zentrum

Catholic Party and mayor of Cologne (1917–1933), as well as president of the State Council of Prussia (1922–1933). Under Nazi Germany he was removed from power and was briefly imprisoned twice, in 1933 and 1944. After Nazi Germany was defeated in **World War II** (1939–1945), Adenauer was one of a few respected Germans who helped soften the **Allied** and **U.S.** military occupation, and he was re-instated by the United States as mayor of Cologne (1945), only to be ousted yet again by a hostile **Great Britain**.

Between 1946 and 1948 Adenauer focused on unifying all Catholic and conservative political factions into the new interconfessional Christian-Democratic Party (CDU-CSU), the largest pro-Western **force** in West Germany, as well as becoming the architect of the country's postwar industrial and political revival under U.S. tutelage. Adenauer became the Allies' president of the Parliamentary Council, forging Germany's pro-Western new constitution, the Grundgesetz. When the Federal Republic of West Germany was created in April 1949 by unifying the U.S., British, and French Occupation Zones, Adenauer became its first chancellor (1949–1963), as well as foreign minister (1951–1957), with a four-tiered foreign policy: national reconstruction and acceptance as a democratic equal by the democratic **West**; national reunification with the help of the Western Allies to eventually eject the Soviet Union (USSR) from Communist East Germany; Franco-German reconciliation; and German rearmament, with entry into the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. In May 1950, Adenauer accepted a proposal by **Jean Monnet** on behalf of French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman to pool French and German industrial production of coal and steel and to integrate resources with other European states. All three agreed that only a peaceful European integration would enable West Germany to become internationally rehabilitated and end Allied control over domestic and foreign policies. The 1950 Schuman Plan led to the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952, with **Belgium**, France, Germany, **Italy**, **Luxembourg**, and the **Netherlands** as members, but not Great Britain.

Adenauer's other goals were German rearmament and **alliance** with the United States, which were enhanced by the **Korean War** (1950–1953), and the Hallstein Doctrine (1950s–1968) imposed the requirement on most states to never recognize East Germany. At the

1950 **NATO Summit** at the Plaza Hotel in New York, U.S. President **Harry S. Truman** forcefully pressed the European Allies to let West Germany remilitarize and join NATO as an equal Ally (the “**Bomb on the Plaza**” speech) and a frontline defense against any Soviet invasion of Western Europe. However, the Europeans’ overwhelming hostility to Germany’s rearmament and entry into NATO just five years after World War II prompted Monnet to influence French Prime Minister René Plevén into proposing the **Plevén Plan** (October 1950) for a **European Defence Community (EDC)**, in which a multinational European Army would rearm and integrate German troops at the company level, not as an independent national **force**. Monnet had crafted behind the scenes the Schuman Plan, ECSC, Plevén Plan, and EDC as sequential integrated tools to both support and institutionally constrain the resurgent West Germany within an integrated, peaceful Europe. The six ECSC members signed the EDC Treaty of Paris (27 May 1952) and Petersberg Accords, giving West Germany full independence and rearmament, while transforming Allied Occupation **forces** into partners. However, the death of Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** in 1953 and the end of the Korean War eased international fears of an East–West **World War III**, thus allowing France’s indifferent government and hostile Senate in 1954 to dismiss any need for German forces and scuttle Germany’s rearmament by unexpectedly refusing to ratify the EDC. U.S. threats to abandon NATO were tempered by British intervention to broker West Germany’s independent rearmament in 1954 by bringing it and **Italy** into a revamped 1948 Brussels Pact, renamed the **Western European Union (WEU)**, and by 1955 into NATO as well, as its 15th member. Finally, under Italy’s influence the 1957 Treaty of Rome further widened the ECSC economic zone as the **European Economic Community (EEC or EC)**.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Adenauer strove to improve Franco–German rapprochement as vital for both a successful European integration and Germany’s full rehabilitation, through close relations with Schuman and imperious President **Charles de Gaulle**. However, critics in the United States and the entire German political élite, from the ruling CDU and Adenauer’s own cabinet to the opposition Social Democrats (SDP), feared this close rapprochement as a Gaullist ploy to “steal” Germany away from its U.S. ally. De Gaulle’s

anti-Americanism would undermine the vital U.S. security protection of West Germany, just as de Gaulle's **Fouchet Plan** (1962) was seen as undermining both U.S. and NATO roles in European security. Indeed, the Fouchet Plan proposed an institutional framework for regular security and foreign policy consultations among the six EC members. De Gaulle's initiative was rejected by the EC, despite Adenauer's controversial support, because the plan sought to implement de Gaulle's calls for a "Europe of Nations" based on intergovernmental ties and French leadership, rather than on strengthening the EC's supranational European integration on foreign policy and security, which most members wanted. More important, most Europeans feared negative repercussions on their own national security if the Fouchet Plan were to replace the U.S.-led NATO with an alternative weak and uncertain French-led European security system. NATO's and EC's rejections stopped de Gaulle's schemes to replace U.S. influence in Europe.

However, de Gaulle was still seeking to detach West Germany from U.S. influence and offered Adenauer institutionalization of Franco-German ties by bilaterally holding summits on international, economic, and cultural issues. The **Élysée Treaty** (Paris, January 1963) finalized the Franco-German rapprochement, but its ratification in West Germany also forced the 87-year-old chancellor to resign. His domestic position had already been shaken by the U.S.-led **multilateral (nuclear) force (MNF)** controversy, which had isolated West Germany, and now both the ruling CDU and opposition SPD jointly ratified a weakened form of the Élysée Treaty that subordinated Franco-German ties to West Germany's primary commitment to existing multilateral obligations (NATO, EC, and the UN). Then the Neo-Atlanticist CDU government under Chancellor Ludwig Erhard strengthened German ties to the United States and NATO, downplaying ties with France. Franco-German bonds were revamped only in the 1970s, increasing ever since. Adenauer died on 19 April 1967. *See also* EUROCORPS.

ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES/MANDATES, UN/LoN. In 1919–1920, the **League of Nations** established a "mandate system," largely inspired by the **United States**, to avoid annexation by the victorious Allied powers of **World War I** (1914–1918) of ex-colonial

possessions of **Germany** in Africa and Pacific and of **Turkey** in the Middle East. The mandates were administered by Allied colonial powers in trust, not annexed. **Great Britain** controlled Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, and Tanganyika; South Africa got Southwest Africa/Namibia; **France** got Syria, Lebanon, Kamerun, and Togo; and Japan got most of the Pacific islands. Colonial administration of the mandates was to promote their future self-determination, as agreed by the League of Nations' Permanent Mandates Commission. All A mandates (in the Middle East) were to become independent within 15 to 25 years, but B mandates (Cameroon, Tanganyika, and Togo) and C mandates (Namibia and the Pacific Islands) were deemed too underdeveloped for independence.

The mandate system was the second experiment to internationally control dependent territories, short of granting them independence, and as a system it was relatively more organized and long-lasting than the great powers' earlier failed attempts to patrol and quarantine ex-Turkish Crete in the 1890s to keep it from annexing itself to **Greece** while warding off any Turkish reconquest. The failure to establish mandates over landlocked, war-torn **Armenia** and Kurdistan in 1920, because both the United States and **Italy** refused to be saddled with such an undesirable "gift," undermined for decades those countries' emergence as independent nation-states. Russian Armenia was briefly independent following the collapse of Czarist **Russia** and the Russian civil war (1917–1919), only to be reabsorbed into the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1922. It eventually regained independence in 1992, after collapse of the USSR. Turkish Armenians were exterminated in the 1915 Armenian genocide. Turkish Kurdistan was split among Turkey, Iraq, and Syria, plus a part in Iran. The Turkish Kurds frequently revolted against and were brutal repressed by these states, including Iraq's **ethnic cleansing** of 1988–1989 (the **Anfal Campaigns**) and 1991, after the Kurdish insurrection following the **First Gulf War**. Eventually, international condemnation spurred U.S. and British action to seal off northern Iraqi Kurdistan with "**no-fly zone**" air patrols and direct assistance, eventually bringing complete autonomy to all of Iraqi Kurdistan after the 2003 **Second Gulf War**, although there was international opposition to any formal Kurdish independence.

After **World War II** (1939–1945), the League of Nations merged with the **United Nations (UN)**, which added the mandates to other UN “trust territories” taken from the defeated **Axis** powers: Great Britain administered Libya and Somalia, taken from Fascist Italy, while the United States administered the Pacific Islands, taken from imperial Japan, until the 1990s. The African B mandates/“trust territories” became independent by 1965, alongside colonial Africa, although South Africa refused to allow Namibia’s independence until the early 1990s.

AFGHANISTAN, NATO PARTNER. Republic landlocked in mountainous Central Asia with an area of 647,500 square kilometers, bordering China, Iran, Pakistan, **Tajikistan**, **Turkmenistan**, and **Uzbekistan**. The capital is Kabul. It is a multi-ethnic Muslim country (80 percent Sunnis, 19 percent Shia, and 1 percent other), with a population of around 31 million (42 percent Pashtuni, 27 percent Tajiki, 9 percent Hazara, 9 percent Uzbeki, 4 percent Aimak, 3 percent Turkmeni, 2 percent Baluchi and 4 percent others), including 4 million refugees who returned from Pakistan and Iran.

From the 1800s through **World War I** (1914–1918), Afghanistan was a geostrategic **buffer zone** between rival Czarist **Russia** in Central Asia and **Great Britain** in India, but neither power succeeded in annexing the country. After World War I and the 1917 Russian Revolution, Afghanistan became a weak, independent monarchy in 1920. After **World War II** (1939–1945), both the Cold War (1946–1990) and the demise of British rule in the Indian subcontinent made Afghanistan the geostrategic linchpin between the **Soviet Union (USSR)**, Communist China, and two vital regional **allies** of the **United States**, Iran and Pakistan. Increasingly influenced by the USSR, in spring 1978 the Afghan government fell to a pro-Soviet coup d’état by the Marxist Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan and army officers, who imposed centralized controls and crash modernizing reforms on the traditional tribal-based society. The result was widespread Islamic fundamentalist rebellion, expanding by winter 1978–1979 into civil war. The USSR already controlled the new communist state through a 1978 bilateral treaty and military aid, but deteriorating security pushed the Soviet Politburo to intervene

directly to stave off Communist Afghanistan's collapse, which risked undermining the ideological legitimacy of Marxism–Leninism and the **Brezhnev Doctrine**, as well as opening Soviet Muslim Central Asia to the spread of Islamic fundamentalist rebellion among the related ethnic populations of Tadjiks and Uzbeks. Soviet troops deployed as advisors in summer–autumn 1979, but by 12 December 1979 the Soviet Politburo ordered an outright invasion to stop internecine power struggles savaging the Afghan Communists and to stave off local *mujahideen* insurgents.

The invasion of Afghanistan by 110,000 Soviet troops in late December 1979 was a major turning point in the Cold War and U.S.–Soviet relations, ending the decade-long coexistence of East–West **détente**. As in earlier Soviet repressions in **Hungary** in 1956 and **Czechoslovakia** in 1968, the Kremlin justified the Afghan invasion as being “requested” by the new local Communist leadership and as a “defensive” policy to halt the spread within the **Soviet bloc** of foreign instabilities and calls for reform. At the same time, the United States was seen as weak, reeling from the 1979 loss of pro-U.S. Iran to an Islamic fundamentalist revolution. The USSR openly courted Iran despite the global condemnation of its arrest of 50 U.S. diplomats (the Tehran hostage crisis). The United States swiftly condemned the First Afghan War as a Soviet threat to vital Western oil routes through the Gulf and Strait of Hormuz; terminated détente; launched a massive rearmament; and through the 1980 **Carter Doctrine** extended military protection to the Gulf by creating a **rapid-reaction force**, renamed **U.S. Central Command**. The invasion of Afghanistan was also condemned by the **United Nations (UN)**, the **West**, pro-U.S. moderate Arab states, nonaligned states, Pakistan, and China, but any UN Security Council action was **vetoed** by the USSR. Controversial U.S.-led proposed Western **sanctions** against the USSR fizzled over **NATO's** inability to overcome dissent by **France**, West **Germany**, and many other allies, who hoped for a compromise, until the Communist military coup in **Poland** in 1981 widened the East–West breach.

The First Afghan War also had major domestic repercussions in the United States. Most Americans criticized President **Jimmy Carter** for being naïve about the USSR, Islamic Iran, and Afghanistan, while also faulting him for indecision between East–West “**appeasement**”

and belated excessive anti-Soviet confrontation. When he took office, President **Ronald Reagan** intensified anti-Soviet policies and U.S. rearmament, while closely cooperating with Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt on massive arms shipments into Afghanistan to support anti-Soviet *mujahideen* guerrillas, under the Reagan Doctrine of anticommunist liberation through indirect means. As during the **Korean War** (1950–1953) and **Cuban Missile Crisis** (1962), Soviet regional intervention by proxy or directly had misread U.S. reactions in countries deemed peripheral but yet vital to U.S./Western security, leading to major East–West confrontation and escalating U.S. military counteraction. However, neither the United States in NATO nor the Kremlin succeeded in officially involving their alliances in the First Afghan War, except for individual advisorship by a few **Warsaw Pact satellites**. The high death toll, the inability of Soviet forces to defeat the *mujahideen* despite constant combat, and millions of refugees stranded in Pakistan and Iran forced new Soviet Premier **Mikhail Gorbachëv** to resume East–West détente in 1985 and to leave Afghanistan by 1989 following the UN-mediated 1988 Geneva accord.

After the Soviet withdrawal the United States also left the country, where continued civil war led to the *mujahideen* victory in 1992 over the pro-Soviet communist government. Lawlessness and fighting subsequently erupted among the *mujahideen* warlords, sparking another civil war in the mid-1990s. The Pakistani-based Islamic fundamentalist Taliban seized power in 1996. Taliban support of Al-Qaeda's anti-Western terrorism, including its 11 September 2001 attacks on the United States, resulted in UN sanctions and the U.S.-led Second Afghan War (2001–2002) to topple Taliban rule and rescue the surviving *mujahideen* cornered in northeast Afghanistan. Since 2001, under both UN and NATO mandate, the U.S.-led coalition force has conquered Afghanistan and hunted down members of Al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups. Also in late 2001, in Bonn, Germany, the Afghan opposition crafted the Afghan Interim Authority, with Hamid Karzai as chair, then president in June 2002, of a national coalition government. Since 2003, the U.S.-led coalition has turned over to NATO's **International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)** control of Kabul, then North and West Afghanistan in 2005–2006, and South Afghanistan in 2006, where ongoing military actions seek

to rebuff Taliban insurgents while coping with poverty, unemployment, illegal drugs, scant infrastructure, and widespread **land mines** left behind in the First Afghan War.

AFRICAN CRISIS RESPONSE INITIATIVE (ACRI). After decades of weak **peacekeeping** by the **United Nations (UN)** in explosive areas like **Yugoslavia**, Somalia, and Rwanda, in November 1995 the Western powers and the UN sought local alternatives and conflict-prevention initiatives to UN peacekeeping. Following the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** successful implementation of the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords in **Bosnia**, in September 1996 the **United States** developed the ACRI, buttressed by small teams of Western special **forces**, equipment, and financial-logistic support to train African military units (in Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, and Uganda). In 2002, ACRI forged the Rapid-Reaction African Standby Force under **African Union (AU)** and UN mandates for regional peacekeeping. Despite support by **UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan**, the African Standby Force's first peacekeeping operation in 2003 (AU Cease-fire Observer Mission–Burundi) was limited, while missions to stop civil wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia relied mostly on Nigerian troops. In 2005–2007, the African Standby Force was airlifted by NATO to Sudan and Chad in response to the Darfur crisis (the **AU Mission in Sudan**), but international criticism condemned it as another ineffective, subregional peacekeeping organization, like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) or Southern African Development Community (SADC). NATO was asked in 2006 to intervene directly in Darfur to replace the African Standby Force, but has demurred due to heavy commitments in **Afghanistan** and the **Balkans**. Instead, in late 2007, NATO airlifted a few hundred **European Union (EU)** troops to Darfur refugee camps in Chad.

AFRICAN UNION (AU). The **Organization of African Unity (OAU)** was renamed the African Union in July 2002 under a new AU Constitutive Act allowing the AU Assembly to mandate interventions in member-states against war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity. The AU established an African Standby Force and **UN peacekeeping** in Africa and Darfur, but despite high hopes it remains an ineffective regional peacekeeping body. *See also* AFRICAN CRISIS

RESPONSE INITIATIVE; AFRICAN UNION MISSION IN SUDAN.

AFRICAN UNION MISSION IN SUDAN (AMIS). From April 2005 to March 2006, the **United Nations (UN)** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** airlifted more than 3,000 regional peacekeepers (from Gambia, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, and South Africa) of AMIS to protect Darfur secessionist refugees from **ethnic cleansing** by *Janjaweed* pro-Sudanese militias. AMIS **peacekeeping** is supported by the African Standby **Force** airlifted by NATO's Allied Movement Coordination Centre in Europe and European Airlift Centre with the AU's **Joint** Forward-Based Movement Cell and Deployed Integrated Task Force (DITF) Headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. NATO/UN MAPEX exercises help AU peacekeepers learn how to conduct strategic operations. *See also* AFRICAN CRISIS RESPONSE INITIATIVE; INTERNATIONAL MONITORING UNIT.

AGENDA FOR PEACE (1992), UN. **United Nations (UN)** Security Council report issued on 31 January 1992 by UN **Secretary-General** Boutros Boutros-Ghali to implement six UN **peacekeeping** goals: (1) "preventive deployment" of peacekeepers prior to outbreaks of violence; (2) UN **demilitarized zones (DMZ)**; (3) a **combat-ready** UN standby force; (4) a \$50 million peacekeeping reserve fund; (5) improved training and language skills for peacekeepers; and (6) prepositioned equipment. The **United States** and the **West** later criticized Boutros-Ghali's approach for the failure of UN peacekeepers in the 1990s Yugoslav civil wars, which finally led to their replacement with combat troops from the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** as a regional **alliance** tasked by the UN to enforce the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords in **Bosnia**. *See also* EUROPEAN FORCE-BOSNIA; IMPLEMENTATION FORCE-BOSNIA; KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE; STABILISATION FORCE-BOSNIA.

"AGGRAVATED PEACEKEEPING." *See* PEACEKEEPING.

AILLERET DOCTRINE, FRANCE. *See* DE GAULLE, CHARLES; D'ÉSTAING DOCTRINE.

AIR POWER. Manned flight evolved rapidly in the 19th and 20th centuries, from lighter-than-air balloons (1700s–1900s) to heavier-than-air airplanes (Orville and Wilbur Wright’s first flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, in 1901). Balloons were used for military reconnaissance and artillery fire control, anti-aircraft barrages, weather measurements, Zeppelin bombers, and commercial passenger transportation from the early 1800s through the 1940s. Airplanes were first used during the 1911–1912 Italo–Turkish war in Libya for both reconnaissance and bombing, then in **World War I** (1914–1918) also as fighters and long-range bombers. Between 1919 and 1939, the most famous world air strategists, **Italy’s** Giulio Douhet and America’s Bill Mitchell, advocated “air supremacy” and strategic bombing of both enemy production centers and cities to quickly destroy civilian morale. But in **World War II** (1939–1945) strategic bombing remained highly inaccurate and controversial, involving wanton massacres of enemy civilians. After the war, scientific and technological advances in jets, range, **nuclear weapons**, and ballistic missiles made strategic nuclear bombing and the **U.S. Strategic Air Command (SAC)** the basis of the Cold War (1946–1990) “**balance of terror**” between the United States and Soviet Union (USSR), assuring national security through the threat of a global nuclear holocaust. The Second Vietnam War (1965–1975) and both **Gulf Wars** (1990–1991, 2003) saw further technological innovations, including smart bombs, cruise missiles, electronic countermeasures, and stealth technology, maximizing the accuracy of surgical strikes and reducing “collateral” civilian casualties. Nevertheless, the “Revolution in Military Affairs” (RMA)—the revival of air power’s exclusive role in achieving victory—remains controversial and is refuted by combined-arms warfare, such as in the First Gulf War, Kosovo War, and Second Afghan War (2001–2002). *See also* AIRBORNE EARLY-WARNING SYSTEM.

AIRBORNE EARLY-WARNING SYSTEM (AWACS). Technical term for militarized commercial planes modified with rotating radar domes for all-weather airborne surveillance, **command, control, communications, and intelligence (C³I)** for air defense **forces**. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** uses AWACS for air defense to track enemy aircraft operating at low altitude over all ter-

rains and to direct friendly aircraft in the same area. Escorted AWACS are rapidly deployable globally and less vulnerable than ground radar. After the 11 September 2001 **terrorist** attacks, NATO's AWACS patrolled the skies of the **United States** against new attacks, in **Operation Eagle Assist** (9 October 2001–16 May 2002). NATO AWACS surveillance was used at the 2004 Olympics in **Greece** and European 2004 and 2006 Soccer Championships.

ALBANIA (SHQIPERI), NATO–EU PARTNER. Mountainous republic in Europe's **Balkans** with an area of 28,748 square kilometers, bordering the Adriatic Sea, **Greece**, **Kosovo**, **Macedonia**, **Montenegro**, and **Serbia** and facing **Italy**. The capital is Tirana. It is a Muslim country with a population of 3.5 million (95 percent Albanians, 3 percent Greeks, and 2 percent other). Ethnic Albanians also live in Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia.

Albania had emerged by A.D. 1000, but was overrun by the Ottoman–Turkish invasion of the 14th century, which Islamized most of its population. During the Balkan Wars against **Turkey** (1912–1913), Albania became independent (28 November 1912) after Italy and **Austria–Hungary** blocked its seizure by Serbia, which had also annexed Macedonia. In **World War I** (1914–1918), Italy occupied Albania, but in 1920 local rebellions forced Italy to withdraw, leading to the founding of the Albanian republic in January 1925, with Ahmet Zog as president. He became King Zog I in September 1928. Albania remained threatened by both **Yugoslavia** and Fascist Italy, and Rome annexed it on 7 April 1939, using it during **World War II** (1939–1945) to launch the 1940–1941 invasion of Greece (which failed). In spring 1941 Nazi **Germany** conquered Yugoslavia and Greece, and Italy annexed Yugoslavia's Kosovar Albanians and Macedonian Albanians to its **Greater Albanian** province. The **Allies** invaded Italy in summer 1943 and forced it to switch to their side; Nazi Germany seized Albania and held it until 29 November 1944.

After the war, under dictator Enver Hoxha Albania became a Communist **satellite** of the Soviet Union (USSR) and supported **Josef Stalin** against Yugoslavia during the Yugo–Soviet split in 1948. As the USSR's totalitarian, isolated bastion on the Adriatic against the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO), in 1955 Albania

joined both the Soviet-led **Warsaw Pact** and the **United Nations (UN)**. Yet Hoxha opposed Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchëv**'s reforms and de-Stalinization, joining Communist China during the Sino–Soviet split in 1963. China opened to the **West** in the 1970s–1980s, abandoning Albania. After Hoxha's death, an isolated Albania became a pro-Western democracy on 29 April 1991, joined the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, and become a partner of both NATO and the **European Union (EU)**. Albania supported UN–NATO **sanctions** against the former Yugoslavia in 1991–1999, surveillance, and airstrikes over Serb-controlled Bosnia in 1995. However, Albania was repeatedly rebuffed as an economically weak “left-out” **aspirant** from joining NATO and the EU during the 1999–2007 twin **enlargements**. Albania's economic and political collapse in 1997 was curtailed by an Italian-led Western **Multinational Protection Force (MPF/FMP)** in Operation Alba, later renamed Albania Force (AFOR) under NATO **command**. Albania later supported NATO against Yugoslavia in the 1999 Kosovo War and **Operations Essential Harvest, Amber Fox, and Allied Harmony** during the 2000 insurgency of Albanian Macedonians. Albania cooperates to stop illegal migration from its coasts, while promoting its socioeconomic development and future integration through NATO's **membership action plans (MAPS)** and **EU Stability Pact**.

ALBANIA FORCE (AFOR). *See* ALBANIA; MULTINATIONAL PROTECTION FORCE.

ALGERIAN WAR (1954–1962). Muslim Algeria was an autonomous vassal of the Turkish–Ottoman Empire from the 1400s until **France** conquered it in the 1830s–1840s, within a century settling a million French there. Considered part of the mainland and constitutionally attached to it, rather than just another colony, Algeria was the key to the **Allies** and General **Charles de Gaulle**'s strategy to control Northern Africa between December 1942 and June 1943 and then liberate France from Nazi **Germany**. During the Cold War, Algeria was considered part of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** defense area against the Soviet Union (USSR). However, in the 1950s the weak French Fourth Republic became unable to hold onto

its crumbling colonial empire and teetered on the brink of civil war over its defeat in the First Vietnam War (1946–1954). A second shock came with the Algerian War (1954–1962), when secessionist Muslim Arab insurgents backed by Egypt attacked France’s government, army, settlers, and Europeanized Arabs. Throughout this long crisis, NATO refused to intervene on behalf of France; only **Great Britain** and Israel helped France briefly defeat Egypt during the **Suez Canal War** (1956), in the hope of halting its support for the Algerian insurrection. However, U.S. intervention against its own allies saved Egypt and undermined Anglo–French colonial influence. This also precipitated the collapse of France’s government in 1958, following domestic clashes and open rebellion against Paris by the French settlers and army in Algeria, who seized power to prevent the independence of Algeria as an Arab state. French political leaders on all sides called de Gaulle back from retirement to lead a presidential Fifth Republic, which came to accept the loss of Algeria by 1962, despite thousands of French settlers being massacred and a million refugees fleeing to France.

ALLIANCE(S). Any secret or open, bilateral or multilateral treaty among states for their **collective defense** and **deterrence** against outside threats. Military alliances are either offensive–defensive (e.g., the Triple Alliance of **Germany**, **Austria–Hungary**, and **Italy**, 1882–1914; the Pact of Steel between Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, 1939) or defensive (e.g., NATO, 1949).

In both European and international security, alliances have been vital to the **balance of power** system (1500–1939), wherein the great powers’ imperialism was “balanced” by each other’s foreign policies, constant limited warfare, and shifting alliances. Countries automatically joined **forces** against any hegemonic power seeking to dominate all of Europe, such as **Spain–Austria** in the 1500s under Charles V and Habsburg Philip II; **France** under Louis XIV from the 1650s through 1713 and Napoleon from the 1790s through 1815; and Germany in both world wars. Because military capabilities are unevenly distributed in most alliances, over time serious internal tensions can develop over common goals and leadership, with foreign policies and alliance dynamics more unpredictable in the multipolar systems prior to **World War II** (1939–1945) than in the bipolar **blocs** formed

during the Cold War (1946–1990). Multipolarity also enhances the dilemma that either less-predictable alliances might “chain-gang” members to jointly go to war for mutual support or that there would be individual “fence-sitting” during hostilities involving alliance members (such as Italy’s temporary “**neutrality**” in 1914–1915 and 1939–1940) to avoid certain destruction or to exact better terms for intervention on either side. Opinion differs about the extent to which alliance systems deter or precipitate wars.

Until World War II, alliances involved ad hoc parallel independent defense commitments in case of war, but only few pledged peacetime force levels and coordination of members’ national forces for combat on key fronts (an example being the Triple Alliance). Coordination of wartime multinational forces occurred first during **World War I** (1914–1918), and only for the war fronts affecting France, Italy, and **Greece**, but it became generalized during World War II and the Cold War, during which alliance collaboration expanded to joint military exercises and training, multinational forces interoperability, weapons procurement, and support of members’ key diplomatic goals. The Cold War global rivalry between the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR) turned regional alliances into permanent security systems, with NATO being the first alliance to institutionalize peacetime defense integration. During the Cold War, both the United States and USSR saw their bipolar bloc leadership and alliances (NATO versus Warsaw Pact) alternately strengthen during international **crises** caused by fears of **nuclear** warfare, or erode interbloc rivalries, as during Gaullist France’s autonomous role in the 1960s against NATO, **Yugoslavia**’s defection in 1948, and the Sino–Soviet split in 1963. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR dissolved the Warsaw Pact, but NATO has survived, transforming its missions to face **post–Cold War** threats.

“ALLIANCE” or ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. Colloquial names for the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

ALLIANCE DEFENSE PROBLEMS IN THE 1970s, NATO. Major strategic study issued in 1970 by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to balance East–West **arms control** with major im-

provements in the Allied Command Europe (ACE) conventional and **nuclear forces** in the 1970s. It was implemented through NATO's new strategic planning under **Supreme Allied Commanders–Europe (SACEURs)** U.S. Generals **Andrew J. Goodpaster** (1969–1974) and **Alexander M. Haig Jr.** (1974–1979) to offset the massive strategic nuclear gains of the Soviet Union (USSR) and resist calls from several **allies** (**Canada, Great Britain, and the United States**) to reduce their forces in Europe. Between 1966 and 1974, transatlantic relations were strained to the breaking point by four crises: (1) French President **Charles de Gaulle's "Grand Design"** of 1966–1968 and withdrawal from NATO's integrated military **command**; (2) leftist mass demonstrations against U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War (1964–1975) and Arab–Israeli Yom Kippur War (1973); (3) the First Oil Shock (1973–1974); and (4) the Greek–Turkish clash (1974) over **Cyprus** and **Greece's** temporary withdrawal of its forces from NATO. The **alliance** politically welcomed **détente's** East–West relaxation of tensions and nuclear **arms control** between 1969 and 1979, including the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaties (SALT I and II, 1972 and 1979). But NATO's **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** criticized the decade-long, unsuccessful conventional **Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR)** talks over cutting NATO–**Warsaw Pact** forces, which, with the transatlantic **crises** of 1966–1974, weakened NATO–U.S. combat effectiveness.

ALLIED COMMAND EUROPE (ACE) COMMANDERS' CONFERENCE, NATO. *See* SHAPE COMMANDERS' CONFERENCE, NATO.

ALLIED FORCES–CENTRAL EUROPE, NATO (AFCENT). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) strategic **command** during the **Cold War** to defend the **Central Front** (**Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, West Germany, plus "neutral" Austria and Switzerland** in case they were invaded by the Soviet Union and **Warsaw Pact**), under the **allies' Commander-in-Chief (CINCENT)**. *See also* WORLD WAR III SCENARIOS.

ALLIED FORCES–SOUTHERN EUROPE, NATO (AFSOUTH). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) strategic

command in Naples, **Italy**, for the Southern Flank, with overall responsibility for NATO defenses over all Southern European **allies** (**France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey**), the **Mediterranean**, and the **Balkans**. During the Cold War (1946–1990), NATO's AFSOUTH coordinated the Southern Flank's defense against the Soviet Union (USSR) and **Warsaw Pact**. In the **post-Cold War** period (1990–present), AFSOUTH has extended NATO defense of Southern Europe to both new **Balkan** allies **Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and Slovenia** and partners (**Albania, Croatia, and Macedonia**). The **NATO Summits** at Istanbul (2004) and Riga (2006) further extended AFSOUTH's responsibilities to new partners in the **Mediterranean Dialogue** (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, **Malta**, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia), Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and United Arab Emirates), Caucasus (**Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia**), and Balkans (**Bosnia, Montenegro, and Serbia**).

AFSOUTH initially played a minor role in NATO's "out-of-area" missions, with limited coordination during **Operation Desert Shield/Storm** of Allied **forces** redeployed to Turkey's Incirlik **Base** and to the Gulf under the U.S.-led **United Nations (UN)** coalition. During the five Yugoslav civil wars (1991–2001), AFSOUTH exercised direct command of NATO forces implementing UN **sanctions** against **Yugoslavia/Serbia** (1991–1995, 1999–2001), Croatia (1992–1995), and **Bosnia** (1992–1995). AFSOUTH also coordinated NATO air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs (1995) and Yugoslavia/Serbia (1998–1999), while overseeing air and land deployments of NATO peacekeepers in the **Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR, 1995–1996)**, **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR, 1996–2004)**, Albania Force (AFOR, 1998–2003), **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR, 1999–present)**, and **Operation Amber Fox** (1998–2003) in **Macedonia**. After the 11 September 2001 Islamic fundamentalist attacks by Al-Qaeda, AFSOUTH's **Operation Active Endeavour** undertook antiterrorist patrols of the Mediterranean with NATO's **Standing Naval Force–Mediterranean (STANAVFORMED)**.

ALLIED JOINT PUBLICATION, NATO (AJP). Any **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** publication containing doctrines for NATO-led multinational **forces**, multi-services operations,

allied **commands**, and staff. *See also* NATO OFFICE OF INFORMATION AND PRESS.

ALLIES. *See* ATLANTIC COMMON VALUES; NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION.

AMNESTY. Political-legal decision to set aside punishment of criminal or military offenses. Internationally, amnesty seeks to reduce insurgency and draft dodging.

AMSTERDAM TREATY (1999), EU. Treaty widening the **European Union (EU)** tasks on common security and foreign policy as outlined in the 1992 EU Maastricht Treaty. Enacted on 1 May 1999, the Amsterdam Treaty led to the EU's absorption of the **West European Union's (WEU)** operational capabilities in 1999–2001 and the **Petersberg Criteria** (Title V, Article 17) for **crisis management, peacekeeping, humanitarian** rescue, and combat, creating an EU rapid-reaction **force**. It established a common **European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)**, to be implemented by the **European Council** with the members' constitutions, in case of **crises** or wars.

ANFAL CAMPAIGNS (1988–1989). *See* CHEMICAL WEAPONS (CW).

ANNAN, KOFI A. (1938–). Career civil servant, from 1 January 1997 to 31 December 2006 he was the first black African to be twice **Secretary-General** of the **United Nations (UN)** and was the most effective one since **Dag Hammarskjöld**, and like him a Nobel Peace Prize winner (2001).

Born on 3 April 1938 in Kumasi, Ghana, Kofi Annan received a B.A. in 1961 from Macalister College in St. Paul, Minnesota, an M.A. in 1962 from the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland, and an M.S. in economics in 1972 from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Boston. At the UN Annan became Assistant Secretary-General for Human Resources and Security (1987–1990), Assistant Secretary-General for Programs Management, Budget and Finance (1990–1992), Assistant Secretary-General for **Peacekeeping** (1992–1994) and Under Secretary-General

for Peacekeeping (1993–1996), supervising **UN peacekeeping** in Somalia, **Croatia**, **Bosnia**, and Rwanda.

A strong proponent of the United States as a leading **force** in the **UN Operation in Somalia (UNSOM)**, he was the compromise candidate in 1996 to replace the highly controversial UN Secretary-General **Boutros Boutros-Ghali**, who had become critical of the **West's** peacekeeping focus being concentrated exclusively on **Balkan crises**, while the international media excoriated his ineffective leadership and UNSOM fiascos in Somalia, in Bosnia and Croatia with the **UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR)**, and the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR). A U.S. **veto** halted Boutros-Ghali's reappointment as Secretary-General, and the United States and West split his supporters in the Arab and African UN regional **blocs** and Third World by turning over the job to the African Annan.

As Secretary-General from January 1997 through January 2007, Annan undertook two rounds of drastic UN reforms in the late 1990s and early 2000s, while balancing close relations with the United States and West criticizing U.S. failures to pay arrears to the UN budget since the **Reagan** administration in 1980–1988. Annan lent external political support to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in the 1999 Kosovo War, and the UN became the official international civil administrator of the province until its “Final Status” or independence can be determined, while NATO provides local peacekeeping. He advocated a permanent **UN Standby** peacekeeping force and in 2002 an **African Union (AU)** rapid-reaction African Standby Force. Annan's tenure was marked by controversies on corruption in the anti-Iraq UN oil-for-food **sanctions** and the UN's role in the **Second Gulf War**. He was succeeded in January 2007 by Ban Ki-moon, former foreign minister of South Korea.

ANNEXATION. The unilateral acquisition of foreign territories from other states or of “unclaimed lands,” by extending the claimant's national sovereignty and exclusive jurisdiction. Examples are the 1938 Anschluss of **Austria** by Nazi **Germany** and the annexation by Israel of East Jerusalem and Golan Heights after 1967. Annexation differs from military occupation, which is limited to wartime and immediately after; however, some occupations later become annexations.

ANNUAL DEFENCE REVIEW OF NATO. The ministers of defense of member states of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** hold Annual Defence Reviews to forge common policies and five-year **force** plans for NATO defense planning, based on each national contribution capabilities and force goals constraints. NATO's annual Defence Planning Questionnaire elicits each member's defense spending and force plans, which are examined simultaneously by NATO's military authorities and international staff, supplemented by NATO **commands'** assessments on force capabilities and missions, prepared by the **Military Committee**. Draft country chapters highlight differences between NATO force goals and national force plans, including **European Union (EU)** operations. To reconcile differences, NATO general reports recommend to the **Defence Planning Committee** and defense ministers new five-year force plans about **allies'** compliance and **forces**, while "out-of-cycle" consultations with members prepare key national defense changes or aid those left behind.

ANTARCTIC TREATY (1959). Following the International Geophysical Year, 1957–1958, in the Antarctic, 12 states operating research stations signed the Antarctic Treaty in 1959 as the first **nuclear arms control** and demilitarization treaty among the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR), seven other Antarctic claimants (Argentina, Australia, Chile, **France**, **Great Britain**, New Zealand, and **Norway**), plus **Belgium**, Japan, and South Africa. The treaty was in force by 1961 and was made permanent in 1990, with 14 more members undertaking scientific research, including: Brazil, China, **Germany**, India, and **Italy**. The treaty manages natural resources, environment, scientific cooperation, nonmilitarization, and a first "**nuclear-free zone**" and renounces territorial claims. The treaty is outside the **United Nations (UN)**, despite criticism from nonsignatories and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILES (ABM). System of missile interceptors and radar developed in the 1960s by both the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR) as land-based "point defenses" of vulnerable national "hard targets" (key cities and land-based **nuclear** intercontinental ballistic missile sites) against enemy ICBM strikes. The first

ABMs were extremely expensive, inaccurate, and vulnerable to enemy preemptive strikes on their radar networks and could only intercept enemy ICBMs during their “reentry” in the atmosphere, with the paradox of high-altitude nuclear explosions seriously degrading the very defended national areas with radioactive “fallout.” U.S. development in the 1970s of accurate navigation electronics for ICBMs and the miniaturization of nuclear warheads in **multiple independent reentry vehicles (MIRVs)** within individual ICBMs meant that the United States could saturate “hard targets” well beyond the ability of any ABM system to counter or deflect. Strategic theorists also feared that a successful ABM system would not increase national security against surprise enemy nuclear attacks (“first strike”), but would rather destabilize the global nuclear “**balance of terror**” by theoretically eliminating the enemy’s nuclear retaliation capability (“second strike”) and precipitate the very preemptive enemy strikes it sought to avoid. Such considerations led the superpowers to sign the **Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM)** in 1972, stopping mass production of ABMs.

ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY (ABM, 1972). Major East–West **arms control** and **disarmament** treaty between the **United States (U.S.)** and Soviet Union (USSR) during the **détente** period of relaxation of tensions between the superpowers (1969–1979). Signed in 1972, the treaty stopped mass production of ABMs and limited land-based ABM systems to just two sites per country, protecting the capital and largest land **base** for ICBMs. Although the USSR rushed to protect Moscow and its main intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) field, the United States protected only its ICBM site and then promoted the 1974 ABM Protocol to reduce the sites to either the nation’s capital or a vital ICBM site. By 1975 the United States had dismantled its own ABM site, while the USSR kept its “galosh system” around Moscow. Signed for unlimited duration, the ABM Treaty could be rescinded unilaterally by either member, but it acquired through the years such symbolic importance as a cornerstone of the U.S.–Soviet “**balance of terror**” that international outcries cyclically condemned any U.S. attempt to bypass the ABM Treaty with futuristic space-based anti-ballistic systems, which occurred under Republican Presidents **Ronald Reagan, George H.**

W. Bush, and George W. Bush. The Space Defense Initiative (SDI) (“Star Wars”) proposed by President Reagan in the 1980s was a system of interlocking ground-based and orbiting defense weapons (conventional missiles, X-rays, and lasers) to protect North America by intercepting most incoming Soviet ICBMs before atmospheric reentry. This was followed by President George H. W. Bush’s scaled-down “Brilliant Pebbles” in the 1990s. Both programs were cancelled in 1993 by Democratic President Bill **Clinton**.

In the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), the demise of the USSR and emergence of the United States as the world’s sole superpower altered the ABM Treaty’s relevance, although many conservative Republican “**hawks**” never ceased to condemn the ABM Treaty as a straitjacket on national defense. The development of theater missile defenses (TMD) in the 1990s to protect troops, ports, and airports against **short-range nuclear forces (SNF)** was soon followed by plans for a full national “point defense” against potential threats from “rogue states” that could be stopped only through a U.S. national missile defense (NMD/MD). Clinton could not resist the Republican-controlled Congress’s support of NMD/MD as a regional reincarnation of the SDI, despite international opposition from **Russia** and China, fearful that their smaller nuclear arsenals would also be neutralized. In 2001, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** was convinced that MD should be extended to cover Europe from WMD threats from Saddam’s Iraq or Islamic Iran, with radar **bases** in **Great Britain** and new installations by 2007 in **Poland** and the **Czech Republic**. MD became official U.S. policy in 2001 under President George W. Bush, who despite global outcries also unilaterally eliminated the ABM Treaty (more than a decade after the end of the Cold War). New strategic arms cuts forced Russia’s reluctant consent to the 2001 U.S.–Russian Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. However, since 2007 Russia has resumed its opposition to U.S.–NATO MD deployments in Eastern Europe, threatening to abrogate existing arms control treaties to stop those deployments.

ANTIPERSONNEL MINES. Since the 1980 Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have strongly condemned antipersonnel mines for the human suffering they cause. During the

1990s, NGOs sponsored two key documents about the global demining of antipersonnel mines: the Convention on Prohibition of Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and Destruction (Ottawa Convention, 3 December 1997), in force 1 March 1999 after ratification by 100 states; and the Protocol on Prohibition or Restrictions on the Use of Mines, Booby Traps and Other Devices (in force in December 1998). The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **United States** sought to comply with this thorny **arms control** regime, but the unwillingness of NGOs to allow as a single exception the retention of antipersonnel mines in the Korean **demilitarized zone (DMZ)** as a defense screen against invasion from superior North Korean **forces** led the United States to reject the treaty.

ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE (ASW). Technical naval term for coordinated tactics by warships, PT boats, and helicopters to deter, hunt down, and sink enemy submarines seeking to attack convoys or aircraft carrier task **forces**. For decades during the Cold War (1946–1990), navies of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** systematically engaged in anti-submarine warfare practice against threats from the Soviet Union (USSR), applying the same air–naval ASW tactics painfully learned by the **Allies** in both world wars. NATO especially focused on ASW protection of its vital North Atlantic sea lanes of communication (SLOCs) to resupply Europe in case of **World War III**, with the annual exercise **Return-of-Forces-to-Germany (REFORGER)** and the fixed ASW protection lines of the **UK–Iceland–Greenland Gap**, which split the Atlantic and Arctic Oceans, while securing ASW and sea power supremacy in the Mediterranean to let the **U.S. Sixth Fleet** and NATO navies give air and naval support to NATO armies.

ANZAC (AUSTRALIA–NEW ZEALAND ARMY CORPS). Australia and New Zealand were the least populated and most remote dominions of the British Empire, but since the early 1900s they have fielded **joint** expeditionary **forces**, in the Boer War (1899–1902), **World War I** (1914–1918), **World War II** (1939–1945), the Cold War (1946–1990), and the Second Vietnam War (1964–1973), and as members of the **South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)**.

The collapse of World War II **Commonwealth** defenses with Japan's conquest of the Pacific up to the border of both dominions led to **joint** defense coordinated with the **United States** and the **ANZUS** defense **alliance** (1951). ANZAC peacekeepers operated since the 1990s under the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in the **Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR)** and **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)**. Since 2006, NATO has developed a permanent strategic partnership with Australia and New Zealand for common peacekeeping.

ANZUS (AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND THE UNITED STATES, 1951). The military **alliance** among Australia, New Zealand, and the **United States**, signed in San Francisco on September 1951. The limitations of regional defense revealed by Japan's invasion of most of the Pacific during **World War II** were exacerbated by the Chinese Communist Revolution in 1949 and the **Korean War** (1950–1953). This led Australia and New Zealand to join the U.S. global network of anticommunist alliances created by President **Harry S Truman**, rather than remain tied only to **Great Britain**. As the Pacific link to the U.S. global network of anticommunist alliances, ANZUS focused on the regional threat from China and the Soviet Union (USSR), even sending troops to back the United States during the Second Vietnam War.

However, in the 1990s ANZUS split over the U.S.–New Zealand controversy about the latter's domestic **antinuclear** policy, which prohibited visits of nuclear-armed or nuclear-powered ships. The Pentagon's policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons on board any of its warships led the United States to stop sending warships to New Zealand, condemning the latter's antinuclear policy as rendering ANZUS security guarantees inoperative. The United States refocused its South Pacific defense policies on Australia, leaving New Zealand in the status of "friendly country." This controversy became virtually mute once the 1991 U.S.–USSR agreement on unilaterally dismantling **short-range nuclear forces (SNF)** eliminated all seaborne nuclear weapons. Both Australia and New Zealand have observer status and have become de facto partners of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) Balkan peacekeeping command** through the **Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR)** and **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)**, while the

2006 Riga **NATO Summit** offered them **joint** strategic partnerships to fight international crises and peacekeeping.

APPEASEMENT. The term originally applied to diplomatic accommodation to facilitate peaceful change of the status quo by avoiding war among powers. However, in the **West** appeasement connotes the 1930s weakening of Western political-military resolve and the wavering diplomacies of **France** and **Great Britain** against the expansionist demands of Nazi **Germany**. Western military cutbacks, popular demands for “peace at all costs,” and domestic economic recovery were coupled with guilt about the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty, which punished Germany for **World War I** (1914–1919), culminating in the 1938 Munich Treaty detaching German Sudetenland from **Czechoslovakia** to annex it to Nazi Germany, while Adolf Hitler pledged to renounce war. Appeasement as a Western policy was repudiated in spring 1939 when Hitler dismembered Czechoslovakia, precipitating **World War II** (1939–1945).

Since World War II, appeasement symbolizes the sacrifice of principle (the sovereignty/independence of small states) for expediency (containing expansionist states). In the diplomacy of the **United States**, Great Britain, and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** it is synonymous with weakness and cowardice in the face of escalating aggression. It justified **alliance** and Western rigid opposition to the Soviet Union (USSR), communism, and regional threats, such as the **Korean War** (1950–1953), **Suez Canal War** (1956), Second Vietnam War (1964–1975), and **Euromissile Crisis** (1977–1983).

ARAB LEAGUE (or LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES). The Arab League was started unofficially in Alexandria, Egypt, in September 1944 by Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, North Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Transjordan (now Jordan). Officially established on March 1945 as a regional political-security organization of Arab states in the Middle East, Gulf, North Africa, and Horn of Africa, its headquarters moved from Cairo, Egypt, to Tunis, Tunisia. It reached 23 members by adding Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Dubai, Eritrea, Kuwait, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, the Palestine Liberation Organization, Qatar, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen (after the fusion

of North and South Yemen). The Arab League ideologically influenced pan-Arab nationalism and cooperation in the Arab–Israeli conflicts, as well as against Western and colonial policies. It excludes the non-Arab Muslim states **Afghanistan**, **Azerbaijan**, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Iran, **Kazakhstan**, **Kyrgyzstan**, Malaysia, Pakistan, **Tajikistan**, **Turkey**, **Turkmenistan**, and **Uzbekistan**.

The Arab League cooperates with the **United Nations (UN)** and **Organization of African Unity/African Union (OAU/AU)**. But it is an ineffective regional **collective security** organization because it lacks full-fledged institutionalization or a permanent military **force**. It could not destroy Israel in all the Arab–Israeli wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, 1980–1984) and was totally paralyzed during the **Suez Canal War** (1956), Lebanese civil war (1975–1988), Iran–Iraq War (1980–1988), and both **Gulf Wars** (1990–1991, 2003), which split the Arab states and public opinion over Iraq's threats and the regional UN coalition led by the **United States**, individual NATO members, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf states. The Arab League is headed by a council of all members, with unanimous decision-making meetings held twice annually, or by a summit of all Arab heads of states. The council can address any **crisis**, mediating inter-Arab disputes and setting budgets, while daily business is handled by its secretariat. The 1950 Arab League Treaty of Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation provides common security, plus cooperation on military policies and two **peacekeeping** missions in Lebanon and Kuwait. The military treaty also created an Arab League Joint Defense Council (JDC) and Arab League Permanent Military Commission, which report to the Arab League's Council on Arab security issues and **collective defense**.

"ARC OF CRISIS." Political-strategic term for the emergence in the **post–Cold War** period of a novel concept of "diffused" global spots of tension, **crises**, and "new threats" (proliferation of **weapons of mass destruction**, ethnic-nationalist civil wars, Islamic terrorism, illegal migration, trafficking, pandemics, ecological blight) along an arc stretching from the former **Yugoslavia** to the Middle East/Gulf, Caucasus, Central Asia, and North Korea. This arc quickly filled the international void left by the sudden end of the Cold War strategic rivalry between the Soviet Union (USSR) and **United States** and their

respective **alliances**, the **Warsaw Pact** and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

"ARC OF STABILITY." Political-strategic term for the emergence in the **post–Cold War** period of a novel, optimistic Euro–transatlantic "arc" to replace Cold War divisions with a new spirit of international cooperation. Both the dynamics and security requirements of such a scenario, as opposed to the **"Arc of Crisis,"** pushed the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **United States** to implement their third major military reorganizations in 12 years to better cope with the entire range of eventualities. NATO's old Central Front Allied Command Europe (ACE) became Allied Command Operations (ACO), with operations throughout the entire NATO and Euro–Atlantic area, not just Europe, while Allied Command Atlantic (ACA) is now the Allied Command Transformation (ACT), focusing on innovative 21st-century technologies and policies. Finally, by 2006–2016 the United States would massively restructure **forces** again by pulling out 100,000 troops from Europe and Asia, two-thirds from Europe and Germany, plus 150,000 dependants, for repatriation to America.

AREA OF LIMITATION (AOL). Additional neutralized bands of territory extending on both sides of the **area of separation (AOS)** or disengagement line between belligerents. **Peacekeeping forces** occupy both the AOS and AOL to guarantee the separation of forces, while AOLs actually are less-neutralized areas, to deepen the AOS.

AREA OF OPERATIONS (AOO). Technical term for areas of military operations for multinational coalitions and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

AREA OF SEPARATION (AOS). Neutralized band of territory, the AOS marks the disengagement line between belligerents, often patrolled by **peacekeeping forces**, with additional neutralized bands of territory called **areas of limitation (AOL)** along both sides of the AOS. Since the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) patrols the Golan Heights AOS dividing Israel and Syria.

ARMENIA (HAYASTAN), NATO-EU PARTNER. Republic and former state of the Soviet Union (USSR), landlocked in the mountainous Transcaucasus, with an area of 30,800 square kilometers, bordering **Azerbaijan**, Azeri-Naxcivan enclave, **Georgia**, Iran, and **Turkey** (with historic Armenia). The capital is Yerevan. It is a Christian (Armenian–Apostolic) country, with a population of 3.5 million (94 percent Armenian, 4 percent Kurd, and 2 percent Russian).

An ancient kingdom, over the centuries it was annexed by the neighboring Roman–Byzantine, Arab, Persian, and Ottoman–Turkish empires, with its eastern part being annexed by **Russia** in 1828. During **World War I** (1914–1918), Turkish Armenia was depopulated by the first genocide of 1915–1916, in which a million and a half Armenians were killed by the Turks, who feared that this Christian minority would secede to join enemy Russian Armenia. With Turkish Armenia exterminated, Russian Armenia survived as an independent state during the Bolshevik Revolution, but it was reannexed by the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1920. Soviet Armenia has since been torn by its conflict with its Muslim neighbors, Turkey and Soviet Azerbaijan, since the 1920s, when the Kremlin gave it control over Armenian-populated **Nagorno-Karabakh**.

Armenia and Azerbaijan began fighting over this area in 1988, but the struggle escalated in open combat after both countries became independent from the USSR on 21 September 1991 and joined Russia's **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**. By May 1994, a cease-fire left Armenia with Nagorno-Karabakh and a slice of ex-Azeri borderlands connecting the two regions. Both countries' economies suffered from their inability to agree on land exchanges, while Turkey backed Azerbaijan with an economic blockade against Armenia.

A pro-Western country, Armenia cooperates with the United States on security and economics, and with its two Transcaucasus neighbors, insists on its "European" border identity to distance itself from Russia. Armenia joined the **United Nations (UN)** and **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** in 1992, and with the other ex-Soviet Transcaucasus states has been a partner of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** since 1994, although it has been rebuffed from actually joining NATO and the **European Union (EU)**.

ARMISTICE. The permanent end or temporary suspension of hostilities prior to a peace treaty. In intractable regional clashes, armistices can become de facto unwritten peace settlements, examples being the 1949 Arab–Israeli armistice and the 1953 **Korean War** armistice.

ARMISTICE DEMARCATION LINE (ADL). The “border” established in 1949 between Israel and its hostile Arab neighbors after the 1948 Israeli Independence War. The armistice demarcation line (ADL) is observed by **United Nations** (UN) observers along the common border and by the U.S.-led **Multinational Force and Observers** (MFO) in the Sinai.

ARMS CONTROL. Diplomatic-military term for **crisis-management** techniques to restrain acquiring, deploying, and using military capabilities. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the term was synonymous with a global legal-operational framework to enhance international bipolar **deterrence** between the superpowers by capping and gradually lowering East–West **nuclear** and conventional arsenals through stringent verification of arms reductions. Long-term arms control negotiations and treaty verification have been among the most successful Cold War policies to increase bilateral stability between the **United States/North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) and the Soviet Union (USSR)/**Warsaw Pact**. Arms control theorists differ fundamentally from **disarmament** advocates, although both seek to avoid war and **arms races** that could undermine the international balance of **forces**, like the Cold War’s U.S.–Soviet conventional and nuclear arms races.

On the one hand, U.S.–NATO arms controllers reacted to **World War II** (1939–1945) and the Cold War by realistically considering weapons to be unavoidable key tools of global and regional power politics, with a certain level of arsenals being necessary to preserve national security and prevent war through deterrence as a stabilizing tool of coercive diplomacy. On the other hand, popular reactions to the death toll in **World War I** (1914–1918) galvanized pacifist movements and the **League of Nations** to stubbornly cling to the idealist hope of international disarmament to free the world from all arms and threats of **force**. During the Cold War, East–West tensions were gradually reduced by the joint political will to pursue painstaking

ing, technical negotiations and implement bilateral/multilateral arms control treaties on **joint** U.S.–Soviet “**red lines**” communications, agreed deterrence frameworks, arms equivalencies, arms limitations, arms reductions, limited disarmaments, and verifications to cut all types of conventional, nuclear, **chemical**, or **biological** arsenals. Arms control treaties with **on-site inspections** have proven far superior to broad disarmament conventions, which in turn succeed when there are no or limited weapon deployments.

U.S. and NATO security benefited from a host of interconnected arms control treaties:

- The **Antarctic Treaty** of 1959 banned the militarization of the Antarctic.
- The Partial Test-Ban Treaty of 1963 stopped international air, water, and surface nuclear tests or explosions.
- The Sea-Bed Treaty of 1965 banned the militarization of ocean floors.
- The **Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)** of 1967 opposed nuclear proliferation but allowed civil nuclear power plans under **United Nations (UN)** inspections.
- The Outer-Space, Moon, and Planets Treaty of 1969 banned nuclear militarization of space.
- The **Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty** of 1972 limited unreliable U.S.–Soviet antiballistic interception missiles in favor of nuclear deterrence through the mutual assured destruction (MAD) doctrine.
- The Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) of 1972 stopped the U.S.–Soviet nuclear arms race, while establishing bilateral deterrence systems based on the strategic triad of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), and nuclear-armed bombers.
- The Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty II (SALT II) of 1979 reduced U.S.–Soviet nuclear weapons, while allowing weapons modernization.
- The **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty** of 1987–1988 eliminated all U.S.–NATO and Soviet–**Warsaw Pact** INF missiles in Europe and worldwide, with the first ever intrusive on-site inspections.

- The three Conventional Forces in Europe Treaties (CFE, CFE-1A, CFE II) of the 1990s deeply cut U.S.–NATO and Soviet–Warsaw Pact forces under on-site inspections.
- The **UN Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)** of 1990 eliminated most U.S.–NATO and Soviet–Warsaw Pact chemical weapons worldwide with on-site inspections.
- The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) of 1991 halved U.S.–Soviet nuclear forces with on-site inspections.
- The Short-range Nuclear Forces Unilateral U.S.–Soviet Accords (SNF) of 1991 halved U.S.–NATO and Soviet–Warsaw Pact SNF arsenals and centrally stored them.
- The UN Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) of 1992 eliminated all U.S.–NATO and Soviet–Warsaw Pact biological weapons worldwide, with on-site inspections.
- The 1993 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty II (START II) radically cut U.S.–Soviet nuclear forces to 3,500 each by de-MIRVing ICBMs and SLBMs under on-site inspections.
- The 1994 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) stopped all underground nuclear tests/explosions.
- The 2001 U.S.–Russian Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty further reduced remaining U.S.–Soviet nuclear forces to 2,500 each under on-site inspections.

In the **post–Cold War** period, the demise of the USSR and the new role of the United States as the world’s sole superpower have changed arms control diplomacy by narrowing issues to difficult sub-regional fault areas, dominated by localized arms races and proliferation of chemical, biological, and nuclear **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**, in the Gulf with Iraq and Iran; on the Indian subcontinent with India, China, and Pakistan; in the Middle East with Israel and the Arab states; and in Northeast Asia with North Korea against South Korea, the United States, Japan, China, and **Russia**. International arms control now focuses both on preserving existing arms control treaties and on widening WMD nonproliferation to stop the sale of technology and precursor materials to “rogue states,” including **Afghanistan** (until the 2001–2002 U.S.–NATO invasion), Iran (for nuclear arms proliferation despite U.S.–NATO–UN **sanc-tions**), Iraq (until its 1991–1994, 1995–1998, and 2003 triple disar-

maments), Libya (until its 2004–2005 disarmament), North Korea (cornered by the U.S.-led 2003–2007 Six-Powers Talks), Pakistan (until its 2001 pro-Western cooperation), Sudan (until the 1998 U.S. air strikes), and Syria (whose secret nuclear research facility was bombed by Israel in September 2007).

ARMS RACE/NAVAL RACE. Destabilizing bilateral/multilateral tensions between rival states or **alliances** can lead to maximizing national and alliance security postures with arms races to overtake the perceived rival(s) and ensure military superiority to either deter foreign aggressions or, if **deterrence** fails, to win an ensuing war. Most often arms races can also paradoxically nullify national security, if the most powerful power(s) prevail(s), while the imbalances of **forces** destabilizes international or regional power balances by precipitating wars or forcing all sides into halfhearted **arms control** treaties. Notorious arms races were the Anglo–German naval race in the early 20th century, leading to **World War I** (1914–1918); the Anglo–American–Japanese naval races between 1920 and 1922 and the 1922 Washington Naval Accords limiting aircraft carriers and battleships to parity between **Great Britain** and the **United States**, with second place to Japan and third place to **France** and **Italy**; the **Axis** arms races of the 1930s by Nazi **Germany**, Japan, and Fascist Italy, leading to **World War II** (1938–1945); and the Cold War (1946–1990) conventional–nuclear arms race between the United States and Soviet Union (USSR).

ARMS SALES/TRADE. The development of domestic industries in Europe, the **United States**, **Russia**/Soviet Union (USSR), and East Asia has relied on the economic stimuli of defense buildups and international arms trade. Arms sales and **arms races** skyrocketed during regional **crises**, including **World War I** (1914–1918), **World War II** (1939–1945), and the Cold War (1946–1990). In the 1920s and 1930s, the **League of Nations** attempted to stop arms races with regional **arms control** accords and future world **disarmament**, while stemming arms sales through “transparency” by publicly registering all arms trade statistics. These efforts failed as Japan’s and Nazi **Germany**’s arms races led to World War II. Only in December 1991 could the **United Nations (UN)** General Assembly establish a new international arms trade register.

During the Cold War, international arms sales became both a major source of political-military influence globally and a rising source of wealth for a small number of arms exporters, ranking at the top the USSR, U.S., **France**, **Great Britain**, Communist China, **Italy**, and West Germany, followed by emerging arms traders such as Brazil, South Africa, North Korea, and Israel. The USSR dominated the world arms trade market by supplying an increasingly sophisticated arsenal to its **satellites** and client-states (especially Syria, Egypt, Libya, India, and Iraq), while influencing the Third World through cheap interest rates and deferred-payments arms sales. The United States was a close second, supplying the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, other **Western allies**, and pro-Western Third World states.

Under Saddam Hussein, oil-rich Iraq's subregional ambitions to politically dominate the Gulf and control the international oil markets provoked the 1980–1988 Iran–Iraq War and a frenzy of arms purchases in the 1980s from both East and **West**, followed by proliferation of **chemical**, **biological**, and **nuclear weapons**. After Saddam's defeat in the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991) by the U.S.-led Coalition, the West and the **UN Security Council** permanent members signed the London Guidelines (October 1991) to cap arms sales in the Middle East/Gulf and stop them in conflict areas when they threatened existing regional power balances. However, in the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), all five **UN Veto Powers**, especially the United States and Russia, have repeatedly violated the London Guidelines by continuing to sell arms in unstable regions. Today's world arms traders rank on top: United States, Russia, Communist China, France, Great Britain, and Italy, followed by Argentina, India, and Israel, then burgeoning arms manufacturing in all regions of the Third World.

ARTICLE V NATO OPERATIONS. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** main mission is to deter attacks, according to Article V of the 1949 **North Atlantic Treaty**, which stresses that an attack against any of its **allies** is an attack against all. NATO operations outside **alliance** territories are “out-of-area” as “non-Article V operations.”

ASPIRANTS OF NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** has always accepted new members willing to meet its security obligations and duties. Until the 1990s, **NATO enlargements** were infrequent and on a case-by-case basis, determined by geostrategic and defense needs against the common enemy, the Soviet Union (USSR). Based on a unanimous **alliance** vote and ratification, **Greece** and **Turkey** joined NATO in 1952, West **Germany** in 1955, and **Spain** in 1982, while East Germany merged with Germany in 1990. The Cold War's end and USSR's collapse freed all Eastern European former Communist **satellites** and the ex-Soviet Baltic states to leave the **Warsaw Pact** and seek membership in NATO as a security guarantee against a resurgent **Russia**. However, persistent tensions during the 1990s with Russia over NATO's enlargements to the East led the alliance to tailor its "**open door**" policy by subordinating all new memberships to key requisites (providing for alliance **forces**, logistics, **peacekeeping**, and **common values**) and prior entry in NATO's 1994 **Partnership for Peace**, relabeled in 1999 the **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**. All PfP/EAPC partners seeking membership are called aspirants, to distinguish them from "candidates" in the parallel **European Union (EU)** enlargements of 2002–2007.

NATO's 13 aspirants formed three mutually supporting, overlapping groups: the 1990 Visegrad-3 (**Czechoslovakia**, **Hungary**, and **Poland**); the 1993 Visegrad-12 (**Albania**, **Bulgaria**, the **Czech Republic**, **Estonia**, **Hungary**, **Latvia**, **Lithuania**, **Macedonia**, **Poland**, **Romania**, **Slovakia**, and **Slovenia**); and the 2001 Vilnius-10 (**Albania**, **Bulgaria**, **Croatia**, **Estonia**, **Latvia**, **Lithuania**, **Macedonia**, **Romania**, **Slovakia**, and **Slovenia**). At the July 1997 Madrid **NATO Summit**, three "better-prepared" aspirants (the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland) were accepted as new allies in **NATO's first enlargement**, at the March 1999 NATO Washington Summit. The November 2002 NATO Prague Summit admitted seven more aspirants in a **second enlargement** (Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia). Of the original 13 aspirants, only Macedonia remains "left-out," once Albania, Croatia joined NATO in a third enlargement at the April 2008 NATO Bucharest Summit, while other EAPC partners, possibly some ex-neutrals (**Austria**, **Ireland**, **Finland**, or **Sweden**) joining in a future fourth enlargement

with Macedonia. NATO remains unofficially skeptical that Russia or other ex-Soviet states would ever qualify despite being partners, although since 1999 **Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Ukraine** have declared their strong interest in joining NATO, with the last two candidatures being officially sponsored by the U.S. at the April 2008 NATO Bucharest Summit.

ASSEMBLY POINT (AP). Political-military term for collection areas for local guerrillas to gather and disarm after the end of a civil war, monitored by international peacekeepers or observers. The 1979 Lancaster House Accords turned white-dominated Rhodesia into black-majority rule Zimbabwe, with a **Commonwealth** Monitoring Force opening 14 APs between December 1979 and March 1980 for 30,000 guerrillas of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army and Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army. By January–March 1980, 22,000 guerrillas at rendezvous points (RVs) on the borders with frontline states Zambia and Mozambique were bussed for disarming to APs under **Great Britain** (five APs), Australia (four APs), New Zealand (three APs), Kenya (one AP), and Fiji (one AP).

ASSIGN/REASSIGN. Military terms for placing military units or personnel in a new organization on a semipermanent basis with the units' primary function and duties. *See also* ATTACH.

ASSOCIATED SUPPORT. Naval term for operations in which a designated unit operates independently of a specified task **force** but provides intelligence and support in **joint** operations. **Tactical control** of the associated unit remains with its assigning authority, which coordinates units' movements based on the supported force requirements.

ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN). Formed on 8 August 1967 with the Bangkok Declaration, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations sits astride the key strategic points between the Indian Ocean and South China Sea. It comprises Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei (added in 1984), Vietnam (added in 1995), and Burma/Myanmar (added in 2000). ASEAN observers are Papua New Guinea, Communist China (since 2005) and India, all of which seek full membership. ASEAN's

1976 Bali Summit forged a secretariat and a regional trade **bloc** among diverse Southeast Asian economies to overcome their political rivalries and tap into the wider Pacific Basin trade area. The end of the Cold War and demise of the Soviet Union (USSR) enhanced ASEAN's fear of China and Japan dominating it economically and militarily. To counterbalance this and facilitate regional conflict-prevention diplomacy, ASEAN has gradually shed its self-imposed exclusive economic focus, forming in 1993 the ASEAN Regional Forum and institutionalizing through the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) its permanent diplomatic-military ties to 10 Pacific countries, the **United States**, the **European Union (EU)**, and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, while also debating regional security issues, **nuclear** proliferation, piracy, and Islamic fundamentalist **terrorism**.

ASSURED DESTRUCTION. Political-military term indicating the capability of launching devastating attacks against an enemy and even exterminating its population through nuclear “**counter-city**” targeting of urban and industrial areas. Before the advent of strategic **air power** and nuclear weapons, such destruction was only possible through long total land wars, such as **World War II** (1939–1945). The Cold War (1946–1990) reliance on strategic nuclear weapons and assured destruction depends on the survivability of first- and second-strike forces. The former are fast nuclear intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) capable of crossing the world in 25 minutes, although they are vulnerable to a preemptive enemy surprise “first strike”; the latter are submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) and strategic bombers, which although slower to hit targets are undetectable and “survivable” against enemy surprise “first strikes.” The strategic “triad” combines these three nuclear delivery systems to maximize their chances to devastate enemy areas, despite targeting inaccuracies or circles of error probability (CEP), by enhancing national **deterrence** through mutual assured destruction (MAD) and a “balance of terror” to threaten global nuclear holocaust as an unacceptable, suicidal outcome to war.

Both the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR) developed “counter-city” targeting in the early 1960s. U.S. nuclear theorist Hermann Kahn claimed that to throw an enemy “back to the Stone Age,”

a devastating nuclear strike only needed to target 50 percent of its cities, industrial areas, transportation network, and communications; 75 percent of its population would be killed and the national economy and transportation system would collapse. Since the 1970s, the United States has steadily moved away from MAD, following the development of better electronic, radar-guidance systems and greater CEP targeting accuracy, which maximize flexible “counter-force” surgical strikes against smaller enemy installations, bases, concentrations of armored forces, industry, and communication networks. The end of the Cold War in 1990 and East–West arms control cuts in nuclear arsenals have also led to the bilateral standdown of U.S. and USSR/Russian “triads” and their automatic targeting.

ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY, NATO. *See* NATO PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY.

ATLANTIC CHARTER (1941). The bilateral declaration of future war aims against Nazi **Germany’s Axis**, issued on board a warship in the Atlantic off Newfoundland, **Canada**, by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister **Winston Churchill** on 14 August 1941. The Atlantic Charter was the ideological basis of the **Allies’** military cause, with its “Four Freedoms” declaration (freedom from fear, from want, of speech, and of religion), plus freedom of the seas, self-determination, freely elected governments, economic cooperation, renunciation of the use of **force** in disputes, peaceful cooperation through international law, respect for sovereignty, and establishment of the **United Nations (UN)** after the war as a permanent global security organization. The Atlantic Charter’s democratic principles harken back to the **Entente** among **France**, Great Britain, **Russia**, and the Allies of **World War I**, and also influenced the U.S.-led **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in its **containment** of the Soviet Union (USSR) during the Cold War. *See also* ATLANTIC COMMON VALUES.

ATLANTIC COMMON VALUES, NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** supports the freedom and security of all **allies** and **partners**, their common values (democracy, human rights, rule of law, equality of rights, and duties among members),

and **United Nations (UN)** principles of peaceful coexistence and **collective security**. NATO's political-ideological roots are the liberal **alliances** (1848–1866, 1904–1940), the **Atlantic Charter** and UN (1940s), the **North Atlantic Treaty**, and its own transformation.

The values of democracy, political freedom, and legal equality are at the core of all **Western** states—including NATO and the **European Union (EU)**—and derive from the early **Entente Cordiale** (1843–1866) or liberal alliance between **Great Britain** and its ex-enemy **France** (balancing its liberal Second Republic and Napoleon III's Second Empire), while the **United States**, the third liberal state, remained isolationist until 1898. The Anglo–French liberal entente shared political-ideological values and some foreign policy goals, including the unification of **Italy** as a fourth liberal state (1848–1866) and the Crimean War to stop **Russia's** hegemony in Europe and the Near East (1853–1856). It collapsed in the late 1860s but was revamped in 1904 as the Second Anglo–French Entente Cordiale, against **Germany's** expansionism, becoming by 1907 the Anglo–Franco–Russian Entente, which later fought in **World War I** (1914–1918) as the Allies, aided by adding Serbia, **Belgium**, **Portugal**, Japan, **Greece**, **Italy**, **Romania**, and U.S. economic (1914–1917) and military support (1917–1918). The Allies' victory and liberal values dominated the postwar period, with U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's ideal of collective security applied through a **League of Nations** (1919–1945) to preserve world peace and international law.

Wilson's plan failed when the United States reverted to isolationism, followed by the rise of Axis imperialism in the 1930s, leaving Great Britain and France to face Nazi Germany alone at the outbreak of **World War II** in 1939. The ideological roots of the Atlantic **Alliance** lie in the Anglo–American alliance of World War II and the personal bond of shared values between British Prime Minister Sir **Winston Churchill** and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1940, with America still officially “**neutral**,” Roosevelt and Churchill secretly agreed to common aid and military coordination against the Axis powers (Germany, Italy, and Japan). Roosevelt's reelection in 1940 allowed him to also secretly plan with Great Britain and the **Commonwealth** America's future entry into the war. Roosevelt and Churchill institutionalized their anti-Fascist cooperation in

August 1941 off Newfoundland with the **Atlantic Charter**. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and the declaration of war against the United States by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the United States entered the war. The Atlantic Charter was strengthened in 1942 with the new declaration of a “United Nations Alliance against the Axis,” which pooled Allied resources to defend their common freedom and independence. Both the Atlantic Charter and “UN Alliance” were institutionalized in 1945 as the UN, a new collective security organization replacing the League of Nations.

The Soviet Union (USSR) paralyzed the UN after 1947 with its veto power. Therefore these values were soon reincorporated in the U.S.-led NATO (4 April 1949), the West’s main military alliance against the USSR, under UN Article 51, which reaffirms each country’s right to independent or collective defense. The Atlantic Alliance grew from 12 to 26 members by 2002, and it has preserved a just, lasting peace in Europe among equal members for more than 50 years, avoiding war with the USSR or among rival allies (Germany versus France; **Greece** versus **Turkey**). But by the 1960s–1970s NATO’s democratic values were being criticized as hollow because of the alliance’s lack of involvement in the “internal affairs” of members ruled by antidemocratic, right-wing, military dictatorships (Portugal, Greece) or committing human rights violations (Turkey). The democratization of Greece, Portugal, Turkey, and **Spain** between 1974 and 1982 finally made NATO’s democratic values mandatory benchmarks for all members.

In the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), NATO values and security have helped end the ideological-military division of Europe by stabilizing Eastern Europe, widening NATO (1999–2008 **enlargements**), and promoting broader Euro–Atlantic, regional security through **crisis management** and **peacekeeping**. Since 1994, these common democratic values have been restated in NATO’s *Study on Enlargement* (1995) as mandatory criteria for all states joining the **Partnership for Peace** (1994) and **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**, and for membership action plans (MAPs) for partners to become new allies. NATO’s security principles include collective defense, **deterrence**, political-military cooperation among allies and partners; military command-control integrated with national control in peacetime; a peaceful, prosperous Euro–Atlantic

area; indivisible transatlantic common security and burden-sharing plus security cooperation among partners (through the EAPC, Russian and Ukrainian Charters, and **Mediterranean Dialogue**); Atlantic common values; and unanimous decisions on **collective defense**, enlargements, and peacekeeping with partners in a broad Euro–Atlantic area or “out-of-area.”

ATLANTIC-TO-THE-URALS (ATTU). Technical **arms control** term referring the geostrategic area of Europe from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains in European **Russia**, including the British Isles and Transcaucasus, but not Soviet/Russian Siberia or ex-Soviet Central Asian states. The ATTU arms control region is regulated by the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE) between the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **Warsaw Pact**, establishing among their 22 members a series of concentric areas of deeper arms cuts in tanks, artillery, aircraft, and troops. The CFE’s pan-European nature was exemplified by the 19 November 1990 Paris Summit of the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE/OSCE)** and the CFE-1A Concluding Act calling for further cuts in troops, signed at the CSCE Helsinki Summit on 10 July 1992. An adapted CFE-1A Treaty covering 30 OSCE members (all NATO **allies** and partners) in the ATTU was signed at the OSCE Istanbul Summit of November 1999. In 2007, Russia threatened to suspend its CFE compliance in protest against NATO’s missile defense (MD) system in Eastern Europe. *See also* CONFIDENCE- AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES; FORUM FOR SECURITY COOPERATION.

ATLANTIC TREATY ASSOCIATION (ATA), NATO. An international body created on 18 June 1954, grouping all voluntary national chapters of Atlantic committees, councils, associations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) among the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO)** 26 **allies** and a dozen associate **partners**, which become full ATA members upon joining NATO as full members. ATA includes the Atlantic Education Committee (AEC), Atlantic Association of Young Political Leaders (AAYPL), and **Youth Atlantic Treaty Association (YATA)**. ATA supports NATO activities and the goals of the **North Atlantic Treaty** by

informing the public in **allied** and partner countries, conducting research, and promoting cooperation and democracy. Since 1999 ATA has granted observer membership to NGOs in NATO's **Mediterranean Dialogue** partner countries concerned with Euro-Atlantic security. ATA has a secretariat in Paris and Brussels.

ATOMIC BOMB (A-BOMB). Atomic fission as a physics-based engineering process was theorized in 1939, just before **World War II**, and by 1945 explosive devices a thousand times more powerful than conventional ones had been created. Atomic bombs use the highly unstable radioactive element uranium-235 (which also produces plutonium-239) to unleash a **nuclear** chain reaction and atomic explosion by breaking apart uranium's atom molecules. During World War II, Nazi **Germany** started research to develop an atomic bomb, and in the **United States** the secret Manhattan Project at Los Alamos, New Mexico, tested the first nuclear weapon in June 1945. The war in Europe had ended in May 1945, and in August the United States dropped an A-bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima and a plutonium bomb on Nagasaki, forcing Japan to surrender.

By 1951, A-bombs had been replaced by hydrogen bombs (H-bombs), whose fusion process forces atom molecules inward, releasing explosions thousands of times more powerful than A-bombs. Both the A-bomb and H-bomb are considered nuclear weapons. During the Cold War, once the Soviet Union (USSR) had acquired its own A-bomb technology through espionage and local research, exploding it in 1949, a massive nuclear weapons **arms race** was unleashed between the two superpowers. More than 50,000 devices of all types had been manufactured by the time East-West **arms control** treaties were agreed on, which cut the number to around 2,000 in each country by 2010. A slowed-down, controlled fission process is also used to power civilian nuclear reactors to generate electricity. The spread of civilian nuclear reactors and plutonium production has enhanced the proliferation of nuclear weapons in unstable dictatorial "rogue states," despite international arms control regimes and the 1967 **Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)** restricting nuclear technologies.

ATTACH. Military term for the temporary placing of units or personnel in organizations different from their parent ones. Within limits,

commanders of formations/organizations receiving attached units or persons exercise the same degree of command and control (**C²**) over attached **forces** as over those under their own **command**. *See also* ASSIGN/REASSIGN.

ATTRITION/ANNIHILATION WARS. Military strategies for long-term destruction of the enemy by committing all resources to bleed enemy **forces** into total collapse through unsustainable losses. Attrition was used by both the **Allies** and **Germany** in **World War I** (1914–1918), by Nazi Germany in 1943–1945 during its slow retreat from the Soviet Union (USSR), and in the **Iran–Iraq War** (1980–1988). In all cases, combatant **forces** reached total exhaustion. Annihilation (total rapid destruction of enemy forces) involves lightning wars of movement, such as the Napoleonic Wars (1790s–1815), the German Blitzkrieg during **World War II** (1939–1945); Cold War (1946–1990) scenarios of conventional invasion of Europe by the USSR; Israel’s lightning strikes in the Arab–Israeli Wars; and both **Gulf Wars** by U.S.-led coalitions against Iraq.

AUSTRALIA GROUP. Created in 1984 by Australia, the Paris-based consensual Australia Group is the **West’s** first international **nonproliferation** control regime on **chemical** and **biological weapons (CW/BW) of mass destruction**, which were used massively in the **Iran–Iraq War** (1980–1988). The Australia Group impedes CW/BW proliferation by harmonizing the members’ national export control “watch lists” of 50 CW chemical precursors with domestic chemical/pharmaceutical industries, information sharing on a “core list” of nine chemicals banned from all “rogue states,” warning guidelines for CW equipment, and a total ban under the **United Nations (UN) 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention/Treaty (CWC/T)**. *See also* MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME; NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY; NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS GROUP; ZANGGER COMMITTEE.

AUSTRIA (ÖSTERREICH), EU, NATO PARTNER. Republic landlocked in Europe’s Alpine region with an area of 83,858 square kilometers, bordering the **Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Liechtenstein, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Switzerland**. The capital is Vi-

enna. It is a German Christian (Catholic) country, with a population of 8.1 million.

Austria was ruled for centuries by the Habsburg emperors, who controlled most of Europe in the 1500s through the fusion of the Holy Roman Empire with **Spain** under Charles V, becoming the largest world empire, with Spanish–Portuguese colonies and control of Germany, Italy, Bohemia, and Hungary. Charles V could never truly unify Europe against **France** and its allies among the secessionist Northern German Protestant princes and the Ottoman Empire. Austria and Spain lost their European hegemony after the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Austria reemerged as a multi-ethnic Central European empire after defeating the Ottoman Empire in 1688–1740 and annexing the northern **Balkans**, while holding nominal sway over Germany. After the French Revolution and Napoleonic European hegemony (1789–1815), Austria once again dominated the European **balance of power**; the 1815 Congress of Vienna restored its monarchical despotism in a military pact with **Great Britain**, Prussia, and **Russia**, to prevent a resurgence of pro-French democratic liberalism and nationalism. However, Austria's crushing defeats during Italy's unification (1848–1870) and Germany's unification under Prussia (1860s–1870) forced it to create in 1867 a **joint** Austro–Hungarian Empire (*Ausgleich*), while denying federative rights to Slavs, Romanians, and Italians. Austria controlled Bohemia, Slovenia, Italian provinces (Trentino, Friuli, Istria), Polish-Ukrainian Galicia and **Bosnia**, while Hungary–Transylvania ruled over Slovakia and Croatia.

From 1870 to **World War I** (1914–1918), the Austro–Hungarian Empire's slow decline was shielded by the political-hegemonic sway of Germany's alliances, the two Dreikaiserbunds (Germany, Austria–Hungary, and Russia, 1873–1878, 1882–1887) and the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria–Hungary, and Italy, 1881–1914). Austria–Hungary's inability to stop secession among its Slavic populations or enmities with Russia and Italy over the Balkans finally led to World War I, fought against the **Entente Allies** (**Belgium**, France, Great Britain, **Greece**, Italy, Japan, Portugal, **Romania**, Russia, and the **United States**). Austria–Hungary's defeat resulted in the dismembering of its empire in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. The Allies twice prevented Austria from merging with Germany, until the

1938 Anschluss. After **World War II** (1939–1945) the Allies (France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States) recreated an Austrian republic in 1945, but kept it split among four Allied occupation zones.

During the Cold War (1946–1990), France, Great Britain, and the United States merged their occupation zones of Austria and west Vienna, but the USSR held onto eastern Austria and east Vienna until the 1955 Austrian State Neutrality Treaty traded the withdrawal of Soviet **forces** for the country's neutralization. The Kremlin wanted to prevent Austria from joining the U.S.-led, anti-Soviet **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** or European integration organizations, but allowed its entry into the **United Nations (UN)** in 1955, while hoping to make Austria a model for a future “demilitarized,” reunited, and “neutralized” Germany. Instead, West Germany joined NATO in 1955. Throughout the Cold War, Austria's official **neutrality** was accompanied by pro-Western diplomacy and secret accords to join the **alliance** and have its **Central Front** and Italy's defenses militarily rescue Austria should the USSR invade.

After the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR, Austria shed its “neutrality,” becoming the headquarters of the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** in the 1990s, joining the **European Union (EU)** in January 1995, and in February 1995 joining NATO's **Partnership for Peace**, cooperating in **peacekeeping** missions, **humanitarian** and disaster relief, and search and rescue. Examples of the latter include the NATO-led peacekeeping in **Bosnia** with the **Implementation Force (IFOR)** and **Stabilisation Force (SFOR)**, as well as the **Kosovo Force (KFOR)**, between 1995 and 2004. Austria will likely become an **aspirant** and join NATO by 2010. It also strengthens both the **European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)** with the EU **Petersberg** missions and **UN peacekeeping**. Austria also supports NATO–EU **antiterrorism** policies, **arms control**, and nonproliferation of **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**.

AUTARKY. An extreme form of national economic self-sufficiency and limitation on foreign trade dependency, compared to the dominant 19th-century economic liberalism extolling international trade interdependence. After the devastations of **World War I** and the

Great Depression (1929–1930s), Nazi **Germany** and Communist Soviet Union (USSR) used autarky to shield their war economies from the global Western economy by controlling regional states to create a closed, integrated economic system of raw materials and local markets. Germany's 1930s **Axis** with Fascist **Italy** was expanded by the Nazi New Order to all of occupied Europe and Russia during **World War II** (1939–1945). Likewise, in 1939 the USSR annexed the Baltic states and half of **Poland**, then created a system of **satellite** states in Eastern Europe and Communist China during the Cold War (1946–1990) using the **Council on Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON)** trade **bloc** to shield communist economies from the dominant liberal global trade/monetary system of the **United States**.

However, the rising costs of communist economic inefficiency, East–West **arms races**, and the lack of bilateral trade during the Cold War led both superpowers to promote **détente** and East–West trade in 1969–1980 and 1985–1991. The fear of Soviet espionage of Western weapons and dual-use technology led the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to sharpen its East–West trade controls through its **Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls (CoCom)** in Paris. Finally, the USSR's collapse in 1991 symbolized its inability to compromise autarkic communist self-sufficiency with dependence on Western global trade, technology, and finance. In the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), NATO moved beyond security to make both democracy and the market economy fundamental principles of Atlantic solidarity and litmus tests for former Communist Eastern European countries and the Baltic states to join NATO and the **European Union (EU)** through the parallel **NATO–EU enlargements** between 1999 and 2008.

AXIS (or BERLIN–ROME–TOKYO AXIS, 1936–1945). The right-wing political-ideological pact between Nazi **Germany** and Fascist **Italy** in 1936 expanded by 1937 into the Berlin–Rome–Tokyo Axis. It sought to topple the Treaty of Versailles status quo and challenge simultaneously **control** of the democratic **West (France, Great Britain, and the United States)** in Europe and the Mediterranean/Asian colonies; the Soviet Union (USSR) in Europe and Asia; and China in Asia. Although initially the Axis was not an **alliance**, its military involvement in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), its political-

ideological totalitarianism, and its imperialist geostrategic aims attracted other right-wing dictatorships under the common banners of anti-**West autarky** and anticommunism, expressed through the 1937 Anti-Comintern Pact (**Bulgaria** and **Croatia** joined in 1941; **Finland** in 1940; Nazi Germany, **Hungary**, and Fascist Italy in 1938; Japan, **Romania**, and **Slovakia** in 1939; and **Spain** in 1939). By mid-1940, Nazi Germany had turned all anti-Comintern Fascist states into Axis **satellites** (only Spain remained independent).

The Axis's first military alliance was the May 1939 Pact of Steel, an offensive–defensive German–Italian **deterrent** against Anglo–French attempts to prevent **World War II** (1939–1945) and contain Germany's impending attack on **Poland** by seeking an Anglo–Franco–Soviet counteralliance. The USSR betrayed the West by signing the Molotov–Ribbentrop **Non-Aggression Pact** (or Nazi–Soviet Pact) in August 1939, which secretly partitioned Poland and Eastern Europe and turned the Nazi threat of World War II back to the West. Finally, the three Axis powers signed the defensive Tripartite Pact alliance in 1940. Although no unified joint **command** was created (the Anglo–American **Allies** also only did this in late 1942), Germany controlled all Axis **forces** in Europe through a combination of leadership, forward basing, and tactical integration of satellite forces in Europe and the Mediterranean. Fascist Italy's military defeats in 1940–1941 turned it into another German satellite. Only the disastrous Axis invasion of the USSR in 1941–1944 pushed the Eastern European countries to appeal to Italy's dictator Benito Mussolini to intercede with Adolf Hitler to stop the war or secretly negotiate an armistice between them and the Allies. A weak Mussolini failed to influence Hitler or break with him, and in summer 1943 he fell from power when Italy was invaded by the Allies, while the Eastern European Axis satellites were overrun by the USSR in 1944–1945.

The Axis's totalitarian Fascist ideology and domination of Europe prompted the United States to enter the war and forge the Anglo–American-led, ideological-military, Allied front, through the 1941 North Atlantic Charter and 1942 “United Nations Alliance against the Axis,” which by his time included the USSR. In 1945 this alliance became the UN, an international organization for peace. The military and ideological clash between the Allies and Axis during World War II was fundamental in consolidating Western Europe under U.S.

leadership in the areas of shared democratic **common values**, market economies, and Western identity during the Cold War (1946–1990). The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and the “Free World” were aligned against the USSR’s Communist totalitarian dictatorship and its Eastern European satellites. These same values were reflected in NATO’s integrated military structure against the threat of **World War III**, which was based on the World War II Anglo–American Allied command, while the tradition of antitotalitarian democracy became the foundation of the 1994 **Partnership for Peace** with the former Communist Eastern European and Soviet states, as well as of NATO’s triple **enlargements** in 1999–2008. *See also* ATLANTIC COMMON VALUES.

AZERBAIJAN (AZARBAYÇAN), NATO–EU PARTNER. Republic and ex-state of the Soviet Union (USSR) in the mountainous Transcaucasus with an area of 86,000 square kilometers, bordering **Armenia**, the Naxcivan enclave, the Caspian Sea, **Georgia**, Iran, **Russia**, and **Turkey**. The capital is Baku. It is a Turkish-Azeri Muslim country with a population of around 7.9 million (92 percent Azeri, 3.2 percent Dagestani, 2.5 percent Russian, and 2.3 percent other). Ethnic Azeris also live in the Naxcivan enclave and Iran’s Azerbaijan.

Invaded by migrating Turkish tribes from Central Asia and by Persia, by the early 1800s Northern Azerbaijan was conquered by Czarist Russia, although Persia retained 60 percent of Azeri lands. By the early 1900s, the discovery of great reserves of gas and oil deposits made Azerbaijan one of the world’s most important producers and refiners. The country became independent in May 1918 following the Bolshevik Revolution and Russian Civil War, but was reannexed in 1921 by the Soviet Union (USSR) as part of the Transcaucasus Republic along with Armenia and Georgia, then turned into a separate Soviet state. During both **world wars**, the **Allies** occupied Iran, with Russia/USSR twice seeking to annex Iranian Azerbaijan (in 1921 and 1945–1946), until the USSR was forced out by the **United Nations (UN)**, **United States**, and **Great Britain** in 1947. Soviet Azerbaijan regained independence after the collapse of the USSR in 1991 and is now part of the Russian-led **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**, controlling vast former Soviet oil/gas infrastructures. It is em-

broiled in corruption and political clashes, after losing a civil war with its secessionist Armenian region Nagorno-Karabakh, which joined Armenia. A pro-Western state, Azerbaijan cooperates with the United States, Turkey, and Russia on oil and security; with its two Transcaucasus neighbors it insists on its “European” identity to counterbalance Russia. It joined the United Nations (UN) and **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** in 1992, and since 1994 has been a **partner** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, although it was rebuffed from actually joining NATO.

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BALANCE OF POWER (1500s–1939). A 450-year-old automatic regulator of warfare and international diplomacy in Europe, seen as the core of **realism** as an international relations theory and **alliance** building. From the 1500s to **World War II**, the balance of power promoted legal equality among all states, great and small, against unification under any hegemonic power. It first emerged among ancient **Greece**’s warring city-states, as detailed in Thucydides’s *History of the Peloponnesian War* (5th century B.C.), between Sparta’s alliance and Athens’s Delian League, to prevent Athenian hegemonic unification of Greece. It also existed in ancient China, India, and in Europe out of Renaissance **Italy**’s rival substates (Florence, Milan, Venice, Papal Rome and Naples) from the 1300s to 1530s, as depicted by Florence’s Francesco Guicciardini *History of Italy* and Niccolò Machiavelli’s *The Prince*. As a global political-military system, the balance of power shaped European security during five periods, especially through the semi-institutionalized **Congress/Concert of Europe** in its third and fourth periods: early balance of power, 1500s–1618; classical balance of power, 1660s–1789; Metternichian balance of power, 1815–1858; Bismarckian balance of power, 1871–1914; and the **League of Nations** system, 1919–1939.

Balance of power principles are

- A multipolar system of evenly distributed military and economic power and equal aggrandizement among five to eight great

powers at any given time, which prevents any one of them from defeating the others and unifying Europe through conquest.

- The preservation of independence and survival of the great powers at the expense of weaker states.
- Mitigation of generalized warfare and anarchy by keeping constant limited wars as a central feature, with moderate gains (“win some, lose some”).
- Shifting alliances (“enemies of today are friends of tomorrow and vice versa”) to prevent permanent bipolar alliances.
- The automatic coalescing of rival great powers into a joint diplomatic-military front against any one of them that emerges as a “hegemon” attempting to conquer the system and unify Europe, such as **Austria–Hungary** and **Spain** under Emperors Charles V and Philip II in the 1500s, or **France** under King Louis XIV in the 1660s–1713 and Napoleon in 1800–1815, or **Germany** under Prince Otto von Bismarck’s alliances of the 1870s–1890s.
- The vital role of England/**Great Britain** after the 1580s as a sea power and “balancer” to diplomatically forge alliances against emergent land “hegemons” before they could unify Europe by conquest and then use the continent’s resources to create a vast invasion fleet to also subdue the British Isles.
- Shared political beliefs among all powers in common values and national interests.
- The constant strengthening of the system by coopting other powers, like such as the Ottoman Empire/Turkey in the 1500s, Prussia in the 1600s, **Russia** in the 1700s, Italy and Germany in the 1860s–1870, Japan and the **United States** in the 1900s, and the Soviet Union (USSR) in the 1930s.
- The need to rebuild the system after each “break” when hegemonic drives and total wars tear Europe apart (1500s, 1618–1659, 1690s–1713, 1789–1815, 1859–1870, 1914–1918, 1939–1945).
- The need to contain and reduce but also reintegrate into the balance of power defeated ex-hegemons, like France in 1713 and 1815, rather than destroying them by punitive peace treaties, like Germany after **World War I**, or by partition like Poland in the 1770s–1790, Austria–**Hungary** in 1919, and Germany at the 1945 Yalta **Summit**, because eliminating powers shrinks the

pool of actors from a multipolar system to a potentially unstable bipolar one of two opposed alliances, such as existed at the onset of both world wars.

The balance of power's self-regulating alliances and wars were challenged after the defeat of Germany's hegemonic drive in World War I by a **collective security** system of universal international organizations, such as the U.S.-inspired League of Nations and **United Nations (UN)**, sponsoring global peace, international law, and sanctions against aggressors. However, realists blame the League of Nations' **idealism** and lack of collective security enforcement for precipitating **World War II** and for the final collapse of the balance of power. Thereafter, the global political system of the Cold War (1946–1990) oscillated between an idealist return to collective security under the UN and the rigid **nuclear** bipolarism of the “**balance of terror**” between the U.S.-led **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**/Western alliance systems and the **USSR/Warsaw Pact**.

The **post-Cold War** period (1990–present) continues to be dominated by the United States as sole superpower, with NATO and the UN in tow, despite attempts by rival powers to foster a new multipolar balance of power. At the same time, regional balances of power protect the independence of smaller states from absorption by subregional powers.

“BALANCE OF TERROR.” Military-strategic term indicating that the security of rival actors can be maintained only through their mutual assured destruction (MAD) capabilities, even if one of them is hit by a surprise “first strike.” A stable mutual **deterrence** during the Cold War (1946–1990), between the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR), relied on **nuclear** weapons as the key national security tool to prevent war by threatening nuclear holocaust as an unacceptable, suicidal outcome for both sides.

BALKANS VS. BALKANIZATION. The term *Balkans* derives from the Turkish word for “forested mountain,” indicating the entire European peninsula south of **Hungary** and north of **Greece** between the Adriatic Sea and the Black Sea, comprising the states of **Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, and Slovenia**. Between the 1400s and 1688 the Balkans, Greece,

and Hungary were conquered by the Ottoman Empire. In the 1700s and 1800s, rival powers **Austria** and **Russia** forced the Turks out and gradually unleashed local independence, from the 1800s to 1919. The Balkans were also influenced by Russia's Pan-Slavist policy of regional annexation and **alliances** with local independent Slavic Balkan states, to undermine through Slavic nationalism both the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires prior to **World War I** (1914–1918).

Balkanization is used by historians to describe the ethnic-nationalist fragmentation of the Balkans or other regions into many mutually hostile states and ethnic communities, often intermixed with each other to the point that clear ethnic nation-states are difficult to trace. In 1919 the Treaty of Versailles further fragmented the Balkans into small states, each bent on repressing its own multi-ethnic minorities, while the Adriatic coast was integrated under Serbia as **Yugoslavia** between 1919 and 1991. *Balkanization* can also be defined as a destabilizing strategy of “divide and rule” to prevent unification of a fragmented region. After the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, the term also applies to **ethnic cleansing** massacres of minorities to re-create ethnically pure nation-states, such as Slobodan Milošević's **Greater Serbia** in 1991–1999 and the dream of a Greater Albania in 1998–2000, both of which were stopped by the joint military interventions of the **United Nations (UN)** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. *See also* BALANCE OF POWER.

BALLADUR INITIATIVE. *See* EUROPEAN STABILITY PACT.

BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE (BMD). Strategic-military term covering several conventional and **nuclear** missiles capabilities, deployments, and strategic. BMD can be either in the atmosphere, such as theater missile defense (TMD), or in outer space, such as the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), later scaled down to the national missile defense or Missile Defense (NMD/MD) option. It can be either or a tactical point defense, like TMD Patriot missile batteries. However, during the Cold War the high costs and inaccuracy of any antimissile defense led the superpowers to agree on the **Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty**. The collapse of the USSR in 1991 led the United States to focus on NMD/MD area defense of continental U.S.

(CONUS), and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to counter the proliferation of missile technology and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in “rogue states,” although MD was opposed by **Russia**, which since 2007 withdrew temporarily from all East–West **arms control** treaties.

BALTIC STATES (BALTICS or BALTS). *See* ESTONIA; LATVIA; LITHUANIA.

BASE(S). Fortified emplacement for defense, military supply, and training, often located at strategic points in relation to external threats, regional tensions, military technology, and foreign commitments. Bases are even more vital when located abroad as part of a forward basing strategy to (1) wage wars against common enemies in allied countries closer to the **front** (e.g., the **U.S. Strategic Air Bomber Command** in **Great Britain** during **World War II**); (2) occupy defeated enemies (e.g., as the **Allies** did after World War II or as U.S.–coalition **forces** did in **Afghanistan** and Iraq); (3) defend **alliance** members (e.g., during the Cold War with **NATO**’s network of shared U.S.–allied bases and U.S. naval bases among NATO members, or U.S. bases in South Korea since 1945 and Vietnam in the 1960s–1975 to help local governments defend against internal and external attacks); and (4) both dominate Eastern Europe and defend the Soviet Union (USSR) through a network of military bases in the **Warsaw Pact satellites** and client-states (Egypt).

BASIC LAW (GRUNDGESETZ). After **World War II**, the Western **Allies** (the **United States**, **Great Britain**, and **France**) imposed a democratic constitution on West **Germany**, on 23 May 1949. This *Grundgesetz* or Basic Law indicated that a final official constitution would supersede it after the reunification of Germany with Communist East Germany, then occupied by the Soviet Union (USSR). The Basic Law curtails the use and deployment overseas of German **forces**, limiting them to national self-defense and cooperation with the U.S.-led **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** or **United Nations (UN) peacekeeping**. The Basic Law became the constitution of reunited Germany on 3 October 1990 after the end of the **Cold War**. In 1990–1991, it was invoked to **veto** NATO’s

intervention and use of German **forces** in the First **Gulf War** against Saddam Hussein's Iraq, even though the conflict was mandated by the UN. However, Germany did deploy air forces to protect **Turkey's** borders with Iraq and would have intervened under NATO's Article V if a fellow Ally had been attacked by Iraq. In 1991, the German Constitutional Court reversed the earlier political decision not to contribute soldiers to UN or NATO combat peacekeeping operations abroad. German soldiers participated in the **UN Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)** in 1992–1994 and in NATO's **Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR)** in 1995–1996 and **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** in 1996–2004, as well as in NATO's **Kosovo Force (KFOR)** since 1999 and **International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF)** since 2002. In 2003 a wave of domestic anti-Americanism moved the German government to refuse support for the U.S.-led coalition's **Second Gulf War** on Saddam's Iraq, but in 2005 Germany and NATO agreed to train new Iraqi **forces** in Europe. *See also* ADENAUER, KONRAD.

BELARUS/BELORUSSIA, NATO-EU PARTNER. Landlocked, former Soviet republic with an area of 207,600 square kilometers, bordered by **Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine**. The capital is Minsk. It has a Slav Christian-Orthodox population of 10.5 million (80 percent Belorussian, 13 percent Russian, 4 percent Polish; and 3 percent Ukrainian).

Historically absorbed by its more powerful neighbors—Poland-Lithuania through the 1600s and **Russia/Soviet Union (USSR)** until 1991—Belarus was briefly independent after **World War I** (1914–1918) following **Germany's** defeat of Czarist Russia and the 1918 Brest–Litovsk Treaty. The USSR reconquered it in 1921, then in 1939, under the Nazi–Soviet (Molotov–Ribbentrop) Pact, agreed to partition Poland and annex ethnic-Belorussian and Ukrainian lands conquered by Poland in 1921. Nazi Germany's invasion of Russia in 1941–1944 wiped out Soviet **front-line** defenses in Belarus and seized it; it was reconquered in 1944 by the USSR. Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** used Belarus and Ukraine as diplomatic pawns to extract from the **Allies** two extra seats at the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945. During the Cold War (1946–1990), Belarus became the vital logistical rear for Soviet **forces** occupying the Baltics and Eastern European

Communist **satellite** states, while supplementing both theater **nuclear** forces and combat reserves for any Soviet–**Warsaw Pact** invasion of Western Europe against the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Belarus was part of the first successful NATO–Soviet disarmament of all “**Euromissiles**” under the 1987 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty**, and again in the mid-1990s when the **United States** demanded Belorussian compliance with the U.S.–Soviet 1991 **Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START I)**, requiring that it eliminate the strategic nuclear forces left behind after the sudden collapse of the USSR in December 1991, which resulted in Belarus becoming an independent republic.

The many Soviet defense industries and test ranges in Belarus left severely polluted, radioactive, and toxic sites, as well as air and water pollution, and radiation contamination lingers in the southeast due to the 1986 accident at the **Chernobyl** civilian nuclear power plant in Ukraine. Under a neocommunist dictatorship, Belarus has close political-military and economic ties with Russia and the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**, and also seeks reunification with Russia. In 1992, Belarus joined the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** and NATO’s **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)**, and in 1994 became a partner of both NATO and the **European Union (EU)**, but all its memberships are “frozen” because of its dictatorship and human rights violations.

BELGIUM/BELGIQUE, NATO-EU. Monarchy in Western Europe with an area of 30,513 square kilometers, bordering **France, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands**, and the North Sea. The capital is Brussels. It is a multi-ethnic federal state (under its 1993 constitution) with a Christian population (75 percent Catholic; 25 percent Protestant) of 10.5 million, living in autonomous communities-regions: Dutch-speaking Flanders in the north (55 percent), Francophone Wallonia in the south (33 percent), bilingual French–Dutch Brussels in the center, and a German minority (9 percent) in the east.

Historically, a geostrategic **buffer zone** between France, German-dominated Central Europe, and the Rhine River, Belgium has often been fought over by the great powers. It was annexed to France along with the Netherlands and Luxembourg during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815), then merged with the Netherlands

by the 1815 Congress of Vienna as an anti-French buffer after Napoleon's fall. The region's Protestant–Catholic religious rivalry erupted in the Belgian Revolution in 1830, creating an independent, Catholic, Belgian monarchy ruling over Francophone Wallonia and Dutch-speaking Flanders, “**neutralized**” by the great powers to prevent its annexation by France, the Netherlands, or Prussia–Germany. During **World War I** (1914–1918), Belgium was conquered by Germany during its invasion of France. Belgium in the 1920s was an ally of France against Germany, but in 1930 it reverted to neutrality, until **World War II** (1939–1945), when it was again conquered by Germany (in 1940), then reliberated by the **Allies** in late 1944.

Belgium was dominated politically and economically by Francophone Wallonia, until growing ethnic-nationalist rivalry with Dutch-speaking Flanders beginning in the 1890s resulted in virtual separation by the 1960s and political-economic parity as a new federal state by 1993. Belgium was an early promoter of European integration and peace as a founding member of the **League of Nations** (1919); the Belgian–Luxembourg Economic Union (1921); the **United Nations (UN)** (1945); the Belgium–Netherlands–Luxembourg (Benelex) customs union (1948); the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** (1949); the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) (1950); and the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE/OSCE)** (1976). A member of **Eurocorps**, Belgium has peacekeepers in the UN, NATO, OSCE, and EU, with Brussels as headquarters of the EC/EU, NATO, and 1,000 public–private international organizations. Belgium joined the **U.S.-led** coalition in the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991) against Iraq but opposed the **Second Gulf War** (2003).

BERLIN BLOCKADE (1948–1949). *See* BERLIN CRISES.

BERLIN BRIGADE (1945–1993), U.S. An infantry contingent of the **United States**, assigned after the collapse of Nazi **Germany** to the **Allies'** quadripartite occupation and military–administrative division of the ex-capital **Berlin** and Germany. The Berlin Brigade manned “Check-Point Charlie” and other international gates to the West Berlin Allied Sectors from East Germany during the Cold War (1946–1990). Following the 1948–1949 **Berlin Blockade** and West

Germany's 1955 entry into the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, any Soviet threat to West Berlin would immediately escalate into an East–West confrontation or even a conventional–**nuclear World War III**, because the isolated Berlin Brigade and Anglo–French units could never hold their position alone.

The December 1989 Eastern European protest movements, collapse of East Germany's Communist government, and tearing down of the Berlin Wall led in 1990 to the reunification of the two Germanies within the West and NATO, with the reunited Berlin as the capital. The Allies' West Berlin Sector was disbanded, "Check-Point Charlie" was closed and put in a museum, and in 1993 the Berlin Brigade was scheduled for deactivation. However, it was rushed to **Macedonia** as an emergency **U.S. peacekeeping force in Operation Able Sentry** part of 1,000 peacekeepers **United Nations (UN)** force of to forestall any Serb threat to that former Yugoslav state, providing logistical support to NATO **forces** and having a patrol captured. *See also* OPERATIONS AMBER FOX AND ESSENTIAL HARVEST.

BERLIN CRISES (1948–1949, 1958, 1961, 1962, 1989). The capital of a unified **Germany** in 1871–1945 and again since 1990, Berlin was divided under the **Allies'** quadripartite military-administrative **occupation** zones after the collapse of Nazi Germany at the end of **World War II** (1939–1945). This "temporary" situation became permanent for 55 years during the Cold War (1946–1990) because of Soviet **satellization** of Eastern Europe and East–West animosity, which prevented a German peace treaty. In July 1946, **Great Britain** and the **United States** merged their occupation zones in northwest and southern Germany as "Bizonia," incorporating by early 1948 also **France's** zone ("Trizonia"). In 1949 the pro-**West** government of West Germany and West Berlin was formed. In 1945 the USSR divided its occupation zone with Communist **Poland**, giving it Pomerania, Silesia, and Prussia, and then turned the Soviet-occupied East Germany and East Berlin into another Communist satellite as the German Democratic Republic (Deutsche Demokratische Republik, DDR). The East–West Iron Curtain split the two Germanies along the inter-German border. Throughout the Cold War, Berlin was the fragile symbol of Western democratic freedoms opposed to Communism

and of the unsolved German question. The divided city's vulnerability as a virtual hostage deep inside the Soviet zone sparked several Cold War **crises**, when the USSR threatened Western access to West Berlin, unsuccessfully seeking to seize the entire divided city and turn it into Communist East Germany's sole capital.

The first crisis was the **Berlin Blockade** or Berlin Airlift in (1948–1949). Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** feared that the Anglo–American “Bizonia” being enlarged to the French zone in early 1948 would create an independent West Germany, despite a Soviet **veto** at the “**Four Powers**” level of any German peace treaty. The Berlin Blockade started in April–June 1948 with Soviet restrictions on Allied military supplies to West Berlin through the USSR's East German zone. In June 1948, currency reform within the integrated three Allied zones and West Berlin led to a complete Soviet **blockade** of all land access to the city. The United States, Great Britain, and France faced impossible political choices: Inaction would have meant losing West Berlin as the USSR wanted, but any Western armed convoy forcing the Soviet blockade (U.S. general Mark Clark's option) risked unleashing **World War III**. Instead, the Allies instituted a year-long, all-weather airlift, which successfully fed and powered the city's three millions inhabitants, at a cost of 1,000 aviators (80 percent U.S., 15 percent British, and 5 percent French), rendering the Berlin Blockade politically and economically ineffective. The Allies' Berlin Airlift avoided any military clash with the USSR because the Soviets' inexperience with airlift operations led them to miscalculate their effectiveness, forcing Stalin to acknowledge that to challenge the airlift militarily would provoke World War III.

The Allies also reacted to the Berlin Blockade by creating in 1949 both an independent West Germany with access to the **Marshall Plan** aid and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, a permanent U.S.–Western European **alliance** against the USSR. The Berlin Blockade ended by May 1949 as a major Soviet fiasco, but no formal German peace treaty ensued. Once West Germany joined NATO in 1955, the divided city remained an unstable powder keg during three more East–West crises (1958, 1961, 1962) under Stalin's successor, Premier **Nikita Khrushchëv**.

The brief 1958 Berlin Crisis was caused by a Soviet ultimatum that it would sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany and make

East Berlin its capital, but it fizzled out when the Allies refused to evacuate West Berlin. A third crisis in 1961 made Berlin's division permanent. The constant flight of skilled East German workers into West Berlin as their only open route to West Germany led yet again to Khrushchëv's threatening, at the June 1961 U.S.–Soviet Vienna Summit, that he would sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany, but the Kremlin did not carry out the threat. Instead, on 13 August 1961 the 159-kilometer Berlin Wall closed off West Berlin. Allied garrisons thereafter manned a few highly restricted international gates to East Germany, such as “Check-Point Charlie,” by the U.S. **Berlin Brigade**, through which spy exchanges were arranged. Despite U.S. President **John F. Kennedy**'s visit to support the divided city (the “Ich bin ein Berliner” speech), both sides understood that the Berlin Wall could not be challenged. In West Berlin the Allies stopped riots aimed at dismantling the Berlin Wall, but were unable to prevent East German border police from killing numerous people trying to escape.

The fourth Berlin crisis was an implicit one, during the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis**, ostensibly provoked by the Soviet construction and emplacement of intermediate nuclear missiles in Cuba. Soviet archives declassified during the 1990 U.S.–Soviet anniversary Conference in Moscow on the Cuban Missile Crisis revealed that Kennedy correctly thought that Khrushchëv's blatant disregard of previous public and secret assurances not to deploy **nuclear forces** in Cuba was a Soviet **brinkmanship** ploy to trade removal of those nukes for the Allies' withdrawal from West Berlin. Kennedy's ultimatum that the USSR withdraw its nuclear weapons from Cuba or risk a nuclear World War III called Khrushchev's bluff and forced him into a secret negotiated settlement that met all U.S. demands. When East–West **détente** in 1969–1979 institutionalized coexistence, the 1971 Quadripartite Treaty among the old World War II Allies and the governments of West and East Germany recognized the post-1949 status quo, with West Berlin as a non-voting Land (state) of West Germany. Finally, in December 1989 Berlin's artificial division ended with the collapse of East Germany under internal reformist protests and the fall of the Berlin Wall, followed by the 1990 “4 + 2 Treaty” reunifying the two Germanies in NATO, with Berlin as the capital once again.

BERLIN WALL (1961–1989). *See* BERLIN CRISES.

BILATERALISM. Technical term in international law for **joint** political-diplomatic concessions, defense, or trade treaties between two rival or hostile states. Bilateral defense pacts either are **nonaggression pacts** or involve degrees of mutual military support in war, plus training, aid, and basing of foreign **forces**.

BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS (BW). One of three kinds of **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**, the others being **chemical weapons (CW)** and **nuclear weapons (NW)**. The invention of BW during **World War I** (1914–1918) led to their classification in three broad categories, viruses, rickettsias, and bacteria. Several **arms control** efforts have tried to eliminate BW, but the 1972 **United Nations Biological Weapons Convention (BWC)** is weaker than the 1993 **Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)** on verification. Iraq's circumvention in the 1980s and 1990s of international nuclear non-proliferation **controls**, as well as its CW and BW programs, led to the strengthening of international inspection capabilities and dual-technology controls. However, BWs remain a potentially difficult system to control, and only the long-term difficulty of weaponizing BWs into a sufficiently lethal degree of faster contagion prevents their more widespread use. The 2001 anthrax **terrorist** attacks in Florida, New York, and Washington, D.C., illustrate the ease of dissemination of contaminated samples, in this case through the mail.

BIPOLARISM. Political-strategic term associated with the Cold War (1946–1990), during which the international political system revolved around two rival political-ideological, military, and economic **blocs** and models, those of the Soviet Union (USSR) and **United States**. That bipolar system (whether rigid, as in 1946–1962, or loose, as in 1963–1968 and 1980–1985) was antithetical to the multipolar **balance of power** system (1500s–1945). Traditionally bipolarism was always unstable, emerging whenever the balance of power flexibility failed and led instead to regrouping into two opposing blocs/**fronts**, which precipitated generalized wars for European supremacy, including **World War I** (1914–1918) and **World War II** (1939–1945). Cold War bipolarism was an artificially stable

system because it included a perception of global equilibrium as a frozen status quo, given both superpowers' **nuclear** arsenals and the **"Balance of Terror,"** which prevented a major war capable of overcoming the bipolar contrast by morphing into either unipolarism/universalism under one sole center of world power or renewed international fragmentation through another multipolar balance of power.

East–West bipolarism is also associated with the “zero-sum” game (“my gain your loss”) of political-military rebalancing through military interventions or subversions in any Third World area where the adversary makes fresh inroads. Whereas multipolar systems are self-balancing and flexible, with various political-military and economic outcomes that do not undermine the international security order, bipolarism's rigid international security negates flexibility. Inevitably, the rigidity of Cold War bipolarism (“tight” bipolarism, 1946–1962, 1980–1985) led to its slow weakening as a military ideological system (“loose” bipolarism, 1963–1969) once key powers and regions left the East–West blocs (China and **Yugoslavia** in the East; European colonies and **France** in the West), or once East–West coexistence under **détente's** (1969–1979, 1985–1991) led to bi-multipolarism blending the superpowers' global security with regional economic multipolarity through the **European Community**, Japan, China, the OPEC oil producing cartel, and the Nonaligned bloc.

The collapse of the USSR and communism (1989–1991) ushered in a uni-multipolar system dominated by the United States as sole superpower, whose supremacy in security and technology has outdistanced all powers due to their own **"peace dividend"** military cuts. It remains the main global economic center, despite occasional calls for a new multipolar balance of power advocated in the mid-1990s and 2002–2004 by a few rivals of U.S. “hyperpowership” (China, France, Russia, and Germany).

“BIZONIA” (1946–1948). *See* BERLIN CRISES.

BLOC. French political term describing domestic groupings of parties supporting either the government or the opposition. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the term was also used in international relations theory for political-military **alliances** or political-economic coalitions of states aligned to each superpower: the Western Bloc with the

United States against the **Soviet/Communist bloc** under the Soviet Union (USSR). *Bloc* also applies to political-geographic group voting in the **United Nations (UN)** General Assembly: Western bloc, **Soviet bloc**, Nonaligned bloc (G-77), Arab bloc, Latin American bloc, and African bloc.

BLOCKADE. Military–economic term for forceful denial of access to and/or exit from “enemy territories,” either on land or at sea. Since **World War II** (1939–1945) both military elements have been combined with air power (“**no-fly zones**”) for greater efficacy, such as the U.S. “quarantine” during the **Cuban Missile Crisis** in 1962, or the 1991–2000 **United Nations (UN)** sanctions against **Yugoslavia** as enforced by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Blockades in modern times are most effective because of the high degree of economic interdependence of international trade and vulnerability of “targeted states.” However, international law requires that naval blockades be permanent against “targeted states,” with sufficient local **force** to make a blockade effective yet not prevent trade from “**neutrals**,” although cargoes can be inspected. To “run a blockade” is to attempt to evade it, at the risk of seizure and confiscation of cargoes and ships. Blockades are forms of belligerency against “targeted states,” to deny enemy **forces** and civilian populations imports of war matériel, economic resources, and even food (illegally) In both **World War I** (1914–1918) and **World War II** (1939–1945) the Allies violated international law by labeling food bound for Germany as “contraband” to force the country’s collapse.

Great Britain traditionally intertwined foreign policy with naval force and strategy through naval blockades, for example against **France** during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1790s–1815) and in both world wars against Germany. A key example of a land blockade was the Soviet Union’s (USSR) **Berlin Blockade** (1948–1949), which was rendered ineffective politically and economically by the Western Allies’ (United States, Great Britain, France) successful Berlin Airlift, which fed and provided power for 13 months to a city of several millions, at the cost of 1,000 aviators. The Berlin Blockade and its related threat of a **World War III** turned out to be a major strategic mistake for the USSR, because they incited the United States to stay in Europe and create NATO as a permanent peacetime Euro–Atlantic **alliance**.

In peacetime, a blockade can be used as a short-term reprisal against an illegal act, although there is a risk of escalation if the other side considers the blockade an act of war. Blockades are also part of the **United Nations (UN)** system of **sanctions**, enforced by warships and peacekeepers. Examples are the UN sanctions against the former Yugoslavia in 1991–1995 and 1998–2000, enforced in the Adriatic by NATO’s navies and air forces; against Iraq in both **Gulf Wars**; and the U.S. sanctions against the military régime of Haiti in 1993–1994. “Peacetime blockades” by individual states are usually controversial; to maintain a cover of legality rather than go to war, in October 1962 the United States established a “quarantine” of Cuba to prevent Soviet missiles reaching the island by sea, while relying on the **Organization of American States (OAS)** regional **collective defense** provisions to justify its actions. The escalation of this **crisis** also affected the NATO allies, who feared that the USSR’s opposition would lead to Soviet strikes against the much-closer Europe.

BLUE HELMETS, UN. Nickname of the **United Nations (UN)** peacekeepers since 1956, due to the blue color of their helmets and berets, used for long-range identification as **neutral forces**. Their vehicles and armored personnel carriers (APCs) are painted white.

“BOMB ON THE PLAZA” (1950). After the beginning of the **Korean War** (1950–1953), the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** held its New York Summit at the Plaza Hotel, where U.S. President **Harry S Truman** sought for the second time since 1949 to convince the **allies** (in the “Bomb on the Plaza” speech) to accept West **Germany**’s remilitarization and integration as an equal ally in NATO, as its frontline defense against any invasion of Western Europe by the Soviet Union (USSR). International fears of a generalized **World War III** escalated during the Korean War, with Truman and the Pentagon believing that the dearth of U.S. and European combat **forces** in NATO available to confront the USSR could only be redressed by rearming German veterans to defend their divided homeland. West Germany’s Chancellor **Konrad Adenauer** also sought full independence from allied occupation and elimination of its postwar disarmament, seeking rearmament and offering large numbers of troops at the **NATO Summits** of 1950, 1952, and 1954. Already in 1949, during NATO’s formation, the United States had unsuccessfully

pressed the allies to rearm and integrate West Germany into NATO, but this was too soon after World War II, despite Truman's insistence that during the Cold War (1946–1990) Nazi Germany could never be resurrected or it would be “nuked” by America. Again in October 1950 the allies refused, supporting instead **France's Pleven Plan**, proposed by Prime Minister René Pleven and **Jean Monnet**, to create a **European Defence Community (EDC)**, with German troops integrated at company levels in a multinational European army, rather than allowing an independent German army.

BOSNIA (or BOSNIA–HERZEGOVINA), NATO–EU PARTNER.

Federal republic and former Yugoslav state in the **Balkans** with an area of 107,600 square kilometers, bordering **Croatia**, **Montenegro**, **Serbia**, and the Adriatic Sea. The capital is Sarajevo. A multi-religious federal state (under 1992 and 1995 constitutions), its Slavic population of 3.5 million (40 percent Bosnian Serb Christian-Orthodox, 35 percent Bosnian Muslims, 15 percent Bosnian Croat Catholics, and 10 percent other) is divided into two states and three autonomous ethnicities: the secessionist Serb Republika Srpska and the Bosnian Federation (with Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats, respectively).

Historically Bosnia was absorbed by its more powerful neighbors—Serbia through the 1400s; the Ottoman Empire until 1878; the Austro–Hungarian Empire until 1918; and Serb-dominated **Yugoslavia** in 1919–1941 and 1944–1991. Control of Bosnia was the spark that ignited **World War I** (1914–1918), but it became independent briefly in 1941–1944 as a Nazi German protectorate, and then again since 1992. During the Yugoslav civil wars (1991–2000), the seceding states of **Slovenia** (1991), **Croatia** (1991), and **Bosnia** (1992) broke off from Serb-dominated **Yugoslavia**, while Serb minorities in the new states, with Yugoslav help, fought to create a “**Greater Serbia**.” Serb violence doomed all mediations by the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)**, **United Nations (UN)**, **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, **Western European Union (WEU)**, and **UN Protection Force in Bosnia (UNPROFOR)** in 1992–1995. The breakup of Yugoslavia forced the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** for the first time to intervene “out-of-area” to preserve the Balkans’ fragile postcommu-

nist ethnic balance and **alliance** security, threatened by hundreds of thousands of dead, rapes, and refugees fleeing to Europe.

NATO sought to contain ethnic-nationalist conflicts by implementing **United Nations (UN) sanctions** and an arms **embargo** against Bosnia in 1992–1995, with air and sea patrols, plus a UN–NATO “**no-fly zone**” by **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AF-SOUTH) command** in Naples, Italy. In February 1994, NATO targeted air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs in support of UNPROFOR. Finally, in the summer of 1995 NATO conducted a short air campaign in Bosnia in parallel with Croatia’s reentry into the war, defeating the Serbs of the Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Krajina in Croatia, forcing them to sign, with their enemies of the Bosnian Federation (the rival Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats), the Dayton Peace Accords (November 1995) and General Framework Agreement for Peace (Paris, 14 December 1995). Mandated by the UN Security Council, NATO peacekeepers imposed peace and redrew ethnic-nationalist borders to reduce the Bosnian Serbs’ supremacy. Operation Joint Endeavour (16 December 1995–20 December 1996) deployed 65,000 troops of NATO’s multinational **Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR)**, absorbing UNPROFOR’s 15,000 Anglo–French peacekeepers and **Russian** peacekeepers.

The U.S.-led NATO IFOR implemented military Annex 1A of the Dayton Accord, which called for them to prevent hostilities, oversee the movement of military **forces**, patrol the 1,400-kilometer demilitarized Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL), separate rival Bosnian Muslims and Croat forces (the symbolical Bosnian Federation Entity) from Bosnian Serb ones (Republika Srpska), transfer areas between the hostile ethnic groups by mid-March, remove by the end of June all heavy weapons and equipment to 800 monitored central sites and regularly inspect them, repair Bosnian communication lines (2,500 kilometers of roads, railways, 60 bridges, and Sarajevo’s airport), inspect weapons storage, hold free elections by April 1996, and make limited NATO raids to capture Bosnian Serbs and other war criminals. IFOR’s success enabled the **High Representative on Bosnia–Herzegovina** to implement the accord’s civil provisions. NATO’s defense ministers meeting (in Bergen, **Norway**, in September 1996) and Bosnia’s Peace Implementation Conferences (in November–December 1996 in Paris and London) prolonged **NATO**

peacekeeping, with a reduced, 32,000-troop **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** mission, in Operations Joint Guard/Joint Forge (20 December 1996–20 December 2004), until they were replaced by the **European Union Force (EUFOR)**. At the 2006 Riga **Summit**, NATO agreed to make Bosnia a **partner**, and the EU promotes its economic integration through the EU **Stability Pact**.

BOUTROS-GHALI, BOUTROS (1922–). Born on 14 November 1922 in Cairo, Egypt, as a Christian-Copt, Boutros Boutros-Ghali was a parliamentarian (1987–1992), foreign minister (1977–1992), and vice-premier (1991–1992). He then became a controversial **United Nations (UN) Secretary-General** (1992–1995), initially with the support of the **United States** and the **West**, as a political-diplomatic gesture to pro-Western Egypt and the Arab world. However, Boutros-Ghali deeply displeased his Western backers by his ineffectiveness in major international **crises** and related **UN peacekeeping** fiascos: the **United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** in **Croatia** and **Bosnia**, the **United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM)**, and the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR). Western opposition and a U.S. **veto** derailed Boutros-Ghali's reappointment for a second term and replaced him with fellow African **Kofi A. Annan** (1995–2006).

BOYCOTT. An economic term that originated in Ireland in 1880, denoting systematic withholding of political, military, economic, and social ties by a state, group of states, or nongovernmental organization (NGO) from other state(s) as punishment and to **force** changes. It is a hostile economic act in international law, and like **embargoes** or **sanctions**, can provoke reprisals.

BRAHIMI REPORT. *See* PANEL ON UNITED NATIONS PEACE OPERATIONS.

BREZHNEV, ILYICH LEONID (1906–1982). Fifth leader of the Soviet Union (USSR), between 1964 and 1982, as premier and general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, and twice as chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (1960–1964 and 1977–1982). His inefficient leadership and cronyism left the USSR in stagnation and eventually precipitated its decline.

Leonid Brezhnev was an ethnic Russian, born on 19 December 1906 in Kamenskoye (now Dniprodzerzhyn's'k), **Ukraine**. As an engineer in Ukraine's Donbas industrial region, he joined the Communist Party in 1923–1931, supported dictator **Josef Stalin**, and survived the Great Purges of the 1930s. He was rapidly promoted to Party Secretary of Dnepropetrovsk (1939), with its key defense industries, which he evacuated to the Urals during Nazi **Germany's** 1941–1944 invasion of the USSR during **World War II** (1939–1945). Brezhnev was never a military commander, but he rose to chief political commissar and major-general under his patron, Senior Political Commissar **Nikita Khrushchev**. By 1950 he was party first secretary in **Moldova**, and in 1952 became a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

After Stalin's death on 5 March 1953, Khrushchev succeeded him as party general-secretary in the "Second Troika," with Georgy Malenkov and Vyacheslav Molotov. Brezhnev became the head of the Political Directorate of the Army and Navy. By 1955, Brezhnev was first-secretary of **Kazakhstan**, and in 1956 he was the senior member of Khrushchev's entourage, controlling the defense industry, space program, heavy industry, and construction. In 1955–1957, Brezhnev helped Khrushchev defeat the Stalinist "Anti-Party Group" of Molotov and Malenkov, and was rewarded with membership in the Politburo. In 1959 he became second-secretary of the Central Committee, and in 1960 president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the symbolic head of state. The USSR's economic problems and Khrushchev's erratic behavior in the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis** and the 1963 **Sino-Soviet split** alienated the Politburo. By 1963, Brezhnev was Khrushchev's successor as secretary of the Central Committee. He joined a plot to depose Khrushchev on 14 October 1964, becoming leader of the "Third Troika" and party first-secretary, with Aleksei Kosygin as prime minister and Nikolai Podgorny as head of state.

Brezhnev had supported Khrushchev's cautious domestic liberalization, "de-Stalinization," and rehabilitation of Stalin's victims. But as Soviet leader, Brezhnev became a neo-Stalinist and reversed these reforms after 1964, while giving more power to the KGB (the political police) under Yuri Andropov, although there were no new purges. In 1968, Brezhnev opposed Czechoslovakia's attempts under Alexander Dubček to liberalize communism (during the Prague Spring),

directing the **Warsaw Pact** to invade Czechoslovakia and impose the **Brezhnev Doctrine** of intervention in the internal affairs of **satellites** to “safeguard socialism,” just as Khrushchëv had done in **Hungary** in 1956. Soviet–Chinese relations continued to deteriorate, culminating in the Sino–Soviet clashes on their Amur–Ussuri border in 1969. Brezhnev also continued Soviet aid to North Vietnam in the Second Vietnam War, even though U.S.–Soviet relations improved under East–West **détente** with **arms control** accords, such as the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties I and II (SALT I, 1972, and SALT II, 1979), which established parity in **nuclear weapons**. Moreover, U.S. President **Richard Nixon**’s thawing of Sino–American relations in 1971 made Brezhnev fear an impending anti-Soviet U.S.–Chinese **alliance**, prompting Soviet compliance on arms control and helping the **United States** secure Sino–Soviet support for a negotiated peace in 1973 (the Paris Peace Accords) ending the Second Vietnam War. In 1972, Brezhnev visited West Germany and the United States. In 1975 he signed the Helsinki Final Act, legitimizing Soviet-imposed post-war frontiers and hegemony over Eastern Europe, although its human rights violations were used by U.S. President **Jimmy Carter** to criticize the USSR.

In the 1970s, the USSR reached the peak of its political and strategic power following the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and the Watergate scandal, while nuclear arms parity was matched by Soviet global naval power and diplomatic-political penetration in the Middle East and Africa, through its proxy Cuba’s military interventions in 1975 in Angola and in the 1977–1978 Ethiopia–Somalia Ogaden war. Brezhnev also consolidated his domestic hold, disbanding the “Third Troika,” again becoming chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and in May 1976 marshal of the Soviet Union, the only one since Stalin. But both Soviet international power and Brezhnev’s domestic power rested on a stagnant and declining Soviet economy. Despite Stalin’s massive industrialization in the 1930s and after World War II, the Soviet economy still relied heavily on a weak agricultural sector, which had to import U.S. grain at high market prices. Moreover, the rigidly planned Soviet industrial economy was unable to modernize or produce consumer goods, suffering from aging, corrupt party, state, and industrial bureaucracies influenced by Brezhnev’s bad example. Thus the USSR was unable to provide a higher

standard of living or improve productivity, while the economy weakened during the 1970s (“Brezhnev Stagnation”) under enormous Soviet military expenditures and new prestige space and naval programs.

Brezhnev’s return to a personality cult like Stalin’s contributed to his final three flawed policy decisions. First, in December 1979, Brezhnev’s inner circle agreed at an informal meeting to invade **Afghanistan** to support a collapsing local Communist régime. This decision was not taken by the Politburo, and it immediately ended East–West détente. The United States imposed a grain embargo and started a massive rearmament, gravely exacerbating the USSR’s economic problems, and undermining the internal strength of the USSR. Second, on 13 May 1981, Pope John Paul II barely survived an assassination attempt; recently uncovered secret intelligence files of the former **East Germany** and **Bulgaria** led **Italy**’s parliamentary commission in March 2006 to claim Brezhnev had ordered the hit because he saw the Polish pope’s condemnation of totalitarianism and open support of Poland’s prodemocratic, anticommunist *Solidarność* (Solidarity) union as a threat to the **Soviet bloc**. Third, in late 1981 Brezhnev readied a new Soviet/Warsaw Pact invasion of **Poland** to destroy *Solidarność*, which was preempted by the **Polish coup**. Poland’s military seized power to crush the prodemocracy movement and avoid Soviet and Polish forces fighting each other. Ravaged by Alzheimer’s disease, Brezhnev died on 10 November 1982.

BREZHNEV DOCTRINE (1968). The Iron Curtain division of Europe after 1945 was a function of the political-military confrontation between the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR) superpowers, and of their equally strong ideological commitments to victory over each other. Marxism–Leninism in the USSR was the orthodox political-ideological measure of loyalty and required subservience of all **satellite** Eastern European states to Moscow’s will, while all “National Paths to Communism” had been eradicated by 1948 in **Josef Stalin**’s ruthless purges. This ideological communist orthodoxy continued under Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchëv**, who repressed the anticommunist Hungarian Revolution in 1956. In spring 1968, relaxation of East–West tensions prompted Communist–reformist Czechoslovakia to embark on the popular “Prague Spring,” involving

sociopolitical-economic liberalization and opening to the **West**, while remaining a loyal Communist state under the USSR and **Warsaw Pact**. However, in late summer 1968 the USSR and Warsaw Pact invaded and crushed Czechoslovakia, proving that the Cold War endured in the East, where *Pravda* (in September 1968) officially justified the invasion on the basis of the “limited sovereignty” of individual socialist states within a “Socialist commonwealth.” In November 1968, Soviet Premier **Leonid Brezhnev** stressed that the “Socialist commonwealth as a whole” had a right to intervene in its member countries if forces hostile to socialism threatened its ideological alignment.

The Soviet decision to intervene was taken during very long, secret debates within a collective leadership that feared that any weakening of Soviet controls and ideological orthodoxy over Eastern Europe could also undermine Communist rule in the USSR proper. Thus, the Brezhnev Doctrine (“proletarian internationalism in action”) reconfirmed the USSR’s “right” to repress any deviation from Marxist–Leninist Communism or revolutionary threats to Soviet control of Eastern Europe, while also proving that Soviet Communist rule would never leave Europe, regardless of **France’s** President **Charles de Gaulle’s** pressures to force a disengagement of the United States from NATO as enticement for the USSR to follow suit (the “**Grand Design**”). The Brezhnev Doctrine worsened Sino–Soviet tensions (e.g., in the 1969 Amur–Ussuri incidents) and was used to justify both the December 1979 Soviet intervention in **Afghanistan** and in late 1981 when the Polish military seized power in an unprecedented military coup, preempting a Soviet/Warsaw Pact invasion to crush the prodemocracy, anticommunist *Solidarność* (Solidarity) union.

In 1988–1989 reformist Soviet leader **Mikhail Gorbachëv** denounced the Brezhnev Doctrine and allowed *Solidarność* into a power-sharing deal with the Polish military. However, Gorbachëv’s openness and reforms failed to keep Eastern Europe in the Soviet Communist fold once the threat of repression ended. Gorbachëv’s refusal to allow Soviet troops to help local Communist régimes crack down on prodemocracy demonstrators in East **Germany** and Czechoslovakia precipitated the anticommunist **1989 Eastern European Revolutions**, the demise of the Soviet “empire,” the reunifica-

tion of Germany in 1990, the end of the Cold War, and the collapse of the USSR (in 1991).

BRINKMANSHIP. Diplomatic-military term for a high-risk, coercive **strategy** of threats and bluffs to **force** an adversary to back down from a confrontation and make conciliatory diplomatic-military moves to avoid a feared escalation into war. This policy was used by the **United States** under President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles during a series of crises in the 1950s involving the **Soviet bloc**, as well as by **John F. Kennedy** during the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis**, to force the Soviet Union (USSR) to withdraw its **nuclear** missiles from Cuba.

BRITISH METHOD'S RULES OF ENGAGEMENT. Rules of engagement used since the early 1900s by **Great Britain's** army when assisting civilian governments, using as a deterrent highly visible military patrols to prevent local troubles from erupting. When tensions increased, military **forces** were hidden in a large mobile reserve ready for backup deployment, while local police maintained order. *See also* CONTINENTAL METHOD.

BRITISH PEACEKEEPING. **Great Britain** was among the first states involved in global **peacekeeping** since the **League of Nations'** missions after **World War I**. As one of the five permanent members with veto powers at the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council, it played a minimal role in UN **peacekeeping** operations during the Cold War to depoliticize regional crises from East–West clashes. The only exception was the **UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)**, **Great Britain's** ex-colony. In the **post–Cold War** period, **Great Britain** increased its role in UN peacekeeping, mostly through UN-mandated **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** operations or “coalitions of the willing,” after the failure of the Anglo–French **UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** in **Bosnia**. *See also* BRITISH METHOD'S RULES OF ENGAGEMENT.

BROSIO, MANLIO (1897–1980). Born on 10 July 1897 in Turin, **Italy**, he served from 1964 to 1971 as **Secretary-General** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and chair of the

North Atlantic Council, succeeding **Dirk U. Stikker** (1961–1964) of the **Netherlands**.

Manlio Brosio held a law degree from the University of Turin, served as an Alpines' artillery officer during **World War I** (1914–1918), and was a lawyer and liberal leader in parliament until barred from politics by Benito Mussolini's Fascist dictatorship (1922–1945). During **World War II** (1939–1945), Italy's defeat forced it to switch sides and join the **Allies**, while being occupied by its ex-partner, Nazi **Germany**. Brosio joined the pro-Allied National Liberation Committee overseeing partisan warfare (1943–1944); became minister without portfolio (1944) and deputy prime minister (1945); and then was minister of defense (1945–1946), applying postwar military reductions and reparations. He was a member of Italy's delegation to the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty with the Allies and served as ambassador to the Soviet Union (1947–1951), **Great Britain** (1951–1955), the **United States** (1955–1960), and **France** (1960–1964).

Brosio's legendary personal diplomacy of consensus strengthened his joint work with both of NATO's **Supreme Allied Commanders–Europe**, the U.S. Generals **Lyman L. Lemnitzer** (1963–1969) and **Andrew J. Goodpaster** (1969–1974). Under their joint leadership the **alliance** faced a relatively quieter political-military challenge from the USSR, given the Sino–Soviet split and political demotion of Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchëv** by **Leonid Brezhnev**. Brosio also released the crucial **Harmel Report** (1967), whose reforms steered NATO from being less than an exclusive military organization and enhanced its political leadership among members.

At NATO, Brosio was succeeded by **Joseph M. A. H. Luns** (1971–1984) of the Netherlands. He returned to Italian politics as a senator from the Liberal Party (1971–1978), then director of the Atlantic Council of Italy (1978–1980). Brosio died on 14 March 1980.

BRUSSELS DECLARATION ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL (1986), NATO. Declaration of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** foreign ministers on 11 December 1986, calling for **arms control** talks to eliminate all conventional imbalances in Europe from the **Atlantic-to-the-Urals (ATTU)** and enhancing East-West **confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs)** with the Soviet Union (USSR).

BRZEZINSKI, ZBIGNIEW. *See* CARTER, JAMES.

BUCHAREST TRANS-BORDER CRIME-FIGHTING CENTER.
See STABILITY PACT.

BUFFER STATES/ZONES or SATELLITES. Buffer states relate to the **balance of power** (1500s–1940s), in which strong, expanding rival great powers/empires agree to recognize specific weak states along their borders as permanent semi-independent “buffers” rather than risk war to determine who will annex them. Buffer states’ precarious survival always depended on their perceived utility to prevent surprise hostilities between great powers: Should the power balance between rival states change or an **alliance** among them develop, such buffer states could suddenly be at risk of being either exclusively controlled by the strongest power or partitioned among all powers in an alliance. After **World War I** (1914–1918), buffer states either disappeared or became “**satellites**,” losing their independence as political-ideological carbon copies of neighboring hegemonic powers.

The first buffer state was **Poland**, which by 1760 had lost its great power status and become a buffer state between Czarist **Russia**, **Austria**, and Prussia. When the three powers agreed to split it rather than contain each other, the three Polish Partitions of the 1760s–1790 extinguished it until 1805. A fourth partition at the 1815 Congress of Vienna extinguished Poland again until 1915, followed by a fifth partition under the 1939 Molotov–Ribbentrop (Nazi–Soviet) Pact.

Other major examples of buffer states/zones between the 1830s–1900s form a huge “**arc of crisis**,” extending from the slowly collapsing Ottoman Empire (the **Balkans**, eastern Mediterranean, and Middle East/Gulf) to Central Asia (Persia/Iran and **Afghanistan**). **Great Britain** first extended its Mediterranean hegemony to turn the Ottoman Empire into a pro-British buffer zone to contain the south-bound expansion of Czarist Russia, which sought to annex the Balkans, **Turkish Straits**, Turkish **Armenia**, and Mediterranean “warm waters.” Anglo–French interventions stopped Russia in **Greece** (1830–1833) and the Balkans during the Crimean (1854–1856) and Russo–Turkish (1877) Wars. Then in the late 1800s, Great Britain moved from its Indian subcontinent to make Persia/Iran and Afghanistan buffer states, to keep Russia from annexing them in its bid to reach the Indian Ocean/Gulf “warm waters.”

After World War I the buffer states collapsed. First the Ottoman Turks saw their traditional Anglo–French protectors join their old Russian enemy in the 1907 **Entente** against German hegemony in Europe, thus threatening to partition the former Ottoman Turkish buffer state. Turkey joined Germany’s Triple Alliance in World War I, while the 1915 London Pact and 1916 Anglo–Russian Sykes–Picot Pact secretly partitioned Turkey after the war, conditional on the **United States** insistence on **League of Nations** “**mandates**” for the Arab Middle East/Gulf region. The **Allies** also jointly occupied pro-German Iran to resupply Russia during its invasion by Germany. After the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, both buffer states fell under British influence to contain the USSR in Central Asia, until **World War II** (1939–1945), when Iran was reoccupied by the Allies to resupply the USSR against Germany. After the war the USSR sought to annex Iran’s southern **Azerbaijan** and Kurdistan, sparking the Cold War **crises** of 1946–1947 and blocking the **United Nations (UN)** with **vetoes**, until it withdrew under U.S.–British pressures. Finally, in 1977 Afghanistan became a Soviet satellite and was conquered in the First Afghan War (1979–1989).

The transformation of buffer states into “satellites” started during the interwar years (1919–1939), when Eastern Europe and Poland were considered a huge buffer zone between Germany and the USSR, but economic dependence and the Anti-Comintern Pact (1937) allowed Nazi Germany to exploit common anticommunism and Fascist ideologies to turn most of Eastern Europe into **Axis** “satellites” (**Bulgaria**, **Hungary**, and **Romania**, followed in 1939 by **Slovakia** and **Finland**, then in 1941 by **Croatia**, **Bosnia**, and the **Baltic states**). The USSR’s conquest of Eastern Europe from Nazi Germany in late 1944–1945 led to its total military-political-ideological-economic Communist “**satellization**” in 1946–1949 (**Albania**, **Bulgaria**, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, **Hungary**, Poland, **Romania**, and **Yugoslavia**) as a huge buffer zone against the U.S.-led **West** and NATO or any rebirth of defeated Germany, while preserving the USSR’s regional military hold. Yet the “satellization” of Eastern Europe also sparked the Cold War by undermining the region’s geostrategic role as a buffer zone through its ideological-military absorption into the **Soviet bloc**.

BULGARIA (BALGARIJA), NATO–EU. Republic in the **Balkans** with an area of 110,994 square kilometers, bordering **Greece, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, Turkey**, and the Black Sea, with a Slavic Christian Orthodox population of 8.2 million (85 percent Bulgarian, 9 percent Turkish, and 6 percent other). The capital is Sofia.

Historically a migrating offshoot of the Central Asian Slavic Bulgars, modern Bulgaria emerged as a nation in the Balkans during the collapse of ancient Rome's empire. Christianized and influenced as a vassal state of the Byzantine Empire, it was conquered by the Ottoman Empire from 1392 until 1878, when it became briefly independent following the 1877 Russo–Turkish War, and officially in 1908 as a monarchy. In the 1912–1913 Balkan Wars, it joined Greece, Romania, and Serbia in attacking the Ottoman Empire, gaining Trace and access to the Aegean Sea, but then fighting a losing war against Serbia for its seizure of Macedonia. In **World War I** (1914–1918), Bulgaria sided with **Germany, Austria–Hungary**, and the Ottoman Empire against the **Entente/Allies**, briefly reconquering Macedonia but losing the war, together with Trace. In the 1930s, Bulgaria became an authoritarian Axis **satellite** of Nazi Germany, which it joined in **World War II** (1939–1945) to reconquer Macedonia from **Yugoslavia**.

Defeated once again and invaded by the Soviet Union (USSR), in late 1944 Bulgaria became a Communist republic and eventually the most loyal Soviet satellite and **Warsaw Pact** member, poised to strike at Yugoslavia, the Turkish Straits, and Greece in case of **World War III** against the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. In the late 1980s, Soviet Premier **Mikhail Gorbachëv**'s reforms prompted Bulgaria to follow suit, but just as in the USSR, local standards of living did not improve, while popular resentment grew. By late 1989, in the absence of Soviet repression, domestic popular attacks against Communist rule brought down the régimes of Hungary, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia. This also led to huge antigovernment demonstrations in Bulgaria, from November 1989 to August 1990, slowly pushing out the Communists and bringing democracy to power. Already a member since 1977 of the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE/OSCE)**, in 1990 Bulgaria joined the Visegrad-12 Group of East European

ex-satellites seeking a new Western identity and security. The group joined NATO's **Partnership for Peace** in 1995, NATO in its 2002–2004 second **enlargement**, and the **European Union (EU)** in its 2007 follow-up enlargement, as well as supporting **NATO–EU peacekeeping** in the former Yugoslavia and the Kosovo War (1999).

BURDEN SHARING. *See* KISSINGER, HENRY A.; LUNS, JOSEPH.

BUSH, GEORGE HERBERT WALKER (1924–). A World War II veteran elected as 41st president of the **United States** (January 1989–January 1993), he was also vice president under President **Ronald Reagan** (1981–1989). He comes from a political “dynasty”: son of a U.S. senator from Connecticut, Prescott Bush, and father of both the 43rd president, **George W. Bush** (2001–2009), and Florida Governor Jeb Bush (1999–2007).

George H. W. Bush was born on 12 June 1924 in Milton, Massachusetts. He was the youngest naval aviator in World War II (1939–1945), decorated five times for 58 combat missions in the Pacific and shot down twice. After World War II, Bush graduated from Yale University and was successful in Texas oil exploration. Although Bush later led the Republican moderates, he started as an ultraconservative, running unsuccessfully twice for the U.S. Senate from Texas in 1964 and 1970, and serving as a U.S. congressman from Texas in 1967–1970. Under President **Richard Nixon** he was U.S. ambassador to the **United Nations (UN)** in 1971–1973. He was Republican National Committee chair in 1973–1974, loyally defending Nixon during the Watergate scandal. Under President Gerald Ford he was unofficial ambassador to Communist China in 1974–1976, sponsoring closer bilateral ties, and he was director of the Central Intelligence Agency in 1976–1977 after the Senate's Church Committee investigations. In 1980, he ran unsuccessfully for president as a Republican moderate, losing to Reagan's conservatives but becoming Reagan's loyal vice president for eight years, with a voice in foreign affairs. In 1988, Bush won the presidency over Democratic Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis.

President Bush pursued moderate foreign policies at the end of the Cold War, fine-tuning **arms control** and East–West cooperation to

control the collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) and **Yugoslavia** and the transition of **Russia** and Eastern Europe from Communist states to democracies. In collaboration with Soviet President **Mikhail Gorbachëv**, he supervised the 1990 reunification of **Germany**; the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty; the 1991 Short-range Nuclear Forces (SNF) Unilateral Accords; the 1991 and 1993 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties I and II (START I and II); and international support of **nonproliferation of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. Bush also piloted the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**'s declaration of June 1990 ending the Cold War with the USSR, and the Bush–Gorbachëv Malta Summit of July 1991, which developed into a U.S.–Soviet strategic partnership. Bush opposed any rapid **NATO enlargement** to include the East European ex-satellites, to avoid isolating the USSR/Russia, while promoting as East–West security fora the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE/OSCE)** and NATO's **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC–C)**. After the collapse of the USSR, the 1992 Nunn–Lugar Act provided U.S. aid for the safe, secure dismantling (SSD) of Soviet nuclear weapons.

With the United States as sole superpower in the **post–Cold War** period, Bush also advocated a “new world order” based on supporting the UN, international law, and global consensus to replace military and strategic confrontations. Bush was criticized for not intervening to stop Communist China's Tiananmen Square Massacre (400–800 civilians dead and 7,000–10,000 injured), which ended the 15 April–4 June 1989 protests for more democratic freedoms. Likewise, he was also criticized for Operation Just Cause in December 1989, the largest U.S. military operation since the Second Vietnam War, which invaded Panama with 25,000 troops to depose General Manuel Noriega, an ex-ally who aided drug traffic from South America to the United States. More important was the 1990–1991 First **Gulf War**, when the United States rallied a UN-mandated global coalition in **Operation Desert Shield** to repel the 1990 invasion of oil-rich Kuwait by Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein and ensure that Iraq did not invade Saudi Arabia. Fighting began on 17 January 1991 with U.S.-led air attacks against Iraq in **Operation Desert Storm** and ended with the liberation of Kuwait. President Bush was then criticized

for stopping combat operations and allowing Saddam Hussein to stay in power, but both he and Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney feared that overthrowing Saddam would have incalculable human and political costs, requiring the occupation of Baghdad and leaving Iraq bogged down in a quagmire or partitioned in three ethnic substates (Kurdish, Shi'a, and Sunni), threatened by NATO ally Turkey and Islamic Iran. President Bush's popularity soared during the Gulf War, but later fell dramatically due to an economic recession, which cost him the reelection.

While retired, ex-President Bush was targeted in April 1993 by Iraqi intelligence with a car bomb while visiting Kuwait, but the assassination was foiled by Kuwaiti security. On 26 June 1993 the United States retaliated with a missile attack on Baghdad's intelligence headquarters. In 2005, Bush and President Bill **Clinton** were twice appointed by President George W. Bush to lead bipartisan fund-raising efforts to help victims of the Indian Ocean tsunami and Hurricane Katrina.

BUSH, GEORGE WALKER (1946–). The 43th president of the **United States** (January 2001–January 2009) and son of President **George H. W. Bush** (1989–1993).

Born on 6 July 1946 in New Haven, Connecticut, George W. Bush graduated from Yale University and has an M.B.A. from Harvard. An oil industry entrepreneur in Texas, he served in various Republican campaigns, including his father's, then unsuccessfully ran for the U.S. House in 1978. He overcame a drinking problem by becoming a born-again Christian and developed a political **strategy** to court conservative, evangelical Christian voters. He was elected twice in 1994–2000 as Republican governor of Texas, then U.S. president twice, in the controversial 2000 election and in 2004 by a landslide.

George W. Bush's foreign policy supported major changes to the U.S. armed **forces**, a **second enlargement** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to include the Baltic and East European states (**Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia**), immigration controls with Mexico, political ties with Latin America, and free trade. International opinion criticized U.S. rejection of the 1998 **International Criminal Court** and its unilateralist policies as sole superpower when Bush expanded national Missile Defense (NMD or MD), withdrawing from the 1972

Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty with Russia. Bush supported the defense of Taiwan in the March 2001 stand-off with China and had the U.S. military intervene in Haiti and Liberia to restore order.

Following Islamic fundamentalist **terrorist** attacks on 11 September 2001, George W. Bush's popularity rose when he advocated the three-part "Preemption" Bush Doctrine and global "war on terrorism," launching the Second Afghan War (2001–2002) to help the Northern Alliance overthrow the Taliban fundamentalist government and local training camps being used by Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda terrorists, although their defeat is incomplete. Bush pushed through the Patriot Act, increasing law enforcement agencies' powers, authorizing controversial secret intelligence monitoring without warrants, and allowing secret "extraordinary renditions" of seized suspected terrorists worldwide back to home states for interrogation.

Parallel to this, the Bush Doctrine advocated strikes against an "axis of evil" of "rogue states" (Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, and Syria), which proliferate **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. Following diplomatic wrangling with North Korea, Iran, and especially Iraq at the **United Nations (UN)**, Bush pressed the UN to enforce Iraqi **disarmament**, precipitating a diplomatic crisis when the United States sought a UN Security Council resolution authorizing military **force** under **Chapter VII**, but was opposed there by veto members Russia, China, and **France**, plus rotating president **Germany**. Thereafter, in March 2003 the United States launched the invasion of Iraq by a "coalition of the willing," although UN inspectors had not yet found WMD. The lightning-fast **Second Gulf War** overthrew Saddam's régime and captured him, but found virtually no stockpiles of WMD, reigniting global criticism of Bush's war justifications, although later intelligence concluded that Saddam actively sought to reacquire WMD technology as UN **sanctions** crumbled. More criticism focused on the long occupation of Iraq against various insurgencies, with a bogged-down local political system, teetering on the verge of partition into three ethnic substates (Kurdish, Shi'a, and Sunni), threatened by NATO ally Turkey and Islamic Iran.

U.S. efforts in Iraq would become the centerpiece of George W. Bush's vision to promote democracy as a means to discourage and defeat terrorists, by removing "rogue states" and fostering socioeconomic growth and democracy in **Afghanistan**, Iraq, and the rest of the Middle East. At the same time, the administration emphasized a

“hands-off” approach to the conflict between Israel and Palestinian terrorists to isolate Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat for his use of violence, while also supporting a future two-state solution for a peaceful independent Palestine side by side with Israel. Bush has also prompted UN condemnation as genocide of the massacres of the black African Muslims of Darfur in Sudan by progovernment Muslim Arab militias, promoting international **peacekeeping** by the **African Union (AU)** with NATO’s logistical support. Since his 2004 reelection, George W. Bush has been strongly criticized, even by **allies**, for the failing occupation and reconstruction of Iraq, U.S. abuse of terrorist prisoners at Abu Ghraib Prison in Iraq and Guantanamo, and the slow civil defense response to Hurricane Katrina. Also troubling are Russia’s 2007–2008 temporary freezing of **arms control** with NATO over its deployment of MD systems in **Poland** and the **Czech Republic**, and with the **European Union (EU)** for its criticism of Russia’s human rights record.

– C –

C² (COMMAND AND CONTROL). Political-military term for combat and rear headquarters’ command and control of military **forces** in war or **crises**. *See also* C³; C³I.

C³ (COMMAND, CONTROL, AND COMMUNICATIONS). Political-military term for combat and headquarters’ command, control, and monitoring **forces** in war or **crises**. *See also* C²; C³I.

C³I (COMMAND, CONTROL, COMMUNICATIONS, AND INTELLIGENCE). Political-military term for headquarters’ command, control, communications, and intelligence monitoring of military **forces** and security factors confronting decision makers in wars or **crises**. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the threat of **nuclear** war highlighted the vulnerability of national integrity of command and control systems (C²; C³) if a surprise “First Strike” destroyed national C³I by “**nuclear decapitation.**” **Post–Cold War** (1990–present) conflicts, such as the First Gulf War (1990–1991), **Second Gulf War** (2003), and Kosovo War (1999), employed the “revolution in

military affairs” (RMA) high-tech weapons, mobility, and surgical strikes to destroy enemy C³I networks and secretly tap into them.

CAMP DAVID ACCORDS (1978). Agreements between Israel (under Prime Minister Menachem Begin) and Egypt (under President Anwar Sadat) mediated by President Jimmy **Carter** of the **United States** in 1978. The five Camp David Accords link a bilateral Israeli–Egyptian peace through a “land-for-peace” swap within a broader Arab–Israeli–Palestinian settlement to avoid charges that Egypt was selling out the Palestinians for a separate peace. The Camp David Accords agreed on principles for regional peace in the Middle East and autonomy for Palestinians under Israeli rule, while trading bilateral peace and Egyptian–Israeli diplomatic recognition for Israel’s return to Egypt of the Suez Canal and Sinai, conquered in the Six-Day War (1967). In 1980 Israel withdrew in stages, and constant patrols by the **Multinational Force and Observers (MFO)** organization (**Italy, France, Germany, Great Britain,** and the United States) demilitarized the Suez Canal and Sinai permanently.

Camp David was hailed as a triumph of U.S. mediation and a dramatic breakthrough in Middle Eastern politics that built on former U.S. Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger**’s “step-by-step” diplomacy to trade “land for peace” and subdivide a future overall regional settlement into self-contained phases, each to be solved before the next one’s activation. This **strategy** sidestepped any immediate, comprehensive settlement of all outstanding Arab–Israeli–Palestinian disputes through an international peace conference, which none of the three parties wanted. On the one hand, this strategy would scuttle the inevitable involvement of the Soviet Union (USSR) and its attempts to enhance Soviet influence in the Middle East; on the other, any regional peace conference would widen Arab participation to anti-**West** radical Arab régimes (Iraq, Libya, South Yemen, and Syria) and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Rejecting the Camp David Accords, radical Arabs backed by the USSR formed a “Rejectionist Front,” which convinced the Arab world to ostracize Egypt and remove the **Arab League** headquarters from Cairo, and in 1981 Islamic fundamentalist **terrorists** killed President Sadat. Israel never implemented Palestinian autonomy and as a result faced the first *Intifada*, a long, unsuccessful Palestinian revolt in the West Bank and

Gaza Strip. During the same period, Arab ties with Egypt improved and the Arab League returned to Cairo.

CANADA, NATO. Federal constitutional state in North America of 10 provinces and 3 territories, nominally under **Great Britain** and the **Commonwealth**, with an area of 9,984,670 square kilometers, bordering the **United States**, and the Arctic, Atlantic, and Pacific Oceans. The capital is Toronto. It has a multi-ethnic population of 32,510,000 (70 percent English speaking, 22 percent French–Québécois, 2 percent Indian, and 6 percent other) religiously divided (46 percent Catholic; 36 percent Protestant; and 18 percent other).

Canada became a self-governing dominion of the British Empire in 1867 and of the Commonwealth in 1935. It shares with the United States the world's longest unfortified border. Canada fought in **World War I** (1914–1918) and **World War II** (1939–1945) under the British Empire on the **Allied** side against **Germany**. Canada is a founding member of the **United Nations (UN)** (1945), of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** (1949), of the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** (1976), and in 1948 joined the **Organization of American States** (as observer, then as full member in 1999). During the Cold War (1946–1990), Canada permanently deployed combat troops for 45 years in West Germany under NATO (withdrawn by 1993) as the cornerstone of Canada's ties to Europe, providing interoperability with the United States and Allied **forces**. Canada is the sixth largest contributor to NATO's military and civil budgets, and in the **post–Cold War** period has peacekeepers in NATO operations in **Afghanistan**, **Bosnia**, and with the UN and **European Union (EU)**. Canada promotes conflict prevention through **collective security (UN)**, **collective defense (NATO and OAS)**, bilateral **nuclear defense (U.S.–Canadian North American Defense System–NORAD)**, the **Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)**, the **Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)**, and the **Biological Weapons Convention (BWC)**.

CANADIAN ARTICLE, NATO. During the international negotiations in June 1948–January 1949 among the **United States**, **Canada**, **Great Britain**, **Belgium**, the **Netherlands**, and **Luxembourg** to draft the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, Canada en-

sured that nonmilitary, peaceful cooperation be included in Article II, therefore called the “Canadian Article.”

CARRINGTON, LORD PETER A. R. (1919–). Born on 6 June 1919 in **Great Britain**, Lord Carrington was the sixth **Secretary-General** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and chairman of the **North Atlantic Council** from June 1984 to June 1988, succeeding **Joseph M. A. H. Luns** (1971–1984) of **Belgium**.

Lord Peter Carrington graduated from Sandhurst military academy, and fought in **World War II** as a major of the Grenadiers Guards (1939–1945). He is the longest-serving Conservative parliamentarian (1946–present) and has been parliamentary secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture under **Winston Churchill** (1951–1954); defense minister (1954–1956, 1970–1974); high commissioner to Australia (1956–1959); First Lord of the Admiralty and Privy Counselor (1959–1963); minister without portfolio and leader of the House of Lords (1963–1964); leader of the opposition in the House of Lords (1964–1970, 1974–1979); chairman of the Conservative Party (1972–1974); minister of energy (1974); chair of the Lancaster House Conference that turned white-led Rhodesia into black Zimbabwe (1979–1980); minister of foreign and commonwealth affairs (1979–1982) until he resigned over the 1982 **Falklands War**; and chairman of General Electrics (1983–1984).

As NATO’s Secretary-General, Lord Carrington worked with NATO **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** U.S. General **Bernard W. Rogers** (1979–1987) to solve the “**Euromissile Crisis**.” After leaving NATO, Lord Carrington was chair of Christies; director of Barclays’ Bank and the *Daily Telegraph*, and chancellor of the University of Reading. *See also* ISMAY, LORD HASTINGS; ROBERTSON, LORD GEORGE.

CARTER, JAMES (“JIMMY”; 1923–). Thirty-ninth president of the **United States** (January 1977 to January 1981) and Nobel Peace Prize winner (2002). He was governor of Georgia (1971–1975), and as a “dark horse” candidate won the Democratic presidential nomination, defeating President Gerald Ford in 1976 and becoming the first president from the South since 1848.

Born in Plains, Georgia, on 1 October 1923, Jimmy Carter is a committed evangelical Christian. He graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1946 and served on submarines. He took over his family's peanut farm business; served twice as a Democrat in Georgia's Senate in the 1960s; and twice ran for governor in the 1970s, closely winning an uphill populist campaign. He was chairman of the Democratic National Committee's congressional and gubernatorial campaigns in 1974. As a "dark horse" presidential candidate, Carter won in 1976 due to the Watergate scandal, even though his initial huge lead over President Ford narrowed at the end of the campaign.

The Carter administration was evenly split between "**hawks**" under National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, seeking to continue with extreme caution East–West **détente** with the Soviet Union (USSR), and "**doves**" under Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, promoting human rights and a North–South policy toward the Third World. Unable to reconcile these contrasting tendencies, Carter undertook controversial and chaotic policies, such as cutting the defense budget by \$6 billion and unilaterally ordering the removal of all U.S. theater **nuclear** weapons from South Korea. President Carter departed from the policy of **containment** toward the USSR by promoting a human rights foreign policy that seriously angered the USSR and also turned against some U.S. **allies**. Equally controversial was President Carter's Panama Canal Treaty (1977–1978), which transferred the U.S.-controlled canal to Panama by 1999. The treaty was opposed by the U.S. public and Republican Party as a loss of a great U.S. strategic asset to an unstable dictatorial state. Secretary of State Vance and National Security Advisor Brzezinski worked on the Arab–Israeli conflict to obtain a "land-for-peace" swap and diplomatic relations under Carter's mediation, resulting in the 1978 **Camp David Accords** between Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Premier Menachem Begin.

Carter pursued East–West **arms control**, renegotiating the 1979 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty II (SALT II), initiated by previous Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger**, but Carter's idealism pushed him to seek unrealistic further reductions of nuclear arms and even their total elimination. The difficulty in securing Soviet agreement eventually resulted in controversy among the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** allies and U.S. Congress, who criticized the

USSR for cheating on arms control accords. Bipartisan anger against the USSR in Congress killed the treaty, seen as weakening U.S. defenses. Republican Presidential candidate **Ronald Reagan** used this issue as a key point of criticism of Carter. The Soviet invasion of **Afghanistan** in December 1979 forced Carter to withdraw the treaty and end détente, but although unratified, SALT II entered into force under President Reagan, who reversed his position after election. With Communist China, Carter continued President **Richard Nixon**'s normalization through full diplomatic and trade ties and the "One-China Policy" of future peaceful reunification of China and Taiwan. After the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the administration sold weapons to prop up Beijing as a pro-U.S. military counter to the USSR.

Carter was blamed by the U.S. public for mishandling two major **crises** in 1979: the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the related Tehran hostage crisis, and the end of East–West détente after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Iran and Israel had been key geostrategic U.S. allies during the Cold War as "twin pillars" in the Middle East. Israel contained the pro-Soviet Arab client-states Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, while Iran and the **Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)** blocked the USSR in Central Asia with its pro-Soviet Arab client-states Syria and Iraq, in case of a Soviet invasion from the Caucasus and Central Asia toward the oil-rich Persian Gulf/Arabian peninsula. CENTO and **Turkey** provided the vital strategic linchpin for NATO. The strongly autocratic Shah Reza Pahlavi of Iran had been restored to power in 1953 by the United States and Great Britain. Since then Iran had been the core of anti-Soviet U.S. **alliances**: the 1954 **Middle East Treaty Organization (METO)** and CENTO (1955–1979). However, by 1978–1979 U.S. interests in the Gulf had been undermined, first by Carter's clash with the shah over his human rights abuses, then by the popular Islamic fundamentalist revolution in 1979, which deposed an isolated shah because the United States would not intervene. Once Iran left, CENTO was dissolved.

The anti-Western Islamic fundamentalist government of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini briefly turned Tehran toward the USSR before unmooring itself from both superpowers. Carter's initial attempt to recognize the Islamic revolution was futile and rebuffed. When the exiled shah came to New York seeking political asylum, Khomeini

secretly orchestrated “spontaneous” popular student demonstrations against the United States, the “Great Satan,” and a year-long seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, holding 52 diplomats hostages. This crisis and its stalled negotiations, followed by an unsuccessful rescue attempt, doomed Carter’s presidency and later led to his landslide defeat by **Ronald Reagan** in the 1980 presidential elections. The U.S. hostages were finally released when Iranian assets were turned over, but Iran waited until Carter had left office, although President Reagan sent Carter to **Germany** to greet the hostages.

In December 1979 the USSR invaded Afghanistan after its pro-Moscow government was overthrown, fearing that Afghan Islamic uprisings would join with the Islamic Iranian revolution to influence millions of Soviet Central Asian Muslims. Suddenly, U.S. access to the largest concentration of petroleum in the world, and its strategic influence on pro-Western moderate Arab/Muslim regimes in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, were threatened by both anti-Western Iran and the USSR, who were now independently able to militarily cut off the global flow of Middle Eastern oil to U.S. allies in Europe and Japan by striking the geostrategic Gulf and Hormuz Strait. Islamic Iran controlled the Gulf’s entire northern coastline, while from southern Afghan airfields the USSR could strike at the Gulf exit into the Indian Ocean. A Soviet Afghanistan was seen as the key to a future Soviet hegemony in the Gulf. Control of the U.S. government shifted to the “hawks” under National Security Advisor Brzezinski, with bipartisan support to stop the USSR and First Afghan War (1979–1989) from destabilizing Iran and India, controlling Middle Eastern oil, and detaching Baluchistan from Pakistan.

Strong U.S. anti-Soviet reactions followed. Détente ended, the Russian grain deal was canceled, U.S. military budgets were expanded exponentially to reverse the 1970s military cutbacks, the U.S. boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympics, and a \$40 billion covert program trained and armed Afghani and Pakistani guerrillas to fight Soviet troops in Afghanistan. More important, in January 1980 Carter’s State of the Union address committed the United States to militarily defend the Gulf and unimpeded world oil flows against any outside threat seeking to seize the Gulf (the “Carter Doctrine”). The Carter Doctrine was implemented with the creation of the U.S. **Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force** or **Rapid Deployment Force (RDF**, renamed **U.S. Central Command**) as a mobile fighting force, without

drawing on forces committed to NATO, and renewed U.S. efforts secured new **bases** from Kenya to Oman and **Great Britain's** Diego Garcia Island for RDF deployments. The Iranian and Afghan crises were followed by the Iran–Iraq War (1980–1988), in which Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein sought to conquer Iran's oil-rich south through a long trench war that killed a million people.

After leaving the presidency, Carter pursued human rights and conflict-resolution issues, despite criticism of his “freelance” diplomacy. In 1991 he convinced the Sandinistas to accept elections and let go of power; in 1994, for President Bill **Clinton**, he arm-twisted Haiti's military junta to relinquish power before U.S.–UN peacekeepers landed; and also in 1994 for Clinton, he negotiated with North Korean dictator Kim Il Sung not to develop nuclear weapons and to allow expelled International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors to return, to avoid U.S. strikes against its nuclear sites. In exchange, North Korea would normalize relations and receive oil and two light-water civilian nuclear reactors to replace older ones. But North Korea violated the agreed framework by concealing new nuclear programs and in 2005 developed nuclear weapons. In March 2004, Carter condemned President **George W. Bush** and British Premier Tony Blair for the **Second Gulf War** on Iraq, and in 2005 he urged closing the Guantanamo prison for **terrorists**.

CARTER DOCTRINE (1980). *See* CARTER, JAMES.

CAUCASUS NETWORKING AGREEMENT, NATO. A memorandum of understanding (MOU) issued by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** on regional stability with **partners Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia**. *See also* INDIVIDUAL PARTNERSHIP ACTION PLAN.

CAUCASUS STABILITY PACT, EU. *See* EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY.

CENTRAL FRONT, NATO. *See* FRONT(S).

CENTRAL TREATY ORGANIZATION (CENTO, 1955). A geostrategically vital but politically weak military **alliance** sponsored by U.S. President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** in the Middle East to

contain both the Soviet Union's (USSR) penetration in the region and that of its pro-Soviet Arab client-states Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Originally established in 1954 as the Middle East Treaty Organization (METO) with **Great Britain**, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, **Turkey**, and the United States, the 1955 anti-Western coup d'état in Iraq turned METO into the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), minus Iraq and with only external British support. CENTO's leader was the United States, which had inherited Great Britain's regional role, pursuing its **containment** of Soviet expansion and protection of international oil trade vital to the survival of both Japan and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Iran was the second most important member and one of the U.S.'s strategic "twin pillars" in the Middle East to contain the USSR and pro-Soviet Iraq. Turkey contained the pro-Soviet Arab client-states Syria and Iraq, while serving as CENTO's Western linchpin for NATO in any Soviet invasion from the Caucasus and Central Asia toward Turkey, Iran, and the oil-rich Gulf. Pakistan finally contained any Soviet thrust into **Afghanistan** and after 1971 deterred a regional Soviet–Indian Mutual Assistance Pact.

The inherent political weakness of CENTO was that it rested politically, militarily, and organizationally on the United States, with minimal institutional cooperation among its members, while its official purpose to defend the Middle East from the USSR was undermined by the fact that after Iraq's departure no Arab state was a member, and all CENTO members were either Western Christian or non-Arab Muslim states, equally despised by many Arabs. Moreover, no CENTO members supported Arab–Palestinian hostility against Israel, but the United States, Turkey, and Iran had close bilateral military–economic ties with Jerusalem between 1970 and 1979. CENTO dissolved in late 1979, when its pro-U.S. Iranian core collapsed under the anti-Western Islamic fundamentalist revolution, which briefly tilted Tehran toward the USSR before casting aside both "Great Satan" superpowers. *See also* REAGAN, RONALD.

CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE (COES), NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** Allied Command Transformation (ACT) in Norfolk, Virginia, created several national or multinational COEs: Kalkar in **Germany** in December 2004; the Defence against **Terrorism** Centre of Ankara, **Turkey**, in January 2005; the

Winter Warfare Centre in Stavanger, **Norway**, in July 2005 for NATO and **partners** on antiterrorism and winter war; and the Air Operations Centre of Excellence in **France**, in January 2007. ACT coordinates research with all educational centers and COEs to improve interoperability, capabilities, experiments, and doctrines. Other centers, equally vital for NATO's transformation, are the NATO C³ Agency in The Hague and the Research and Technology Organization in Paris.

CFSP WORKING GROUPS, EU. The **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)** working groups of the **European Union (EU)** are composed of experts from EU members and the **European Commission**, meeting along geographic (Eurasia, Asia, Africa, Latin America) and functional lines (**United Nations**, drugs, **terrorism**) to elaborate policy documents for CFSP bodies. *See also* COMMITTEE OF PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES.

CHARTER OF PARIS FOR A NEW EUROPE (1990), OSCE. Signed in November 1990 by the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)**, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe is an East–West document symbolizing peaceful regional cooperation after the end of the Cold War (1946–1990) and heralded the CSCE's conversion into the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**. *See also* COMMON EUROPEAN HOME.

CHARTER ON GOOD NEIGHBOURLINESS, STABILITY, SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN SOUTH-EAST EUROPE (2000). *See* SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE COOPERATION PROCESS; STABILITY PACT.

CHEMICAL–BIOLOGICAL WARFARE (CBW). *See* CHEMICAL WEAPONS (CW); BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS (BW).

CHEMICAL WEAPONS (CW). One of three kinds of **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)** (the others are **biological** and **nuclear**). The invention of CW during **World War I** (1914–1918) led to their classification into three broad categories: poison chemicals, incapacitants (tear gas), and antiplant agents (Agent Orange and defoliants).

Only the first are lethal weapons against massed opponents, in the smallest concentrations dispersed in the air as nebulized poisonous gasses, also divided into three types: poisonous choking gasses, blistering agents, and nerve agents.

Poisonous choking gasses kill by suffocating the victims, examples being chlorine in World War I and Zyclon-X, used by Nazi **Germany** in the extermination camps during **World War II** (1939–1945). Most effective against massed enemy **forces** unprepared for such a surprise unconventional attack, choking gasses have steadily lost influence since World War I, thanks to gas masks and anti-gas drills and the fact that unpredictable changes in wind patterns can blow the deadly gasses back onto the attackers, forcing both combatants to don cumbersome CW suits. The CWs' rapid air dispersion quickly reduces their concentration and lethality. The unpredictability of CW release through nebulized liquid gas canisters during World War I was supplemented by imprecise gas air bombs during the Italo–Ethiopian War (1935–1936), and they were used occasionally by the Soviet Union (USSR) in remote areas of Vietnam (1970s) and **Afghanistan** (1980s). CW use was banned by the 1925 **Geneva Protocol on Gasses**, but in World War II all sides were ready to use CWs on a mass scale. Nazi Germany was close to using them during the **Allies'** 1944 Normandy invasion (Operation Overlord), but was deterred by Anglo–American gas stockpiles and air supremacy.

During the Cold War (1946–1990), the USSR and **Warsaw Pact** deployed large-scale forces with weaponized CW missile warheads together with passive defenses in the form of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapon-proof tanks and armored personnel carriers (APCs), soon followed by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. International revulsion against CWs came with global condemnations of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's use of CWs in combat against Iranian Islamic forces during the Iran–Iraq War (1980–1988), in which both sides used massive amounts of CWs, especially Iraq, in the form of liquid gas canisters, weaponized CW artillery shells, air-dropped CW bombs, and weaponized CW missile warheads launched from helicopters, and even weaponized CW ballistic missile strikes on each others' capitals and urban areas (the “War of Cities,” 1985–1988). Saddam became infamous for using

CWs on Iraq's own rebel Kurdish population (the 1987–1989 Anfal Campaigns and gassing of 5,000 civilians in the town of Halabjah).

Blistering agents kill enemy forces by burning all exposed skin and inner areas (eyes, mouth, lungs), an example being the mustard gas used during World War I. The only real defense is airtight suits and gas masks, which reduce the mobility of troops in warm-weather combat, such as in the anti-gas drills during the First and **Second Gulf Wars** (1990–1991, 2003). Fear of Saddam using CWs against the U.S.-led coalition during the First Gulf War led President **George H. W. Bush** to secretly threaten Iraq with a U.S. nuclear response. Iraq launched only conventional SCUD missiles against the coalition and Israel.

Nerve agents, such as VX and Sarin, kill in infinitesimal amounts through skin contact, provoking nerve shocks that instantaneously paralyze the heart and nervous system. Widely produced during the Cold War for the feared **World War III**, the only defense against them is airtight suits and gas masks. **Terrorists** used Sarin in cities, such as in the March 1995 Tokyo subway attacks by Japan's Aum Shinrikyo cult. The end of the Cold War (1990) and East–West **arms control**, with **on-site inspections**, allowed the **United Nations (UN)** 1993 **Chemical Weapons Convention/Treaty (CWC/CWT)** to ban CW use, development, production, and stockpiling, thanks to intrusive global inspections by the Organization for Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW).

CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION/TREATY (CWC or CWT, 1993), UN. One of the most ambitious, complex, and intrusive international **arms control** accords, the **United Nations (UN)**–sponsored CWC bans all use, development, production, stockpiling, transfer, and proliferation of **chemical weapons (CW)**, not just their first use as in the 1925 **Geneva Protocol on Gasses**. The treaty was signed in Paris in January 1993 and was soon ratified internationally eliminating an entire class of weapons systems from national arsenals, including the largest stockpiles of the **United States** and Soviet Union/**Russia**. The high risk of CW proliferation in the Third World through dual use of chemicals and fertilizer equipment prompted the CWC's intrusive monitoring of domestic commercial activities

through the Organization for Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), the repository of information on chemical industrial sites worldwide since 1996, while also reacting to Iraq's circumvention of international nonproliferation **controls** and UN inspections of its **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)** programs after the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991). *See also* BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS.

CHERNOBYL (1986), USSR–UKRAINE. The worst ever civilian **nuclear** disaster happened on 26 April 1986, when **Ukraine's** Chernobyl nuclear power plant in the Soviet Union (USSR) had a catastrophic meltdown of its reactor core during a test, releasing immense quantities of radiation into the air, which contaminated parts of the Ukraine and **Belarus** following wind patterns, then spread to **Scandinavia, Germany, Italy, and France**. There were global political repercussions from the threat of nuclear fall out beyond East–West national borders. Offers to help by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, **United States**, and the **West** were rejected, but the disaster promoted new East–West **détente** and **arms control** agreements.

CHIEF MILITARY OBSERVER. Term for a military commander responsible to the **United Nations (UN) Secretary-General** or other international observation **forces**. The chief military observer is equivalent to a **force commander**, with similar duties.

CHOKE POINTS. Geostrategic term used in naval diplomacy and international law for international straits affecting commercial ships and warships. Since antiquity, customary international law has allowed free passage in peace and wartime through international straits, whose waters are not subject to the coastal states' sovereignty, **bases**, or attempts to restrict the freedom of passage (an example of such an attempt is that made by **Great Britain, Spain, and Morocco** regarding the Strait of **Gibraltar**). The 1982 **United Nations (UN) Law of the Seas Convention** recognized the right of transit passage through 116 international straits, including the Bab el Mandeb Strait, **Turkish Straits**, English Channel, Sicilian Channel, Straits of Malacca, and Strait of Messina.

CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON L. S. (1874–1965). One of **Great Britain's** and the world's key leaders, a strategist, author, orator, twice First Lord of the Admiralty (navy minister), and twice prime minister (1940–1945, 1950–1955). Churchill fought against the hegemony of both Nazi **Germany** in **World War II** and the Soviet Union (USSR) during the Cold War, receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1953.

Winston Churchill was born on 30 November 1874 at Blenheim Palace, a descendant of General John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, under whom the Anglo–Coalition **forces** blocked the European hegemony of **France's** Louis XIV in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713). Churchill graduated from the Royal Military Academy of Sandhurst, joined the army, and in India fought in the Pathan revolt on the North–West Frontier with **Afghanistan**. In 1898, he fought in the British reconquest of Sudan from the Mahdi's Islamic fundamentalist rebellion. He became a war correspondent in South Africa during the second Boer War (1899–1902), during which he was captured but escaped, becoming a national hero. In 1900, he was elected as a Conservative to Parliament, switching to the Liberal Party in 1904, then returning to the Conservatives by **World War I** (1914–1918). He served as under-secretary of state for the colonies (1905–1908); in the cabinet as president of the Board of Trade (1908–1910); as home secretary (1910–1911), fighting anarchist **terrorists**; and as First Lord of the Admiralty (1911–1916), developing naval aviation and tanks in World War I. He was a proponent of the **Allies'** disastrous 1915 Gallipoli amphibious landings to conquer the Turkish Straits. He was dismissed for this fiasco and went to fight on the Western Front. Churchill was reappointed minister of munitions (1917–1921); personally forced a divided nation to join allied interventions in the 1917–1920 Russian Civil War; was again secretary of state for the colonies (1921–1922), signing **Ireland's** 1921 independence; and was chancellor of the exchequer (1924–1929). Between 1929 and 1939 (the “wilderness years”), Churchill was “politically dead” in the Conservative Party for opposing India's independence and Premier Neville Chamberlain's **ap-
peasement** with Nazi Germany.

During World War II (1939–1945) the controversial Churchill was reappointed First Lord of the Admiralty (1939–1940), and after

Chamberlain's dismissal for incompetence he became both prime minister and minister of defense (1940–1945), refusing to capitulate to Nazi Germany's conquest of Europe and France in 1940. His famous speeches inspired the embattled British and Allies, and he assiduously worked to bring into the war a “**neutral**” **United States** by convincing pro-British President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** to sell and escort vital supplies through North Atlantic sea lanes of communication (SLOCs) through the Destroyers Deal (1940), the Cash 'n' Carry Act (1940), and the Lend-Lease Act (1941), which made America the “arsenal of democracy” for the Allies. Churchill and Roosevelt held 12 secret war conferences on the Allies' war **strategy**, which resulted in the Atlantic Charter (1940), the Declaration by the **United Nations** (1941), support of the USSR after Nazi Germany's invasion (1941), the Allied conquest of North Africa and Italy (1943–1944), and a “Second Front” in France by 1944. Churchill also disagreed with Roosevelt and Supreme Allied Commander U.S. General **Dwight D. Eisenhower** about British plans to invade the **Balkans** to prevent the USSR from reaching there first, Roosevelt's trust in Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin**, and Roosevelt's calls for independence for European colonies. At the 1945 Allied **Summits** in Yalta and Potsdam, Churchill and Stalin agreed to expel all Germans from Eastern Europe (10 million refugees were pushed **West** and 2,100,000 were killed by the USSR). Churchill also forced the United States and USSR to recognize **Charles de Gaulle** and France as an equal occupation power in Germany with a permanent **veto** seat on the UN Security Council along with Great Britain, the United States, the USSR, and China, to prop up Paris as a power that would help London counter the rising Soviet hegemony in Europe.

Churchill's leadership in World War II saved the **West**, but Great Britain's national economic exhaustion led to imperial decolonization and political-military eclipse by the United States and USSR. Having lost the premiership in 1945, Churchill warned the West about the Cold War (1946–1990) and Soviet Communist expansion in Europe in his famous “Iron Curtain” speech before U.S. President **Harry S Truman** on 5 March 1946 in Fulton, Missouri: “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent . . . [as] the Soviet sphere.” Churchill's “Three Circles Doctrine” placed Great Britain at the intersection of the British Empire, the Anglo–American “special relationship,” and

European security, but he also uncharacteristically supported the European federalist movement and **European Community (EC)**.

Churchill became prime minister again in 1951–1955, strengthening the “special relationship” and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** against the USSR, while hopelessly seeking a trade-off with Stalin on East–West **détente** to reunify Germany after the 1952 **Stalin Note**. British military imperial power continued to decline, but under Churchill Britain defeated a Communist guerrilla insurgency in Malaya and in 1953 helped the United States overthrow Iran’s nationalist Premier Mohammad Mossadeq, who had nationalized Western oil assets and flirted with the USSR. A stroke in June 1954 and partial paralysis forced Churchill to finally retire on 5 April 1955, to be succeeded by his protégé, Anthony Eden. Churchill remained the parliamentarian with the longest continuous service until his death at age 90 on 24 January 1965.

CINC (or C-in-C). *See* COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, U.S. COMMAND (CINC).

“The CINC.” *See* COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (“The CINC”).

CIVIL EMERGENCY PLANNING (CEP), NATO–EU. Activity by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) civil–military cooperation** concept (**NATO CIMIC**) to cooperate with local and international civil agencies and give NATO peacekeeping assistance to local civilian bodies. CEP protects civilian populations during wars or disasters, as well as responding to NATO military missions under Articles IV and V, including planning for civil support, strategic logistics, and communication. CEP is also an activity of the **European Union’s (EU) civil–military cooperation (EU CIMIC)** to coordinate military plans and support EU **peacekeeping** between the EU-led **crisis-management** operations (CMO) and non-EU external civil actors, such as the **United Nations (UN)** and NATO operating under the civil responsibility for **host nation support**.

CIVIL–MILITARY COOPERATION (CIMIC), NATO–EU. Military term for resources and relationships between commanders and civil and military national authorities, as well as civilian populations

in areas where foreign/international military **forces** or peacekeepers operate under the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, **European Union (EU)**, **United Nations (UN)**, or regional security organizations. Any CIMIC arrangement includes external civilian organizations, like international organizations, national agencies, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), local authorities, and populations.

CIVIL–MILITARY LIAISON (CML), EU. Within the context of the **European Union's (EU) civil–military cooperation (EU CIMIC)**, which coordinates support for EU **peacekeeping** missions between military components of EU-led **crisis-management operations (CMO)** and non-EU external civil actors, the CML provides military liaison at the political and strategic level, as well as at lower levels with international organizations, national agencies, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and local authorities. CML interfaces between EU **forces** for CMO and civilian actors to plan operations. CML is one of three core EU CIMIC functions, together with **support of civil environment (SCE)** and **support of military forces (STF)**, but can also be an independent activity for permanent liaisons with key civilian actors. *See also* CIVIL–MILITARY COOPERATION.

CLAES, WILLY (1938–). Born on 24 April 1938 in Hasselt, **Belgium**, Claes was the eighth and briefest **Secretary-General** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and chairman of the **North Atlantic Council** (October 1994 to December 1995).

In Belgium, Claes was a parliamentarian for the Socialist Party (1968–1995); party spokesman (1971–1994); minister of education (1972–1973); minister of economic affairs (1973–1974); minister of state (1983–1988); six times deputy prime minister and economic affairs minister (1977–1982, 1988–1992); dual deputy prime minister and foreign affairs minister (1992–1994); and chairman of the European Socialists Party in the European Parliament (1992–1994).

As NATO Secretary-General, Claes replaced **Manfred Wörner** (1988–1994) of **Germany**. He worked with NATO **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe** U.S. General **George A. Joulwan** (1993–1998), leading the **alliance** into finally resolving the long, bloody Yugoslav civil wars (1991–1999). The collapse of a multi-ethnic **Yu-**

goslavia had unleashed all-out repression by the Serb-dominated government of secessionist **Slovenia**, **Croatia**, and **Bosnia** in the form of ethnic-nationalist violence, **ethnic cleansing**, and atrocities unseen since **World War II**, despite **United Nations (UN) sanctions** enforced by NATO with tight air and naval patrols. After Bosnian Serbs overran the UN “safe area” of **Šrebrenica**, murdering its male Muslim inhabitants and threatening two more UN “safe areas,” NATO launched **Operation Deliberate Force** (August–September 1995), with heavy air strikes on the Bosnian Serbs, while the Croat army routed the Serbs both in Croatia and western Bosnia. The parallel NATO and Croat actions forced all warring ethnic factions to sign the Dayton Peace Accords (November 1995), and their **disarmament** was enforced by transferring **peacekeeping** duties from the UN to the 50,000-strong, NATO-led **Implementation Force (IFOR)**, drawn from all NATO allies and 17 non-NATO partners with **Russia**.

Claes resigned in disgrace due to indictments for past financial corruption in Belgium and was replaced by **Javier Solana** (1995–1999) of **Spain**. *See also* SPAAK, PAUL-HENRI.

CLARK, GENERAL WESLEY K., U.S. ARMY (1944–). From 1997 to 1999, he was both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) 12th Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and **Commander-in-Chief (CINC) of U.S. European Command (EUCOM)**. From NATO’s **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)**, he led Allied Command Operations (ACO) for transatlantic security, while as CINC–EUCOM he commanded 116,000 men in U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe, U.S. Air Forces in Europe, U.S. Marines Forces–Europe, and U.S. Special Operations Command–Europe, providing **forces** for NATO and U.S. missions or **humanitarian** aid in 93 states in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.

Born on 23 December 1944 in Chicago, Illinois, Wesley Clark graduated first in his class at the U.S. Military Academy in West Point, New York (1966), and earned an M.A. from Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar (1968), where he also met future U.S. President **Bill Clinton**. Clark commanded every military level from company to division. As a major he was speech writer for NATO’s SACEUR

General **Alexander M. Haig Jr.**; at the Pentagon he was director of U.S. strategic planning for the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1994–1996); and as colonel during the bloody Yugoslav civil wars (1991–1999) he led military talks under U.S. Ambassador Richard Holbrooke on **Bosnia** at the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords. As a four-star general, he was **CINC U.S. Southern Command** in Panama (1996–1997).

As SACEUR, Clark succeeded U.S. Army General **George Joulwan** (1993–1997) and worked closely with NATO **Secretary-General Javier Solana** (1995–1999), presiding over NATO's **enlargement** in 1997–1999 (at the Madrid and Washington **NATO Summits**), which added the three best-prepared former **Warsaw Pact partners**, the **Czech Republic**, **Hungary**, and **Poland**. Soon afterward NATO found itself in its first conflict, the 1999 Kosovo War, to stop **ethnic cleansing** of Albanian Muslims in Serbia's province of **Kosovo**. When heavy fighting had broken out in Kosovo, SACEUR Clark's personal diplomacy, coupled with pressures from the international community and NATO's threat of air strikes on Yugoslavia, had forced President Slobodan Milošević in October 1998 to withdraw large numbers of Serbian security forces from Kosovo, while NATO ground forces were readied to assist the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** international verification mission inside Kosovo. However, fighting resumed in January 1999, and massive Serb reinforcements in Kosovo violated the October accord, until renewed threats of NATO air strikes forced the two sides to negotiate at Rambouillet, **France** (February–March 1999). The talks collapsed when only the Kosovar Albanian insurgents (reluctantly) accepted any peace agreement. As Serb forces evicted 80 percent of Kosovo's Albanians, OSCE observers also fled Kosovo, and NATO launched massive air strikes from March through May, while quickly building refugee camps. NATO remained united throughout the conflict, and its preparations for a ground offensive forced Serb forces to abandon Kosovo after 9 June 1999 to international **peacekeeping** by the NATO-led **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)**. The refugees' return shifted ethnic tensions against the local Serbs, now protected by KFOR.

SACEUR Clark was heavily criticized for his high profile during the Kosovo War, his post-facto incorporation into KFOR of unauthorized Russian peacekeepers who had seized actions at Priština Airport, and his clashes with Secretary of Defense William Cohen and

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Hugh Shelton over the military independence and superiority of NATO's SACEUR in wartime compared to the U.S. chain of command, forcing him into early retirement, and was succeeded as SACEUR by U.S. Air Force General **Joseph Ralston** (2000–2002). In 2003–2004, Clark ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic nomination in the 2004 presidential elections.

CLINTON, WILLIAM J. "BILL" (1946–). Forty-second president of the **United States** (January 1993 to January 2001). He was previously governor of Arkansas (1978–1980, 1982–1992), and as a "dark horse" candidate won the Democratic nomination for president, beating President **George H. W. Bush** in 1992 and was reelected in 1996. His wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, is a U.S. senator from New York and ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic nomination in the 2008 presidential elections.

Born in Hope, Arkansas, on 19 August 1946, Bill Clinton received a B.S. from Georgetown University's Edmund Walsh School of Foreign Service in Washington, D.C.; was a Rhodes Scholar to the University College in Oxford; and received his J.D. from Yale Law School in 1973. He was an assistant law professor at the University of Arkansas (1974–1976); Arkansas attorney general (1976–1978); governor of Arkansas (1978–1980; reelected 1982–1992); a moderate leader of the Democratic Party (1990–1991); then finally a presidential candidate in 1992 and 1996.

Internationally, President Clinton promoted the need to (1) modernize the U.S. military; (2) enhance the role of economics in international affairs, such as ratifying the North American Free Trade Agreement; and (3) promote democracy abroad. But Clinton had to face many foreign **crises** stemming from the end of the Cold War (1990) and the collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1991, while continuing the foreign policy of President Bush that the United States as sole world superpower should support the **United Nations (UN)** in the civil wars savaging Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, **Bosnia**, and **Kosovo**, where U.S. interests were unclear. Clinton, like Bush, was reluctant to intervene militarily and risk U.S. soldiers in intractable ethnic-religious conflicts, but his support for global human rights and political-economic stability led him to promote UN and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) joint humanitarian peace-keeping** missions, which experienced few casualties.

The break up of Yugoslavia forced NATO for the first time to intervene "out-of-area" to preserve the **Balkans'** fragile postcommunist ethnic balance and **alliance** security, which were threatened by hundreds of thousands of deaths, rapes, and refugees fleeing to Western Europe. NATO sought to contain ethnic-nationalist conflicts by implementing UN **sanctions** and an arms **embargo** against **Bosnia** in 1992–1995, with air and sea patrols, plus a UN–NATO "**no-fly zone**" by **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** command in Naples, Italy. In February 1994, Clinton finally agreed to intervene militarily with U.S. **forces**: NATO targeted air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs in support of UN peacekeepers, and in the summer of 1995 waged a short air campaign in Bosnia parallel to **Croatia's** reentry in the war, defeating the Serbs and forcing them to sign with the Bosnian Federation (the rival Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats) the Dayton Peace Accords (November 1995) and General Framework Agreement for Peace (Paris, 14 December 1995). Mandated by the UN Security Council, NATO peacekeepers imposed peace and redrew ethnic-nationalist borders to reduce Bosnian Serbs' supremacy, deploying 65,000 troops of NATO's multinational **Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR)**, December 1995–December 1996). Clinton continued NATO's mission by halving IFOR and turning it into the **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)**, 1996–2004). Finally, in the 1999 Kosovo War Clinton and NATO defeated Yugoslavia, with the **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)**, 1999–present) stopping the cycle of **ethnic cleansing** that lay behind the dream of a **Greater Serbia**.

Between 1992 and 1994 Bush and then Clinton sent 25,000 troops to Somalia to help end the famine and prevent rival warlords from attacking the UN humanitarian provision camps. U.S. peacekeepers tried to stabilize the devastated country, but were embroiled in street clashes with Somali warlord Farah Aideed in Mogadishu, where a 1993 U.S. raid left 18 U.S. dead and killed a thousand of Aideed's guerrillas, resulting in strong domestic pressure to withdraw all U.S. forces by March 1994. UN and U.S. reluctance to intervene abroad was criticized internationally when they did not militarily stop the Rwandan genocide in 1994, in which a million Rwandans, mainly Tutsi, were massacred by local majority Hutus, who then fled in the millions to neighboring Zaire/Congo once Tutsi guerrillas seized

power. While visiting Africa in 1998, Clinton apologized for the world community's failure to stop the genocide. Criticism mounted that Clinton was also taken by surprise by Osama bin Laden's Islamic fundamentalist **terrorism** (Al-Qaeda), including the August 1998 suicide bombings of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, resulting in 250 people dead and 5,500 injured. In retaliation, Clinton later ordered missile strikes on Al-Qaeda terrorist camps in **Afghanistan** and an alleged secret **chemical weapons (CW)** factory in Khartoum, Sudan, but al-Qaeda continued suicide bombings of U.S. facilities in Saudi Arabia (Khobar Towers) and against the destroyer USS *Cole* in Aden, Yemen.

Clinton had his first international success in Haiti in 1994. As a presidential candidate, Clinton had criticized President George H. W. Bush for returning Haitian refugees to their country, but once elected he continued Bush's policy because he feared that accepting refugees might encourage many more to flee to the United States. However, in September 1994 he defied opposition in Congress, sending a large U.S.–UN peacekeeping **force** to overthrow Haiti's military dictatorship, employing as special envoy ex-President Jimmy **Carter** to force a peaceful removal from power of Haiti's military junta before the peacekeepers landed. Also in 1994, Clinton asked Carter to negotiate with North Korean dictator Kim Il Sung an "Agreed Framework" not to develop **nuclear** weapons and to allow the expelled International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors to return, threatening U.S. strikes against its nuclear sites if North Korea refused. In exchange, North Korea would normalize relations, receive oil, and be given two civilian nuclear reactors to replace its older ones. North Korea later violated the accord. Clinton also had the United States join the global moratorium on nuclear weapons tests and sign the 1996 **Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)** prohibiting all nuclear tests, but the U.S. Senate refused to ratify it.

Clinton was also deeply involved in the Middle East, mediating the secret Israeli–Palestinian Oslo Peace Accords (September 1993) between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Yasser Arafat, signed at the White House, which granted limited Palestinian self-rule in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Clinton also mediated the July

1994 accord between Israel and Jordan. When the Israeli–Palestinian peace process came to a halt after suicide bombings by the terrorist Islamic fundamentalist Hamas and Israeli reticence, Clinton arranged for the Wye River Memorandum (October 1998) between Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian leader Arafat, based on the PLO curbing Hamas’s terrorist activities and a timetable to negotiate a final resolution for a Palestinian independent state. Palestinian terrorism scuttled any deal until Clinton arranged with Israeli Premier Ehud Barak a final peace settlement (Camp David II in December 2000), which, however, failed, according to Clinton, because Arafat opposed renouncing East Jerusalem.

Clinton first launched retaliatory air strikes against Iraq in 1993 when the Iraqi intelligence agency tried to assassinate former President George H. W. Bush during his visit to Kuwait. Later, Iraq’s non-compliance with the First **Gulf War’s** (1990–1991) UN peace provisions to disarm all **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**, and its opposition to inspectors from the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), prompted Clinton to launch air strikes from December 1998 through summer 1999 against Iraqi military sites to force Saddam Hussein to resume UN inspections. At the same time, Clinton was unable to get Congress to pay the UN \$1 billion in back dues the United States owed since 1980. Clinton also controversially sought to end the conflict in Northern Ireland by going against British policies, and the U.S.–British “special relationship.” Under Prime Minister Tony Blair, London joined in a peace accord with Catholic and Protestant factions in 1998 for a power-sharing government and disarmament of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), which faltered until 2007.

Clinton’s “Democratic enlargement” expanded the community of market democracies, using economic growth to consolidate new democracies and stop **humanitarian crises**. **NATO’s enlargement** to Eastern European former Communist states was based on the 1995 enlargement membership criteria based on the 1994 **Partnership for Peace**, market economy, and support of NATO peacekeeping. Then in March 1999, the **Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland** joined NATO, while 13 Aspirants followed six-months reform cycles in NATO’s Membership Action Plans (MAPs) for NATO–EU Enlargements in 2002–08.

In retirement, Clinton promoted human rights issues as a public speaker, also assisting in the election of his wife, Hillary Clinton, as senator from New York and her 2008 bid for the presidential nomination. In January–August 2005, Bill Clinton and George H. W. Bush were twice appointed by President **George W. Bush** to lead bipartisan U.S. fund-raising to help victims of the Indian Ocean tsunami and the victims of Hurricane Katrina.

COLLECTIVE DEFENSE VS. COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN NATO. In political-military terms, *collective defense* represents a military **alliance**'s ability to exclusively protect all of its members against external threats. *Collective security* reflects a broader agreement among members of an international organization to protect both members and any related country sharing the organization's defensive security. Article V of the **North Atlantic Treaty** (1949) forged the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** as a collective defense alliance, establishing automatically that any "attack against a member-state is considered as an attack against all." NATO's integrated military structure and collective defense planning enhanced its combat readiness and credibility during the 50-year-long Cold War (1946–1990) against threats of a conventional/**nuclear World War III** unleashed by the Soviet Union (USSR) and its Eastern European satellites (**Warsaw Pact**). However, NATO first applied Article V combat missions in response to the international **terrorist** strikes of 11 September 2001 (9/11) against the **United States**, sponsoring with the **United Nations (UN)** the Second Afghan War (2001–2002), in which U.S.–NATO peacekeepers conquered the country and wiped out its terrorist structures.

In the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), the end of Europe's military–ideological divisions has radically altered Euro–Atlantic security by expanding NATO's role to neighboring "out-of-area" regions to protect its former enemies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, as new **partners** within the **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council**, through collective security and **peacekeeping**. Article IV security missions are not automatic; they are decided on a case-by-case basis, such as **Bosnia** (1995–present), **Kosovo** (1998–present), **Macedonia** (2000–2002), **Afghanistan** (2001–present), and Iraq (2004–present). Yet the implicit security discrepancy among

allies and partners between automatic (for the former) and ad hoc (for the latter) protection is a key factor pushing **NATO enlargements** to turn “better-prepared” partners into full allies (1999–2008). *See also* ATLANTIC COMMON VALUES; NATO “FIRST DIMENSION”; NATO “SECOND DIMENSION”; NATO “THIRD DIMENSION.”

COMBAT. Military term for any type of organized violent confrontation or conflict, from insurgency and skirmishes to total **nuclear** war, in a range of military options, between rival military formations pursuing national or **alliance** political goals. Combat can start unofficially, by surprise, or with a formal “declaration of war,” and an armistice or peace treaty can terminate hostilities permanently or only temporarily.

COMBAT READINESS. Technical military term for the national preparedness—**readiness**—of armed **forces** to immediately respond to any threat of war or actual warfare.

COMBINED JOINT TASK FORCES, NATO (CJTF). Since its creation in 1949, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** has provided **deterrence** and **collective defense** against any threat of war, guaranteeing the security and territorial integrity of all members. However, the **post–Cold War** period’s radically altered security situation has expanded NATO missions into regional **collective security** (“out-of-area”) through the **Partnership for Peace**, **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**, **NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council**, **NATO-Ukraine Commission**, and **Mediterranean Dialogue**, plus the **European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI)** with the **European Union (EU)**. These new structures foster tight coordination between **allies** and **partners** in NATO-led **peace-keeping** missions, such as in **Bosnia (Operation Deliberate Force, 1995; Implementation Force–Bosnia [IFOR], 1995–1996; Stabilisation Force–Bosnia [SFOR], 1996–2004; European Force–Bosnia [EUFOR], 2004–present)**, **Kosovo (Operation Allied Force, 1999; Kosovo Implementation Force [KFOR], 1999–present)**, **Afghanistan (International Assistance Force–Afghanistan, 2001–present)**, and training in Iraq (2004–present).

The existence of an adequate military capability built up over many years enables NATO **forces** to pool political, military, and re-

source assets for collective defense and collective security missions. These **force** assets are an integrated military structure; collective force planning; common funding; common operational planning; multinational formations; headquarters and decentralized **command** structures; integrated air defenses; “burden sharing” among allies; **bases**, exercises, and deployment (training, combat, or peacekeeping) of forces outside home territories; equipment **standardization**; logistics; and shared doctrines. The inclusion of NATO partners in **alliance** structures also enhances political-military cooperation and Euro-Atlantic security, while facilitating the integration of non-NATO countries in NATO-led operations, such as in the **Balkans**, assigning allies, partners, and coalition forces within NATO force-planning procedures.

In the post-Cold War period an essential part of NATO’s transformation and modernization has been the 1994 **NATO Summit** creation of combined **joint** task forces to restructure its military forces and commands, accomplished twice, in the mid-1990s and after 2003. CJTF adapts force structures to meet different military scenarios short of **World War III**, while allowing NATO to more effectively carry out collective defense and new regional collective security missions. CJTF reforms have substantially reduced NATO forces overall, while enhancing flexible, mobile, and multinational forces for a wide range of contingencies and preserving both effective alliance defense capabilities and the transatlantic link. Reforms of the integrated command structure have cut NATO military headquarters by two-thirds, from 65 to 20 by 1995, with additional changes since 2003. Most NATO allies have significantly reorganized and cut ground forces by 35 percent, naval combatants by 30 percent, and air force combat squadrons by 40 percent since 1990. Partners (especially the 12 new allies who joined NATO in 1999–2008) have developed faster mobility and flexibility of forces for both combat and peacekeeping. CJTF flexibility puts additional demands on command and control of NATO forces, with core elements of a few CJTF headquarters established in key “parent” headquarters in NATO’s **command** structure. CJTF also relies on personnel who have other responsibilities when not operating in the CJTF in “parent” headquarters and on pretrained personnel from other NATO headquarters and nations.

COMMAND. Military term for the authority and command position of a military officer for leadership, coordination, and control of military **forces**. Command applies to a strategic or theater military body or orders by commanders. It also indicates units, organizations, and areas under military commanders, **control** of fields by weapons fire, or observation from higher geographic positions. *See also* FULL COMMAND; FUNCTIONAL COMMAND; NATIONAL COMMAND; OPERATIONAL COMMAND; TACTICAL COMMAND.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. (“The CINC”). Military term used in the **United States** for the president’s supreme political-military role as national commander-in-chief of all armed **forces**. In this role, the full title is usually used, and only rarely the abbreviation, preceded by the article (“The CINC”). A more generic term often used interchangeably within the U.S. bureaucracy is “**POTUS**” (President of the U.S.).

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, U.S. COMMAND (CINC or C-in-C). Military term in the **United States** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, commonly used in its abbreviated form (CINC or C-in-C) for any three- or four-star generals or admirals serving as commanders-in-chief of the 10 geographic/functional unified U.S. **commands** operating globally:

1. CINC–CENT at **Central Command (CENTCOM)** at MacDill AFB, Tampa, Florida, with responsibility over the Middle East (with Egypt, Sudan), Gulf (plus Pakistan), Horn of Africa (with Kenya) and former Soviet Central Asia (plus **Afghanistan**)
2. CINC–EUR (also **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe/SACEUR** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization/NATO**) located at the European Command (EUCOM) at Mons, **Belgium**, together with NATO’s **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** with responsibility over Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean, **Turkey**, the Caucasus, Israel, Lebanon, and Africa (except Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, and Horn of Africa)
3. CINC–HOME at **Homeland Command (HOMELAND)**, previously under the Joint Forces Command (JFCOM), directly commanded by the Pentagon’s U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff (J-5)

with responsibility over the continental United States, **Canada**, and Mexico

4. CINC-JFCOM at the **Joint Forces Command (JFCOM)** under the Pentagon's U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff (through Norfolk, Virginia) with control of the North Atlantic Ocean, Arctic, and **Russia** (previously also North America)
5. CINC-NORTH for both the North American Aerospace Defense Command and U.S. Northern Command (formerly the **Space Command**, now **NORTHCOM** at Peterson AFB, Colorado)
6. CINC-PAC at **Pacific Command (PAC)** at Camp Smith, Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, with responsibility over the Pacific Ocean (including Alaska, Hawaii), Indian Ocean, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Indian subcontinent (excluding Pakistan), Madagascar, Indonesia, Indochina, Philippines, Korea, Mongolia, Taiwan, and China
7. CINC-SOUTH at **Southern Command (SOUTHCOM)** at Homestead AFB, Miami, Florida, and previously in Panama, with responsibility over Latin America, the Caribbean (excluding Mexico), and the South Atlantic Ocean
8. **Special Operations Command (SOCOM)** at MacDill AFB, Tampa, Florida, for all army, air force, navy, and marines special **forces** operations worldwide
9. CINC-STRAT (ex-CINC-SAC) at **Strategic Command (STRATCOM)** at Offutt AFB, Nebraska, previously **Strategic Air Command (SAC)** for U.S. strategic nuclear forces
10. CINC-TRANSCOM at **Transportation/Air-Mobility Command (USTRANSCOM)** at Scott AFB, Illinois, for global logistics and air and sea lift.

See also COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

COMMITTEE OF CHIEFS OF MILITARY MEDICAL SERVICES (COMEDS), NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** highest medical body, with all allies' surgeons-general as members. In January 2001, it emerged from bureaucratic obscurity to refute false allegations by **Yugoslavia** and human rights nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that NATO's use of depleted uranium munitions in the 1999 Kosovo War posed health risks.

COMMITTEE OF PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES, EU (COREPER). The permanent political-diplomatic body of all ambassadors of **European Union (EU)** states, which meets weekly with the European Commission Deputy **Secretary-General** to prepare **European Council summits**, including the General Affairs Council and **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)**. COREPER acts as the representative of each state's national position at the EU decision-making bodies between sessions of the European Council of Ministers and European Council summits. *See also* **POLITICAL AND SECURITY COMMITTEE**.

COMMITTEE ON CIVILIAN ASPECTS OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT, EU. The **European Union's (EU)** Committee on Civilian Aspects of **Crisis Management** gives political advice on nonmilitary crisis management, conflict prevention, and legal issues.

COMMON EUROPEAN HOME. The economic decline of the Soviet Union (USSR) in the 1980s due to **arms races** with the **United States** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** forced Soviet Premier **Mikhail Gorbachëv** to slowly liberalize domestic politics and economics through the twin policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, while internationally resuming East–West **détente** through new **arms control** agreements, like the **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF, 1987)**, **Strategic Nuclear Forces Treaty (START I, 1991)**, and **Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE, 1990)**. The reduction of East–West tensions eliminated fears of a **World War III** by the late 1980s and led Gorbachëv to float the idea of regional coexistence and cooperation through a vague “Common European Home,” which was matched in 1990 by **France's** President François Mitterrand's own proposal for a European confederation. However, both initiatives were overtaken by the rapid collapse of the Soviet bloc through the **1989 Eastern European Revolutions** and the demise of the **Warsaw Pact**, followed by the sudden disintegration of the USSR in late 1991 with the fall from power of Gorbachëv, which allowed the former **satellites** to seek NATO entry.

On the one hand, NATO strove to integrate into the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** and **North At-**

lantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C) both the pro-West Eastern European and former Soviet states. On the other hand, France and **Germany** pushed the **European Community (EC)** into a higher stage of regional integration as the **European Union (EU)**. Finally, parallel triple **NATO–EU enlargements** made all former Communist Eastern European nations full new members between 1997 and 2008, with regional cooperation extended also to **Russia**. *See also* **CHARTER OF PARIS FOR A NEW EUROPE**.

COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY (CFSP), EU. After the creation of the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)** in 1957, international policy cooperation existed informally on most trade issues and several diplomatic ones, but no treaty created an official EC/EU common foreign and security policy. Finally, in October 1970, all EC/EU members agreed to cooperate officially on international political intergovernmental cooperation through the **European Political Cooperation (EPC)** meetings, which was formalized by the 1986 **Single European Act (SEA)**. The EU's CFSP was established as the second pillar of the 1991 Maastricht Treaty and 1999 **Amsterdam Treaty** (Articles 11–28), allowing the EU to speak with one voice on all international issues, trade, conflicts, and human rights. CFSP has five fundamental objectives: to defend EU common values, interests, and independence based on **United Nations (UN)** principles; to strengthen EU security; to promote international cooperation; to preserve international security based on the principles of the UN and **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, with the **Helsinki Final Act** and Paris Charter; and to promote democracy, laws, human rights, and freedoms.

Under the EU treaty, the European Council defines the guidelines for the common foreign and security policy, plus common **strategies** on **Russia**, **Ukraine**, **Mediterranean** partners, and the Middle East peace process. The Amsterdam Treaty appointed an EU Secretary-General/High Representative for five years (**Spain's Javier Solana** since 1999, who previously was **Secretary-General** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization/NATO**). The 2001 EU Treaty of Nice increased CFSP areas under qualified majority voting and enhanced the **Political and Security Committee's (COPS)** role in **crisis management**. Regular political dialogues are held, usually with “troika”

meetings, at ministerial, senior official, and working group levels, with occasional meetings of all states and the EU Commission at ministerial or senior levels. Outside regular mechanisms, the EU projects its political presence in areas of **crisis** with EU special representatives, such as in Congo, Middle East, the **Stability Pact** administration of the western **Balkans** and **Kosovo**, Ethiopia/Eritrea, and **Afghanistan**. The European Commission is solely responsible for EU external policies on trade, human rights, aid, **sanctions**, and reconstruction, and is fully associated with CFSP issues and budgets. It too, like any state, can request extraordinary European Council meetings. The European Council and Commission jointly act on EU diplomacy, security, trade, and aid.

CFSP falls mainly on the presidency of the European Council, operating through the local ambassadors of the member states holding the presidency. Commission delegations, together with representatives of the future European presidency, are associated with the serving presidency in a “troika” dealing with third countries and **joint** heads of mission political reports. Various EU bodies implement CFSP policies: The European Council and commission president meet at least twice yearly to adopt broad common guidelines for EU policies, including CFSP; and the Council of Ministers, EU foreign ministers, and external relations commissioner meet as the General Affairs Council at least once a month to decide common positions (joint actions) on external relations and CFSP. The budgetary implementation of joint actions is ensured by the European Commission; and the six-month rotating European presidency organizes the work, legislation, and political decision-making process and chairs all meetings in CFSP, where decisions are taken by unanimity. The presidency is assisted by the Council Secretariat and after the Amsterdam Treaty also by the **Secretary-General/High Representative**. The European Parliament is informed on CFSP. The High Representative is fused with the council Secretary-General to assist the European Council and presidency on CFSP issues, preparing and implementing policy, and political dialogue with third countries. The Policy Planning and Early-Warning Unit in the Council Secretariat monitors and drafts policy options and strategies on international events, including early warning about potential crises. CFSP-related bodies are the **CFSP Working Groups, Committee on Civilian Aspects of Crisis**

Management, European Correspondents, European Union Military Committee (EUMC), European Union Military Staff (EUMS), Political-Military Group, and Relex Counselors. The EU Treaty of Nice, European Constitution, and **European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)** further expand the EU's global diplomatic and security reach.

COMMONWEALTH. An international political association, led by **Great Britain**, numbering 53 independent ex-colonial states by the 2000s, which replaced the British Empire through the 1931 Statute of Westminster, covering the Americas, Oceania/Pacific, South Asia, and Africa. The statute allowed only the most developed dominions virtual independence (Australia, **Canada**, India, New Zealand, and South Africa) except on security and diplomacy. After **World War II** (1939–1945) independence became the norm for all members, but not all former territories have joined, such as **Ireland** and Burma. The Commonwealth has the British monarchy as symbolic head, but it is the head of state for only 16 members. Five are national monarchies and 33 are republics (the previous expulsion of republics, such as Ireland in 1922, once after India was accepted in 1949).

Since 1965, the Commonwealth has a secretariat in London, headed by a Commonwealth **Secretary-General**, with three deputies on political, economic, and social-development affairs, plus 13 functional divisions, with a budget shared by all members, thus making the organization less dependent on Great Britain. The main policy-making organ is the biannual Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), which addresses common security and issues Commonwealth declarations on principles, such as the *Declaration of Commonwealth Principles on Democracy* (Singapore, 1971), the *Commonwealth's Lusaka Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice* (1979), and *Millbrook Action Programme* (1995). There is a Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group for violations of the *Harare Commonwealth Declaration* (1991). The Commonwealth finance ministers meet annually, and the Commonwealth Secretariat Task Force on Small States coordinates the political, security, social, economic, and environmental needs of its 32 smaller members, supporting the Commonwealth Ministerial Group on Small States (1993) and Commonwealth Consultative Group on Small States (1994).

The Commonwealth fosters economic and political cooperation on a voluntary basis, and has strongly promoted **United Nations (UN) sanctions** against Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (1965–1980, later renamed Zimbabwe) and isolating South Africa for apartheid (racial segregation). The Commonwealth's key states are Australia, Bangladesh, Brunei, Canada, Great Britain, India, Kenya, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan (suspended 1972–1989, 1999–2001), Singapore, South Africa (suspended 1970s–1993), and Zimbabwe (suspended 2001–present), and there are 32 smaller members with populations below 1.5 million, including Fiji (suspended 1987–1997), Jamaica, and the Pacific islands. The Commonwealth acts on mediation, conflict prevention, election monitoring, economic development, and since 1983 as an international pressure group for its lesser members through the **Joint Office for Commonwealth Permanent Missions to the UN** (1996), as well as lending legal help to New Zealand and **South Pacific Forum** members at the International Court of Justice since 1995 against **France's** Pacific **nuclear** tests. *See also* ASSEMBLY POINT.

COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES (CIS). A loose political-military association of 11–12 states that since 1992 have replaced the collapsing Soviet Union's (USSR) 15-member federal political-military-economic structures. The CIS is led by **Russia** but has very little **control** over its members, compared to the USSR's previous complete federal domination. The CIS allows Russia's continued military presence in most ex-Soviet states and **joint** security cooperation, or limited **peacekeeping**, such as in **Georgia's** Abkhazia and **South Ossetia**. The CIS states are **Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan**. Of these Georgia and Uzbekistan have intermittently left the CIS, while the three Baltic states (**Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania**) seceded from the USSR and rejected the CIS, joining instead the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **European Union (EU)**, between 2002 and 2004. All CIS states have independent national militaries and are also **partners** in NATO's Euro-Atlantic security architecture with the **North Atlantic Coordination Council (NAC-C, 1992), Partnership for Peace (1994), and Euro-Atlantic Partner-**

ship Council (EAPC, 1999), using NATO to balance Russian–CIS influence.

COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES COLLECTIVE PEACEKEEPING FORCE. *See* UNITED NATIONS MISSION OF OBSERVERS IN TAJIKISTAN (UNMOT).

COMMUNAUTÉ DES ÉTATS D’AFRIQUE DE L’OUEST/COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (CEDAO). Franco-phone West African states tied to **France** in a **joint** security assistance treaty after independence, with French **rapid-reaction forces** containing West African regional **crises** through the **RECAMP (Reinforcing West African Peacekeeping Capabilities)** military exercises with CEDAO’s **peacekeeping** battalion.

COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY (CTBT). Beginning in the early 1950s, international initiatives sought to legally ban testing **nuclear** weapons in the air, on land, in the seas, and in the subsoil, due to fears of long-term environmental radiation contamination. However, a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) was impossible without an accord between rival nuclear superpowers (the **United States** and Soviet Union/USSR) and intrusive **on-site inspections**. The first successful restriction of nuclear testing came after the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis**, when the three nuclear powers (the United States, USSR, and **Great Britain**) signed the 1963 Partial Test-Ban Treaty (PTBT), prohibiting nuclear explosions in the air, land, and seas, but not in deep subsoils whose secluded environment has minimal radiation contamination risk. Since the 1980s, scientific long-distance seismic monitoring of nuclear testing has reduced on-site inspections.

Political-strategic resistance to a global CTBT has been based on three contentions: that periodic testing of nuclear warheads is needed to monitor their reliability (“shelf life”); that limited nuclear testing is required by nuclear powers to test new nuclear weapons being developed; and that proliferant nuclear states (**France**, China, Israel, India, Pakistan, North Korea, Iraq, and Iran) were opposed to any type of nuclear test ban or global PTBT. A CTBT regime has been advocated by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) opposed to any

nuclear arsenal, but the 1967 nuclear **Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)** only requires existing nuclear states to pursue meaningful **arms control** and reduction of their arsenals. By the early 1990s, a unilateral moratorium on subsoil nuclear tests was adopted by Great Britain, France (after the regional opposition to its 1970s Pacific Ocean air-burst testing by the South Pacific Forum), and **Russia** (after the collapse of the USSR deprived it of all financial means to modernize its nuclear arsenals), reluctantly followed in the mid-1990s by both Communist China and the United States (Democratic President Bill **Clinton** reversed in 1993–2000 the previous non-moratorium policies of Republican **George H. W. Bush** in 1988–1992).

In the late 1990s, the CTBT was signed and ratified by most **allies** in the **European Union (EU)** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, including **Belgium, Canada** (seeking an even stricter ban), the **Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain** (calling it a cornerstone of counter-proliferation and cut-off in nuclear fissile materials production), **Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey**. NATO allies have both urged the United States to ratify CTBT (stalled by the Republican opposition in Congress and in 2001–2008 by the Republican **George W. Bush** administration) and used CTBT as a diplomatic tool against proliferants (India, Pakistan, North Korea, and Iran, after the post-First **Gulf War** disarmament of Iraq). But transatlantic controversy over U.S. rejection of CTBT and withdrawal from the **Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty** has become moot in the face of repeated refusals by India and Pakistan to ratify the NPT, while the open nuclear race of North Korea and Iran has led to their abandonment of the NPT. *See also* WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

CONDOMINIUM. Political-diplomatic term for shared sovereign control over disputed colonial territories by two or more powers, such as Sudan (**Great Britain** and **Egypt**), the New Hebrides Islands (**Great Britain** and **France**), and Samoa Islands (**Germany** and the **United States**). An unusual type of political-legal **control**, a condominium differs from military occupation, like the **joint** Allied one after

World War II (1939–1945) in Germany and **Italy**. During **détente** (1969–1979), the unprecedented East–West collaboration between the U.S. and Soviet superpowers on global **crises** and **arms control** led to the geopolitical reclassification of condominium as a possible superpowers' deal to jointly rule the world. Such fanciful hypotheses never materialized; they were offset by the dramatic collapse of **détente** in 1979 and renewed Cold War tensions and **arms races** until a new 1985–1991 **détente**.

CONFEDERATION OF INTER-ALLIED MEDICAL RESERVE OFFICERS OF NATO/CONFÉDÉRATION INTERALLIÉE DES OFFICIERS MÉDICAUX DE RÉSERVE (CIOMR). International nonpolitical, nongovernmental organization (NGO) founded in 1947 by medical officers' reserve **forces**, encompassing 18 reserve officers' associations of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. CIOMR fosters close professional ties among doctors, NATO medical reserves, and combat forces for medical-military training. It is an associated member of the **Confederation of Inter-Allied Reserve Officers of NATO (CIOR)**, holding **joint** sessions with it. CIOMR's secretariat is in Rotterdam, **Netherlands**.

CONFEDERATION OF INTER-ALLIED RESERVE OFFICERS OF NATO/CONFÉDÉRATION INTERALLIÉE DES OFFICIERS DE RÉSERVE (CIOR). International nonpolitical, nongovernmental organization (NGO) founded in 1948 by the reserve officer associations of **Belgium**, **France**, and the **Netherlands**, expanded to all 18 reserve officers' associations of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. CIOR reserve officers are active civilians in business, industry, academia, politics, and science, fostering solidarity and understanding of security issues among **alliance** populations, as well as civilian expertise for reserve **forces** in NATO. The CIOR's international president and **Secretary-General** are elected biannually by majority by its executive committee, composed of 18 vice presidents who head a national association and 4 delegates from each national association. CIOR's executive committee work is through a legal committee and four commissions: defense attitudes and security issues, civil/military cooperation, communication, and competition. CIOR's associated member is the **Confederation**

of **Inter-Allied Medical Reserve Officers of NATO (CIOMR)**. CIOR and CIOMR meet jointly annually and are financed by annual subscriptions from national associations. CIOR has a small liaison office at NATO Headquarters in Brussels.

CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (CSCE). Since 1973 the CSCE, renamed in 1991 the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, promoted East–West regional democracy and security in Europe as a cornerstone of **détente**. The CSCE Follow-up Meeting in Vienna (November 1986–January 1989) monitored East–West human rights and freedoms. The CSCE also promoted **arms control** talks on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) among 23 members of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **Warsaw Pact**, while ending in February 1989 the failed decade-long **Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR)** talks. All 35 CSCE states participate in the **confidence- and security-building measures (CS-BMs)** talks on military forces.

CONFIDENCE- AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES (CS-BMs), OSCE. Technical **arms control** monitoring measures to reduce tensions during East–West **détente** among 23 hostile states in the rival **alliances** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** under the **United States** and the **Warsaw Pact** under the Soviet Union (USSR), plus 9 European “**neutrals**.” The CSBMs were developed by the **Forum for Security Cooperation (FSC)**, established on 22 September 1992 in Vienna by the **Conference on (now Organization for) Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE/OSCE)** within a broader East–West security dialogue on **arms control** and CSBMs. East–West CSBMs were improved with the CSCE Stockholm (1986) and Vienna (1990 and 1992) documents. By December 1994, CSBMs also incorporated defense planning plus military contacts and cooperation texts, agreed upon at OSCE in 1993, a *Document on the Global Exchange of Military Information*, new *Principles Governing Non-proliferation*, and a *Code of Conduct on Political-Military Aspects of Security and Democratic Control of Armed Forces*. East–West CSBMs also promote nonproliferation, arms transfers to secure storage areas or within **Atlantic-**

to-the-Urals (ATTU) areas (trading older weapons systems for newer models, while keeping numerical limits unchanged), and stabilizing local **crises**. OSCE added subregional CSBMs in 1996 to the Dayton Peace Accord (1995) imposed by NATO and the **United Nations (UN)** on **Bosnia's** three hostile entities: the Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Muslims, and Bosnian Croats. OSCE negotiated the CSBMs with the Bosnian entities and implemented them through a CSBM cell in the OSCE secretariat in Vienna, responsible for all CSBM **on-site inspections**. *See also* SMALL ARMS, LIGHT WEAPONS, AND CHILD SOLDIERS.

CONGRESS/CONCERT OF EUROPE (1815–1900s). The world's first concerted international security system, created at the 1815 Congress of Vienna to enforce a reactionary worldview and repressive European peace, based on the status quo and automatic mechanisms of the **balance of power** system (1500s–1940s). Lacking permanent formal institutional structures or a secretariat—all mechanisms invented only since the late 1890s for international organizations—the Concert of Europe relied on the ideological conformism of the reactionary great powers (**Austria**, Prussia, and **Russia**, with the external role until the 1830s of **Great Britain** and Bourbon **France**), operating as the enforcement mechanism of the restoration of monarchical despotism, which concluded the French and Napoleonic Wars (1790s–1815) by dismantling Napoleonic France's European hegemony. It reshaped international relations for a century to preserve the balance of power. The Congress of Vienna and Congress/Concert summits system secured for a century an even distribution of diplomatic-military power among four to six great powers from the reactionary coalitions, plus Bourbon France in the 1820s and Turkey, in decline since 1830. Interlinked with the Concert of Europe were two institutions: the automatic military Quadruple **Alliance** (Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia) against any resurgence of France as either a Napoleonic or a democratic, revolutionary power, plus the ideological reactionary-conservative Holy Alliance (Austria, Prussia, and Russia).

The Concert of Europe diplomatically manipulated the automatic mechanism of the balance of power by institutionalizing diplomatic consultations and infrequent **summits** of the great powers, such as in

Laibach in 1821 and the 1823 Troppau Doctrine, to impose the great powers' collective will on the European system. The Concert of Europe's Troppau Doctrine legitimized systematic **joint** multilateral ideological-military interventions in the internal affairs of lesser states to repress any pro-French, democratic-liberal, ideological revolutions or ethnic-nationalistic unifications of new nation states (**Italy, Greece, Belgium, Poland, Hungary, and Germany**) that threatened international stability. Despite occasional consultations with minor powers, the Congress/Concert system was confined to the great powers, self-appointed "official guarantors of world peace" with unanimous decision making to oppose change, while agreeing on military intervention to preserve the status quo and avoid uncontrolled imperialist rivalries that threatened to spark major wars among the great powers whenever their national interests clashed.

Indeed, bitter controversies among the great powers on such repressive ideological-military interventions erupted whenever they clashed with great powers' rival national interests. Great Britain withdrew in 1820 over Congress/Concert plans to intervene in **Spain**, Greece, and the Western Hemisphere. London's Royal Navy and the U.S. Monroe Doctrine (1823) prevented the Holy Alliance's colonial restoration of Latin America to Spain. Great Britain and Austria opposed but could not stop French and Russian penetrations of Greece (1820s–1833), although by 1833 all great powers had agreed to withdraw. Great Britain and France ineffectually opposed Austrian rule of Italy against local national unification revolutions (1848–1849, 1859, 1866). Great Britain, France, Piedmont, and Austria opposed Russia's penetration of **Turkey** (1833, 1853–1856, 1878).

After the unifications of Italy (1859–1870) and Germany (1866–1870), the later Congress of Europe system (1871–1914) became a loose association of great powers sharing similar views under the political-hegemonic sway of Germany's alliance systems with the two Dreikaiserbunds (Germany, Austria–Hungary, Russia in 1873–1878, 1882–1887) and Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria–Hungary, Italy in 1881–1914). However, the system eventually collapsed, because neither the strict ideological orientations of the Congress of Vienna during the Metternichian era (1815–1859) nor a German-led loose association of great powers during the Bismarckian era

(1871–1914) could overcome the great powers' own conflicting national interests, which finally precipitated **World War I** (1914–1918).

The collapse of the Congress/Concert system unleashed global wars and rival attempts to reorganize the international order according to the dictates of either the two ineffective U.S.-led liberal, **idealism collective security** systems or the ideological-totalitarian hegemonies. After World War I the Treaty of Versailles and **League of Nations** (1919–1939) collapsed under the onslaught of the **Axis** powers' (Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Japan) New Order in Europe and Asia (1940–1944); after **World War II** the UN's (1945–present) **idealism** and collective security clashed with the Cold War (1946–1990) realities of the Soviet Union's (USSR) **satellization** of Eastern Europe and the U.S.–Soviet conventional/**nuclear balance of terror**, which threatened **World War III**. Despite their limitations, both the U.S.-led liberal-Idealism collective security systems (League of Nations and UN) revamped the great powers' diplomatic balance, praised by U.S. Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger** in *A World Restored: Castlereagh, Metternich and the Restoration of Peace in 1815* and *Diplomacy*, and applied by him during East–West **détente** (1969–1970) as Realism policies to overcome the balance of terror and shore up declining U.S. global supremacy by integrating as responsible equal powers the “revolutionary” USSR and Communist China.

CONTACT GROUP (CONTACT GROUP ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA). A six-nation, informal, political-diplomatic monitoring body (composed of **France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, the United States, and Italy**) created at the 1992 London Conference on the former **Yugoslavia**. The Contact Group assured urgent key international mediation among all parties to the civil wars in **Bosnia** (1992–1995) and marginally **Kosovo** (1998–1999), taking the lead in international coordination of political-economic **sanctions** to stop the Yugoslav civil wars and **Greater Serbian** expansionism. The Contact Group coordinated the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **United Nations (UN)** policies on Yugoslavia with pro-Serb Russia. It was disbanded in the late 1990s by U.S. Secretary of

State Madeleine Albright, who favored only centralized diplomatic contacts. *See also* QUAD; QUINT.

CONTAINMENT (1947). *See* TRUMAN, HARRY S.

CONTINENTAL METHOD. Military **rules of engagement** for helping civilian governments to keep order, used by European continental states in the early 1900s, displaying large military presences when assisting civilian authorities. *See also* BRITISH METHOD'S RULES OF ENGAGEMENT.

CONTROL. Military term for the commander's authority over subordinate organizations/**forces** or other organizations/units **attached** under his **command**. Such authority is also transferable or delegated. *See also* OPERATIONAL CONTROL; TACTICAL CONTROL.

CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE TREATIES (CFE, CFE-1A, CFE II). *See* ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY.

CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS. Military term used in strategic analysis since **World War I** (1914–1918) to identify traditional weapons systems, from sticks, stones, arrows, swords, and pikes to rifles, machine guns, tanks, warships, and airplanes. Conventional weapons are distinguished from **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**, such as **chemical** and **biological** weapons developed during World War I or **nuclear** weapons created in 1945. WMD did not supersede conventional weapons because of the limited tactical combat advantages of chemical and biological weapons, while the unimaginable threat during the Cold War (1946–1990) of a nuclear war between the U.S.-led **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and the Soviet Union (USSR) and **Warsaw Pact** made military use of nuclear weapons unthinkable except as “a last resort.” The Cold War's length and constant threat of a nuclear World War III enhanced the military “threshold” between nuclear and conventional arms, plus conventional combat in the strategic doctrines of the USSR/Warsaw Pact and U.S./NATO primarily on the Central Front.

After 1962 the United States abandoned its massive retaliation doctrine (1946–1962) of overwhelming nuclear response to conven-

tional attacks by the USSR on the United States and NATO, then pressed NATO to adopt the new U.S. strategic doctrine of flexible response, with an “escalation ladder” from limited to total conventional and nuclear military responses, interspersed with political-diplomatic pauses to avoid the ultimate, uncontrollable, all-out global nuclear war. Guerrilla warfare and **terrorism** are defined as “unconventional warfare” because their **tactics** reject large-scale, open combat between organized formations and conventional weapons, relying instead on surprise “hit-and-run” attacks by small groups of rag-tag military/paramilitary combatants using political-military targeting and terror to sap the political will to fight of superior enemy conventional **forces**.

COOPERATION PARTNERS, NAC-C/NATO. Diplomatic-military term previously used by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in its relations with former Communist **satellite** states of Central and Eastern Europe, including the three former Soviet Baltic states (**Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia**) after they had wrested independence from the Soviet Union (USSR). To these were added Western “**neutrals**” (**Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Ireland, Malta, Sweden, Switzerland**), former Yugoslav states (**Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia**), **Russia**, and successor states (**Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan**). Cooperation partners were affiliated with NATO through the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** in late 1990 to cover bilateral institutional ties, bilateral defense cooperation, NAC-C Work Plans, and NATO’s role in **crisis management** and **peacekeeping**. The 22 cooperation **partners** (except Russia) wanted to be protected by NATO and the U.S. “nuclear umbrella,” with most beseeching NATO for instant membership. NATO demurred and instead tightened the NAC-C with the 1994 **Partnership for Peace (PfP)**. Finally, 12 partners-**aspirants** joined NATO in three **enlargements** (1997–1999, 1999–2008): Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. In 1999, the NAC-C was renamed the **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**, absorbing also the partnership.

COORDINATING AUTHORITY. Political-military term for the authority of a commander or individual to coordinate **forces** of two or more states, **commands**, services, or forces of the same service. Coordinating authority involves consultations among all agencies, but not the authority to compel accords. Disagreements are referred to superior authorities.

COORDINATING COMMITTEE ON MULTILATERAL EXPORT CONTROLS (CoCom), NATO. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** instituted CoCom to supervise all exports of dual-use technologies and materials sold by European **allies** and Japan to the Soviet Union (USSR) and its **Warsaw Pact satellites**. CoCom included all NATO allies (except **Iceland**) and Japan, and operated in Paris out of the U.S. consulate, issuing lists of prohibited strategic civilian technologies, equipment, or components that enemy Communist states could acquire from Western companies through industrial espionage and false bills of shipment, to be retooled for military use. CoCom export restrictions often strained ties between governments and businesses within NATO and the United States, because of Western companies' attempts to maximize profits at all costs in East–West trade during the favorable period of **détente** with the **Soviet bloc** and Communist China. At times Western companies would circumvent CoCom by relying on looser export restrictions in Europe and Japan compared to stricter rules in the United States, or export sensitive technologies to third nations where such contracts were legal and then have a local branch transship the goods to the actual Communist buyers. In the most dramatic clash between Atlantic anti-Soviet sanctions and Western domestic economic interests in East–West trade, in the early 1980s the European allies and Japan openly rejected U.S. and CoCom pressures to end Western contracts to build the Siberian gas pipeline, which would supply Soviet energy to Europe, reaching western Germany and Italy. CoCom was disbanded after the Cold War's end in 1990 under pressure from Western businesses.

COPENHAGEN CRITERIA, EU. Any European state seeking to join the **European Union (EU)** must meet seven political-economic criteria (or democratic values) for membership, called the “Copenhagen

Criteria” from the first three groups agreed upon at the EU Copenhagen Council **Summit** of June 1993: a stable democracy, rule of law, human rights, and protection of minorities (the political criteria); a market economy able to cope with economic competition in the EU and global market (the economic criteria); and assumption of all EU obligations of membership and EU rules (*Acquis Communautaire*), while accepting a European political, economic, and monetary union. The 1995 EU Madrid Summit added that any country seeking to join the EU must implement EU obligations and adapt national administrative structures to the EU. The 1999 EU Helsinki Summit added three final criteria: candidate countries should “share the values and goals of the EU”; all border issues must be solved peacefully; and strict **nuclear** safety rules must be complied with. The political criteria are the minimal prerequisites to start EU membership negotiations. *See also* NATO ENLARGEMENTS.

COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF OSCE (formerly COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF CSCE). Created in 1990 by the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)**, renamed in 1994 the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**. The Council of Foreign Ministers is based in Vienna and meets yearly for CSCE/OSCE political consultations. Its work is prepared by the CSCE Committee of Senior Officials (renamed in 1994 the OSCE Senior Council), which applies the Council’s decisions. The June 1991 CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers Meeting in Berlin adopted emergency procedures on the civil wars in the former **Yugoslavia** and Nagorno-Karabakh.

COUNCIL ON MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (COMECON OR CMEA). Created in 1949 as the **Soviet bloc**’s response to the U.S.-sponsored Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe, COMECON reorganized the Communist economies of all Eastern European **satellites** and integrated them into the Soviet bloc. COMECON was the political-economic counterpart to the political-military **Warsaw Pact**, with both organizations sharing members: **Albania** (until 1963), **Bulgaria**, Czechoslovakia, East **Germany**, Mongolia, **Poland**, **Romania**, and the USSR, while **Yugoslavia** briefly joined in 1955–1956, leaving after the bloody Soviet repression of the 1956

Hungarian revolution. Some Soviet client states joined as associates: Angola, Cuba, Mozambique, and Vietnam.

The only time COMECON exercised a modicum of political independence from the USSR's hegemony was in the late 1950s, when under Romania's instigation all members refused to abandon earlier Stalinist directives to industrialize, despite attempts by Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchëv** to force natural economic specialization within the COMECON trade bloc ("Socialist Division of Labor"). After a decade of economic expansion during the **détente** years of East–West political-economic relaxation of tensions, COMECON economies limped throughout the 1980s, due to renewed Cold War tensions and the USSR's economic decline. The organization dissolved in 1990–1991, after the USSR lost its political-military hegemonic rule over all reluctant Soviet bloc members. Since 1990 all ex-COMECON members have entered into association with their Western former enemies by joining the **North Atlantic Coordination Council (NAC–C, 1990–1991)**, **Partnership for Peace (1994)**, and **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC, 1999)**, while 12 **partners-aspirants** have become full members in the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1997–1999, 1999–2004)** and **European Union (2002–2007)**.

COUNTER-CITY VS. COUNTER-FORCE TARGETING. Military-strategic terms used since the Cold War (1946–1990) for the costs and benefits of targeting either an enemy's cities with high-yield **nuclear** missiles (in the 1940s–1970s) or targeting enemy **forces** at the onset of hostilities through surprise disarming strikes. In nuclear World War III scenarios since the 1970s, "counter-**force**" targeting uses highly accurate nuclear weapons with miniaturized electronics and on-board radar to destroy enemy nuclear and military facilities, **bases**, and communication networks in a surprise "first strike" before the enemy could actually attack with its own forces. This **strategy** is also called "**nuclear decapitation**" and is based on intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). Counter-force replaced the less accurate "counter-city" targeting, but never eliminated it in a total nuclear war scenario. *See also* ASSURED DESTRUCTION.

COUNTERTERRORISM. *See* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

“COUPLING.” *See* DE GAULLE, CHARLES; DETERRENCE.

CRADDOCK, GENERAL B. JOHN, U.S. ARMY (1950–). Since December 2006 he has been both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) 15th Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and **Commander-in-Chief (CINC) of U.S. European Command (EUCOM)**. From NATO’s **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)**, he leads Allied Command Europe (ACE) to preserve transatlantic peace and security, while as CINC–EUCOM he commands U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe, U.S. Air Forces–Europe, U.S. Marines–Europe, and U.S. Special Operations–Europe for NATO–U.S. missions or **humanitarian aid** in 93 states in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and the Gulf.

Born in West Union, West Virginia, in 1950, B. John Craddock became an armor officer after graduating from West Virginia University and has an M.A. in military arts and sciences. In September 1981, he worked as executive officer at the Program Manager Office for Abrams Tank Systems in Warren, Michigan. He fought in **Operations Desert Shield/Storm** (1990–1991); was assistant deputy director at the Pentagon’s **Joint Chiefs of Staff** (1996–1998), then became assistant division commander of the 1st Mechanized Infantry Division—the “Big Red One”—in **Germany** (1998–2000) and commander of U.S. ground **forces** in the 1999 Kosovo War. General Craddock commanded the 1st Mechanized Infantry Division (2000–2002), then was senior military assistant to the secretary of defense (2002–2004); as a four-star general was **CINC U.S. Southern Command** in Miami, Florida (2004–2006).

As SACEUR, Craddock succeeded General **James L. Jones** (2003–2006) thanks to his 13 years of administrative and combat postings in Europe, while working with NATO **Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer** (1948–current). SACEUR Craddock promotes global democracy, peace, and anti-**terrorism**, and is developing new strategic partnerships with Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Israel.

CRISIS. Situation of political tension and stress domestically and/or internationally caused by a surprise new threat to the status quo or core values of governmental decision makers, who are confronted by the high-risk political consequences of either taking specific actions or doing nothing. Crisis decision making is different from routine decision

making, because the immediate perceptions/calculations of high-risk stakes for the decision process are absent or are removed to a “safe,” distant time. Often a party in a crisis consciously precipitates a “controlled crisis” to manipulate the high risks as a political-diplomatic tool to achieve its own ends, by forcing concessions from the other side, or engages in “**brinkmanship**” to escalate a specific problem into full-fledged crisis to force adversaries to back down, rather than risk a clash.

During a crisis the size of the decision-making group usually decreases, while group cohesion may increase or lead to group think, also limiting the effective range of options considered. As stress increases over time, decision makers face exhaustion, erratic performance, and mounting pressures to act quickly, while feeling that their search for alternatives is narrowing. During the Cold War, both the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR) participated in high-stakes crises, such as the four **Berlin crises**, used by the USSR to force the **West** into significant political-military retreats and trade-offs, or the U.S. policy under President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, or the U.S.–Soviet 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis** under President **John F. Kennedy**, which threatened to escalate into a **nuclear World War III** involving the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, in contradiction of its own crisis-management policy.

CRISIS MANAGEMENT AT NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO)** crisis-management policy during the Cold War (1946–1990) reflected constant preparation for eventual East–West **crises** and **World War III**–type scenarios with the Soviet Union (USSR), as well as close subordination and correlation to the policies of the **United States** in any regional crisis that threatened to escalate into an East–West one. In the **post–Cold War** period, NATO faces regional security turmoil (the disintegration of the USSR, ethnic violence, five Yugoslav civil wars between 1991 and 1999) and radically different new threats (ethnic-nationalist civil wars, **terrorism**, proliferation of **weapons of mass destruction**). NATO’s 1999 **strategic concept** made crisis management a new key security task to preserve peace and security in the entire Euro–Atlantic area, including **partners** on a non-automatic basis. By consensus, on a case-by-case basis NATO engages in crisis management (under Article VII

of the **North Atlantic Treaty**), including capabilities (**Defence Capabilities Initiative**) for prolonged armed **peacekeeping** in a broader Euro–Atlantic region: in **Bosnia** the **Implementation Force** (1995–1996) and **Stabilisation Force** (1996–2004); the **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)**, 1999–present); and limited, in **Albania, Macedonia, and Afghanistan**.

NATO's crisis management relies on three mutually reinforcing elements to peacefully resolve regional crises affecting Euro–Atlantic security: dialogue, cooperation with all affected countries, and NATO's **collective defense** capabilities. Constant consultation and consensus decision making among NATO **allies** are essential in crisis management to justify later political-military and emergency actions. The principal NATO forums are the **North Atlantic Council**, **Defence Planning Committee**, Policy Coordination Group, **Political Committee**, **Military Committee**, and **Senior Political Committee**. Crisis-management procedures, facilities, and exercises are coordinated by the Council Operations and Exercise Committee among both allies and partners through the **Partnership for Peace** Work Plans and Individual Partnership Programs. Crisis-management exercises are held regularly with both allies and NATO strategic commands. Facilities and communications are provided by the NATO Situation Centre, which operates nonstop daily, with staff from NATO and the partners, and also coordinates NATO crisis management for natural or technological disasters through the 1998 **Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre** in NATO's Civil Emergency Planning Directorate.

CROATIA (HRAVATKA), NATO, EU ASPIRANT. Democratic republic and former Yugoslav state in Europe's **Balkans** with an area of 56,542 square kilometers, bordering **Bosnia, Hungary, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia**, and the Adriatic Sea. It has a Slav Catholic population of 4,497,000 (89.6 percent Croat, 4.5 percent Serb, 0.5 percent Bosnian, 0.4 percent Hungarian, 0.3 percent Slovene, and 4.7 percent other). In addition, Bosnian Croats claim loyalty to Zagreb instead of Sarajevo, being virtually tied to Croatia. The capital is Zagreb.

Historically ruled by Slav tribes since the 7th century, Croatia was annexed by **Austria** in the Middle Ages, with Croat troops often used

in repressive sweeps against Italian and Hungarian secessionist areas (1848–1849, 1859, 1866). The collapse of the Austro–Hungarian Empire after **World War I** (1914–1918) led to the **Allies’** support for merging Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes in a **joint** kingdom under Serbia, renamed in 1929 **Yugoslavia**, allied with **France** and a member of the Little Entente (with Czechoslovakia and **Romania**). However, Serb supremacy after 1919 prompted Croat secession and **terrorism** by the *Ustascias* under Fascist Italy’s protection, who in 1935 in France killed King Alexander of Yugoslavia and French Foreign Minister Eduard Barthou. In **World War II** (1939–1945), Yugoslavia was pressured by both Nazi **Germany** and **Great Britain** to join their sides. The **Axis** invaded and destroyed Yugoslavia in spring 1941, creating an independent Axis Croatia under the *Ustascias*, who sought to **ethnically cleanse** Serb-populated Krajina. After the war, Communist Yugoslav partisans under Marshal Broz Tito reunited the country as a federal Communist state tied to the Soviet Union (USSR), executed the *Ustascias*, and ethnically cleansed the Italian population of Istria and Dalmatia, which were then annexed to Croatia. But Tito and Soviet Leader **Josef Stalin** clashed in 1948 (the Yugo–Soviet **Split**), and Tito survived on Western aid, domestic repressing both secessionist Croats and pro-Soviet Serbs. During the Cold War (1946–1990), Slovenia and Croatia were considered the likely routes for a Soviet/**Warsaw Pact** invasion of Yugoslavia and Italy against the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

Finally, the end of the Cold War in 1990 and collapse of Soviet/**Warsaw Pact** control of Eastern Europe encouraged Croatia, dissatisfied with power being monopolized by Serb-dominated **Yugoslavia**, to secede. Slovenia had been the first to seize independence, on 25 June 1991, after a 10-day war against the Yugoslav Army, which retreated as their supply lines risked being cut off by the looming independence of Croatia (1991) and **Bosnia** (1992). During the 1991–2000 Yugoslav civil wars, Serb minorities in the new states, with Yugoslav help, fought to create a “**Greater Serbia**” including Croatia’s Krajina (1991–1995). There was widespread **ethnic cleansing**, with hundreds of thousands of deaths, rapes, and refugees in the region fleeing to Europe. Serb violence doomed all mediations by the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)**, **United Nations (UN)**, and the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**. The UN sent its peacekeeping **Protection Force** to Bosnia

(UNPROFOR) in 1992–1995, which was supported by NATO with a “no-fly zone” over Croatia and Bosnia, plus **sanctions** and an arms **embargo** against all sides. Croat dictator Franjo Tudjman alternatively fought against Serbia and sought its help in annexing the Bosnian Croat areas in a secondary civil war with the Bosnians. In the summer of 1995, NATO conducted a short air campaign in Bosnia in parallel with Croatia’s reentry into the war, defeating Serb **forces** of the **Republika Srpska** in Bosnia and Krajina in Croatia, forcing them and their enemies, the Bosnian Federation (the rival Muslim Bosnians and Bosnian Croats), to sign the Dayton Peace Accords (in November 1995). Under UN supervision, the last Serb-held **enclave** in Eastern Slavonia was returned to Croatia in 1998, and Croatia provided logistical support for NATO during the 1999 Kosovo War. Since Tudjman’s death in 2000, Croatia has sought entry in NATO and the EU, becoming a **partner** in 2001 and an **aspirant** in the Vilnius-10 Group. Croatia was still a “left-out” aspirant to both organizations because of controversies with the **International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia**, for which NATO–EU–UN support seeking extradition of alleged Croat war criminals. Finally, in April 2008, the NATO Bucharest Summit made Croatia into a full ally.

CSBM CELL, OSCE. Monitoring center of the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** Secretariat in Vienna, responsible for inspecting and monitoring all **confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs)** in Europe. CSBM inspections are technical **arms control** monitoring to reduce tensions between hostile states in the **Atlantic-to-the-Urals (ATTU)** region in Europe or at a subregional level as in **Bosnia**. *See also* FORUM FOR SECURITY COOPERATION.

CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS (1962). The first, and most dangerous, **nuclear** East–West **crisis** between the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR). Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchëv** pressured the Soviet Politburo to agree to secretly install **nuclear** missiles in Cuba under the official excuse of protecting Cuba’s Communist dictator Fidel Castro from a new U.S. invasion of the island like the Bay of Pigs fiasco in 1961. In reality, the USSR wanted to blackmail the **West** into leaving West **Berlin** in exchange for Cuba’s nuclear disarmament and

an official U.S. pledge to not invade that island. But U.S. President **John F. Kennedy**'s surprise revelation of the Soviet nuclear buildup, including for the first time unveiling at the **United Nations (UN)** U.S. secret U2 spy-plane photos, led to American public denunciation of the Soviet actions as a threat to the entire Western Hemisphere against both the Monroe Doctrine (1823) and the 1947 **Organization of American States (OAS)**. The U.S. naval "quarantine" (**blockade**) of Cuba stopped further Soviet nuclear shipments, while Kennedy's ultimatum (broadcast on television) called for the Soviets to withdraw the missiles from Cuba or face an East–West nuclear war. International tensions skyrocketed as the United States forced the USSR to risk destruction of its entire **Soviet bloc** over the minimal propaganda value of defending Cuba.

U.S.–Soviet secret talks narrowly averted a nuclear war, resulting in the USSR withdrawing the nuclear missiles from Cuba and NATO remaining in West Berlin, while the U.S. pledged not to invade Cuba and pulled out old U.S. nuclear missiles from **Turkey**. The sudden threat of a U.S.–Soviet nuclear war also exposed the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to superpower clashes outside NATO's immediate defense area, with potentially severe repercussions for the **allies (France)**. Although NATO was united in supporting the United States during this major crisis, French President **Charles de Gaulle** later warned President Kennedy not to get NATO involved again in any **World War III**–type crisis without informing the allies (which Kennedy had sidestepped for fear of leaks before going public with the crisis). Moreover, the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis was the last straw in de Gaulle's alienation from the U.S. Atlantic leadership and led to his fateful decision in 1965–1966 to leave NATO's integrated military **command**, making France a "**Third Force**" between blocs (the "**Grand Design**").

CYPRUS. An island in the Eastern Mediterranean with an area of 9,250 square kilometers, of which a third is secessionist Turkish Northern Cyprus, and a total population of 750,000 (80 percent Christian Orthodox Greek Cypriots, 17 percent Muslim Turkish Cypriot, and 3 percent other). The capital is Nicosia.

Historically a Greek-speaking island, it was often annexed by regional hegemony, was conquered by the Ottoman Empire in the

1500s, and was finally ceded as “forced” compensation to **Great Britain** in 1878. London held on to Cyprus as a key naval **base** in the Mediterranean against Russia in the late 1800s, Turkey in **World War I** (1914–1918), the **Axis** in **World War II** (1939–1945), and the Soviet Union (USSR) during the Cold War (1946–1990). Britain finally granted independence on 16 August 1960 to prevent the majority Greek Cypriot population from merging with Greece and to retain its large military bases, which were also vital to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Cyprus’s independence included a pledge never to unite with either Greece or Turkey, purportedly to eliminate the fears of rival ethnic groups. But inter-ethnic violence in Cyprus between Greeks and Turks in the mid-1960s threatened relations among the two NATO **allies**. U.S.–NATO pressures forced both Turkey and Greece to back down, while the **British-led UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)** initially defused the **crisis**.

In 1974, Greece sponsored a Greek Cypriot pro-annexation (*Enosis*), provoking a massive military invasion by **Turkey**, which seized 37 percent of northern Cyprus. The British peacekeepers could play only a limited role as a **buffer** within the divided island. This second Cypriot crisis led to the collapse of Greece’s Fascist military régime and a freeze in relations between Greece and both Turkey and NATO, because the **alliance** had not intervened. Bilateral tensions remained after Turkish Cypriot ruler Rauf Denktasch declared the independence of the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” on 15 November 1983—recognized only by Turkey—and then declared in 1994 that all 1,600 Greek Cypriot prisoners held by the Turkish military since 1974 were dead. The international condemnation of Turkish occupation of the divided island’s north remained a major problem for NATO and the **European Union (EU)**. In 2002–2004, **United Nations (UN)** mediation between the two sides led to a **joint**, federal application to join the EU, but both sides remain split on the end goal: either a federation (the Greek Cypriot view) or a loose confederation (the Turkish Cypriot view). Decades of rejection by the secessionist Turkish Cypriots of federal reunification condemned them to chronic impoverishment, without international tourism, while Turkey’s hopes to join the EU by 2015 forced the poor Turkish Cypriots to accept a UN–EU federative plan, but the unity referendum (April 2004) was rejected by the rich Greek Cypriots, who joined the EU alone.

CZECH REPUBLIC (CESKA REPUBLIKA, FORMERLY CZECHOSLOVAKIA), NATO-EU. A landlocked republic in Central Europe with an area of 78,866 square kilometers, bordering **Austria, Germany, Poland,** and **Slovakia**. The capital is Prague. Once part of multiethnic Czechoslovakia (1919–1939, 1945–1992), it split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia (1 January 1993) with a multiethnic Slav Christian population of 10,250,000 (81.2 percent Czech, 13.2 percent Moravian, 3.1 percent Slovak, 1 percent German, and 1.6 percent other) that is religiously mixed (40 percent atheist, 39 percent Catholic, 4.6 percent Protestant, and 16 percent other).

Ruled by Slav tribes since the sixth century, it became the rich Kingdom of Bohemia, until decimated by the Black Plague in the 1380s, by the Hussite religious wars in 1402–1434, and by the Thirty Years' War in 1618–1648. From 1526 to 1918, Bohemia was ruled by the Austrian Habsburg Empire, except for a brief revolt in 1848 and later underground advocacy for Slav secession. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after **World War I** (1914–1918) made Czechoslovakia independent, with **Allied** support for merging under Czech rule both related Slovaks and hostile minorities (Sudeten Germans, Hungarians, Ruthenian Ukrainians, and Poles). Czechoslovakia under President Eduard Beneš opposed either forming a federal state or letting go of its hostile minorities. Despite its leadership of the Little Entente (with **Yugoslavia** and **Romania**) and **alliance** with **France**, Czechoslovakia was abandoned by the **West** when Nazi Germany threatened to annex the Sudeten Germans, internationally agreed to in the 1938 Munich Pact. In 1939 **World War II** erupted after pro-German Slovakia seceded to become an **Axis** state, while **Hungary** annexed its own ethnic minority, and Germany seized both Bohemia in March and Poland in September.

At the end of World War II, a reunited Czechoslovakia was mostly liberated by Soviet troops, which held the country within the Soviet sphere of influence. The USSR annexed Ruthenia to **Ukraine** and expelled the Sudeten Germans. In February 1948 a Communist coup led by Klement Gottwald made Czechoslovakia the last Soviet **satellite** and a member of the **Warsaw Pact**. In 1968, the country's leader, Alexander Dubček, tried to liberalize the Communist Party through "socialism with a human face" during the "Prague Spring." In response, Warsaw Pact forces invaded in August. Anti-Soviet demon-

strations in 1969 led to a harsh Soviet occupation; Dubček was imprisoned, and Czechoslovakia was transformed into the source of the second-best trained forces (after the East Germans) for combat support of the USSR in any **World War III** invasion scenario against the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Despite occasional human rights protests, Czechoslovakia regained its democratic freedom only in late 1989, through a peaceful “Velvet Revolution” under Vaclav Havel and Dubček, hastening the collapse of Soviet authority in Eastern Europe and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in 1990. Czechoslovakia joined Poland and Hungary in the Visegrad-3 Group’s bid to enter NATO, but they were rebuffed. Since its peaceful split in 1993, the Czech Republic has integrated into the West, joining the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** and in 1995 NATO’s **Partnership for Peace** and **peacekeeping**. In 1999 it became a member during NATO’s first **enlargement**, along with Hungary and Poland, and in 2002–2004 it joined the **European Union**.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. *See* CZECH REPUBLIC.

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“3 Ds,” NATO. *See* EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE IDENTITY/POLICY.

DARFUR, SUDAN–AU–UN–NATO. *See* AFRICAN CRISIS RESPONSE INITIATIVE; AFRICAN UNION MISSION IN SUDAN.

DAYTON PEACE ACCORDS (1995). *See* IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA; STABILISATION FORCE–BOSNIA.

DE GAULLE, CHARLES (1890–1971). Born in Lille, **France**, on 20 November 1890, Charles de Gaulle graduated in 1912 from Saint-Cyr (equivalent of the U.S. West Point Academy and **Great Britain’s** Sandhurst) and fought as a captain in **World War I** (1914–1918), where he nearly died and was taken prisoner. In the interwar era (1919–1939), de Gaulle fought with the French Military Mission to

Poland in the Polish–Soviet War (1919–1921), modeling his own military-political career on that of Polish Marshal-President Józef Piłsudski. As France’s main tank tactician, de Gaulle advocated in his book, *Vers l’Armée de Métier* (*Army of the Future*), a mechanized army concentrating armor divisions and aviation for lightning strikes, rather than using tanks as individual armored artillery to support the army along the static Maginot Line. However, his political-military superiors dismissed de Gaulle’s theories, and it was not until **World War II** (1939–1945) that Colonel de Gaulle finally had **command** of an armored division, unsuccessfully attacking the German armored Blitzkrieg. Premier Paul Reynaud made him brigadier general and under secretary for national defense, but de Gaulle, opposed to France’s surrender, fled to London as the anti-Nazi leader of the “Free French” government-in-exile, coordinating French partisan **guerrillas** during the rest of the war.

Throughout World War II, de Gaulle opposed the German occupation; the pro-German government of Vichy France; and Great Britain and the **United States**, who exploited the French Resistance without giving de Gaulle full status as a “victorious” **Ally**. De Gaulle distanced himself from the Anglo–American Allies, insisting on equal status, although only British Prime Minister **Winston Churchill** supported him. After the June 1944 Normandy landings (Operation Overlord) and France’s liberation, de Gaulle created a nationalist, Free French government as president of the provisional government (1944–1946), but clashed with all political forces, failing to forge a presidential republic. Frustrated, in 1947 he created the “Gaullist Party” *Rassemblement du Peuple Français* (Rally of the French People, RPF), but later retired from politics after France’s defeat in the First Vietnam War. By 1958 the government had started to collapse, due to the **Algerian War** (1954–1962) between secessionist Muslim Arab insurgents and French settlers backed by the French Army in Algeria, which then rebelled against Paris’s attempts to surrender the colony. To stop the army from seizing power, all political leaders supported de Gaulle’s return as leader of a presidential Fifth Republic. Although by 1962 France had left Algeria, de Gaulle renegotiated France’s international role as a power equal to the United States and Soviet Union (USSR), armed with **nuclear** weapons and as a leader of the **North Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO)**.

The slow estrangement between de Gaulle and NATO came after years of tension over his perception of Anglo–American dominance of NATO command structures. France had acquired its own nuclear weapons in 1958, putting it on a par with the United States, USSR, and Great Britain, but de Gaulle failed to either turn NATO into a U.S.–Anglo–French triumvirate capable of intervening anywhere in world **crises** or to secure some French control over U.S. nuclear weapons based in France (similar to NATO’s “dual-key” policy, applied only since the 1970s in allied nuclear-host countries—Great Britain, **Italy**, and West Germany). Moreover, de Gaulle’s perceived lack of influence was exacerbated by U.S. President **John F. Kennedy**’s failure to consult France and key allies (**Canada**, Great Britain, Italy, and West Germany) during the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis**, which almost sparked a U.S.–Soviet nuclear war when the United States (and by extension NATO) threatened nuclear war to force the USSR to withdraw its secret nuclear missiles from Cuba. NATO nearly collapsed in the 1960s, due to de Gaulle’s sharp opposition to the U.S. push to replace NATO’s **strategy** of total nuclear defense based on massive retaliation with a new U.S. flexible response strategy, which NATO adopted in 1967. De Gaulle opposed U.S. global “unilateralism” and the flexible response strategy, fearing it would weaken U.S. commitments to defend Europe with nuclear weapons and would “decouple” U.S.–European defenses.

By late December 1965, de Gaulle had cast France in a more independent role between the superpowers by pushing them to withdraw from Europe, while maximizing French global status and influence by breaking from NATO. In February 1966, President de Gaulle stated that the reduction of East–West tensions had changed the international security situation, making NATO’s military integration obsolete, and that France would withdraw from NATO’s integrated military structure (but not the political wing, the **North Atlantic Council**). Despite repeated unsuccessful allied attempts to persuade de Gaulle to reconsider, he withdrew French military personnel from NATO in July 1966, while forcing its **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)**, Allied Command Europe (ACE), and other headquarters to leave France by April 1967. Paris’s 1967 **Ailleret Doctrine** stressed a “*tous azimuts*” **nuclear** military defense against any power (not only the USSR) and United States should

France ever be invaded. But instead of collapsing, as de Gaulle had hoped, NATO relocated headquarters, forces, and logistics in record time: the political headquarters to Brussels, **Belgium**; SHAPE to Mons/Casteau, Belgium; **Allied Forces–Central Europe (AF-CENT)** to Brunsum, **Netherlands**; and **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** to Naples, **Italy**. NATO's AFCENT forces and logistics rerouted through Belgium, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and West Germany, while AFSOUTH logistics relied on Italy, **Portugal**, and externally **Spain**. After the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia overthrew its reformist Communist government and increased **Red Army** forces along the inter-German border, belying de Gaulle's "**Grand Design**" dreams, NATO revised its defense plans with the French military in case of a **Warsaw Pact** attack.

De Gaulle's independent policy was officially retained by the government after he resigned in 1969 and died in November 1971, but Presidents Valéry Giscard d'Éstaing (1970s) and François Mitterrand (1980s) unofficially realigned national defense on NATO (**Fourquet**, **d'Éstaing**, and **Méry Doctrines**), while the EC overturned French **veto**es and in 1973 admitted Great Britain, **Denmark**, and **Ireland**. Finally, after a failed 1994 attempt by President Jacques Chirac, in May 2008 President Nicholas Sarkozy brought France back into NATO's integrated military command.

DE HOOP SCHEFFER, J. G. "JAAP" (1948–). Born on 3 April 1948 in Amsterdam, **Netherlands**, since December 2003 he has been the 11th **Secretary-General** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and chairman of the **North Atlantic Council**, succeeding **Lord George Robertson** (1999–2003) of **Great Britain**.

De Hoop Scheffer received a law degree at Leiden (1974); was a diplomat in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1976–1986); served on defense planning at the Dutch Permanent Delegation to NATO (1978–1980); served in the Chief Private Office of four successive ministers of foreign affairs (1980–1986); was a parliamentarian in the Christian–Democratic Alliance (CDA, 1986–2003); was CDA Party spokesperson on foreign policy (1986–2003); was a member of the Parliamentary Assemblies of the Council of Europe and **Western European Union (WEU)**, 1986–1994; chaired the Dutch House Committee on Development Cooperation (1989–1994); was a member of **North Atlantic Assembly** (1994–1997); was deputy leader of the

CDA parliamentary group (1995–1997); was CDA leader in parliament (1997–2001); chaired the Dutch House Foreign Affairs Committee (2001–2002); was minister of foreign affairs (2002–2003); and was chairman in the Office of the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe** (2003).

De Hoop Scheffer closely works with NATO, **Supreme Allied Commanders–Europe** (SACEURs) Generals **James Jones** (2003–2006) and **B. John Craddock** (2006–present) on **alliance peacekeeping** missions: the **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia** (SFOR), the **Kosovo Implementation Force** (KFOR), regional stabilization in **Albania** and **Macedonia**, and the **International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan** (ISAF). Praised as a quiet “diplomat turned politician” consensus builder, he completed the integration of 12 new **allies** in NATO’s 2002–2008 **second** and **third enlargement** and implemented closer military cooperation with the **European Union** (EU) by handing over NATO’s SFOR peacekeeping mission. He extended NATO’s training to Iraq in 2004 and bridged the sharp inter-Atlantic conflict with **France** and **Germany**, which kept NATO out of the U.S.-led coalition in the **Second Gulf War** (2003–2004). In 2007, his tenure was extended to 2014.

DECISION MAKING AT NATO. As an **alliance** of independent, equal, and sovereign states led by the **United States**, **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) decision making depends on all members being constantly informed of each other’s intentions and of **alliance** policies through regular political consultations and policy-making among **allies**, and since the 1990s among **partners** also, before decisions are formalized as **joint** alliance policies. NATO’s intergovernmental political consultation began when the **North Atlantic Council** (NAC) was created in September 1949, once the **North Atlantic Treaty** (4 April 1949) came into force. The NAC is the alliance’s main political consultation forum, with informal and frank meetings chaired by NATO’s **Secretary-General**, who plays a key role in all deliberations as its main political representative with all allies and partners governments and in public affairs. Alliance political-military consultations also take place regularly in committees and working groups of the NAC to facilitate political consultation among members: the **Political Committee**, Policy Coordination Group, Regional Expert Groups, Ad Hoc Political Working Groups,

Atlantic Policy Advisory Group, and so on. The NAC, committees, and working groups are all assisted by the **International Staff** and International Military Staff supporting the **Military Committee's** work.

The concentration of all allies' and partners' national delegations at NATO Headquarters in Brussels allows intense intergovernmental consultations within the NAC and subordinate committees about NATO political-military issues and since 1989 also about issues outside NATO's original geostrategic region when they affect the alliance. NATO's entire consultative machinery (formal and informal) is continuously used by members to identify at an early stage areas in which inter-allied action may be taken. Consultations within NATO occur at many levels, as exchanges of information, warning or communication of actions by members to allow endorsement by other allies, and discussions to reach a consensus on common policies or actions by NATO as a whole.

NATO also holds continuous consultations on political-military issues with partner states, modeled on those within NATO: in the **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**; with any member of the **Partnership for Peace** if there are direct threats to its territorial integrity, political independence, or security; with **Russia** in both the EAPC and **Russia-NATO Permanent Joint Council (PJC)**; with the **NATO-Ukraine Commission**; and with non-NATO partners of both the **Mediterranean Dialogue** and Gulf Cooperation Council. NATO's joint decision-making process and consensus building safeguard each member's independence and political views, as well as the alliance's indivisibility (Article V: "an attack against one or more of members is as an attack upon them all"), while relying on **collective defense** and integrated military **command** to jointly act rapidly when needed. Daily consultations ensure that allied governments come together even on short notice to forge common policies, while also overcoming past enmities among members (**World War II** victors and vanquished; bridging the Iron Curtain after the Cold War to Eastern Europe, Russia, and former Soviet successor states) or regional ethnic rivalries (**Greece-Turkey**; **Hungary-Romania-Slovakia**). Efforts to reconcile differences among members for joint actions by NATO also allow individual governments to underwrite politically difficult decisions at home or provide logistical assistance

to allies and the **European Union (EU)** within “coalitions of the willing” whenever “NATO as a whole chooses not to intervene.”

NATO has also developed flexible policies to accommodate specific political differences. **Iceland** has no military forces and is represented in NATO military fora by a civilian officer. **France** withdrew from NATO’s integrated military structure in 1966, while remaining a full member in its political structures, leaving military cooperation to ad hoc bilateral cooperation. After a failed 1994 attempt by President Jacques Chirac, in May 2008 President Nicolas Sarkozy rejoined NATO’s integrated military command. Greece and Turkey came close to fighting in 1974 after Turkey’s invasion of northern **Cyprus** to quash a pro-Greek annexationist military coup, pushing Athens to scale down until its participation in NATO’s regional military cooperation with Ankara in the late 1990s. **Spain** joined NATO in 1982, but after the 1986 national referendum it left the alliance’s integrated military structure, rejoining it in 1997. **Denmark** and **Norway** play an active military role in NATO, but national legislation forbids stationing **nuclear** weapons or foreign forces in those countries during peacetime. Finally, the United States remains NATO’s unquestionable leader and main military force, cementing alliance integration and its members’ security through its transatlantic “nuclear umbrella,” despite grumblings about U.S. “unilateralist” tendencies.

DECLARATION OF BRUSSELS (1983), NATO. Declaration of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** issued by its foreign ministers on 9 December 1983, calling for balanced peaceful relations with the Soviet Union (USSR) and **Warsaw Pact** and dual-track talks to eliminate East–West **intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)**.

DECOUPLING. *See* DE GAULLE, CHARLES.

DEFENCE CAPABILITIES INITIATIVE (DCI), NATO. In 1999, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** launched the Defence Capabilities Initiative to ensure the effectiveness of future NATO multinational operations in all security environments. DCI focuses on improving interoperability among NATO **forces** and between **allies** and **partners**, while making them mobile and effective.

DEFENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE (DPC), NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** DPC meets at the level of defense ministers twice yearly to guide NATO's military authorities and the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)** on **strategy** and **collective defense** planning. The DPC has the same authority as the NAC, although in 1966 **France** left it and NATO's integrated military structures. Defence Planning Committee work is prepared by specialized subordinate committees and the Defence Review Committee overseeing the **Force Planning Process** within NATO's military structure.

DEFENSE-IN-DEPTH STRATEGY. *See* FORWARD DEFENSE.

DEMILITARIZED ZONES (DMZs). Diplomatic-military term for areas where fortified emplacements and belligerent military **forces** are excluded following an armistice or peace treaty, although **peace-keeping** forces can still operate there. DMZs can be swaths of land separating enemy forces, such as in the Golan Heights separating Israel from Syria and the multi-ethnic separation lines in **Bosnia** set out by the 1995 Dayton Accords; entire borders between divided countries during civil wars, such as the zone between North and South Korea or between North and South Vietnam; or areas beyond the border only on the side of the losing country after a war, like **Germany's** Rhineland following the Treaty of Versailles (1919) or Egypt's **Sinai** peninsula after the 1980 Camp David Accords among Israel, Egypt, and the **United States (U.S.)**, which is patrolled by peacekeepers of the **Multinational Force and Observers (MFO)**. *See also* INTERPOSITION FORCE.

"DE-MIRVing." *See* MULTIPLE INDEPENDENT REENTRY VEHICLES.

DENMARK (DANMARK), NATO-EU. Democratic monarchy in Europe's **Scandinavian** region with an area of 43,094 square kilometers, bordering **Germany**, the Baltic Sea, the North Sea, and the Kattegat and Skagerrak Straits facing **Sweden**. The capital is Copenhagen. It is a predominantly Christian Protestant country (95 percent Lutheran, 3 percent Catholic, and 2 percent Muslim), with a population of 5,414,000 Danes (and tiny German and Eskimo minorities).

A Viking kingdom, Denmark's union with **Norway** gave it four centuries of control over the Skaggerak-Kattegat Straits, levying tolls on international shipping. As a Lutheran state since the 1500s Reformation, it fought in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) to save the German Protestant princes from **Austria's** expanding Holy German Roman Empire, but was defeated before Sweden and **France** rescued the Protestants. During the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815), Denmark was an ally of Napoleon, but it lost its navy and international tolls after **Great Britain** attacked in 1810, while France's defeat in 1814–1815 forced Denmark to cede Norway to Sweden until its independence in 1905. Denmark was “**neutral**” in **World War I** (1914–1918), but in **World War II** (1939–1945) it was seized by Nazi **Germany** (1940–1945) and lost Iceland to the **Allies** (and its independence) until it was liberated in 1945.

A Western country, Denmark joined the **United Nations (UN)** and the **Nordics** as a founding member in 1945 and in 1949 joined the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** as the centerpiece of its northern flank (**Allied Forces–Northern Europe**) against the Soviet Union (USSR). In 1973 Denmark joined the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)**, then in 1976 the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)**. Denmark provides NATO and UN peacekeepers and supports Europe's political-economic integration, although nationalism among the population led to the “**opt-outs**” from the EU Maastricht Treaty's common defense, justice affairs, and euro currency.

DENUCLEARIZATION. *See* EUROMISSILE CRISIS; “**NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES.**”

DEPORTATION/EXPULSION. Legal terms for the enforced removal of foreign nationals from a “host state” and return to their “home state” due to political, security, diplomatic, espionage, or immigration reasons. During the Cold War (1946–1990) between the **United States/North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and Soviet Union (USSR)/**Warsaw Pact**, most deportations/expulsions were political-security related, with expulsions of diplomats for espionage provoking counter-expulsions.

With the end of the Cold War most deportations/expulsions have focused on immigration violations by illegal migrants, transnational trafficking of women and drugs, or Islamic fundamentalists, deported for incitement to violence or suspected political-financial ties to **terrorists**. In the first case, members of NATO and the **European Union (EU)**, such as **Italy**, which are targets for the international trafficking of illegal immigrants, have developed treaties of repatriation with “home states.” In the last case, since the 11 September 2001 (9/11) attacks, several NATO–EU states and **aspirants** have collaborated with the United States in counterterrorist surveillance, interception, secret arrests, and deportations of Islamic terrorists or sympathizers to secret prisons for interrogation by U.S. intelligence officers and imprisonment in their “home states” once expelled, without legal representation, under “extraordinary renditions.”

DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL, NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) Secretary-General** is replaced when absent by the Deputy Secretary-General, who also chairs the High-Level Task Force on Conventional Arms Control, **Executive Working Group**, NATO’s Air-Defence Committee, and other working groups.

DEPUTY SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER–EUROPE (D-SACEUR), NATO. In 1950 the **North Atlantic Council** decided that the 1949 **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** would be led politically by a European politician as **Secretary-General** (starting with **Lord Ismay** in 1950–1957) and militarily by a **United States** general as **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)**, starting with **Dwight D. Eisenhower** in 1950–1952) with his deputy (D-SACEUR) always being a European general or admiral (starting with **Great Britain’s** Army Field Marshal Viscount **Montgomery** in 1950–1952). By 1978, SACEUR U.S. Army General **Alexander M. Haig Jr.** (1974–1979) had realigned command structures and senior leadership at NATO’s **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** and Allied Command Europe (ACE) to reflect West **Germany’s** central role, nominating General Gerd Schmuckle as the first German D-SACEUR. Later, SACEUR U.S. Army General **George A. Joulwan** (1993–1997) undertook the

historical step to nominate a general from **Russia** (NATO's Cold War enemy) as D-SACEUR for Russian peacekeepers under NATO for the **Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR)**, **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)**, and IFOR/SFOR Coordination Centre at SHAPE in 1995–2004.

Finally, the 1999 NATO–**European Union (EU)** “Berlin Plus” protocols loaned NATO's D-SACEUR as commander of **humanitarian EU peacekeeping** missions using NATO assets, logistics, and an EU Crisis Centre at SHAPE, following the EU “**Petersberg Criteria**” and CRISEX 2000 simulations. The first EU peacekeeping mission was **European Force–Macedonia (EURFOR)**, with NATO support, in the 2003 EU **Operation Concordia**, which took over NATO's 2001–2003 stabilization mission in Macedonia (**Operation Amber Fox**). The second EU mission is the **European Force–Bosnia (EUFOR)**, which took over in December 2004 duties from NATO's 1996–2004 SFOR. *See also* KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE.

DESTABILIZATION. Political-military term denoting attempts to politically and/or violently undermine another state to force it to change its policies or government without resorting to overt armed intervention. Destabilization combines political, diplomatic, military, economic, and ideological instruments, as well as active support/control of antigovernment dissident political groups and armed factions. Before **World War II**, Fascist **Italy** sought continuously to destabilize **Yugoslavia** and **Albania**, while promoting **Croatia's** independence, while Nazi **Germany** destabilized both **Austria** in 1934–1938 to promote its annexation (in the Anschluss) and **Czechoslovakia** during the 1938 Sudeten **Crisis** and 1939 independence of **Slovakia**.

During the Cold War (1946–1990), the Soviet Union (USSR) undertook the systematic destabilization of all East European states it had occupied militarily at the end of World War II to transform them into Communist **satellites** under the **Warsaw Pact**. Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** also sought to undermine Yugoslavia, but failed to topple Josip Broz Tito's leadership in 1948. The **United States** used covert interference against hostile, procommunist client states or “rogue states” worldwide and in Latin America, for example, the failed 1961 Bay of Pigs operation against Cuba to counter Fidel Castro's

1959 revolution, in 1973 against Chile, and in the 1980s against Nicaragua. The most successful U.S. destabilization operation was the **Reagan Doctrine** support of anticommunist armed groups, such as in **Afghanistan**, providing military aid for the *mujahideen* “freedom fighters” against the Soviet invasion during the First Afghan War (1979–1989).

D'ÉSTAING DOCTRINE, FRANCE. A foreign policy initiative by French President Valéry Giscard d'Éstaing in December 1974, which focused on globalism and reconciliation. It departed from President **Charles de Gaulle**'s ultra-nationalist foreign policy of independence from the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and mediation of major international disputes. President d'Éstaing's **Méry Doctrine** (1975) and cooperation with NATO also distanced French security policy from de Gaulle's **Ailleret Doctrine** of a *tous azimuts* **nuclear** military independence from all powers or the **United States**. See also **FOURQUET DOCTRINE**.

DÉTENTE (1969–1979, 1985–1991). A political-diplomatic term meaning a temporary or permanent relaxation of tensions between hostile states, which usually referred to the Cold War between the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR), whose bipolar rivalry was occasionally put on hold by a mutually agreed policy of East–West “peaceful coexistence.” Détente does not mean that conflicts have been resolved or that either side accepts the ideological principles of the other; rather, both sides agree to deemphasize confrontation and promote instead “peaceful coexistence” and cooperation. Détente is also not restricted only to relations between superpowers; bilateral *détentes* also happen between lesser powers, such as West Germany's 1969 *Ostpolitik* (Eastern policy) toward East Germany, Communist Eastern Europe, and the USSR, and the 1971–1972 overtures to Communist China by U.S. President **Richard Nixon** and National Security Advisor **Henry Kissinger**.

Although no formal treaty established the period of détente, as a historical process many scholars see earlier temporary fits and starts for East–West détente: under the **Dwight D. Eisenhower** administration after the death of Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** in 1953 and ending with the Soviet repression of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, and

after the 1962 U.S.–Soviet **Cuban Missile Crisis**, ending when Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchëv** was ousted from power in 1964 by his deputy, **Leonid Brezhnev**. As an international policy, détente was pursued in 1969–1980 under U.S. Presidents Nixon and Gerald Ford by National Security Advisor/Secretary of State Kissinger, and under Jimmy **Carter** by National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. Détente fostered global relaxation of tensions, coexistence, cooperation, trade, **arms control**, and “indivisibility” between the superpowers’ East–West and North–South policies: East–West trade; stabilizing **Germany** and **Berlin** with the 1972 Quadripartite Treaty; stopping the **arms race** with the 1972 **Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty** and 1972–1979 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties I and II (SALT I and II); reducing Third World wars, such as through the 1973 Vietnam Paris Peace; and expanding East–West security and human rights dialogue between the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **Warsaw Pact** to avert **World War III** and stabilize Europe’s post-1945 borders with the 1975 **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)** Helsinki Accords.

Détente always suffered from too many expectations, suspicions, and disagreements. Examples are (1) Soviet violations of détente’s “indivisibility,” when Moscow supported the Arab coalition attacking Israel during the 1973 Yom Kippur War, while the United States went on nuclear alert to warn the USSR not to send Soviet paratroopers to rescue the defeated Egyptian and Syrian forces; (2) U.S. anger about the Cuban–Soviet penetration of Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia (1975–1977); (3) Soviet anger at U.S.–Western support of human rights groups in the **Soviet bloc**, like Charta 77; and (4) acrimonious recriminations over Soviet undercutting of the “spirit” of arms control—massive qualitative improvements in Warsaw Pact conventional forces and the **Euromissile Crisis** (1977–1987). The 1979 Soviet invasion of **Afghanistan** ended détente, ushering in a “Second Cold War” as critics under both Presidents Carter and **Ronald Reagan** argued that détente was too close to “appeasement” because it had allowed the Communist bloc to strengthen itself at the expense of the West and NATO.

Détente resumed in 1985–1991 under Presidents Reagan and **George H. W. Bush** in collaboration with reformist Soviet President **Mikhail Gorbachëv**, leading to the resumption of East–West trade

and arms control through the 1987 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty**; 1989 Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan; 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE); 1991–1993 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties I and II (START I and II); and 1991 Short-range Nuclear Forces Unilateral Accords (SNF). *Détente*’s highest point was the **1989 Eastern Europe Revolutions**, which peacefully undermined Soviet control. The June 1990 NATO London **Summit** declared the Cold War over and that the USSR and Warsaw Pact were no longer enemies of the West, permanently inserting them in NATO’s regional security consultations forum, the **North Atlantic Consultation Council (NAC-C)**. The USSR’s collapse in December 1991 ended *détente*, accelerating the integration of former Eastern European and Baltic states into NATO and the **European Union (EU)** with the dual **NATO–EU enlargements** (1999–2008), while making **Russia**, former Soviet states, Western “**neutrals**,” and **Mediterranean Dialogue** states partners.

DETERRENCE. A political-military term for a conditional threat of military retaliation to prevent undesirable actions by hostile states, **control** behaviors, or punish aggression. Deterrence often relies on the possession of superior military capability to carry out threats. The challenged state must be persuaded that should deterrence fail, retaliatory attack is certain, making it less likely that the threat will have to be fulfilled. Since 1945, the international bipolar strategic “**balance of terror**” between the superpowers (**United States** and Soviet Union) had relied on bilateral **nuclear** deterrence to restrain the use of nuclear weapons in any crisis, short of a **World War III** apocalyptic scenario. Compared to conventional deterrence based on arms buildups and alliances, nuclear deterrence threats are difficult to maintain because they often lack the credibility to be taken to the “bitter end” when the opponent also has nuclear weapons. Equally difficult is the credibility of deterrence to coerce a hostile state that believes it has nothing to lose (such as Islamic Iran and North Korea during their 2003–2007 race to build nuclear weapons) or one that effectively uses misperceptions and propaganda to portray itself as more powerful than it is (such as the USSR’s occupation of Eastern Europe after **World War II**).

During the Cold War, the United States and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** consistently relied on the American nuclear umbrella to bolster NATO conventional defense of Western Europe vis-à-vis the conventionally superior USSR and **Warsaw Pact**. However, the development of nuclear-armed intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) by both superpowers bolstered the “**coupling**” of nuclear deterrence with national defense under the mutual assured destruction (MAD) **doctrine**, in which the credibility of mutual deterrence requires that the threat of punishment be credible by risking a World War III nuclear holocaust. Conversely, the credibility of MAD’s bipolar nuclear deterrence could be undermined either by an **antiballistic missile (ABM)** system or by abandoning the 1972 U.S.–Soviet **ABM Treaty**, whereas **arms control** bolsters deterrence when it assures national security at lower levels of mutually verifiable arms cuts. *See also* EUROMISSILE CRISIS.

DISARMAMENT. A political-military term for both a process to remove and eliminate specific banned weapons systems, such as nuclear weapons, and an end state to establish a disarmed world and prevent future rearmaments. Disarmament may be national, regional, or global; partial or total; unilateral, bilateral, or multilateral. Disarmament does not automatically reduce international tensions, nor is it the perfect solution to national security, as “cheating” by the parties is almost inevitable, unless strict **arms control** verification provisions are in place. Arms control advocates excoriate total disarmament as wholly impractical and utopian, an idealist end state sought after **World War I** by the **League of Nations’** decade-long disarmament conferences, which held that **arms races** exacerbate tensions and cause conflicts, rather than being a symptom of international **crises**. In this view, states occasionally do engage in disarmament negotiations as a pretext to achieve either “side benefits” or to score propaganda points, while hiding insincere national intransigence on the issue, such as India’s insistence on accusing the superpowers of not reducing their nuclear weapons as a way to justify its nonmembership in the **Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)**. When East–West arms control actually drastically cut both arsenals, India’s intransigence was exposed as a mask to hide nuclear **proliferation**, just as Islamic Iran did in the 2000s.

Disarmament can follow a state's defeat in war, being imposed by the victor(s) in a punitive peace treaty, covering either all or just key weapons systems. After World War I, the Treaty of Versailles (1919) almost completely disarmed Weimar **Germany**, stripping it of its navy, air force, and army (except for 100,000 soldiers), and forbidding all modern weapons systems, such as **chemical weapons (CW)**, machine guns, artillery, tanks, airplanes, submarines, aircraft carriers, and battleships. Similar provisions were also imposed on Germany's **satellites, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey**. Nazi Germany violated the Versailles provisions and finally repealed them openly in 1934–1935.

After Nazi Germany's defeat during **World War II**, the **Allies** imposed total disarmament and division of Germany until 1949, when both the **West** and the **Soviet bloc** rebuilt two rival partial nations, but still disarmed. Although the **United States** twice advocated (in 1949, and in 1950) that West Germany be fully rearmed and admitted as an ally within the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, the other allies adamantly refused. Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** also insisted that Germany remain disarmed and permanently “neutralized” by withdrawing Allied–Soviet troops (1952 Stalin Note). Instead, West Germany was supposed to be rearmed outside NATO with company-sized troops in a European military **force**, the **European Defence Community (EDC)**, with postwar disarmament ended by the 1952 Petersberg Accords. This agreement collapsed when France refused to ratify the EDC in 1953, after the death of Stalin seemed to herald the end of the Cold War. West Germany was eventually rearmed in 1955 as a full member of NATO.

More recently, after the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991), Iraq was subjected to disarmament of its missiles, and nuclear, chemical, and biological **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**, and its air force was restricted outside both the northern and southern “**no-fly zones**.” The **Second Gulf War** (2003) defeated Iraq anew, totally disbanding its **forces** and residual WMD programs.

DISASTER PREPAREDNESS AND PREVENTION INITIATIVE/EU STABILITY PACT (DPPI), EU. The **European Union (EU) Stability Pact** supports **Balkan** regional disaster preparedness and prevention of natural and man-made disasters.

DOCTRINE. Political-bureaucratic and military term for key principles that guide military **forces** in support of political-military objectives and flexibility, to be applied in complex environments. The most important foreign policy restatements of fundamental principles of a nation are the U.S. doctrines, labeled by the U.S. president issuing them, such as the **Truman Doctrine**, or containment, 1947; **Eisenhower Doctrine**, 1958; Nixon Doctrine, 1970; Carter Doctrine, 1980; **Reagan Doctrine**, 1983; “Weinberg-Powell Doctrine,” 1980s; Clinton Doctrine, 1995; and (George W.) Bush Doctrine, 2001.

DOMINO THEORY. A key geostrategic concept of the **United States** during the first half of the Cold War (1946–1990), which stressed that unless the **Soviet bloc**, led by the Soviet Union (USSR) and Communist China, were checked by a global containment policy, communist victories even in remote regions would inevitably bring down important pro-Western regimes as well, in a mounting cascade. The U.S. globalization of containment led to political-ideological, economic, and even military involvement in the Third World, until its overreaching in the Second Vietnam War (1964–1975) forced the United States to abandon the Domino Theory, due to the “Vietnam Syndrome” (1970s–1980s).

After 1949, proponents of the Domino Theory feared particularly Communist China, whose revolutionary precepts were seen as rapidly spreading within the Third World. U.S. President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** was one of the first proponents of the Domino Theory (in April 1954), linking it to Indochina and neighboring states, with “falling dominoes” extending from a Communist Vietnam to Indochina, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia. Central America and the Caribbean were viewed through the same lens. Presidents **John F. Kennedy**, **Lyndon Johnson**, **Richard Nixon**, and **Ronald Reagan** all subscribed to the Domino Theory theoretically or in practice, although after 1970 this policy waned when the Nixon Doctrine relied on Asian regionalism and strong local **forces** armed and trained by the United States to take the lead in countering communist revolutions. The Domino Theory was also criticized for failing to consider nationalism as an antidote to transnational communist insurgency.

DOOMSDAY MACHINE. The brilliant **nuclear** strategist Hermann Kahn stressed in his 1960 book, *On Thermonuclear War*, that the only way to totally deter any direct attack on the **United States** was to rely on a deterrent threat that would be both absolutely certain and unacceptable because of its overwhelming damage to the attacker. A future “Doomsday machine” would automatically destroy all human life globally, after multiple nuclear explosions hit the U.S. homeland. By emphasizing the near certainty and “suicidal” response, Kahn emphasized that no rational decision maker would risk a nuclear holocaust by launching a surprise attack. This view was later adopted by both the United States and Soviet Union (USSR), which developed their own near-automatic nuclear “second strike” capabilities through hard-to-detect submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs).

“DOVES.” A colloquial political-military term in international affairs and diplomacy, denoting during the Cold War those policy makers who favored solving international **crises** through reliance on diplomatic negotiations, conciliation, conflict resolution, **arms control**, and international cooperation through international organizations like the **United Nations (UN)** or intergovernmental conferences. “Doves” opposed warfare, coercion, and **arms races**, supporting **deterrence** and **alliances** within limits. This term emerged in the late 1960s in the U.S. political-strategic community and in Congress as a reaction to the Second **Vietnam War** (1964–1975) and confrontational combat-oriented international postures against the **Soviet Union (USSR)**. Adopting the policies initiated by **“hawk”** President **Richard Nixon**, U.S. President Jimmy **Carter** and the “doves” supported East–West **détente** between the superpowers, trade, arms control, and **nuclear** parity, not as a policy of monitored “armed peace” and trust through verification, but to defuse international confrontation, while enhancing North–South diplomatic openings to the Third World.

Paradoxically, the U.S. Democratic Party after 1968 was unable to overcome its policy makers’ split between “hawks” and “doves.” Regarding the Second Vietnam War, several “hawks” became “doves,” including former Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, and later Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in the Carter administration. Carter’s own National Security Advisor

Zbigniew Brzezinski was a fervent anticommunist “hawk” who belatedly succeeded in redirecting U.S. foreign policy as against the Soviet invasion of **Afghanistan** and its undermining of East–West arms control. In the **post–Cold War** era, the term has lost its exclusive meaning, as Democratic U.S. President Bill **Clinton** was seen as both a “dove” and an ardent advocate of sweeping humanitarian peace-keeping operations with the UN and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO).

DUAL CONTAINMENT. *See* BUSH, GEORGE H. W.; REAGAN, RONALD.

DUAL KEY. Military policy of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) requiring that all U.S. **nuclear forces** in Europe as a “nuclear umbrella” for NATO be under “dual-key” control: the **United States** holds the nuclear launch codes in case of **World War III**, and host **allies** protecting NATO nuclear **bases** hold the other key, making parallel national “political” authorization necessary to launch in wartime. *See also* ASSURED DESTRUCTION.

DUAL-TRACK POLICY. *See* EUROMISSILE CRISIS; ROGERS, GENERAL BERNARD W.

DUAL-USE TECHNOLOGY. *See* AUSTRALIA GROUP; ZANGER COMMITTEE.

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EAPC ACTION PLANS, NATO. In 1999, the **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council** (EAPC) established detailed defense-economic “action plans” for the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) and partners, expanding on the 1990s **North Atlantic Cooperation Council** biannual NAC–C work plans. EAPC action plans promote defense spending, defense planning, budget transparency, civil-military relations, defense industry restructuring and privatization, cost-benefit analysis of defense downsizing, army professionalization, ecological cleanup of ex-military **bases**, private sector competitive

contracting, cost limitations, and regional economic integration. Such broad EAPC economic reforms and cooperation are vital for **NATO enlargements**, helping 12 partners become new **allies** through **membership action plans (MAPs)** in 1999–2008 (the **Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia**), with potential **aspirants** (**Austria, Finland, Macedonia, Sweden**) starting military-economic restructuring. *See also* ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF NATO.

"EAST"/EASTERN BLOC. *See* SOVIET BLOC.

EAST–WEST. *See* SOVIET BLOC.

ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF NATO. For several decades the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** Economic Committee has promoted limited economic defense cooperation among **allies** and **partners** through Article II of the **North Atlantic Treaty** to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies. The Economic Committee is the only NATO forum exclusively focused on regional economic development related to security, analyzing interrelated political, military, and common economic policies, without duplicating other international organizations' focus on economic and regional development. For the **alliance**, **joint** analyses of security-related economic developments help coordinate defense planning within NATO, such as comparisons of defense expenditures and budgetary trends; defense industry restructuring; defense industry cooperation; resources for defense plans; weapons standardization; defense industrial employment; offsetting defense industry inflation (traditionally higher than national inflation levels); and spending projections for size and structure of armed **forces**. Furthermore, all allies promote political-military and economic cooperation as transatlantic symbols of solidarity based on **Atlantic common values**, interests, and readiness.

With the end of the Cold War and NATO's integration of ex-enemies in the **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**, alliance economic cooperation focuses also on partners through **EAPC action plans**, security-based economic development, restructuring defense budgets, cutting defense industries, and Western market reforms. Such economic cooperation is vital for the 12 new allies and

aspirants who joined NATO in 1997–2008 through **membership action plans (MAPs)**, and for NATO's bilateral ties with **Russia** and **Ukraine** (economic cooperation, restructuring and defense industry conversion, military retraining). Unlike specialized financial institutions, NATO does not have the resources to fund specific economic programs. Instead, all allies provide funds for political-military and economic restructuring of partners through the EAPC and NATO's **enlargements**. After 15 years of allied-partner cooperation, NATO stresses that there is no single model for restructuring national defense industries: Each member must balance common alliance problems with national political and socioeconomic policies. Security and economic issues are studied at the annual **NATO Economic Colloquia** and seminars.

EISENHOWER DOCTRINE (1957). *See* EISENHOWER, GENERAL DWIGHT D.

EISENHOWER, GENERAL DWIGHT D. ("IKE"), U.S. ARMY (1890–1969). The 34th president (Republican) of the **United States** (January 1953 to January 1961) and the most successful U.S. general. During **World War II**, as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe he invaded North Africa, Italy, France, and Germany in 1942–1945, becoming in 1945–1948 U.S. Army Chief of Staff and in 1950–1952 the first **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

Born in Denison, Texas, on 14 October 1890 to pacifist Mennonites, Eisenhower graduated in 1915 from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York, and served with the U.S. Infantry in **World War I**, quickly rising to lieutenant colonel in the new tank corps. He trained tank crews and never saw combat. After the war, Eisenhower, George Patton, and other senior tank leaders were prevented by superiors from developing further tank warfare. Eisenhower served under General John Pershing, Assistant Secretary of War General George V. Moseley (1929–1933), and Army Chief of Staff General **Douglas MacArthur** (until 1939). He became a brigadier general in 1941 thanks to his administrative abilities, but his lack of a field **command** risked sidelining him. After Pearl Harbor, he joined the Pentagon's general staff, crafting the major war plans to defeat Japan and

Germany, becoming Assistant Chief of Staff for Operations under U.S. Chief of Staff General **George C. Marshall**. In 1942–1943, Eisenhower became a four-star commanding general of the European Theater of Operations (ETOUSA) and Supreme Commander Allied (Expeditionary) **Forces** of the North African Theater of Operations (NATOUSA), as well as commander of Allied Forces Headquarters (AFHQ) for the Mediterranean, supervising the **Allies'** conquest of North Africa and **Italy**.

In December 1943, Eisenhower became Supreme Allied Commander–Europe and Supreme Allied Commander–Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF), planning and commanding the dangerous Allied June 1944 Normandy landings (**Operation Overlord**), which were at risk of turning into a disaster. By July 1944, with the Normandy bridgeheads stalled, he also unleashed Operation Torch, the Allied invasion of southern France, while assuming the supreme command of all operational Allied forces, and through ETOUSA also of all U.S. forces north of the Alps. These dual commands were later duplicated in his 1950 organization of the Atlantic **Alliance** defenses, with overall Allied and subordinate U.S. commands in Europe.

Eisenhower's great leadership and diplomatic abilities helped bring about the liberation of France and Western Europe, and the conquest of Germany. By this point, he was a five-star general of the army (equivalent to a field marshal in European armies). He skillfully handled difficult subordinates, such as Generals Omar Bradley and George Patton and British Field Marshal Bernhard Montgomery, while fighting over Allied **strategy** with the Allied leaders Prime Minister **Winston Churchill**, General **Charles de Gaulle**, the Marshal Georgy Zhukov, and even dictator **Josef Stalin**. After Germany's surrender in May 1945, it was divided into four **occupation** zones (U.S., British, French, and Soviet), with Eisenhower as military governor of the U.S. occupation zone. His comprehensively collected evidence of the Holocaust was used at the Nürnberg War Crimes Trials, and he initially supported destroying Germany's industrial capacity for war.

During the Cold War (1946–1990), Eisenhower served under President **Harry S Truman** as U.S. Army Chief of Staff (1945–1948), the highest military position. When the fear of war with the USSR forced the United States, **Canada**, and 10 European allies to create NATO under the **North Atlantic Treaty** (Washington D.C., 4 April 1949),

the alliance was initially too weak to protect Europe, lacking forces, equipment, and an integrated command. Therefore, Eisenhower was selected by the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)** to serve as first Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR) from December 1950 to May 1952. He was the only five-star general with command of both NATO and U.S. forces, and had as his European deputy (**D-SACEUR**) British Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery. In 1951, NATO **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** was created, and NATO expanded when the **Korean War** (1950–1953) raised fears that it would spread to Europe as **World War III**. A small multinational “SHAPE Planning Group” organized NATO’s new Allied Command Europe (ACE) in its first Paris headquarters in 1950–1951 (SHAPE moved to nearby Rocquencourt in July 1951), incorporating the existing **Western Union Defence Organisation** (the military arm of NATO’s European predecessor, the Brussels Pact, created under the 1948 Brussels Treaty). On 2 April 1951, Eisenhower activated SHAPE, ACE, and subordinate headquarters of Allied Forces–Northern Europe (AFNORTH) and **Allied Forces–Central Europe (AFCENT)**, plus **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** and the Mediterranean by June. The 1952 NATO Lisbon Summit’s ambitious defense plans for Europe increased NATO military budgets with a **force** goal of 90 divisions, which was never attained because fears of World War III weakened after Stalin’s death in 1953, but these minimal NATO defenses reassured war-weary Europe.

Eisenhower turned down Truman’s offer to become his vice president. He retired in May 1952 to become a Republican presidential candidate, being succeeded as SACEUR by U.S. Army General **Matthew B. Ridgway** (1952–1953). With **Richard Nixon** as his vice presidential candidate, Eisenhower defeated isolationist Senator Robert A. Taft, becoming the first Republican in the White House in 20 years. Eisenhower was the only general to become president in the 20th century. Eisenhower ended the **Korean War** (1950–1953) by secretly threatening Communist China with **nuclear** weapons if it did not agree to the UN Korean armistice (27 July 1953). He continued **containment** against the USSR by reorienting national defenses through his “**new approach**” of relying on less costly tactical nuclear weapons to defend Europe and supplement NATO’s conventional

defenses against any massed Soviet armor attack. The death of Stalin was followed by some uncertain attempts at **détente**, which soon ended after Soviet repression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 and the second Berlin **crisis** (1958). Eisenhower defused the Berlin issue by inviting Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchëv** to tour the United States in 1959, but the reciprocal visit was canceled by the Soviets during the aborted 1960 Paris Summit on the future of Germany after they shot down an American U2 spy plane.

In 1954, the French implored Eisenhower to rescue Vietnam by using nuclear weapons against the Communist Viet Minh, who were attacking the French garrison of Dien Bien Phu. Eisenhower refused, fearing the loss of French forces and accusations from the USSR that the United States was “racist” in using the A-bomb twice in a decade against only Asians. The collapse of France led to the division of Vietnam into a Communist North and a South, informally allied with the United States, to which Eisenhower sent a few hundred advisors. Tensions with France and Great Britain rose in 1956 over Egypt’s nationalization of their assets. A few days away from reelection, Eisenhower interfered in the **Suez Canal War** by forcing the Anglo–French and Israelis to withdraw their troops from the Suez Canal and Sinai. This provoked a severe crisis within NATO over U.S. “unreliability” in supporting “European” interests (colonial or not) if they conflicted with American ones. Moreover, the ensuing power vacuum in the oil-rich Middle East after the collapse of Anglo–French colonial power forced the United States to officially declare the Middle East vital to American and **Western** interests, justifying intervening militarily and/or with economic aid to assist any Middle Eastern state, under the **Eisenhower Doctrine** (1957), to counter Soviet and Egyptian inroads. The Eisenhower Doctrine was a fundamental reversal in policy after the 1956 Suez Canal War and related transatlantic crisis. In July 1958, Anglo–American troops intervened to assist pro-Western regimes in the Middle East, sending thousands of U.S.–British paratroopers to Jordan to repel an Iraqi–Egyptian attack and 14,000 U.S. Marines to Lebanon to crush Nasserite rebellions. Other military pledges were given to the U.S.-led **Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)**, 1954–1979, formed by Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey. Once out of office, Eisenhower rejoined the army. He died in March 1969.

ÉLÉMENTS FRANÇAIS D'ASSISTANCE OPERATIONNELLE (EFAO). France retains bilateral defense accords with many former colonies in West Africa, such as Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Gabon, and Senegal, with permanent military **bases** and **rapid-deployment forces** (*Éléments français d'assistance opérationnelle*) in those countries. EFAO protects French interests, stabilizes **crises**, and then turns over security to French-organized African **peacekeeping** operations, such as in Zaire/Congo in 1978, when the EFAO was replaced by an Inter-African Force; in the Central African Republic in 1997, when it was replaced by another Inter-African Force; and in Côte d'Ivoire in 2002, when it was replaced by the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG).

ÉLYSÉE TREATY (1963). In January 1963, French President **Charles de Gaulle** and West German Chancellor **Konrad Adenauer** signed the Élysée Treaty in Paris, pledging bilateral consultations, foreign policy coordination, and Franco-German reconciliation after **World War II**. This was Adenauer's last major postwar diplomatic success, but his own Christian-Democratic (CDU) cabinet and the Social-Democratic (SPD) opposition feared that de Gaulle's growing independent and anti-Atlantic policy was seeking through the Élysée Treaty to "detach" West Germany from its closer political-military relations with the **United States** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, which were both vital for German survival during the Cold War. The CDU and SPD jointly emasculated the Élysée Treaty with amendments restricting Germany's primary commitment to existing multilateral obligations, namely NATO, the **European Community (EC)**, and the **United Nations (UN)**. Despite de Gaulle's disappointment that the Élysée Treaty had failed to extend French tutelage over West Germany, he and his successors (Georges Pompidou, Valéry Giscard d'Éstaing, François Mitterrand, Jacques Chirac, and Nicolas Sarkozy) cultivated bilateral security cooperation with the Franco-German Brigade and **Eurocorps**. Nevertheless, the common view of the German and French military was that such binational security cooperation was not truly military, but mostly "political" to further Franco-German reconciliation, while Germany's main ties remained with the United States and NATO.

The **post-Cold War** disappearance of the Soviet threat of **World War III** and Germany's reunification by absorbing formerly Communist East Germany have slowly weakened U.S.–German ties since the late 1990s, while the domestically weak SPD–Green government of Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder won reelection by appealing to anti-American neutralist-populist feelings in the East. Schroeder's domestic weakness pushed him into closer cooperation with French President Chirac in 2002, enhancing France's domination of the “**Franco–German Axis**” and openly opposing in NATO and the UN any U.S. attempt to gain unanimous support for the **Second Gulf War** against Iraq (2003). Thereafter, the CDU's electoral victory in 2005 in Germany and Chirac's political weakness cooled Franco–German relations and warmed U.S.–German ties. *See also* FOUCHET PLANS.

EMBARGOES. Political-economic policy in international law of economic coercive actions short of war. A regionally dominant economic power stops trading to exploit the “target country's” near-complete economic dependence, either to undermine its economy and force it to change policies or to punish it. Embargoes should not be confused with **sanctions**, which are collective coercive actions short of war taken against the “target country” by international or regional organizations, such as the **League of Nations**, **United Nations (UN)**, **European Union (EU)**, or **Organization of American States (OAS)**.

Embargoes can fail if the “target country” redirects trade to other less-favorable markets, as Cuba did with the Soviet Union (USSR) to sidestep the 1959 U.S. embargo. The dependence of the **United States** and **West** on oil as a “strategic commodity” made the worldwide 1973–1974 “First Oil Shock” embargo extremely devastating. It was used as a tool of international political-economic warfare by the Arab-dominated Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to punish support of Israel and split the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, leaving the United States alone in airlifting war matériel to Israel. Since the 1970s, most European allies and the EU have embraced some pro-Arab Middle Eastern politics, at times at odds with the U.S. pro-Israeli stance. *See also* BOYCOTT.

ENCLAVE. Political-geographic term for a noncontiguous territory of a state surrounded by the territory of a neighboring state. Four important enclaves have affected **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** security. **Gibraltar**, at the southernmost tip of **Spain**, has been an enclave of **Great Britain** since the early 1700s and a naval **base** dominating access to the Mediterranean, but in the 1980s–1990s it was a source of tension between these two **allies**. Spain made a number of unsuccessful attempts to regain it. During the Cold War (1946–1990), West **Berlin** was an enclave of West **Germany**, surrounded by Communist East Germany, which was dominated by the Soviet Union (USSR). Soviet/East German attempts to annex West Berlin sparked several East–West **crises** with the **United States** and NATO, which protected West Berlin until the breaching of the Berlin Wall in 1989 led to Germany’s reunification in 1990, with Berlin as capital. The Armenian Nagorno-Kharabak autonomous region, which was annexed to Soviet **Azerbaijan** from the 1920s until it seceded in 1992 after the collapse of the USSR, was embroiled in a long border clash with Azerbaijan, succeeding in merging with neighboring **Armenia**, which also conquered the strip of Azeri land separating the two Armenian parts. The most controversial remaining enclave is **Russia’s** Kaliningrad Oblast’, annexed by the USSR after **World War II** (1939–1945) from the eastern part of German Prussia. After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, Kaliningrad was separated from Russia by the independent former Soviet states of **Lithuania** and **Poland**, both members of NATO and the **European Union (EU)** since 1999–2004. Russia is also a NATO **partner**.

END STATE. A term indicating the political-diplomatic or military situation sought at the end of successful military/**peacekeeping** operations. *See also* FINAL STATUS ON KOSOVO.

ENLARGEMENTS OF EUROPEAN UNION. *See* EU ENLARGEMENTS.

ENLARGEMENTS OF NATO (1997–1999, 2002–2004). *See* NATO ENLARGEMENT, FIRST TRANCHE; NATO ENLARGEMENT, SECOND TRANCHE; NATO ENLARGEMENT, THIRD AND FOURTH TRANCHES.

ENTENTE. Political-diplomatic term for an informal political “understanding” between two or more states, without any specific formal treaty or **alliance** or detailed commitments. The First Entente Cordiale or Liberal Entente (1843–1860) emerged between **France** and **Great Britain** in 1843, based on democratic common values and coordinating foreign policies on the European **balance of power**, Mediterranean **crises**, and **Italy**’s unification (1840s–1870). The Second Entente Cordiale (1904–1940), between Paris and London, was a reaction to the decline of **Germany**’s Bismarckian balance of power, Franco–German antagonism, and Anglo–German trade and naval rivalries. French diplomacy exploited Germany’s post-1890 blunt power politics and diplomatic miscalculations to draw to Paris old rivals, including **Russia** (the 1894–1917 Franco–Russian Alliance) and Great Britain (the Second Entente Cordiale), leading to the French-mediated Anglo–Russian rapprochement (1907–1917) and Triple Entente (1907–1917) against the Triple Alliance (Germany, **Austria–Hungary**, and Italy, 1881–1914). During **World War I** (1914–1918), the Entente became the “**Allies**,” adding Italy in 1915 and the **United States** in 1917. The label was revamped during **World War II** (1939–1945) and the Cold War (1946–1990) to describe the **West**’s military-ideological unity against Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union (USSR), and identify members of the 1949 U.S.-led **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. *See also* ATLANTIC COMMON VALUES.

ESTONIA (EESTI), NATO–EU. Former Soviet republic in Europe’s Baltic region with an area of 45,226 square kilometers, bordering **Lithuania**, **Russia**, and the Baltic Sea. The capital is Tallinn. It has a Christian (Lutheran and Orthodox) population of 1,341,000 (65.3 percent Estonian, 28 percent Russian, 2.5 percent Ukrainian, 1.5 percent Belorussian, and 2.6 percent other).

Part of the Baltic region with **Latvia** and **Lithuania**, Estonia was economically and culturally tied to the Germanic world and annexed to **Swedish** and later Czarist Russia. It was conquered by Germany in **World War I** and made independent in 1918. During the interwar period (1919–1939), the “**neutral**” Baltic states were threatened by the rival ideological-annexationist aims of the Soviet Union (USSR) and Nazi **Germany**, until the Nazi–Soviet **Non-Aggression Pact**

(1939–1941) secretly divided up Europe. Nazi Germany would get 60 percent of **Poland**, most of Eastern and all of Western Europe, and the USSR would get 40 percent of Poland, the Baltics, **Finland**, and part of **Romania**. The USSR annexed the Baltics in 1940–1941, deporting intellectuals and anticommunists to Siberian concentration camps and killing them. Soviet repression led the Balts to welcome as liberators the invading Nazi army in 1941–1945, which annexed them as the “Balticum” German province, while exterminating local Jews. Soviet reconquest of the Baltic states in 1944–1945 led to deportation of the centuries-old local German population and hundreds of thousands more Balts to Siberia. The depopulated areas were filled with relocated Russians and Ukrainians: in Estonia 32 percent, Latvia 36 percent, and Lithuania 10 percent.

During the Cold War (1946–1990), the **United States** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** refused to recognize Soviet annexation of the Baltics and supported anticommunist resistance groups and spies. The end of the Cold War (1989–1991) and the secession in August–September 1991 of the newly independent Baltics from the collapsing USSR resulted in the last Russian troops leaving Estonia in 1994. All Baltic and former Communist Eastern European states banded together in the 1991 Visegrad-12 and 2000 **Vilnius Groups** to join the **United Nations (UN)**, **European Union (EU)**, and NATO. A split NATO supported their collective entry in the 1994 **Partnership of Peace**, but by 1999 just three **partners** were able to become NATO members (the **Czech Republic**, **Hungary**, and **Poland**). The controversial Baltic states were excluded to minimize Russian opposition/“**red lines**” to a **first-tranche enlargement** in 1997–1999. Only in NATO’s **second enlargement** (2002–2004), which included seven states (**Bulgaria**, **Estonia**, **Latvia**, **Lithuania**, **Romania**, **Slovakia**, **Slovenia**), were all Baltic states finally added, under U.S. pressures. They also joined the EU in 2002–2004.

ETHNIC CLEANSING. The systematic, brutal, forced removal, or extermination of the male population sometimes including also mass rapes of women, of a selected ethnic group located in mixed-population areas that are claimed by another, dominant ethnic group. After conquering the disputed lands, the dominant ethnic group uses terror to forcibly reshape them as part of its own single-ethnic group area,

in the name of ethno-nationalism. Given its more “limited” geographical nature of consolidating dominant ethno-nationalist claims over specific lands, ethnic cleansing differs from genocide, which is the systematic extermination of entire ethnic or racial groups. Both are prosecuted under international law as crimes against humanity. At its absolute worst, ethnic cleansing can be a version of genocide, limited only by the restrictive geography of ethno-nationalist or communitarian conflicts, which are variants of racism based on nationalist ideologies.

Ethnic cleansing emerged first in **Turkey** as a regional extermination of the locally dominant minorities in the early 1920s, involving the slaughter and expulsion of hundred of thousands of ethnic Greeks from Constantinople–Istanbul and Smyrna after Turkey’s defeat of **Greece**’s invasion. Although deemed different from Turkey’s **World War I** genocide of its Armenian population in 1916, the ethnic cleansing of Greeks had the same effects, eliminating the original populations from all disputed areas. In the early 1920s, Greece and **Bulgaria** retaliated against this brutal ethnic policy by expelling to Turkey thousands of Turks and Muslims living within their borders.

Ethnic cleansing and asymmetric warfare are both post–Cold War by-products of failed multi-ethnic states, where central governments have collapsed, giving rise to regional ethnic groups or tribalism locked in simmering local rivalries and hatreds in persistent forms of local civil wars, refugees, and systematic anarchic regionalism, unchecked by outside **forces**. In ethnic cleansing, the civilian victims are removed in forcible depopulation of entire regions after defeating local combatants, with a crescendo of random violence, terror, rape, starvation, and murder, often leading to mass slaughters by former neighbors, as seen during the 1990s in **Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, and Zaire-Congo**.

In 1992–1995 and 1998–1999 in the former Yugoslavia, ethnic cleansing was carried out mostly by the dominant orthodox Serb populations, instigated by Belgrade and Yugoslav-Serb President Slobodan Milošević, against Catholic Croats in Croatia’s previously Serb-dominated Krajina region and in Bosnia, especially against Muslim Bosnians, and in 1998–1999 also in Albanian-dominant Kosovo, which was the historical cradle of Serbia. To a smaller degree Croats and Bosnian Croats practiced limited ethnic cleansing against both

Serbs in Krajina and Bosnians in Mostar when the tables were turned in their favor. This extreme form of war crime has been prosecuted by the **United Nations' (UN) International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia** since 1993 and by similar bodies in Rwanda, with future cases to be tried by the new **International Criminal Court (ICC)**. In Bosnia and Kosovo, **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** peacekeepers are slowly capturing war criminals including in July 2008 Radovan Karadzic the former Bosnian Serb political leader. *See also* EUROPEAN FORCE–BOSNIA; IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA; KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE; STABILISATION FORCE–BOSNIA.

EU ACTION PLANS. *See* EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY.

EU ASPIRANTS. *See* EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY.

EU CIVIL–MILITARY COOPERATION (EU CIMIC). Since the late 1990s, the **European Union (EU)** has been developing both its military and civilian **crisis-management** capabilities through an EU civil–military cooperation (EU CIMIC) plan to support the EU **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)** and strengthen EU contributions to international security according to **United Nations (UN)** principles. Both EU CIMIC and **peacekeeping** encompass the whole range of **Petersberg Tasks** from Article 17 of the European Union Treaty: **humanitarian** and rescue; peacekeeping; and combat in crisis-management operations. EU CIMIC has three functions: **Civil–Military Liaison (CML)**, **Support of Civil Environment (SCE)**, and **Support of Military Forces (STF)**. EU CIMIC must not be confused with civil–military coordination, which refers to military support and coordination of EU civil–military crisis-management tools under the **European Council** and EU-led military **forces** to assist EU civil bodies to support organizations or populations.

EU-led military forces and EU CIMIC military capability in EU-led crisis-management operations (CMO) coordinate and support EU Petersberg Tasks and missions between military components of EU-led CMO and appropriate civil authorities to implement civil-related tasks, as well as non-EU external civil actors also operating within

the EU Commander's **area of operations (AOO)**, including local populations, local authorities, international organizations, national agencies, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The EU CIMIC of the EU-led CMO acts as an operational interface between EU peacekeepers and local civilian authorities, populations, and external non-EU civilian actors in the AOO to create the best possible moral, material, and tactical conditions to achieve the EU's mission and bring crisis situations back to normalcy. The EU Military Committee and EU Military Staff execute CIMIC-related tasks at subordinate levels. In rare cases, EU military forces may have to carry out tasks related to those of civil authorities, organizations, or agencies, but only if authorized in the **operation plan (O-PLAN)** when related civil bodies are either nonexistent or unable to carry out their mandate. *See also* NATO CIVIL–MILITARY COOPERATION.

EU COMMITTEE OF PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES (COREPER). *See* EUROPEAN UNION.

EU COORDINATOR FOR COUNTER-TERRORISM. In May 2004, the **European Council** established a new position, **European Union (EU) Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism**, to operate under the authority of **EU Secretary-General/High Representative on Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana** and work within the European Council Secretariat to coordinate EU counter-terrorism policy and multilateral cooperation.

EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY. **Terrorism** has long affected Europe, mostly **France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Ireland, Italy, and Spain**, with approximately 6,000 people killed in terrorist acts since the late 1960s just in Great Britain, Italy, Ireland, and Spain, as well as more than 1,000 in **Russia** since 1990. The **European Union (EU)** condemned national and international terrorism as attacks against the common values of liberty, democracy, tolerance, and law among all countries. However, an effective EU counterterrorism policy was long delayed by coordination difficulties and chronic EU procrastination on foreign and security issues. As a continental area without internal borders thanks to political-economic integration and the Schengen Accords, the EU is not a federation and

lacks a federal police force or **European army**, while police, intelligence, and law enforcement remain national.

The Islamic fundamentalist terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 against the **United States** finally forced that country, the EU, and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to cooperate against international terrorism to develop the U.S. National Security Strategy and European Security Strategy. Both see terrorism as a “growing strategic threat to the whole of Europe” and fear a worst-case scenario in which terrorist groups acquire **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. All EU and NATO members invoked the Article V self-defense provision for the first time in NATO’s history to help U.S. **forces** in the Second Afghan War (2001–2002) against the Taliban Islamic fundamentalist government and Osama bin Laden’s Al-Qaeda terrorists, although NATO and EU split over disagreements among some European states about the U.S.-led coalition’s preemptive **Second Gulf War** against Iraq. Finally, in April 2004 the EU and NATO rejected Osama bin Laden’s offers of a truce with European states if they withdrew their forces from all Muslim countries (**Afghanistan**, Gulf States, Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia), while the bombings in Madrid, Spain, in 2004 and in London in 2005 showed that Europe remains more vulnerable than the United States as a target and recruitment base for terrorism.

EU Secretary-General/High Representative on Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana established in May 2004 an **EU Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism** and a new EU counterterrorism policy. This five-tiered policy stresses the EU’s unity in fighting terrorism, while improving intelligence cooperation among members by adopting the **EU Solidarity Clause**, which requires all members to help each other prevent and protect against terrorist attacks by sharing military and nonmilitary means; regular meetings of all heads of security services within the EU Counter-Terrorist Group (CTG); expanding the CTG’s analytical exchange by building on its existing coordination among members’ own external intelligence services since 2002, while improving operational cooperation; using the **EU Joint Situation Centre (SITCEN)** for effective EU counterterrorist intelligence analyses of terrorist threats, methods, and organizations; and reactivating the EU’s European Police Office (EUROPOL) Counter-Terrorist Task Force to share intelligence with the

members' joint investigative teams and police, the latter benefiting from cooperation and information sharing (CTG, EUROPOL, INTERPOL, SITCEN) against terrorism and organized crime.

The counterterrorism policy includes the following features:

- **European arrest warrants** that allow EU prosecutors to issue arrest warrants for terrorist crimes on its territory and compel any EU state police to arrest wanted criminals and extradite them to the state issuing the warrant
- **Joint investigation teams** that allow law enforcement authorities of two or more EU states to set up teams for criminal investigation. A newly created **EuroJust**, to serve as the EU's nascent law enforcement agency to improve coordination among law enforcement, investigations, and extradition
- EU legislation against money laundering and terrorist financing, in line with **United Nations (UN)** Security Council Resolution 1373 and the EU Financial Action Task Force (FATF), to list people and terrorist groups and freeze their assets, including charitable groups' remittances.

EU–U.S. antiterrorist cooperation stresses that no causes justify terrorism and that no negotiation is possible with terrorism, which attacks the very constitutional values of both Europe and America. This position is shared by the other targets of terrorism, such as Israel, Russia, and **Turkey**. EU–U.S. strategies against terrorism globally apply joint actions in five areas—diplomatic, military, economic, intelligence, and law enforcement—through (1) intelligence sharing and coordination; (2) the **EU–U.S. Policy Dialogue on Border and Transport Security** on U.S. Homeland Security policies that affect trade, ports, containers, air traffic security, sky marshals, biometrics, passengers, and cargo screening; (3) EU–U.S. Joint Investigation Teams; (4) the EU–U.S. 2003 Extradition and Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement; and (5) U.S.–EUROPOL accords (2002–2004) to share intelligence with INTERPOL. The EU also strengthened bilateral ties with the **International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)**, INTERPOL, and UN against terrorism's global threat by promoting the IAEA's Additional Protocol on Safeguards, supporting UN Security Council Resolutions on WMDs, and supporting the **Non-Proliferation Treaty's (NPT)** 2005 review. Finally, the EU Security Strategy

fight the link between WMDs and terrorism by intensifying anti-**proliferation** and financially supporting Russian and IAEA disposal of **nuclear weapons**, radioactive sources, or **chemical weapons**.

The 2004 Revised Plan of Action on EU Strategic Objectives to Combat Terrorism and EU Declaration on Combating Terrorism support cooperation with international organizations in mobilizing the world community through the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee, Taliban/Al-Qaeda Sanctions Committee, and UN Office of Drugs and Crime–Terrorism Prevention Branch to ensure universal implementation of the UN Conventions on Terrorism and craft a UN Convention on Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism. To ensure that terrorist organizations are starved of funds, weapons, explosives, bomb-making equipment, and WMD technologies, the European Council includes effective counterterrorism clauses in all agreements with third countries and has mandated the EU Police Chiefs' Task Force to reinforce and coordinate operational measures against terrorist acts and focus on proactive intelligence, with the assistance of experts from intelligence services and EUROPOL. In addition, the EU is establishing a Draft Strategy for Customs Cooperation and European Borders Agency to strengthen border controls against terrorism, while revising Schengen Information System (SIS II) for persons being refused entry and requiring that all carriers communicate passenger data for border and aviation security and law enforcement. The European Council also implements the EUROPOL Information System, the Visa Information System (VIS), and future exchange of personal information (DNA, fingerprints, and visa data), and has expanded the antiterrorist role of the SIS II.

EU COUNTER-TERRORIST GROUP (CTG). *See* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

EU DECLARATION ON COMBATING TERRORISM (2004). The **European Union (EU)** 2004 Declaration on Combating Terrorism condemns all acts of **terrorism** against any country as cowardly attacks against EU values and a threat to the entire international community. No country in the world is immune, and terrorism can only be defeated by solidarity and collective action. The EU members

pledge to combat terrorism based on the EU fundamental principles and European Constitution's Solidarity Clause, **EU Counter-Terrorist Policy**, and the 2001 **United Nations (UN)** Security Council Resolution 1373. In December 2003, the European Council adopted the European Security Strategy, which seeks a long-term **strategy** to address all factors contributing to terrorism as a key treat. The EU compensates victims of terrorism among its members and increases international efforts to prevent and stabilize regional conflicts, while expanding the **European Security and Defence Identity's/Policy's (ESDI/P)** tasks to also fight terrorism. Finally, in 2005 the EU established rules on communications traffic data by service providers; sharing information and a European register of convictions; a database on forensic and law enforcement intelligence sharing; and protection of witnesses in terrorist cases.

EU ENLARGEMENTS. The **European Community (EC)** was created by the 1957 Treaty of Rome as an economic integration organization. The EC's original six members (**Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands**) allowed accession of new members through consensus (with each member having an implicit **veto**) and domestic parliamentary ratification or popular referendum. All **aspirant** members must undertake complex economic transition negotiations (*Aquis Communautaire*) to gradually eliminate protectionist structures and adjust their economies prior to full membership. After three French vetoes by President **Charles de Gaulle** against **Great Britain**, by 1973 the EC had grown to nine members (adding **Denmark, Great Britain, Ireland**). Although **Norway** was also accepted, a negative referendum won by the nationalists kept it out. The EC increased to 10 members in 1980 (adding **Greece**) and to 12 in 1986 (adding **Portugal and Spain**). By 1989–1990, the end of the Cold War prompted the EC's transformation into a broader, quasi-confederal, pan-**European Union (EU)** under the Maastricht Treaty (1991). EU membership jumped to 15 in 1995 (adding **Austria, Finland, and Sweden**). **Switzerland** and **Norway**, after being accepted, remained out because of negative domestic referenda. After the twin **NATO enlargements** (1999–2004), the December 2002 Copenhagen EU **Summit** also expanded membership to 25, with 10 new members (**Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Es-**

tonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia). At the June 2003 EU Thessalonika Summit in 2007, **Bulgaria** and **Romania** were added; **Turkey** was postponed to a later EU enlargement, together with the weaker **Balkan** aspirants (**Albania, Bosnia, Croatia, and Montenegro**). Eventually, **Iceland**, Norway, and Switzerland will join to avoid isolation.

EU HIGH REPRESENTATIVE FOR COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY. *See* SECRETARY-GENERAL/HIGH REPRESENTATIVE ON COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY.

EU JOINT SITUATION CENTRE (SITCEN). Since early 2002 the **European Union (EU) Joint Situation Centre** has coordinated all members' external intelligence services, and since 2004 has provided counter**terrorism** intelligence analyses for EU leaders.

EU PARTNERS. *See* EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY.

EU PEACEKEEPING. *See* EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE IDENTITY/POLICY (ESDI/P).

EU POLICE CHIEFS' TASK FORCE. *See* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

EU SATELLITE CENTRE (EUSC, FORMERLY WEU SATELLITE CENTRE). The EUSC, located in Torrejón, near Madrid, **Spain**, is an agency of the EU Council that produces intelligence from space-based imagery to support EU decision making on **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)** and is an essential asset to strengthen the **European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)** as part of CFSP, especially in **crisis** monitoring and conflict prevention. EUSC was created on 20 July 2001 and became operational 1 January 2002, under the political supervision of the EU Political and Security Committee and operationally under the EU **Secretary-General**. EUSC conducts research, development, and training in digital geographic information systems and imagery analysis. EUSC

was the **Western European Union (WEU)** Satellite Centre prior to WEU's merger with the EU (1999–2001). WEU–EU's political enthusiasm for the EUSC's independent intelligence capabilities does not make up for EUSC's technological inferiority to its equivalents in the **United States**, whose information is provided selectively to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

EU SOLIDARITY CLAUSE. A few days after the Islamic fundamentalist **terrorist** attacks of 11 September 2001 against the **United States**, the **European Union's (EU)** European Council approved a solidarity clause (included in Article 42 of the European Constitution) mandating members to cooperate against terrorist attacks by sharing military and nonmilitary means. *See also* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

EU SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVES. *See* COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY (CFSP).

EU STABILITY AND ASSOCIATION PROCESS. In 2000, the **European Union (EU)** initiated the Stability and Association Process for the western **Balkans** and former Yugoslav states to integrate them into a **Western Balkans Group** and in the long term into EU membership. **Croatia** and **Macedonia** were the first to negotiate stability and association agreements, in 2001.

EU STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES TO COMBAT TERRORISM. *See* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

EU STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS. The **European Union (EU)** has sequentially created six strategic partnerships, with the **United States**, **Canada**, Japan, China, **Russia**, and India. Although some commentators in France and Europe inaccurately portray EU partnerships as a counterbalance to U.S. global political-economic hegemony, all EU strategic partnerships are part of a new global multipolar, political-economic network, rather than a political-military one with the **West** (United States, Japan, and Canada) and emerging powers (China, Russia, and India). The partnerships address liberalizing investment flows, “common values,” environmental and energy, nu-

clear arms cuts, and **antiterrorism** coordination. The partnerships help China and India compete in EU markets as economic powers, while redressing their imbalances (China versus the United States; India versus China), in consideration of China's 1.2 billion population and 10 percent GDP growth and India's 1 billion population and 7 percent GDP growth. EU–Chinese trade is five times larger than, and investments are ten times greater than, EU–Indian trade.

EU–U.S. POLICY DIALOGUE ON BORDER AND TRANSPORT SECURITY. Bilateral body (the **European Union [EU]** and **United States**), established in 2004 to discuss common security and **antiterrorism** issues for ports, containers, air traffic security, sky marshals, biometrics, passengers, and cargo screening. It also shares timely information on **U.S. homeland** security policies that affect both America and Europe, while avoiding regulatory discrepancies that could impede bilateral trade and investments.

EU–U.S. STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP. *See* EU STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS.

EURO-ATLANTIC DISASTER RESPONSE COORDINATION CENTRE, NATO. Created in June 1998 by the **Civil Emergency Planning** Directorate of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** Headquarters, it provides response coordination for natural disasters or technological emergencies in the Euro–Atlantic area. Emergency exercises are held regularly within the context of NATO **crisis-management** procedures, with both allied capitals and NATO strategic **commands** participating. Communications and facilities are assured by the **NATO Situation Centre** on a 24/7 basis, staffed by NATO **allies** and **partners** through the **Partnership for Peace** Work Plan and Individual Partnership Programs' annual exercises.

EURO-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP COUNCIL (EAPC), NATO. In the **post–Cold War** period, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** extended Euro–Atlantic security by establishing new multilateral, interlocking institutions to assure cooperation and nonautomatic security guarantees to non-NATO **partners** (Eastern

Europeans, former Soviet states, former Yugoslav states, and “**neutrals**”) in a broader Euro–Atlantic area. These institutions are the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC–C)**; **Partnership for Peace (PfP)**; **NATO–Russia** Permanent Joint Council; **NATO–Ukraine Commission**; and **Mediterranean Dialogue**.

The NAC–C Ministerial Meeting in Sintra, **Portugal** (30 May 1997), replaced the NAC–C with the Euro–Atlantic Partnership Council as an expanded, overarching framework for political–military consultations and enhanced cooperation under the Partnership for Peace. The Washington **NATO Summit** (1999) integrated the other structures under the EAPC. NATO partner cooperation is based on work plans (**EAPC action plans**, which replaced NAC–C work plans) on defense, **crisis management**, **peacekeeping**, regional security, **arms control**, **terrorism**, civil emergency, scientific cooperation, logistics support of NATO, and non**proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. Closer NATO partners military operations are also regulated by the 1999 NATO–EAPC report, *Towards a Partnership for the 21st Century—Enhanced and Operational Partnership*. Active members in the EAPC/PfP individually consult with NATO about any threat to their territorial integrity, independence, or security. At the 1999 Washington NATO Summit all EAPC members (**allies** and partners) supported NATO and **United Nations (UN)** in opposing **Yugoslavia’s** repression and **ethnic cleansing** in **Kosovo**, while promoting security, economic growth, and democratization in the **Balkans**. EAPC partners also provide NATO with vital peacekeeping forces in **Bosnia (Stabilisation Force [SFOR])**, **Kosovo (Kosovo Implementation Force [KFOR])**, and **Afghanistan (International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan [ISAF])**.

The EAPC’s 44 members in 1997 comprised 16 NATO allies and 29 NAC–C partners; by 2007 **Bosnia**, **Croatia**, and **Tajikistan** had joined as partners; and dialogue is taking place on future participation of **Montenegro** and **Serbia**. After the twin **NATO enlargements** to 12 partners (in 1997–1999, 2002–2004, and 2008), the EAPC includes 28 NATO allies (**Albania**, **Belgium**, **Bulgaria**, **Canada**, **Croatia**, the **Czech Republic**, **Denmark**, **Estonia**, **France**, **Germany**, **Great Britain**, **Greece**, **Hungary**, **Iceland**, **Italy**, **Latvia**, **Lithuania**, **Luxembourg**, the **Netherlands**, **Norway**, **Poland**, **Portugal**, **Romania**, **Slovakia**, **Slovenia**, **Spain**, **Turkey**, and the

United States) and 19 partners (**Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia, Finland, Georgia, Ireland, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Moldova, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan**).

The overlapping **post–Cold War** European security architecture makes all 47 EAPC allies and partners also members of the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, and OSCE members can join the EAPC once they adopt its principles and goals. The death of Croatia's dictator Franjo Tudjman (January 2000) and democratic elections allowed that country to join the EAPC and Partnership for Peace in May 2000, and NATO in April 2008, while it seeks to join the **European Union (EU)** by 2010. The OSCE suspended rump **Yugoslavia (Serbia-Montenegro)** under dictator Slobodan Milošević for precipitating the Yugoslav civil wars in Slovenia (1991), Croatia (1991–1992), **Bosnia** (1992–1995), and Kosovo (1998–1999), but since Milošević's overthrow in 2001 and trial by the UN War-crimes Tribunal of The Hague, it has been reinstated in the OSCE, although the split between Montenegro and Serbia allows them to join in the future both the EAPC and the **European Union (EU)**. In a few years, the OSCE could also absorb its eight associated members (**Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Malta, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia**), and then qualify them for EAPC membership through NATO's **Mediterranean Dialogue** and EU's Mediterranean Dimension.

EURO-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP COUNCIL ACTION PLANS, NATO. *See* EURO-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP COUNCIL.

EUROCORPS, EU. From the 1963 **Élysée Treaty**, which cemented bilateral security cooperation between **France** and West **Germany**, came first the Franco–German Brigade. In the 1980s, it was expanded to a few other **European Community/Union (EC/EU)** members (**Belgium, Luxembourg, Portugal, and Spain**) as the French-led Eurocorps, to provide an ambitious alternative to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. But the Eurocorps was small because most **allies** were reluctant to join it for fear of weakening NATO and the hostility of non-French Eurocorps members toward dissociating from the wider NATO integrated **command**, and it became a rapidly deployable EU **peacekeeping force** under

NATO **command** or independently. It was used three times under NATO command as a rotational force, in charge of the **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)**, **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)**, and **International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF)**, and three times for independent EU peacekeeping, in Congo (**Operation Artémis**), in **European Force–Macedonia (EURFOR)** in **Operation Concordia**, and in **European Force–Bosnia (EUFOR)**.

EUROGENDFOR, EU. The commonly used name for the **European Union (EU)** Gendarmerie Force, a five-nation core military police **force** of 800 men created in September 2004 by **France, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain**, modeled on Italy's Carabinieri and France's Gendarmerie, and having both civil police capabilities and military police roles. EUROGENDFOR is part of the emerging European Security Agency, and its mission is to provide post-conflict law enforcement in peaceful **peacekeeping** operations by the EU, **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, and **United Nations (UN)**. Although EUROGENDFOR is planning to expand both its **forces** and EU sponsoring members, **Germany** has declined to join because its constitution prevents police forces from taking on military roles. *See also* EUROJUST; EUROPEAN ARREST WARRANTS; EUROPEAN FORCE–BOSNIA.

EUROJUST, EU. Ten days after the Islamic fundamentalist terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 on the **United States**, the **European Union's (EU)** European Council created EuroJust as the EU law enforcement agency to coordinate members' law enforcement activities such as criminal investigations and extraditions. A EUROPOL/EuroJust accord was adopted in May 2004 to enhance EU-wide cooperation on counter**terrorism** with EUROGENDFOR and **joint investigation teams**. *See also* EUROPEAN ARREST WARRANTS.

EUROMISSILE CRISIS (1977–1980s). One of the most serious East–West and transatlantic **crises** initiated by the Soviet Union (USSR), which contributed to the collapse of **détente** (1969–1979). In 1977, the USSR started secretly deploying in Eastern Europe SS-20 theater **nuclear** missiles or intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) with triple-headed **multiple independent reentry vehicles**

(MIRVs), which violated détente's **arms control** process of reducing the nuclear and conventional **forces** of both the U.S.-led **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and Soviet-led **Warsaw Pact**. The USSR surreptitiously upgraded all conventional weapons of the **Red Army** combat forces in Eastern Europe and Warsaw Pact, while stalling the **mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR)** talks. The USSR secretly introduced the **MIRVed SS-20 IRBMs** to nullify both NATO's air-based residual theater **intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)** and its traditional advantage in quality of conventional forces. In late 1977, **Germany's** Chancellor Helmut Schmidt denounced this provocative Soviet INF modernization in Eastern Europe and demanded that NATO in turn modernize its own INFs. Given the Western Left's political opposition to all forms of nuclear defense, Schmidt also demanded that NATO INFs be deployed in two other main European **allies** and a few smaller allies.

By December 1979, after several Soviet rejections of **alliance** calls to stop building up SS-20s, NATO finally agreed to the "dual-track" policy of negotiating with the USSR to eliminate all East–West INFs (the 300 Soviet SS-20s with triple warheads compared to zero NATO ones), while modernizing U.S. single-warhead INFs (Pershing II IRBMs and land-based mobile cruise missiles) to deploy them by 1983 in **Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands**, and West Germany only if arms control talks failed. During the crisis, the USSR again rejected stopping the SS-20s buildup and halted all East–West arms control talks, while secretly supporting massive antinuclear demonstrations by Western leftist pacifists in key NATO countries (Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, **Greece**, Italy, and the United States). The demonstrators condemned NATO for the nuclear buildup and advocated peaceful surrender to the USSR in case of **World War III** (the "Better Red than dead!" slogan). Public protests died out after all NATO governments repeated their unanimous commitment and deployed INFs in 1983.

NATO's **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and **Commander-in-Chief (CINC)** of U.S. **European Command (EUCOM)** General **Bernard W. Rogers** repeatedly told the public that an INF theater nuclear shield was vital to supplement NATO's inadequate conventional military forces against any Warsaw Pact attack, especially after East–West détente collapsed in 1980 over the

Soviet invasion of **Afghanistan**, its rejection of NATO's "dual-track policy," and its cheating on the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty II (SALT II, 1979). He also engineered the October 1983 **Montebello Decision** to withdraw 1,400 U.S. nuclear warheads from Europe to assure world opinion that NATO was "peace loving," but the USSR never reciprocated, and even reacted with a near-panic nuclear alert in response to a routine NATO exercise (Able Archer-83) in November 1983.

East–West arms control negotiations on **intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)** were renewed after Soviet Premier **Mikhail Gorbachëv** came to power in 1985, seeking a new détente between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Gorbachëv and U.S. President **Ronald Reagan** agreed that the 1987–1988 **INF Treaty** would eliminate all U.S.–NATO and Soviet–Warsaw Pact INF missiles in Europe and worldwide (the "zero **option**"), while allowing for the first time intrusive **on-site inspections** for verification. However, SACEUR Rogers strongly opposed the "zero option," fearing it would "denuclearize" NATO and make it more vulnerable to blackmail or attack from the Warsaw Pact. Rogers's opposition led to his forced retirement in 1987, all INFs were destroyed by spring 1991, and a U.S.–Soviet unilateral short-range nuclear forces (SNF) agreement in 1991 eliminated the last theater nuclear forces from Europe, except NATO's 800 theater nuclear air-delivered weapons.

EURO-REGIONS, EU. *See* SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE (SEE).

EUROPE AGREEMENTS, EU. All **European Union (EU)** candidates (except **Cyprus**, **Malta**, and **Turkey**) sign Europe Agreements with the EU as special associations between the EU and Central–Eastern European and Baltic states in order to join the EU. These agreements incorporate the EU **Copenhagen Criteria** on the respect for democracy, human rights, rule of law, and market economy. Europe Agreements are signed for an unlimited period of time and combine political aspects (bilateral and multilateral consultations on all issues of common interest); a free-trade zone; economic, cultural, and financial cooperation; and legislative harmonization (intellectual and market competition). Europe Agreements come into **force** after ratification by all EU members, the European Parliament, and

the candidate's institutions. A temporary agreement adjusts domestic markets and trade. *See also* MEMBERSHIP ACTION PLANS; PERRY PRINCIPLES.

"EUROPE OF NATIONS." *See* "GRAND DESIGN."

"EUROPE UNITED AND FREE." In 1990–2002, the **United States**, under Presidents **George H. W. Bush**, **Bill Clinton**, and **George W. Bush**, slowly developed a geopolitical vision for a **post–Cold War** "Europe united and free." For the first time in history, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and the **European Union (EU)** succeeded in completing Europe's peaceful unification as a democratically stable region by freely integrating "**neutrals**" and former Communist East European states. By eliminating Cold War divisions through **NATO–EU enlargements** and rebalancing transatlantic relations through NATO's wider regional and "out-of-area" reach in cooperation with the EU, both organizations finally overcame the Soviet threat during the Cold War and helped Eastern European states consolidate their new freedom by joining the **West**. NATO is based on shared democratic **Atlantic common values**, political coordination, integrated military **command**, and U.S.–allied national **control** of the military with Article V **collective defense**, regional security, and **peacekeeping**. NATO–EU members and **aspirants** must be peaceful market economies, relying on conflict resolution to solve border/ethnic clashes and avoid war.

The three NATO enlargements (1999–2008) to add 12 **allies** and the EU **enlargements** (2002–2007) to add 12 members finally solved all existing European political-military controversies by stabilizing the **Balkans** and Baltic states, containing ethnic-nationalist civil wars within NATO–EU peacekeeping areas (**Bosnia**, **Kosovo**), locking in democratic reforms and national/regional security in the unstable East European/Balkan regions, and limiting clashes with **Russia** and former Soviet states through integration into a broad Euro–Atlantic area protected by NATO and made prosperous by the EU. The enlargements also completed NATO's geostrategic sea and land links among fragmented allied fronts (from **Germany** to **Poland** and the Baltic states in the north, through the **Czech Republic**, **Hungary**, and **Slovakia** to the Balkans in the south, from **Italy** in the west, to

Slovenia, Hungary, and **Croatia** in the east, and linking **Greece** and **Turkey** in the south through **Romania** and **Bulgaria**).

EUROPEAN ARMY. *See* EUROPEAN DEFENCE COMMUNITY; PLEVEN PLAN.

EUROPEAN ARREST WARRANTS. A few days after the Islamic fundamentalist **terrorist** attacks of 11 September 2001 against the **United States**, the **European Union's (EU)** European Council created EU-wide European arrest warrants to allow EU member-state prosecutors to issue arrest warrants for terrorist acts committed on their territory. This compels the police of any EU state to arrest wanted criminals if present in their own territories and extradite them to the member-state issuing the warrant. No country can refuse to surrender its nationals or residents, and domestic politics and governments are not involved in this new intra-European judicial level, speeding up prosecution to make it more difficult for criminals to escape arrest in safe havens in other EU member countries. **EUROPOL**, **EuroJust**, and **EUROGENDFOR** are associated with the **joint investigation teams** in serving European arrest warrants. *See also* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

EUROPEAN BORDERS AGENCY, EU. *See* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION, EU. *See* EUROPEAN UNION (EU).

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (EC, renamed EUROPEAN UNION [EU]). Since the collapse of the Roman Empire in the AD 500s, Europe has been fragmented by wars between states seeking local or regional supremacy, culminating in the ravages and millions of dead of **World War I** (1914–1918) and **World War II** (1939–1945), which left Europe in ruins and partitioned between the hostile U.S.–Soviet superpowers during the Cold War (1946–1990). Nurtured by U.S. pro-European integration policies under the Marshall Plan's European Reconstruction Agency, Europe has since the late 1940s pursued a slow, peaceful, confederal, political-economic integration,

while institutionally constraining a resurgent West **Germany** within broad integrated institutions. Among European federalists, the influential French administrator **Jean Monnet** was the mind behind innovative institutions, including the 1950 European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which integrated across borders heavy industries and mining among its six states (**Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands**) and forced Franco–German reconciliation based on a common democratic European vision and army in the 1950 **European Defence Community (EDC)**.

The success of ECSC regional economic integration and growth, coupled with political-military integration under the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** after the EDC's failure, prompted the six ECSC members to pursue a broader European economic integration, despite British refusal to join any such organization. The Messina Conference (1954) and Treaty of Rome (1957) created the European Economic Community (EEC), which became the European Community (EC), a broad, political-economic, regional integrated body including the ECSC and European Atomic Energy Community, with the three communities sharing the assembly. The Merger Treaty (1956) gave the EC a single European Commission and European Council of Ministers. Its six members became nine in 1973 (adding **Denmark, Great Britain, Ireland**), 10 in 1980 (adding **Greece**) and 12 in 1986 (adding **Portugal, Spain**). By 1989–1990, the end of the Cold War prompted the EC's transformation, under the Maastricht Treaty (1991), into a broader, quasi-confederal, pan-European body, renamed the **European Union (EU)**.

EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENTS, EU. A network of European correspondents in the foreign ministries of each **European Union (EU)** member and the European Commission coordinate daily their **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)** and prepare meetings of the **Political and Security Committee (COPS)**, General Affairs Council, and European Council. Daily contacts are made through the Correspondances Européennes (COREU) encrypted telex messages for members, the EU Secretariat, and the European Commission. *See also* EU COMMITTEE OF PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES (COREPER).

EUROPEAN COUNCIL, EU. *See* EUROPEAN UNION (EU).

EUROPEAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, EU. *See* EUROPEAN UNION (EU).

EUROPEAN DEFENCE COMMUNITY (EDC). At the height of East–West tensions during the Cold War, the **Korean War** (1950–1953) raised international fears that it would escalate into **World War III**. At the 1950 **NATO Summit** at the Plaza Hotel in New York, United States President **Harry S Truman** shocked the European **allies** by proposing the remilitarization of West **Germany** and its integration as an equal ally within the newly created **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, as the transatlantic frontline defense against any World War III and Soviet invasion of Western Europe (the “**Bomb on the Plaza**” speech). However, the Europeans still opposed both rearming West Germany and allowing an autonomous German military in NATO just five years after **World War II**. Instead, the influential French government executive Jean Monnet crafted for Prime Minister René Pleven of **France** in October 1950 the **Pleven Plan** for German rearmament in a European Defence Community (EDC), in which newly armed German troops would be wholly integrated at company level in a multinational European Army, rather than be an independent military.

The Pleven Plan and EDC were tools to constrain a resurgent West Germany within Europe’s integration, overcome European opposition to German rearmament in NATO and German recalcitrance to join the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Monnet also swayed U.S. support for the Pleven Plan and an EDC parallel to NATO, but **Great Britain** refused to join because it distrusted any European integration and favored only the U.S.-led NATO. Moreover, the 1948 **Brussels Pact**, which included Great Britain, was deemed just a European forerunner for the U.S. commitment to NATO, rather than a credible autonomous security organization. Finally, the EDC Treaty of Paris (27 May 1952) and **Petersberg Accords** gave West Germany full independence and rearmament. However, the EDC collapsed in 1954 when the French Senate unexpectedly refused to ratify it in a ploy to scuttle German rearmament, given the French government’s indifference once the death of Soviet dictator Josef Stalin had ended fears of World War III. This

also undermined transatlantic relations, as Washington angrily threatened to withdraw from NATO if West Germany could not be rearmed. London was stung that its refusal to join the EDC had contributed to its collapse, but also weakened NATO.

London in 1954 transformed of the dormant Brussels Pact (**Belgium**, France, Germany, Great Britain, **Italy**, **Luxembourg**, and the **Netherlands**) into the **Western European Union (WEU)**, including also West Germany and Italy, to guarantee European security integration and West Germany's rearmament, while also enabling it to join NATO in 1955. But NATO's security predominance left the WEU irrelevant and inactive until a spurt of activity between 1984 and 1999 as the parallel security institution linking NATO and the **European Union (EU)**, until it was finally absorbed by the EU in 1999–2000 in the context of its **European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI)**, the true resurrection of Monnet's Pleven Plan and EDC projects.

EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (EEC). *See* EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (EC).

EUROPEAN FORCE–BOSNIA (EUFOR), EU. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** successfully stabilized **Bosnia** after years of civil war and **ethnic cleansing** perpetrated mostly by the dominant Bosnian Serbs against the minority Bosnian Muslims and Croats. The 1995 Dayton Peace Accords were imposed on and implemented in Bosnia through a decade of NATO **peacekeeping** missions under **United Nations (UN)** combat mandates (Chapter VII **peace enforcement**), through the 64,000-strong **Implementation Force (IFOR)** of Operation Joint Endeavour in 1995–1996 and the 32,000-man Stabilisation Force (SFOR) of Operations Joint Guard/Joint Forge between 1996 and 2004. In December 2004, SFOR duties were turned over to the **European Union (EU) Stability Pact** and **EUFOR**, with NATO's continued logistical support and residual presence at its SFOR headquarters at Camp Butmir in Bosnia, to hunt war criminals.

EUFOR is the second EU mission based on the NATO–EU “Berlin Plus” protocols, with NATO's **Deputy-Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (D-SACEUR)**, always a European general or admiral) in **command** of **humanitarian** EU peacekeeping missions, with NATO

assets and logistics within the NATO–EU **European Security and Defence Identity/Program (ESDI/P)**. This follows the EU’s successful **European Force–Macedonia (EURFOR, in Operation Concordia)** in 2003, which took over NATO’s 2001–2003 local stabilization mission (**Operation Amber Fox**). EURFOR’s Headquarters in Sarajevo followed SFOR procedures and 2004 plans for six-month force “draw-downs” by 2006, to a minimal 3,000 peacekeepers without U.S. troops, but supplemented by thousands of civilian contractors from the EU Stability Pact’s economic development programs. Both EURFOR and NATO seek to stabilize Bosnia as a multi-ethnic state by integrating it into the **Partnership for Peace** by 2007 and into the EU in the 2010s, along with **Albania, Croatia, Macedonia, and Turkey**, plus eventually Kosovo, **Montenegro, and Serbia**.

EUROPEAN FORCE-MACEDONIA (EURFOR), EU. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) Operation Amber Fox** stabilized **Macedonia** in 2001–2003 after months of civil war in 2000–2001 between the secessionist Albanian minority (30 percent of the population) and the dominant Macedonian Slavs. On 1 April 2003, NATO turned over its duties to EURFOR in **Operation Concordia**, the EU’s first **peacekeeping** mission on the basis of the NATO–EU “Berlin Plus” protocols, with 380 soldiers from 27 European states. NATO’s **Deputy-Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (D-SACEUR)**, always a European general or admiral) is in **command** of any **humanitarian** EU peacekeeping mission using NATO assets and logistics within the context of the NATO–EU **European Security and Defence Identity/Program (ESDI/P)**. Operation Concordia succeeded in preventing Macedonia from sliding into inter-ethnic conflict. In December 2004 the EU also replaced NATO’s **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** with the EU’s **European Force–Bosnia (EUFOR)**.

EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY (ENP), EU. The **European Union’s (EU)** enlargement to 27 members in December 2002–January 2007 put an end to the Cold War (1946–1990) military-ideological division of Europe. The **EU Commission’s** *Communication on Wider Europe* (March 2003) outlined the ENP, which was designed to prevent the reemergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged EU-27 and the 18 neighboring states that share the EU’s fundamental values, goals, and desire for stability, security, and pros-

perity, by establishing EU partnerships and some regional economic-political integration with the EU, short of full membership. The EU Commission's *Strategy Paper and Country Reports* (May 2004) set out ENP principles, geographical scope, regional cooperation, and financial support for EU foreign policy and the socioeconomic development of EU partners in coordination with the EU Commission's Task Force on Wider Europe (July 2003), the **Secretary-General/High Representative** for the CFSP, the EU presidency, and member states.

The ENP's framework since 2003 combines four EU subregional accords on trade and sociopolitical integration: (1) three Eastern European EU partners with **Belarus** (ENP ties are frozen due to its authoritarian rule), **Moldova**, and **Ukraine**; (2) **Russia** under a separate EU-Russian Strategic Partnership with ENP funds; (3) the Barcelona Process's 11 south **Mediterranean** Accord members (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, and the Palestinian Authority); and (4) the Transcaucasus (since June 2004 with **Armenia**, **Azerbaijan**, and **Georgia**). The ENP excludes EU aspirants **Croatia** and **Turkey**, and the western **Balkan** states (**Albania**, **Bosnia**, **Macedonia**, **Montenegro**, **Serbia**), all eligible to join the EU after meeting the criteria set at the **Summits** in Copenhagen (1993), Feira (2000), and Thessalonika (2003).

The ENP does not prepare countries for potential EU membership, but offers instead a privileged relationship with mutual commitment to common values (the rule of law, good governance, human rights, minority rights, good neighborly relations, the market economy, and development). The EU and its partners together define a set of priorities for closer economic and political integration through joint EU action plans on political dialogue and reform, trade and economic integration in the EU internal market, justice and home affairs, energy, transportation, information, environment, research, and social policy. The EU action plans vary according to each partner's needs, reforms, and ties with the EU. The ENP also assures greater regional security with EU partners under the EU's European Security Strategy (December 2003) in the Mediterranean and Middle East for cooperation, trade, preventive crisis stabilization, **confidence-building measures (CBM)**, conflict resolution, post-conflict reconstruction, regional integration, international law, infrastructure networks, energy, and support of EU foreign policy against **terrorism** and proliferation of

weapons of mass destruction (WMD), through partnership and co-operation agreements or association agreements.

Between 2004 and 2007 the EU's Neighbourhood Programmes enhanced cross-border, transnational, and regional cooperation, while the EU's European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) finances projects within the enlarged EU and partners by increasing aid funds for economic development and stability, plus technical assistance to meet EU norms and standards, and future links on education, environment, and science. In addition, since 1991 the Tacis Programme regional cooperation between the EU and its partners provides grant-financed technical assistance to 12–13 Eastern European and Central Asian states (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, **Kazakhstan**, **Kyrgyzstan**, Moldova, Russia, **Tajikistan**, **Turkmenistan**, Ukraine, and **Uzbekistan**; Mongolia's 1991–2003 affiliation is covered by the ALA Programme) to enhance their transition process and reciprocal cooperation on institutional, legal, and administrative reforms; private sector and economic development; the social impact of transition; infrastructure networks; environment and natural resources; development of the rural economy; and **nuclear** safety. Between 2000 and 2003, Tacis assistance for the Eastern partners was €1.3 billion, with the bulk going to Russia and Ukraine; the 11 Southern partners received €2.4 billion; and the Transcaucasus states have received more than €1 billion in aid since 1991.

Finally, the EU's Special Representative for the South Caucasus (created in 2003) and the EU Gahrton Report (2004) encourage stabilization of the Caucasus region through institution building, poverty reduction, border management, environmental measures, anticorruption, and drug trafficking. The EU economically assists regional post-conflict reconstruction and restoration of infrastructures after peace settlements, return of refugees, and CBMs to reduce tensions. On conflict resolution, the EU Commission fully supports the **United Nations (UN)** and **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** mediation of local conflicts. Examples are the border war between Armenia and Azerbaijan, in which the Armenian-inhabited Nagorno-Karabakh seceded from Azerbaijan; and the Georgian secessionist regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, where prosecessionist Russian peacekeepers nominally cooperate with the EU and OSCE to hold in place frozen armistices, while secretly promoting these break-away areas' integration with Russia.

The EU's regional economic reconstruction succeeded first in its **Balkans Stability Pact**, once the local civil wars were officially patched up and secured by large-scale peacekeeping forces from the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and EU (December 2004). In 2006 the EU stopped rejecting a **Caucasus Stability Pact** as "unready" due to the lack of NATO peacekeepers.

"EUROPEAN PILLAR," WEU-EU. *See* WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION (WEU).

EUROPEAN POLICE OFFICE (EUROPOL). *See* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COMMUNITY (EPC). During the Cold War (1946–1990), the need to channel the resurgent economic and military power of West **Germany** propelled most European **allies** to embrace **France's Jean Monnet's** plans in 1950 to forge continental integration both in the economic (Schuman Plan; European Coal and Steel Community [ECSC]) and political-military fields (**Pleven Plan; European Defence Community [EDC]**) to replace the 1948 Brussels Pact and include West Germany (1952 **Petersberg Accords**). The EDC's Article 38 also called for a European Political Community (EPC) supranational political-military authority over the EDC. The EPC project was first developed in 1952 by **Italian** Foreign Minister Cesare Sforza, but it died once it was leaked to the press, because of the other EDC members' (**Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands**) indifference. Responding to domestic parliamentary pressures, in 1952 the Council of Europe's Assembly entrusted an ECSC special constitutional committee to draft an EPC treaty. The result was a radically advanced EPC that would incorporate both EDC and ECSC with broad powers in political-military, diplomatic, and economic-monetary coordination. Had the EPC been approved in the early 1950s, it would have immediately wielded the same strong powers over European integration that were later only reluctantly extended by the 1991–1997 Maastricht and **Amsterdam Treaties** to create the **European Union (EU)**. But most members balked at the EPC's sweeping powers, and after the 1954 surprise French scuttling of the equally controversial EDC, both projects collapsed, leaving Europe's

stalled integration to be continued militarily through the separate and equally weak **Western European Union (WEU)** in 1954 and ECSC's 1955–1957 transformation as the **European Community (EC)**. *See also* EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE IDENTITY/POLICY.

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION (EPC), EC. In December 1969 at the **European Community (EC)** Hague Summit, President Georges Pompidou of **France** proposed a European international identity based on a permanent coordination among EC foreign affairs ministers and a secretariat. The other five EC members opposed this proposal as another French attempt to dominate the EC and revive French President **Charles de Gaulle's** 1960s **Fouchet Plans**. However, controversies over West **Germany's** *Ostpolitik* diplomatic opening to the **Soviet/Communist bloc** led the EC to agree on joint diplomatic exchanges of information through the 1970 Davignon Report and 1973 EC Copenhagen Report, coordinating economics, diplomacy, and defense through the EPC's six-month rotating biannual meetings of foreign ministers and coordination among political directors on *Ostpolitik*, the Middle East, East–West **arms control**, and Southern Africa. International coordination expanded with the 1974 institutionalization of the **European Council** Summits of Heads of States and Governments, and following the 1975 **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)** and CSCE follow-up conferences.

The EC's London Report (1981) extended the EPC to common security issues, although opposition from **Denmark, Ireland, and Greece** watered down the defense aspects in the Stuttgart Declaration (1983). The 1986 Single European Act (SEA) finally made the EPC a formal EC task, but the heightened international political-military **crises** at the end of the Cold War (**1989 Eastern European Revolutions**, 1990–1991 **Gulf War** against Iraq; 1991–1992 collapse of the Soviet Union/USSR; 1991–1995 Yugoslav civil wars), although they boosted its role, also revealed many shortcomings: lack of authority and no “one voice” despite members' pledges, and the Bosnian civil war revealed the EC's international impotence. In 1991–1997, the Maastricht and **Amsterdam Treaties** transformed the EC into the **European Union (EU)**, replacing the EPC with a **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)** as a pillar of the new European struc-

ture, with responsibility over the EU's **European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI/P)**, which finally resurrected both the scuttled 1950s **European Defence Community (EDC)** and **European Political Community (EPC)** projects. *See also* EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION (EPU); EXPROPRIATIONS.

EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION (EPU), EU. In the late 1980s, **European Community (EC)** Commission President Jacques Delors feared that the end of the Cold War (1946–1990), with the **1989 Eastern European Revolutions**, could undermine the EC's post-1985 drive to deepen its economic integration, unless Europe's integration led to a bolder European Political Union (EPU). These views were supported by **German** Chancellor Helmut Kohl and **French** President François Mitterrand. The 1990 Kohl–Mitterrand Initiative promoted fundamental European reforms and a political-economic monetary union. Two years later the EPU became a subset of the **European Union (EU)**, encompassing all noneconomic regional integrations, **European Political Cooperation (EPC)**, Common European Foreign and Security Policy (CEFS), **European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (ESDI/P)**, and judicial and nonmilitary security (**Schengen**).

EUROPEAN PRESIDENCY, EU. *See* EUROPEAN UNION (EU).

EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE IDENTITY/POLICY (ESDI/P), NATO–EU. In 1994, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** agreed to support a strong European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) or Policy (ESDP) to cooperate with the **Western European Union (WEU)**. By 1999, the EU had absorbed the WEU as its own security dimension, replacing the Common European Foreign and Security Policy (CEFS). To allow EU and European **allies** to assume greater security responsibility in a more balanced transatlantic partnership, Anglo–French pressures allowed NATO assets to be used by the WEU and EU for **peacekeeping**, once the **United States** assured that “NATO chooses not to intervene” and NATO–EU peacekeeping cooperation would be based on the 1997 NATO–WEU **joint** mechanisms and NATO's 1999 Washington **Summit**.

ESDI/P is an essential part of NATO's and the EU's transformations and cooperation on common security and improving European **forces** through NATO's **Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI)**. The

DCI applies to multinational operations based on NATO–EU principles and the 1996 NATO Berlin Summit’s “**3 Ds**” policy (“Non-Duplication”; “Non-Discrimination”; “Non-Devolution”), designed to stop **France**’s cyclical, contentious diplomatic drives to turn the EU into a military rival of NATO. “Non-Duplication” means that any autonomous EU peacekeeping and ESDI/P when NATO does not intervene (“right of first refusal”) is supported by NATO–EU cooperation and EU–allied efforts for a common security as NATO’s “European Pillar,” enhancing their defense capabilities without duplicating existing NATO force structures. NATO releases for fixed periods its assets, “double-hatted” **forces**, and European **commands** needed for any multinational EU-led missions, plus exclusive control of its **Deputy-Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (D-SACEUR)**, always a European) to lead EU-led crisis-response operations in joint NATO–EU exercises. “Non-Discrimination” means allowing full EU participation by the 13 non-EU European allies in EU-led **crisis-response** operations, building on old NATO–WEU mechanisms. “Non-Devolution” assures that EU security is never separate from or promotes a future devolution of NATO, whereas NATO’s **Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF)** allow flexible ESDI/P support for “double-hatted” NATO forces as “separable” but not “separate” from those available to NATO to prevent parallel/duplicate EU structures.

Finally, the EU Helsinki Summit (December 1999) established Headline Goals to identify its members’ military capabilities for EU-led deployments by 2003, with 50,000–60,000 troops devoted for more than one year to **Petersberg Tasks** (international **crisis management, humanitarian** and rescue, peacekeeping) mandated by the 1997 EU **Amsterdam Treaty**. With attempts by **France** and a few EU members to develop ESDI/P as a separate independent EU body, rather than a joint EU–NATO cooperation, having been offset, in June 2003 the French-led operation in Congo launched the EU’s first independent peacekeeping mission, followed by NATO’s turning over its operations in **Macedonia** (2003) and its **Stabilisation Force (SFOR)** peacekeeping in **Bosnia** to EU peacekeeping.

EUROPEAN SECURITY STRATEGY (2003), EU. *See* EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY (ENP).

EUROPEAN STABILITY PACT (or BALLADUR INITIATIVE).

A 1995 initiative by **France** and **Germany**, proposed to **Russia** by French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, to address security issues in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (USSR) by using diplomacy and accords to keep the regional status quo, oppose border changes, and minority rights. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev rejected the European Stability Pact, claiming that it duplicated the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, which Russia still criticized as a member.

EUROPEAN UNION (EU, FORMERLY EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, EC).

Created originally in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome as **European Community (EC)** (or **European Economic Community [EEC]**), with the goal to become a supranational political union of its member states, it remained until 1991 an essentially economic organization with minimal political-military consultation, because most of its members were also NATO **allies**. The EC's 1975 Tindemans Report envisaged a political union by the late 1970s in four key areas: economic-monetary union, institutional reforms, common foreign and defense policies, and common regional and social policies. This bold plan was integrated with the **European Political Cooperation (EPC)** developed from the EC 1983 Stuttgart Declaration and 1984 European Parliament's Draft Treaty on Union, plus the European Council's 1986 Single European Act (SEA), for full economic-monetary union by 2000. These plans were adopted after the **Cold War** ended in 1990, when traditional EC intergovernmental conferences were replaced by a semiconfederal, political-economic, and diplomatic-security identity under the 1992 Maastricht and 1999 **Amsterdam Treaties**, creating the European Union (EU).

The context in which European integration was being pursued as the first-ever peaceful regional political-economic community during the Cold War changed completely, becoming in the **post-Cold War** period the first pan-European political-economic and security union of both sides of the "Iron Curtain" despite the Eastern Europeans' weak condition. Thus, the EU pursued both the "deepening" of its institutional integration and the "widening" of its membership by accepting any European state meeting the strict *Acquis Communautaire* of 50 political and economic criteria for a stable democracy and

free-market system. It had 15 members by 1995 (adding **Austria**, **Finland**, and **Sweden**); 25 by 2002–2004 (adding **Cyprus**, **Czech Republic**, **Estonia**, **Hungary**, **Latvia**, **Lithuania**, **Malta**, **Poland**, **Slovakia**, and **Slovenia**); and 27 by 2007 (adding **Bulgaria** and **Romania**). Future EU integration of **Croatia** and **Turkey** will probably happen around 2010, with later EU **enlargements** including weak **Balkan aspirants** (**Albania**, **Bosnia**, **Montenegro**, **Serbia**) and rich **Iceland**, **Norway**, and **Switzerland**, once economic needs and fears of isolation overcome their original nationalist seclusion.

The EU is divided into three “pillars.” The first pillar is the European Community, historically concentrated on political-economic integration, while balancing EU institutional powers between federal and confederal/intergovernmentalism. The second pillar is the **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)**, a rudimentary EU diplomatic-security coordination through the late-1980s transformation of the **Western European Union (WEU)** into the official link between the EU and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, strengthened by the 1999–2000 EU–WEU merger and the EU’s reorganization of the CFSP as the **European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (ESDI/P)**. The third pillar is Justice and Home Affairs (JHA), dealing with legal, antiterrorist, and immigration policies covered in the 1985 Schengen Agreement among 13 of the 27 EU members in 2007.

The EU retains the EC’s multitiered institutional organization because in 2005 the controversial new European Constitution, drafted mostly by France and approved by the EU Nice **Summit** (2000), was not ratified. The **EU presidency** is a symbolic, six-month rotation (in alphabetical order among members) held by the prime minister of the selected member, with a skeletal ad hoc national secretariat to supervise EU affairs and one or more (in emergencies) Summits of the European Council.

The European Council comprises all EU members’ heads of states and governments, meeting two to three times a year at the end of each president’s term to address long-term policy issues and mediate disputes between the European Commission and European Council of Ministers. It was created in 1971 and institutionalized as the strongest official EC/EU organ by the 1986 Single European Act (SEA). Since 1977 these summits also include the EU Commission president and all members’ foreign ministers (traditional controllers of the European Council of Ministers), with daily national controls by the Euro-

pean Council of Ministers and EU **Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER)**.

The European Council of Ministers is the EU's main decision-making body, comprising all members' ministers of foreign affairs and an EU commissioner, as well as all other cabinet ministers in their fields in rotation, meeting every few weeks in Brussels. The European Council of Ministers decides political and security issues through the General Affairs Council (made up of all members' foreign affairs ministers and the EU Commissioner for External Relations), supported by a small staff and the COREPER in daily decisions.

The European Commission is traditionally the more "federalist" EC/EU organ, but must play "second fiddle" to the sovereignty-oriented European Council of Ministers. It has an EU Commissioner for External Relations who handles foreign and security issues with a small staff of mainly the members' diplomats and military personnel on tours of duty.

The European Parliament's influence is strictly limited to budget and characterized by frosty relations with the Council of Ministers. In the 1990s, it had 518 parliamentarians (81 each for France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy; 60 for Spain; 24 each for Belgium, Greece, and Portugal; 16 for Denmark; 15 for Ireland; and 6 for Luxembourg), but the numbers were revised at the 2000 Nice Summit to take into account future enlargements by increasing Germany's seats to 88 and reducing all members to their actual political-economic and demographic profiles. The European Court of Justice in Luxembourg, with 15 judges, interprets EU law.

By the early 1970s, the EC also felt the need to politically coordinate its integrated European policies in economics, diplomacy, and defense through the European Political Cooperation. Between 1991 and 1997, the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties finally transformed the EC into the EU, with powers on all internal, economic, monetary, political, judicial, foreign, and security issues. Despite being hampered in security decision making by its extensive membership, the EU will continue to increase its political-security involvement in European, transatlantic, and Mediterranean issues, while deploying small **peacekeeping** missions in cooperation with NATO, the **European Force–Macedonia (EURFOR)** and **European Force–Bosnia (EUFOR)**. Nevertheless, the EU's most effective roles remain

mediation, conflict prevention, sanctions, and post-conflict reconstruction, rather than combat peacekeeping.

EUROPEAN UNION MILITARY COMMITTEE (EUMC). The EUMC is composed of the chiefs of defense, represented by their military liaison officers to the **European Union (EU)**. EUMC provides the **Political and Security Committee (COPS)** with military advice on defense, exercises, and military activities within the EU framework, including the **EU Military Staff (EUMS)**. The EUMC chair attends meetings of the European Council when decisions on defense are taken.

EUROPEAN UNION MILITARY STAFF (EUMS). The EUMS provides military expertise and supports both the **EU Military Committee (EUMC)** and the **European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (ESDI/P)**, including EU military **crisis-management** missions, early warning, situation analysis, strategic planning for “**Petersberg Tasks**,” and identification of European national and multinational **forces** for EUMC policies.

EUROPEAN UNION MONITORING MISSION (EUMM). The collapse of the Federal Republic of **Yugoslavia** in five civil wars and the secession of its states led the **European Community (EC)** to deploy to the **Balkans** in July 1991 an EC Monitoring Mission (ECCM). In December 2000, it became the **European Union (EU)** Monitoring Mission (EUMM), after the EC became the EU. Based in Sarajevo with 120 international civilians and 75 local monitors, the ECCM/EUMM observer missions monitored political and security matters in **Albania, Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia**, and rump **Yugoslavia**.

EUROPEAN UNION POLICE MISSION (EUPM). The **European Union (EU)** created a Police Mission on 1 January 2003 with 500 personnel, 80 percent from EU members and the rest from non-EU European states and **Canada**. EUPM’s task is to replace the **United Nations International Police Task Force (UNIPTF)** and **United Nations Mission in Bosnia–Herzegovina (UNMIBH)**, overseeing 16,000 police officers and state borders in the two autonomous regions of the Muslim–Croat Bosnian Federation and the Serb Republika Srpska, plus **Bosnia’s** Central Security Ministry.

EUROPEAN UNION RAPID-REACTION FORCE. The **European Union (EU)** created a list of 20,000 troops from its members for a rapid-reaction **force** for **peacekeeping** and **humanitarian** deployments. Each state retains the right to refuse to send its troops on specific EU peacekeeping operations. *See also* NATO RAPID-REACTION FORCE.

EUROPOL, EU. **European Union (EU)** police agency, based in Brussels, **Belgium**, cooperates with its members' national police, **joint investigation teams**, **EUROGENDFOR**, and INTERPOL to fight international crime and **terrorism**, by sharing information and assisting with **European arrest warrants** and international extradition warrants. Since 2004, coordination against international **terrorism** has been the responsibility of EUROPOL's Counter-Terrorist Task Force. Since 2002–2004, EUROPOL and the **United States** share intelligence and personal data, while working with INTERPOL and the EU counterterrorism policy to track lost/stolen passports that terrorists use. The 2003 EU–U.S. Extradition and Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement speeds up extradition requests by putting U.S. and European agencies in direct contact with authorities, sharing access to bank accounts for the investigation of serious crimes. The EU-ROPOL/**EuroJust** agreement was adopted in May 2004, with EU-ROPOL/EuroJust officers associated with joint investigation teams.

EUROPOL COUNTER-TERRORIST TASK FORCE. *See* EU-ROPOL.

EUROPOL INFORMATION SYSTEM, EU. *See* EU COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICY.

EXECUTIVE WORKING GROUP, NATO. Main advisory body of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, when the **North Atlantic Council** meets at the level of defense ministers' sessions or deals with defense matters and **strategy**.

EXERCISE ABLE ARCHER-83, NATO. *See* EUROMISSILE CRISIS; REAGAN, RONALD W.

EXERCISE ALLIED ACTION, NATO. Annual exercise by NATO in mid-May to test NATO **crisis-response command** capabilities from rapidly deployable sea-based headquarters; one of NATO's largest military exercises.

EXERCISE ALLIED EFFORT, NATO. Annual November exercise by NATO's **Allied Forces–Northern Europe (AFNORTH)**, involving 2,500 men from 14 NATO **allies** and 13 **partners**, to train headquarters and subcommands of a **combined joint task force (CJTF)** in **peacekeeping** operations.

EXERCISE ALLIED REACH, NATO. Annual NATO exercise on 1–3 February in **Norway** to test a **NATO response force (NRF)**.

EXERCISE ALLIED WARRIOR, NATO. Annual November NATO exercise to test **NATO response forces' (NRF) crisis management**.

EXERCISE ARDENT GROUND, NATO. NATO annual live-fire and air **rapid-reaction joint** exercise for military and **humanitarian** operations held in different **partners'** countries in April–May, test deployment within 72 hours of 2,000 troops from 11 **allies (Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, United States)** by Allied Command Europe Mobile Force–Land (ACE AMF (L)) under SACEUR command.

EXERCISE ARCADE FUSION, NATO. NATO annual high-intensity combat and **rapid-reaction** exercise in **Germany** in mid-October conducted by the **Allied Command–Europe Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC)**, with **forces** from 11 **Allies**.

EXERCISE ARCADE GUARD, NATO. NATO annual exercise in **Germany** on 18 February–7 March conducted by the **Allied Command–Europe Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC)** with 2,500 **forces** from 17 **allies**, to test ARRC as a High-Readiness **Force (Land)** Headquarters under NATO military restructuring.

EXERCISE AUTUMN FORGE, NATO. *See* REFORGER, NATO.

EXERCISE BALTOPS, NATO. NATO annual naval **peacekeeping** exercise in the Baltic Sea in early June, involving 14 **allies** and **partners**, to test gunnery, interdiction, sea resupply, ASW, mine counter-measures, and search and rescue.

EXERCISE BRIGHT EYE, NATO. NATO annual search and rescue (SAR) exercise on 15 April–24 May in NATO's Northern region to test and develop procedures and facilities for SAR **command, control, and coordination (C³)**.

EXERCISE CAPABLE WARRIOR, NATO. Annual NATO computer exercise in late October in **Denmark**, involving 500 men from 16 **allies**, to test high-intensity war fighting, operational plans, and **command and control (C²)**.

EXERCISE CLEAN HUNTER, NATO. Annual NATO live-flying exercise in late June over Northern Europe and **France** by Allied Air Forces North in **Germany** and subordinate air operations centers.

EXERCISE CMX, NATO. Annual NATO **crisis-management** exercise in late January) conducted by all **allies** with **partners**.

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE BANNERS, NATO. NATO exercise held every three years on 29 May–10 June in Scandinavia for inter-operable naval, land, and air **forces** in “out-of-area” **peacekeeping** under NATO's Commander Joint-Command North in Stavanger, **Norway**, involving 16 **allies** and **partners**.

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE BEST EFFORT 2004, NATO. Annual NATO-led military exercise with **partners** in **peacekeeping** light-infantry operations, conducted on 19–30 June 2004 at Yavoriv Training Centre in L'vov, **Ukraine**, with all **allies**, 11 **partners**, and two **Mediterranean Dialogue** **partners**.

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE DETERMINATION, NATO. Annual NATO computer-aided exercise in November conducted by nine NATO **allies** and 11 **partners** on **peacekeeping/humanitarian** inter-operability with the International Committee of the Red Cross and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE ENGAGEMENT, NATO. Annual NATO military exercise in **Denmark** on 12–23 September involving 1,500 troops from NATO **allies** and **partners**, in the Adriatic Sea and Vlora, **Albania**, on joint maritime **crisis** response, prevention of arms smuggling, and reestablishment of local order.

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE JAGUAR (COJA), NATO. Annual NATO military **Command Post** exercise in **Denmark** on 24 March–4 April, involving 500 troops from nine NATO **allies** and eight **partners**.

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE KEY, NATO. Annual **United Nations (UN)**-mandated NATO peace-support exercise for **humanitarian** operations, conducted in September (in **France** in 2002; in **Bulgaria** in 2003) with 10 NATO **allies** and 12 **partners**.

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE LANTERN (COLA), NATO. Annual NATO/**Partnership for Peace** exercise in late April in the **Netherlands**, on multinational civil-military **crisis**-response operations and interoperability with civil agencies, the **United Nations (UN)**, and **humanitarian** nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE NUGGET, NATO. Dual-phase, multiple-location NATO/**Partnership for Peace** exercises involving 5 **allies** and 13 **partners**. Phase I is conducted at **Sweden**'s Armed Forces International Centre/**Partnership Training** in Almnäs in April, with workshops on NATO operational planning, and Phase II is held at Fort Drum Army **Base** in Watertown, New York, in June, simulating crisis-response operations in two other sites: the Combined **Joint Forces Land Component Commander Response Cell** in Lisbon, **Portugal**, and the **Battalion Response Cell** in Enköping, **Sweden**.

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE OSPREY, NATO. A **United Nations (UN)**-mandated, NATO **Command Post** annual exercise in March involving 16 **allies**, 13 **partners**, and 3 **Mediterranean Dialogue** partners, on NATO **peacekeeping**.

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE PARTNER, NATO. Annual NATO naval exercise in late June, involving 10 NATO **allies** and 7 **partners**

(including **Russia**), on multinational **peacekeeping** operations in the Black Sea, with warships from NATO's **Standing Naval Force–Mediterranean (STANAVFORMED)** and NATO's Standing Mine Counter-Measures Force–Mediterranean (MCMFORMED).

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE POSEIDON, NATO. NATO/**Partnership for Peace** dual-phase submarine safety exercises. Phase I, on 8–11 May, involves workshops on NATO submarine safety procedures, and Phase II, on 16–20 September in Frederikshavn, **Denmark**, involves real-time tactical simulation exercises.

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE SAFEGUARD, NATO. Annual NATO/**Partnership for Peace** naval rescue exercise off **Iceland** in early June, involving 16 NATO **allies** and **partners**, with 400 specialists on logistics of maritime disasters, maritime **humanitarian** operations, and search and rescue (SAR).

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE TIDE, NATO. Annual NATO exercise in May at Newport News, Virginia, on naval coastal warfare/**peacekeeping**, involving five NATO **allies** (**Belgium, Canada, Germany, Great Britain, United States**) and seven **partners** (**Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Latvia, Romania, Sweden, Ukraine**).

EXERCISE COOPERATIVE ZENITH, NATO. Annual NATO air operations exercise at Moody Air Force **Base** in Valdosta, Georgia, in September, about **peacekeeping**, involving **allies, partners**, and **Mediterranean Dialogue** partners.

EXERCISE DACIA 2003, NATO. NATO exercise on 7–10 October in **Romania**, on a **terrorist** attack with a radioactive “dirty bomb,” involving 1,700 emergency personnel from 19 **allies** and **partners**.

EXERCISE DAMSEL FAIR, NATO. NATO exercise held annually in mid-May off **Turkey**'s coasts, on warfare countermeasures.

EXERCISE DESTINED GLORY/LOYAL MIDAS, NATO. Largest annual amphibious military exercise in October by NATO's **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** in **Greece, Turkey**, the

Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean, involving air, sea, and amphibious **forces** from eight **allies** (**France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Spain, Turkey, United States**), in combined **joint** operations. The 2001 exercise was cut short after the 11 September 2001 Islamic fundamentalist **terrorist** attacks, and NATO naval forces were reassigned to the eastern Mediterranean under Article V. The 2005 Loyal Midas exercise (29 September–14 October) was the largest held in the Tyrrhenian off Italy, involving 8,500 men, 37 warships, and 57 aircraft from 10 NATO **allies**.

EXERCISE DISCIPLINED WARRIOR 2003, NATO. NATO military **command** post and **crisis**-response **peacekeeping** exercise in Verona, **Italy**, on 24 February–7 March, for operational testing of **crisis**-response capabilities by NATO's **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** Headquarters (HQ) and its six rapidly deployable corps HQs, using decision-making simulation techniques.

EXERCISE DOGFISH, NATO. Largest annual NATO **antisubmarine warfare (ASW)** exercise, held in mid-February in the Ionian Sea, east of Sicily, **Italy**, to coordinate ASW, antisurface, and coastal surveillance operations, involving a multinational **force** of 10 members' warships, submarines, and aircraft.

EXERCISE DYNAMIC MIX, NATO. Major annual NATO training exercise in the Mediterranean on 20 May–10 June, involving **forces** from 14 NATO **allies**. It improves NATO's Southern Region implementation of **strategy**, while dealing simultaneously with both **crises** and **humanitarian** operations in several locations in multiple, multi-phase exercises using 15,000 troops, 65 warships, 290 aircraft, and NATO's **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** Headquarters under its **Commander-in-Chief (CINCSOUTH)**. Exercise Dynamic Mix improves NATO interoperability and training for humanitarian amphibious, land, sea, and air operations.

EXERCISE DYNAMIC RESPONSE, NATO. Major annual NATO training exercise in the **Balkans** on 19 March–10 April, to deploy Strategic Reserve **Forces** to Kosovo to demonstrate their interoperable, rapid operational readiness and reinforcement of NATO's

Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR) peacekeepers when needed to maintain peace in the Balkans. Exercise Dynamic 2000 was created to discourage Kosovar Albanian attacks against the Serb minority, Serb monasteries, and the Mitroviça Peace Bridge.

EXERCISE EXCHANGE ADVENTURE, NATO. Annual major NATO Allied Command Europe Mobile Force (Land) (AMF(L)) military exercises in the Mediterranean in **Greece** from 9 September to 4 October, to test **rapid-reaction forces** with the deployment of **command** posts and support elements, involving 15 **allies** for the common defense of NATO, from **humanitarian** relief to war fighting.

EXERCISE INTEX, NATO. Annual one-day NATO military exercise, held in **Bulgaria** by the NATO Group Experts on Warning and Detection Systems (GOEWDS) on 16 March, to practice international exchanges of information on detection and monitoring radiation releases threatening populations.

EXERCISE LIGHT SHIP 2002, NATO. NATO military exercise held in **Italy** in early December 2002, completing the operational testing of NATO high-readiness headquarters (HQ) and six rapidly deployable corps HQs.

EXERCISE LOYAL MARINER, NATO. Annual NATO exercise in April in the North Sea, to test **NATO response forces (NRF)**.

EXERCISE MAJEX 2007, NATO. Major simulation exercise in The Hague (26 February–16 March), to test new technology for aerospace intelligence and reconnaissance.

EXERCISE MAPEX, NATO–UN. *See* AFRICAN UNION MISSION IN SUDAN (AMIS).

EXERCISE NATO AIR MEET (NAM), NATO. Annual NATO exercise in early September involving the air **forces** of 12 **allies** (**Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and the United**

States) on tactical air operations, air defense suppression, and electronic warfare.

EXERCISE NOBLE MARLIN 2005, NATO. Largest NATO antisubmarine warfare annual exercise, on 3–16 March in the Mediterranean, involving 10 countries with 6 submarines, 10 patrol aircraft, and 16 warships.

EXERCISE PHOENIX, NATO. Annual NATO exercise at NATO Northwood Headquarters in **Great Britain** in March, involving 13 **allies**, on escape and rescue training for submarines in distress.

EXERCISE RAPID GUARDIAN 2003, NATO. NATO military exercise on 15 January–15 February 2003, to test **NATO reserve forces'** (**NRF**) new operational and emergency **rapid deployments in Kosovo** and the **Balkans**.

EXERCISE RELIEVE DISCOMFORT, NATO. NATO **humanitarian** assistance naval exercise, conducted annually since 18 February 2001 in the Caribbean by Standing Naval Force–Atlantic (STANVFORLANT) under **Supreme Allied Command–Atlantic (SACLANT)** for **humanitarian** disaster aid after tropical hurricanes. In September 2005, NATO assisted with the devastated of Hurricane Katrina in the **United States**.

EXERCISE SENATOR, NATO. Annual NATO/NATO-Russia Council exercise in mid-September, on **nuclear weapons** accident-response operations, involving 700 experts from 20 NATO **allies** plus **Russia**, testing civil emergency services (police, fire, and ambulance) and local authorities to safeguard nuclear convoys, from the release of radioactive material to the mitigation of abnormal events.

EXERCISE SHELTER EXPRESS, NATO. Annual NATO/**Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)** exercise, conducted since mid-November 1999 in close cooperation with international organizations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and **UN Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK)**, to distribute aid, food, fuel, and vaccines to Kosovar Albanians and the local Serb minority.

EXERCISE SORBET ROYAL, NATO. NATO's largest live submarine escape and rescue exercise, conducted on 17–30 June 2005, deploying units from 14 countries to rescue 200 sailors pretending to be trapped in sunken submarines.

EXERCISE STRONG RESOLVE 2002, NATO. NATO major military exercise in **Norway** and **Poland** in early March, conducted by **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** and Headquarters **Supreme Allied Command–Atlantic (SACLANT)**. Exercise Strong Resolve tests two simultaneous operations: NATO Article V **collective defense** plus a crisis-response operation with naval, ground, and air **forces** from both strategic **commands**.

EXERCISE UNIFIED ODYSSEY 2002, NATO. Annual NATO naval training exercise on 28 January–8 February off Porto Santo Island (Madeira Archipelago, **Portugal**), involving **forces** from **Canada**, **Germany**, **Great Britain**, the **Netherlands**, **Portugal**, **Spain**, and the **United States**, to conduct small-scale **crisis-response** operations, while providing **humanitarian** aid and disaster relief.

EXERCISE UNIFIED SPIRIT, NATO. Annual NATO naval exercise in late October involving six NATO **allies**, to coordinate interoperability between multinational **forces** in all types of conflicts. The exercise is in three phases: a counterinsurgency operation, a **peace-keeping** operation, and a **peace-enforcement** operation.

EXERCISE VIKING, NATO. Annual NATO exercise in December, involving 2,000 civilian and military personnel from **allies** and **partners** and organized by partner Sweden, to improve **civil-military (CIMIC)** responses to **crises**.

EXERCISES ACTIVE ENDEAVOUR/NOBLE MANTA, NATO. Annual NATO naval counter**terrorism** exercise in the Mediterranean in early February. The 2006 exercise provided the first **joint NATO–Russian** training, involving 10 NATO **allies**, for NATO's naval counterterrorist operation in the Mediterranean, as well as the world's largest antisubmarine (ASW) exercise, Noble Manta, in late February.

EXERCISES ADVENTURE EXPRESS/DYNAMIC EXPRESS, NATO. Annual NATO dual exercises in April–May involving strategic reserve units from six NATO **allies** and **partners**, plus Argentina. 1,500 air and naval crew members and army troops trained in **Albania**, **Bosnia**, and **Kosovo** for NATO’s **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** and **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)** **peacekeeping**.

EXERCISES AMPLE TRAIN (EAT), NATO. Multinational NATO dual air support and supply exercises in March–May at different NATO air **bases** to test compatibility among **rapid-reaction forces** and air force logistics interoperability. Aircrafts from 10 **allies** (**Belgium**, **France**, **Germany**, **Great Britain**, **Greece**, **Hungary**, **Italy**, **Netherlands**, **Spain**, and **Turkey**) conduct live-fire exercises. France is not in NATO’s integrated military structure, but it participates in all exercises.

EXPROPRIATION(S). Forced requisition of private national or foreign property without compensation and transfer to state ownership, done automatically with declarations of war or as ideological-economic policies by Communist states, such as the Soviet Union (USSR) and its East European **satellites** during the Cold War (1946–1990), or by decolonized Third World countries. Nationalization of private property can be either compensated or not, depending on political-ideological reasons, although now international law authorizes nationalization for the country’s “public good” provided there are compensations, at least symbolic. One of the more enduring problems in East–West relations after **World War II** (1939–1945) was the Communist expropriation of German properties and expulsion of millions of Germans from the **Baltic** states, Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia (now in **Poland**) and from the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia. In 1969, West **Germany** adopted the *Ostpolitik* policy of opening to the Communist East and renouncing all territorial claims. The 1989 fall of communism and democratization of Poland and the **Czech Republic** resulted in restitution of property and state financial compensations in the 1990s.

When Third World states punitively expropriated Western properties without compensation, violent reactions ensued. Egypt’s expro-

priation of Western properties in 1954–1955 and nationalization of the Anglo–French Suez Canal in 1956 unleashed the **Suez Canal War**, in which Israel, backed by **France** and **Great Britain**, defeated Egypt and conquered the canal, only to be forced into retreat by the political-financial pressures of a hostile **United States**. This in turn led to a major U.S.–European **crisis** within the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, involving the collapse of the British and French colonial empires, and a diplomatic victory for the USSR as the new patron of Egypt, which forced the United States to intervene directly in the Middle Eastern power vacuum to counter Egyptian–Soviet penetration, through the **Eisenhower Doctrine** (1957) and 1958 Anglo–U.S. combat operations in Jordan and Lebanon.

EXTRAORDINARY RENDITIONS. *See* DEPORTATION/EXPULSION.

EXTRATERRITORIALITY. A term in international law and diplomacy for exclusion of legal jurisdiction and criminal prosecution by the authorities of the host state on its own territory. It applies to embassies and foreign military **bases**, either by occupying powers after a war lost by the host state, such as **Germany** and Japan after **World War II**, or as part of an international **alliance** system, like the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Embassies enjoy diplomatic immunity and extraterritoriality under international law, whereas foreign bases and their **forces** are regulated through bilateral/multilateral agreements, called **status-of-forces accords (SO-FAs)**. An example is the 1951 NATO SOFA Act, which provides immunity from local prosecution for crimes by NATO forces to be tried instead by their own military tribunals.

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FAILED STATES. Political-military term for the collapse of domestic governmental authority and order, with endemic ethno-nationalist conflicts, such as in the former **Yugoslavia**, former Soviet Union (USSR), and Third World countries. This phenomenon erupted in the

post–Cold War period, when the rival superpowers no longer provided economic and military aid to former client states, leaving them unable to cope with rising ethno-nationalisms. **United Nations (UN)** pleas for international aid and peacekeepers to help failed states (**Afghanistan**, Congo, Lebanon, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Sudan) often elicit only minimal international support.

FAL LIGHT-AUTOMATIC RIFLE, NATO. The enduring, popular, standard light-automatic rifle (*Fusil automatique léger*) of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** since 1953, created by the Fabrique Nationale d'Armes de Guerre of Herstal, **Belgium**, and used for 50 years by 30 countries as a better alternative to the famous AK-47 automatic rifle of the Soviet Union (USSR), **Warsaw Pact**, and Communist China. In the 1960s, under U.S. pressure to **standardize**, the **allies** adopted the FAL, which uses common 7.62 NATO cartridges (.308 Winchester). In the 1970s, the United States discarded the FAL for its new M16 rifle, but in the **post–Cold War** period U.S. **Special Forces** and snipers are again using the FAL.

FALKLANDS WAR (1982). A brief, intense war in March–June 1982 between **Great Britain**—a powerful member of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **European Community (EC)**—and Argentina. Great Britain was fighting to retake its Falkland Islands, which had been invaded by the military régime of Argentina, a member of the **Organization of American States (OAS)** and **Rio Pact**. The Falklands War deeply embarrassed U.S. President **Ronald Reagan** and Secretary of State **Alexander M. Haig Jr.**—ex-NATO **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)**, 1974–1979—because it nearly split the global U.S. **alliance** network. On the one side, British Foreign Minister **Lord Carrington** resigned, and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had the full support, short of war, from NATO, the EC, the **West**, and part of the **United Nations (UN)**, where Great Britain, **France**, and the United States have **veto** power in the Security Council. London insistently demanded Washington's support through the traditional Anglo–American “special relationship.” On the other hand, the Latin American members of the OAS

and Third World members of the UN supported Argentina's military dictatorship because of its anti-Western and anticolonial rhetoric, seeking to turn against Great Britain both the Monroe Doctrine (1823) and Rio Pact (1948) provisions for Western Hemisphere **collective defense** against external threats (meaning exclusively European hegemonic powers and the Soviet Union). Reagan and Haig had secretly relied on the Argentine military junta to support the anti-communist Contra guerrillas against Nicaragua's Sandinista government. Haig's shuttle diplomacy in April 1982 failed to convince Buenos Aires to withdraw or to stop the Royal Navy from liberating the islands, forcing Reagan to publicly side with London and NATO against the OAS. Great Britain's victory and the collapse of Argentina's military dictatorship then forced the United States to directly support the Contras, until in the mid-1980s the Iran–Contra scandal undermined Reagan's policy.

FIFTH COLUMN. Political-military term for ideological traitors, secret enemy organizations, or groups working within the government to sabotage and disrupt their country's war effort. The concept originated during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), when Fascist General Francisco Franco attacked the Madrid government's last redoubt by dividing his **forces** in four columns to frontally assault the capital on all sides, while within the city a "fifth column" of sympathizers suddenly rose up to help him. Nazi **Germany** relied on fifth columns of ideological sympathizers in its seizure of **Austria** in both 1934 and 1938, and of **Norway** in 1940, during **World War II**. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the term was used again in the **West** to label leftists who sided with Communist forces under the Soviet Union (USSR) to undermine domestic governments, as in the **satellization** of Eastern Europe (1946–1949). All Western scenarios for a conventional **World War III** by the USSR against the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) warned of Communist fifth columns committing sabotage behind NATO lines, especially among **allies** with pro-Soviet Communist parties, such as **Italy**, **France**, and West Germany. NATO organized its own "fifth column" in Operation Gladius, training in each state's armed forces, secret service, police, and politicians to form secret cells of saboteurs and guerrillas to resist a Soviet invasion and occupation.

FIFTH ESKADRA, USSR. *See* TURKISH STRAITS.

FINAL STATUS ON KOSOVO, UN. An international document negotiated in 2005–2007 by the **United Nations (UN)**, **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, **European Union (EU)**, and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to regulate the future of the former Yugoslav province of Kosovo after its occupation by NATO during the 1999 Kosovo War. Since 1999, the anti-Serb Kosovar Albanian majority has clamored for either annexation to **Albania** or independence, while **Serbia** still seeks full restitution. Instead, in 2006 the UN and international community opposed either Kosovo's return to Yugoslavia or its annexation to Albania, which in spring 2008 gained UN-sponsored independence. *See also* GREATER ALBANIA; GREATER SERBIA; KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE.

FINANCIAL ACTION TASK FORCE (FATF), EU. *See* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

FINLAND (SUOMI), EU, NATO PARTNER. A democratic republic in Europe's **Scandinavian** region with an area of 337,030 square kilometers, bordering **Norway**, **Russia**, **Sweden**, Baltic Sea, and the Gulf of Bothnia. The capital is Helsinki. It is a Christian Protestant country (89 percent Lutheran; 11 percent other), with a population of 5,220,000 (93 percent Finn, 6 percent Swedish, and 1 percent Lapp-Sami minorities).

Finland was annexed to Sweden as an ethnically non-Scandinavian grand duchy from the 12th to 19th centuries, then was conquered in 1809 by Czarist Russia, becoming an autonomous grand duchy. During **World War I** (1914–1918), it was conquered by **Germany**, which made it independent by 1917. During **World War II** (1939–1945), it successfully defended its freedom against invasion by the Soviet Union (USSR), albeit with loss of territories, but was made an **Axis satellite** of Nazi **Germany** (1940–1945) and joined in the 1941–1944 invasion of the USSR. At the end of the war, Finland remained independent as a Western “**neutral**,” with support from “neutral” Sweden to deter Soviet satellization, threatening to join the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. During the Cold War

(1946–1990), despite the country's overt Western orientation, Finland had to carefully pursue a policy of indirect pro-Soviet neutrality to avoid antagonizing its hostile neighbor. A Western European country, Finland joined the **United Nations (UN)** and the “**Nordics**” as a founding member in 1945; joined the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** in 1976; and in 1995 with Sweden, joined both the **European Union (EU)** and NATO's **Partnership for Peace** and might become an aspirant. Finland provides NATO and UN peacekeepers and supports Europe's political-economic integration. *See also* FINLANDIZATION.

FINLANDIZATION. A political-diplomatic term used during the Cold War (1946–1990) for the subtle extension of a hegemonic power's influence over an ideologically different but smaller neighboring state, to compel it by indirect means to pursue policies that never threaten or oppose the national interest of the hostile dominant superpower. Finlandization is an indirect type of influence especially focused on foreign policy, but also with strong domestic overtones. The Cold War hegemonic policies of the Soviet Union (USSR) toward “**neutral**” **Finland** forced it to adopt an indirect pro-Soviet neutrality, despite the country's overt Western orientation. However, the USSR's influence on pro-Western Finland was countered by the threat that should it seek to turn the country into another Communist **satellite**, **Sweden** would abandon its own neutrality to join the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and deny Moscow control of Scandinavia.

During the **Euromissile Crisis** (1977–1980s) the term was used disparagingly to indicate neutralist and pacifist segments of Western public opinion, whose fear of **nuclear weapons** led them to oppose NATO theater nuclear rearmament against the Soviet nuclear buildup, thus subordinating NATO to a Soviet “**veto**.” Finlandization as a term fell out of use after NATO restated its fundamental anti-Soviet security posture in 1983 by deploying **intermediate-range nuclear forces (INFs)** in **Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands**, and West **Germany**, and pacifist protests ended after like-minded pacifists in Communist Eastern Europe were repressed. With the 1991 collapse of the USSR, Finland abandoned its old diplomacy and joined NATO's **Partnership for Peace** (1994) and the **European Union** (1995).

FIRST AFGHAN WAR (1979–1989). *See* WORLD WAR III SCENARIOS.

FIRST GULF WAR (1990–1991). *See* OPERATIONS DESERT SHIELD/STORM.

FIRST-STRIKE NUCLEAR FORCES. *See* ASSURED DESTRUCTION.

FLANK(S). *See* FRONT(S).

“FOLLOW-ON-FORCES ATTACK” (FOFA). *See* WORLD WAR III SCENARIOS.

FORCE. Political-military term for both the physical threat or use of force and the interrelation of power and coercion beyond diplomatic influence, to establish or retain power on behalf of international actors, such as states/empires, international organizations, or insurgent groups. Not all power relations involve threat or use of force, but credibility always requires adequate military capability (**forces**) regardless of the cost of acquiring and maintaining them. Most states are neither isolationist nor **neutralist**, and all traditionally seek to develop military capabilities. In international relations, there is no clear monopoly of force held by a global empire or a superpower, such as the **United States**, which neither wields nor wishes to exercise a truly global imperial hegemony, or by a world government or universal international organization like the **United Nations (UN)**, which is only an authoritative global forum, restricted by **collective security** prohibitions on the use of violence (UN Charter Article 2.4), not yet a world government ruling over all its members.

The international hierarchical ranking of states as great, middle, or small powers is based on their capacity and willingness to use force within the structure of the international system, examples being the **balance of power** system (1500s–1945) and the Cold War (1946–1990) bipolar system between the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR). Other variables of force are economic-industrial power, military mobility, weapons systems technology, population, and land, while **alliance** building maximizes the members’ individual

contributions with collective defense of a political **bloc**, such as the U.S.-led **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, history's longest-lasting permanent military alliance. Modern weapons systems technologies are an increasing economic burden on every state, but the ultimate restriction on the role of power and military force is three-fold: the extreme destructiveness of industrial total wars, like **World War I** (1914–1918) and **World War II** (1939–1945), which destroyed the balance of power; the Cold War military paradox of **nuclear weapons**, whose exponential destructiveness is matched by unwillingness to use them unless as “ultimate defense”; and the post-Cold War threat of proliferating **weapons of mass destructions (WMD)** and missiles by unstable “rogue states” and **terrorists**.

FORCE COMMANDER (FC or FCdr). Term for the military commander of a **United Nations (UN)** or other international **peacekeeping** operation, with **operational control** of all **forces** and responsibility to the **UN Secretary-General** or other international organizations.

FORCE DE FRAPPE. Military term for **France's** national strategic and theater **nuclear weapons** developed since the mid-1950s. Under President **Charles de Gaulle** France's *force de frappe* (strike force) and *force de dissuasion* (nuclear **deterrence**) gave it equal status with the **United States**, Soviet Union (USSR), and **Great Britain**, while protecting France from Soviet attacks independently of the U.S. nuclear umbrella over the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, and without joining Great Britain in sharing national nuclear **forces** under the U.S.-led NATO unified military **command**. De Gaulle feared that a Soviet invasion of Western Europe, while the United States was bogged down in the Second Vietnam War, would “decouple” U.S.–European security if America abandoned its NATO **allies** to avoid Soviet retaliation against its own homeland.

In 1966, de Gaulle's strident quest for leadership of NATO or a separate French global role led Paris to leave NATO's integrated military command, while still relying on NATO's political structure for continued **alliance** protection and on the *force de frappe* to deter any Soviet attack. France has the fourth largest global nuclear force—

after the United States, **Russia**, and China—with a strategic triad of 450 land-, sea-, and air-launched nuclear weapons, plus theater nuclear weapons and neutron bombs, which the United States and NATO have eliminated under strong international public pressure. Initially, the *force de frappe* also contained mobile tactical missiles for use against Soviet armies, but because no full-scale Soviet invasion of Europe could be stopped just by NATO conventional forces in a quick war, France's nuclear weapons would be a “warning shot” (*ultime avertissement*) against enemy advances prior to a full-scale nuclear attack on key Soviet cities, in a “worse-case” *stratégie du faible au fort* (“weak-to-strong strategy”) of mutual **assured destruction**.

The end of the Cold War in 1990 and East–West **arms control** cuts pushed France to dismantle its expensive land-based nuclear intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBM) at the Plateau d'Albion in Vaucluse by 1992–1997, although it retained the triad's other two elements: the air force's 60 Mirage 2000 NK2 long-range bombers with nuclear cruise missiles, and the navy's *force océanique stratégique* fleet of five nuclear submarines (the *Inflexible*, *Triomphant*, *Téméraire*, *Vigilant*, and *Terrible*), with their submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). Budget constraints also forced France into closer military cooperation with NATO in the 1980s, although nuclear collaboration with Great Britain remains impossible due to incompatibility between London's U.S.-made SLBMs and Paris's larger French-made ones.

FORCE GOALS OF NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** has specific planning targets for the armed **forces** of each of its **allies** and **partners**, developed over a six-year period through ministerial guidance documents (“Force Goals”), updated every two years. *See also* MEMBERSHIP ACTION PLANS.

FORCE MOBILE RESERVE (FMR). Highly mobile military **forces** acting as a mobile reserve to assist peacekeepers of the **United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)**. Later this same concept was employed in the former **Yugoslavia** by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** peacekeepers of the **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** and **Kosovo Implementation Force**

(**KFOR**). Originally, each UNIFIL or NATO **peacekeeping** battalion provided its own reserve **force**, but in early 1987 UNIFIL created a permanent FMR, with six mechanized infantry and one administrative platoons integrated in a mechanized company. A FMR combat platoon on constant alert is deployable in 15 minutes, with five more combat platoons deployable in 30 minutes, to rescue ambushed UNIFIL peacekeepers. *See also* MULTINATIONAL FORCES I and II.

FORCES. Military term for any combat units under national or **alliance command**.

FORCES ANSWERABLE TO THE EUROPEAN UNION (FAEU).
See FORCES ANSWERABLE TO THE WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION (FAWEU).

FORCES ANSWERABLE TO THE WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION (FAWEU). The **Western European Union (WEU)**, created in 1954 from the earlier Brussels Pact, never had its own army or structure, being instead a grouping of European **allies** in the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. The Forces Answerable to WEU (FAWEU) were national conventional **forces assigned** to the WEU's Planning Cell during **crises** for **peacekeeping** or **humanitarian** missions (with NATO's external support), also known as **Petersberg** Missions. After the **European Union (EU)** absorbed the WEU in 1998–2000, the FAWEU were relabeled Forces Answerable to the European Union (FAEU).

“FORCES IN-BEING.” *See* NATO-ASSIGNED FORCES.

FOREIGN MINISTERIAL MEETINGS OF NATO. Twice annually the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** meets in the **North Atlantic Council** at the level of foreign ministers (the Foreign Ministerials), with the honorary presidency rotating yearly in alphabetical order.

FORUM FOR SECURITY COOPERATION (FSC), CSCE/OSCE.
 The **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, previously known as the **Conference on Security and**

Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), established on 22 September 1992 a Forum for Security Cooperation in Vienna under the 1992 CSCE Helsinki Follow-up Meeting's *Programme for Immediate Action*, to promote **arms control**, disarmament, **confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs)**. These CSCE tasks were developed in the 1970s during the East–West **détente** period between European “**neutrals**” and 22 hostile states in two **alliances**, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization–NATO** (North American and Western European **allies**) and the **Warsaw Pact** (Eastern Europe and Soviet Union–USSR). In December 1994, CSBMs incorporated defense planning; a document on global exchange of military information; principles on **nonproliferation**; and a code of conduct on political-military security. The FSC promotes defense planning, nonproliferation, arms transfers, stabilization of localized **crises**, and control of trafficking in light weapons.

At the CSCE Paris **Summit** in November 1990, the 22 NATO and Warsaw Pact members signed the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE), which provided for concentric zones of sharp arms cuts in tanks, artillery, aircraft, and troops in the **Atlantic-to-the-Urals (ATTU)** region. CFE was followed by the CFE-1A Concluding Act at the CSCE Helsinki Summit in July 1992, which called for further limitations on military forces. An Adapted CFE Treaty, covering 30 OSCE members in the ATTU and the revised Vienna Document of 1999, was signed at the OSCE Istanbul Summit in November 1999. Subregional CSBMs were negotiated in 1996 by the OSCE as part of the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords' arms control among the three hostile entities of **Bosnia** (Bosnian Muslims, Bosnian Croats, and Bosnian Serbs), providing for CSBM inspections controlled by a CSBM Cell at the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna.

FORWARD BASING. *See* BASE(S).

FORWARD DEFENSE, NATO. Military **strategy** to engage and hold invading enemy **forces** at the national borders as a popular, expedient domestic policy, despite the advantages of withdrawing when attacked, to engage in a mobile “defense-in-depth” strategy to destroy overextended enemy forces. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the **United States** pledged a forward defense of Western Europe and the

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), especially once **West Germany** joined NATO in 1955. In the 1950s, West German Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs Walter Hallstein's Doctrine (1950s–1968) required that all countries recognize West Germany as the only German state or risk breaking diplomatic relations (if they also recognized Communist East Germany), and also forced NATO to accept “forward defense” of West Germany as vital, because of West Germany's narrow width along the **Central Front**. In the 1960s, NATO's adoption of the U.S. strategic doctrine of flexible response would force a rapid **nuclear** response if conventional forward defense of West Germany failed during a conventional invasion by the Soviet Union (USSR) and **Warsaw Pact** against vulnerable NATO defenses along the inter-German border.

West Germany and NATO renounced forward defense after Communist East Germany collapsed in December 1989 and was annexed to West Germany in 1990. In the **post–Cold War** period, the collapse of the Soviet and Communist threats, as well as the integration of the former Communist enemies in the West either as new NATO members or as NATO **partners**, including **Russia**, has made forward defense irrelevant. NATO borders have moved eastward through two **enlargements** (1997–1999, 2002–2004, and 2008), from the inter-German border to **Poland**, **Romania**, and the **Baltic** states, including within NATO most of Eastern Europe, while the partnership with Russia and all former Soviet States has extended NATO's area of influence to Vladivostok in the Pacific and “out-of-area” **crisis** zones, especially in the nebulous global “war on **terrorism**.” Historically, forward defense has also been connected with **buffer states**, such as **Afghanistan**, which was seen by **Great Britain** as a buffer between British India and an expanding imperial Russia in Central Asia.

FOUCHET PLANS (1960–1962). President **Charles de Gaulle** had sought since 1958 to redress **France's** waning international influence against U.S. political-military leadership of Western Europe, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, and **European Community (EC)**. France's schemes to indirectly control Europe politically provoked bitter tensions within both organizations and distrust of de Gaulle's motives, especially his 1958–1961 scheme for a U.S.–Franco–British triumvirate to direct and integrate NATO

foreign and security policies, while extending their range from Europe to the entire world. The Fouchet Plans were the most ambitious means for de Gaulle to implement his “**Grand Design**” of excluding both superpowers from a future French-led “Europe of Nations,” while undermining the EC and NATO. Bilateral meetings between France and other EC members in 1960 led to the EC Paris **Summit** (1961) and French Ambassador Christian Fouchet’s proposals.

The Fouchet Plan I was proposed in 1961 as a permanent, institutional framework for regular security and foreign policy consultations among the six EC and all NATO–European members (except **Great Britain**, seen as being too close to America to be “truly European”), under French rather than U.S. leadership. All Fouchet Plans envisaged a permanent infrastructure for regular intergovernmental summits on foreign, security, economic, educational, and cultural issues, with a Ministerial Council, a Senior Foreign Ministers’ Commission, and a Consultative Assembly. Although watered down in two other versions in 1962, the Fouchet Plans met with bitter, acrimonious rejection by the EC and NATO (despite the support of Chancellor **Konrad Adenauer** of West **Germany**), who rejected de Gaulle’s “Europe of Nations” based on intergovernmental ties and French leadership rather than on strengthening EC supranational European integration in foreign policy and security (which most members would have readily agreed upon in such a supranational context). However, the most important objection was the perceived negative repercussions that the French plan would pose for all members’ national security by replacing the U.S.-led NATO with a weak French-led European organization.

The EC’s rejection of the Fouchet Plans in 1962 followed closely on strong condemnation by **NATO Secretary-General Josef Luns**, while Western European states were incensed by the fear that the Franco–German relationship between de Gaulle and Adenauer would be a *fait accompli* undermining NATO. The collapse of the Fouchet Plans seemed to end de Gaulle’s grandiose “Europe of Nations” scheme, until the 1967 **crisis** in NATO, when France suddenly withdrew from the integrated allied military command and applied the Fouchet Plans against the United States, hoping to promote the demise of both NATO and the **Warsaw Pact** by forcing both superpowers to accept a “**Third-Force**” France at the helm of a “neutral-

ized” Europe and sympathetic to both. However, in 1968 de Gaulle’s unrealistic diplomatic-security plans collapsed when the USSR refused to withdraw from Eastern Europe, instead repressing local dissension and political reforms in Czechoslovakia (1968 Prague Spring) under the **Brezhnev Doctrine**.

“**4 + 2 TALKS/TREATY**” (1990). *See* BERLIN CRISES.

“**FOUR FREEDOMS**” (1941). *See* ATLANTIC CHARTER.

FOUR-POWERS AGREEMENTS (1945). Allies’ accords crafted at the Potsdam Conference (June 1945) for **joint** Allied military administration of defeated Nazi **Germany**, divided into four occupation zones: **France** in the west, **Great Britain** in the north, the Soviet Union (USSR) in the east, and the **United States** in the south (plus an unofficial Polish fifth zone from annexed German lands in Prussia). The “Four-Powers” administration also divided Germany’s former capital (into West **Berlin** under the **West** and East Berlin under the USSR), **Austria**, and its capital, Vienna. East–West tensions during the Cold War (1946–1990) and the USSR’s systematic violations of the “Four-Powers Agreements” resulted in cyclical confrontations over the status of Berlin, including the **Berlin Blockade** (1948–1949), the second **Berlin crisis** (1958), and constructions of the **Berlin Wall** (1961).

FOURQUET DOCTRINE, FRANCE. Security policy (in 1969) that departed from French President **Charles de Gaulle**’s 1967 ultranationalist **Ailleret Doctrine**, which proposed a *tous azimuts* **nuclear** military independence from all powers, the **United States**, and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. The Fourquet Doctrine identified the Soviet Union (USSR) as the threat in a potential **World War III**, but Paris would decide whether to intervene to defend NATO and West **Germany**, although if France were attacked, Paris would then aid NATO. *See also* D’ESTAING DOCTRINE; MÉRY DOCTRINE.

FRANCE, NATO-EU. Democratic republic in Western Europe with an area of 547,030 square kilometers, bordering **Belgium**, **Germany**,

Italy, Luxembourg, Spain, Switzerland, the Mediterranean Sea, the English Channel, and the Atlantic Ocean. The capital is Paris. It is a Christian Catholic state (88 percent Catholic; 2 percent Protestant; 5 percent Muslim; 1 percent Jewish; and 4 percent other), with a population of 60,500,000 (90 percent French), including small minorities of German Alsatians, Italian Corsicans, Bretons, Basques, Flemish, Arabs, Africans, and Asians.

A key province of the Roman Empire from 40 BC, it was overrun by the Germanic Franks during the barbarian invasions in the 5th century AD, becoming the center of the new Holy Roman Empire under Charlemagne in 800. France broke off from the Empire in 990, becoming a major international power in its own right. Throughout the 1500s France fought off the **Austrian–Spanish** Holy Roman Empire of Charles V, which dominated the entire Western world and whose imperial hegemony threatened the **balance of power** system (1500s–1945). In the 1600s, France emerged as Europe’s hegemon under Louis XIV, and it held that position until the end of Napoleon’s empire (1800s–1815), fighting constant wars against the other European powers. Thereafter, although France remained one of Europe’s great powers, it was marginalized by **Germany’s** rising hegemony under Chancellor Otto von Bismarck’s **alliance** systems, which were opposed by the **Entente (France, Russia, and Great Britain)**. European tensions led to **World War I** (1914–1918) and **World War II** (1939–1945), and Germany’s conquests of Europe were finally reversed by the **Allies’** final victories under the leadership of the **United States**. Although ultimately an Allied victor in both world wars, France was occupied by Germany (1940–1944) and lost its colonial empire, wealth, and rank as a world power between the 1940s and 1965.

France was a founding member of the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945, and during the Cold War (1946–1990) struggled against the division of Europe created by **Soviet** occupation and **satellization** of Eastern Europe, also fearing a resurgent Germany. France only reluctantly agreed to the Anglo–American plans to unify their three occupation zones in 1946–1948; after the Berlin Blockade (1948–1949) an independent West Germany was formed in 1949. France stalled U.S. attempts to bring West Germany into the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** until 1955, promoting the **Pléven Plan’s** Eu-

ropean Defence Community (EDC) in 1950–1954, although in 1954 Paris sabotaged the ratification of the EDC. The United States reacted by pushing through West German integration into NATO by 1955. Franco–German reconciliation was central to European economic integration between 1950 and 1957, when the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and **European Community/Union (EC/EU)** were formed. In the 1950s and 1960s, France released its colonies after the national traumas of losing both the First Vietnam War (1946–1954) and the **Algerian War** (1954–1962), as well as the humiliation of the 1956 **Suez Canal War**. France became a **nuclear** power in 1958.

In the 1960s, President **Charles de Gaulle** sought independence from the United States and NATO through strident policies, first seeking to create a triumvirate to lead the **alliance**, then, having been rebuffed by the United States, by leaving NATO's integrated military in 1966 to pursue an independent “**Grand Design**” of wresting political influence over both Western and Eastern Europe from the rival superpowers. De Gaulle's ultranationalist military independent position (**Ailleret Doctrine**, 1967) was replaced after his retirement by closer Franco–NATO ties under the **Fourquet** (1969), **d'Estaing** (1974), and **Méry** (1975) **Doctrines**, as well as participation in the **Conference on/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE/OSCE)** and creation of a Franco–German **Eurocorps**. During the 1980s and 1990s, President François Mitterrand supported NATO in the **Euromissile Crisis** (1977–1983) against the Soviet build up of **intermediate-range nuclear missiles (INF)**, as well as in 1992–1998 crafting with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl the EC's transformation into the **European Union (EU)**. In 2005, French voters rejected a controversial French-drafted EU Constitution. In the 1990s, France provided **peacekeeping** support for the United States, UN, NATO, and OSCE in **Iraq** (1990–1991), **Bosnia** (1991–present), **Kosovo** (1999–present), and **Afghanistan** (2001–present). It supported the EU/NATO **European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI)**, and in 2007–2008 reintegrated into NATO. *See also* FRANCO-BRITISH AXIS; FRANCO-GERMAN AXIS.

FRANCO-BRITISH AXIS (1998–2001). Journalistic-diplomatic term for the temporary close collaboration between **France** and

Great Britain after the 1998 St. Malo **Summit** between British Premier Tony Blair and French President Jacques Chirac. Initiated by Blair, the agreement sought to constrain France's periodical drifts away from the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** over the creation of an independent European Army for the **European Union (EU)** as a possible "rival" to NATO. Great Britain mediated assiduously among France, the **United States**, NATO, and the EU over the development of the **European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (ESDI/P)**, until the United States and NATO secured from the EU and France agreement that NATO would continue to hold European security supremacy by having "first choice" to intervene or not in regional **peacekeeping** operations. If it chose not to, NATO would leave the field to NATO-supported EU peacekeeping under "Berlin-Plus" guidelines. The "**3 Ds**" principles were also agreed upon: non-Duplication (between EU and NATO military **forces**), non-Devolution (an EU army will not eliminate and replace NATO), and non-Discrimination (EU planning must include all NATO **allies**, as well as those who are not EU member states).

FRANCO–GERMAN AXIS (1980s–1998, 2002–2005). A journalistic-diplomatic term for the close political collaboration between **France** and **Germany** during the Cold War (1946–1990), when French President **Charles de Gaulle** and German Chancellor **Konrad Adenauer** signed the **Élysée Treaty** (January 1963) on bilateral diplomatic cooperation and reconciliation. However, de Gaulle's independent, anti-Atlanticist policy sought to "detach" West Germany from its political-military relationship with the **United States** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, which was vital for German survival against the Soviet Union (USSR). Adenauer was overruled by the new German government, which emasculated the Élysée Treaty, pledging loyalty to NATO (neo-Atlanticism).

Between 1974 and 1981, France revived the stillborn "Franco–German **Axis**" when President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt institutionalized high-level, bilateral, political-military cooperation to strengthen European integration and Euro–Atlantic ties. To stall Germany's slide toward **neutral** pacifism during the **Euromissile Crisis** (1977–1983), a bilateral Franco–German security integration was crafted in 1986 based on a **joint**

Franco–German brigade; routine joint military maneuvers; officer training in NATO **tactics**; and bilateral security planning on wartime use of France’s **rapid-deployment forces** (FAR) in Germany or of France’s **nuclear** missiles. Franco–German relations grew closer between 1982 and the 1990s. The end of the Cold War and **1989 Eastern European Revolutions** seemed to forecast a possible demise of NATO and U.S. military defense of Europe, and the reuniting of Germany sharpened political-security doubts about the future of the **European Community (EC)**. In 1990, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President François Mitterrand launched the bold **Kohl–Mitterrand Initiative** for a European political-economic-monetary union, and under the 1991–1997 Maastricht and **Amsterdam Treaties** the EC became the **European Union (EU)**.

At the same time, French Presidents Mitterrand and Jacques Chirac sought some sort of French-led Eurocentric security structure to counter their fear of possible NATO erosion, while also trying to influence the German giant. While NATO’s integrated military **command** remained handicapped by France’s continued absence since 1966 (despite Paris’s unofficial military partnership with NATO since the 1970s), in the 1980s and 1990s France strove to use both the **Western European Union (WEU)** and Franco–German Axis to forge an integrated European security community “outside U.S. **control**,” with the Franco–German Axis only controlling joint bilateral military forces and not acting as a comprehensive regional security body or absorbing other European forces or the WEU, which instead remained NATO’s “European Pillar.” French aspirations were contained between 1990 and 2005 by U.S. commitments to strengthen NATO, and the Franco–German Axis was weakened by domestic political shifts when switched back to its traditional pro-U.S. posture (in 2006), followed surprisingly by France in 2007, under new President Nicolas Sarkozy, who favored pro-U.S. ties and reintegrated France’s military into NATO in June 2008.

“FREE WORLD.” Political term used during the Cold War (1946–1990) for areas of the world not subject to Communist **control** or influence. Rarely and erroneously used as a synonym for the **West**, the “Free World” comprises both the democratic **West**, led by the **United States**, and its overlapping global **alliance** system, including

the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and pro-Western states that are not necessarily democratic.

FREEDOM SUPPORT ACT (2002). *See* NATO ENLARGEMENT, SECOND TRANCHE.

FRENCH PEACEKEEPING. As a former colonial power, **France** maintains a **rapid-deployment force** in southern France and a military presence in Africa, with **bases** in Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Central African Republic, Djibouti, and Gabon, through several bilateral treaties, **peacekeeping** operations, or unilateral interventions in support of friendly Francophone governments. French peacekeeping missions have included two in Zaire (now Congo again) and one each in Rwanda, Congo, and Côte d'Ivoire.

In Zaire, Operation Shaba I (1977) was the first Western international peacekeeping mission not related to the **United Nations (UN)**, opening the way for later ad hoc Western coalitions or "coalitions of the willing." On 8 March 1977, Zairian guerrillas from Angola invaded Zaire's Shaba province (the ex-Katanga mineral province of the old Belgian Congo during the First Congo Civil War, 1961–1964), forcing President Sese Seko Mobutu to appeal for Western assistance. France organized logistical assistance to 1,500 troops from Morocco, who arrived on 8 April 1977 and stabilized the situation. On 13 May 1978, Zaire rebels attacked Shaba's city of Kolwezi, which had a large expatriate Western population, forcing France and **Belgium** to deploy forces on 19–20 May 1978 in Operation Shaba II to rescue Westerners, followed by introduction of an Inter-African Force to keep order.

France led a third multinational mission in Africa on 23 June 1994 in Rwanda under the **United Nations (UN)**, to provide **humanitarian** assistance during the ethnic civil war between the minority Tutsi and the Hutu-dominated government. The UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) was unable to halt combat and the massacres or to protect refugees, and UN efforts to increase UNAMIR with African peacekeepers faltered. To protect Western civilians, France deployed 2,500 special forces from bases in other African states plus 300 Senegalese troops, but could not rely on neighboring states, and Zimbabwe denounced Paris for endangering a future All-African

Force for Rwanda. When UNAMIR was unable to prevent the Rwandan genocide, most peacekeepers fled, and no African Force materialized. France and the UN were excoriated by the world media, at the same time that French peacekeepers in the **UN Protection Force** in Bosnia (**UNPROFOR**) in 1991–1995 were hamstrung by UN orders not to use force to stop the civil war between Bosnian Serbs, Croats, and Muslim Bosnians.

FRONT(S). Military term for the actual areas of combat or lines of battle between enemy **forces** or geographic areas in a multifront war, such as in the American Civil War, **World War I** (1914–1918), and **World War II** (1939–1945). The concept of “home front” emerged during World War I, reflecting the importance of domestic politics and economics in a total war. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** organized its defenses against the Soviet Union (USSR) and **Warsaw Pact** countries along NATO’s **Central Front**, comprising West **Germany** and **Belgium**, southern **Denmark**, **Luxembourg**, and the **Netherlands**, plus “unofficially” both **France** (in NATO’s rear lines) and pro-NATO “**neutrals**” **Austria** and **Switzerland** (which would also be defended in a **World War III**). However, the fragmented land and maritime geography interspersed the **allies’** land and sea defenses in both the North Sea and Mediterranean through parallel NATO flanks. The **Northern Flank** was under the **command** of Allied Forces–Northern Europe (AFNORTH), including Denmark, **Great Britain**, **Iceland**, and **Norway**, plus “unofficially” neighboring pro-NATO “**neutrals**” **Ireland**, **Finland**, and **Sweden** (which would also be defended in war). The **Southern Flank** was along the Mediterranean under **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)**, including France, Great Britain’s **bases**, **Greece**, **Italy**, **Portugal**, **Spain**, **Turkey**, and the **U.S. Sixth Fleet**, plus “unofficially” pro-NATO “**neutrals**” **Cyprus**, **Malta**, **Yugoslavia**, and **Israel** (which would also be defended in war).

NATO’s Central Front against the Soviet–Warsaw Pact faced Communist East Germany (DDR), Czechoslovakia, **Hungary**, and **Poland**. The USSR in World War II had divided its military in combat fronts such as the Ukrainian Front. During the Cold War, Soviet–Warsaw Pact forces were reorganized against both their NATO

and Chinese enemies, in six fronts renamed theaters of military operations (TVDs): (1) Wartime operations planned for rapid conventional combat for up to three weeks against NATO's Central Front to attain most Soviet strategic objectives prior to any possible NATO–Soviet nuclear exchange. (2) A Soviet northwestern TVD would go against NATO's Northern Flank and Scandinavian “neutrals” to conquer Scandinavia, Iceland, and Arctic-to-Atlantic sea lanes of communication (SLOCs) to disrupt NATO reserves and its **REFORGER** operation to resupply Europe. (3) A western TVD with the northern Warsaw Pact states (Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Poland) would go against NATO's Central Front and the Iberian Peninsula, to conquer continental Europe. (4) A southwestern TVD with southern Warsaw Pact states (**Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania**) would go against NATO's AFSOUTH in **Italy, Greece, Turkey**, and “neutral” Yugoslavia and Albania, to conquer the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and Turkey, while coordinating with the western TVD a future conquest of North Africa. (5) A southern TVD would go against Turkey's Transcaucasus border and Kurdistan, Israel, the Middle Eastern/Gulf states, Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan, to control the oil-rich Middle East/Gulf/Red Sea/Arabian Sea areas and SLOCs vital to the **West's** economic survival, while destroying pro-Western Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Iran. (6) A far eastern TVD with Mongolia and North Korea would go against South Korea, Japan, Communist China, and the **United States** in Alaska, to disrupt or seize northeast Asia, Japan, the U.S. Aleutian Islands, and East Asian SLOCs from Vietnam to the South China Sea.

FULL COMMAND. Technical military term for the authority of a commander to issue orders to subordinates on all aspects of military operations and administration. Internationally, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** or multinational coalitions have a lesser degree of **command** authority compared to national ones, controlling only forces directly assigned to them. Thus, NATO's **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** traditionally shares the integrated command of allied military **forces** with its members. In peacetime, only specific allied forces and commands are under NATO integrated military structure by delegation of national authorities, including all of **Germany's** forces by its 1955 accession

treaty to NATO but excluding **France's** national forces after its withdrawal from NATO's integrated command in 1966. In wartime, all **allies'** national forces fall under NATO, reflecting the Cold War (1946–1990) threat of a **World War III** invasion by the Soviet Union (USSR). In the **post–Cold War** (1990–present) period, NATO has returned to having allied national authorities be in control of several formations and units, with overall **force** reductions and regional **arms control** accords, such as the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE). **NATO peacekeeping** operations include both allied forces and other national forces assigned to NATO by **Sending Nations** (**partners** and non-NATO states) in its **areas of operations** (**AOO**). *See also* FUNCTIONAL COMMAND; NATIONAL COMMAND; OPERATIONAL COMMAND; TACTICAL COMMAND.

FUNCTIONAL COMMAND. Technical military term for a **command** based on military functions rather than geographic areas. *See also* FULL COMMAND; NATIONAL COMMAND; OPERATIONAL COMMAND; TACTICAL COMMAND.

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G-7/G-8 SUMMITS. French-sponsored, informal annual economic summits held since the 1970s, grouping the world's seven most-industrialized powers (the **United States, Japan, Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Canada**). In the **post–Cold War** (1990–present) period, **Russia** was added, renaming this as G-8, with also observers: the **European Union (EU), United Nations (UN), China, and India**. Since 1980, G-7/G-8 economic summits also address global security.

GALOSH SYSTEM. *See* ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY.

GALVIN, GENERAL JOHN R., U.S. ARMY (1929–). From 1987 to 1991, he was both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's** (NATO) eighth **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and the **Commander-in-Chief (CINC)** of **U.S. European Command (EUCOM)**. From NATO's **Supreme Headquarters Allied**

Powers–Europe (SHAPE) and Allied Command Europe (ACE), he preserved transatlantic peace, security, and territorial integrity. As CINC–EUCOM he commanded U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe, U.S. Air Forces–Europe, U.S. Marines–Europe, U.S. Special Operations Command–Europe for NATO, and U.S. missions in Europe, the Middle East, and the Gulf.

Born on 13 May 1929 in Wakefield, Massachusetts, John Galvin earned an M.A. in English from Columbia University, has taught at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and Ohio State University, and is dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy–Tufts University. He joined the National Guard in 1948, then in 1950 entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. He was a company commander and battalion commander in airborne and air mobile units, serving two distinguished combat tours in Vietnam. Galvin rose through the ranks rapidly as division commander and corps commander, and as a general he became **CINC–U.S. Southern Command (SOUTHCOM)** in Panama.

In 1987, Galvin succeeded U.S. Army General **Bernard Rogers** (1979–1987) as SACEUR and closely collaborated with both NATO **Secretaries-General Lord Carrington** (1984–1988) and **Manfred Woerner** (1988–1994), facing revolutionary East–West changes: massive **arms control** cuts in NATO–**Warsaw Pact** conventional forces (1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty [CFE]) and U.S.–Soviet strategic **nuclear** arms (1991–1993 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties [START I and II]); the end of the Cold War in 1989–1990 and the democratization of Eastern Europe; the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and reunification of **Germany** in 1990; the 1991 collapse of the Warsaw Pact, with most ex-enemies seeking to join NATO; and the end of Communism, with the breakup of the Soviet Union, in 1991–1992, leaving a fragmented **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** with **Russia**. During this turbulent period, SHAPE articulated new defense plans with smaller forces and cuts in short-range nuclear forces (1991 SNF Accords), to only 800 in Europe, in line with the Cold War’s end and NATO’s 1991 **strategic concept**. Galvin also coordinated **on-site inspections** for the withdrawal and destruction of **chemical** and **nuclear** arms in Europe and the former USSR.

After 1990, NATO fostered regular cooperation with Soviet/Russian military leaders, establishing in 1991 a Military Contacts Cell in 1991, followed by the creation of the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** as NATO's East-West forum among the **allies**, former Warsaw Pact countries, former Soviet states, and **neutrals**. Galvin also resisted calls in the West for a "**peace dividend**" based on radical cuts in defense spending for increased social programs, as well as calls to end NATO itself. SHAPE began its first major reorganization of ACE commands in 1990, cutting 25 percent of the staff, to promote a greater European role in NATO by turning over to Europeans several influential posts traditionally held by Americans. SHAPE's "Right Mix Studies" on future force structures turned ACE training to mobile forces, such as the **rapid-reaction corps**, for international missions. Although NATO did not fight the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991) because of **German** and **Greek** opposition, NATO assets and most allies individually contributed to the U.S.-led coalition under **United Nations (UN)** mandate in defeating Iraq. Mediterranean allies were protected from feared Iraqi missile strikes by NATO's **AWACS** aircraft and naval protection of Mediterranean shipping, plus the air defense of **Turkey** with ACE Mobile Force (Air).

Galvin was succeeded as SACEUR by U.S. Army General **John M. Shalikashvili** (1992–1993).

GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL, EU. *See* COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY (CFSP).

GENEVA PROTOCOL ON GASSES (1925). The invention of instantly lethal **chemical weapons (CWs)** in **World War I** (1914–1918), in the form of nebulized choking or blistering gasses dispersed in the air to kill massed troops, led to the first international treaty against gas use. However, the 1925 Geneva Protocol on Gasses did not ban research and stockpiling of chemical weapons, which increased by **World War II** (1939–1945) and ballooned during the Cold War (1946–1990). Chemical weapons were curtailed only in the **post-Cold War** period, by the **United Nations (UN)** 1993 **Chemical Weapons Convention/Treaty (CWT)**.

GEORGIA (SAK'ART'VELO), NATO PARTNER. Democratic republic and former Soviet state with an area of 69,700 square kilometers, bordering **Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia, and Turkey.** The capital is Tbilisi. It is a Christian country (65 percent Georgian Orthodox, 10 percent Russian Orthodox, 10 percent Muslim, 8 percent Armenian Apostolic, and 7 percent other), with a population of 4.7 million (70 percent Georgian, 8.1 percent Armenian, 6.3 percent Russian, 5.7 percent Azeri, 3 percent Ossetian, 1.8 percent Abkhazi, and 5 percent other).

Originally part of the Roman Empire, it became an autonomous kingdom, then fell under the control of neighboring empires, including Byzantium, Arab, Persian, the Ottomans, and finally Russia, in the early 1800s. During **World War I** (1914–1918), Turkey repelled Russia's invasion from Georgia and Armenia. Georgia was briefly independent in 1918 following the Bolshevik Revolution and Russian Civil War, only to be reannexed by the USSR in 1921. Georgia's violent border area produced both the dictator of the USSR, **Josef Stalin** (1924–1953), and his main henchman, Lavrenti Beria. During **World War II** (1939–1945), Nazi **Germany's** conquest of Southern Russia in 1942 reached Georgia and Chechnya, which then supported the Germans until they were defeated at Stalingrad and local Soviet reprisals reestablished communist rule.

United States four-star General **John M. Shalikashvili**, who was 10th **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and of **U.S. European Command (EUCOM)** in 1992–1993, as well as chair of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1993–1997, was a Georgian child refugee in World War II after his father joined Germany in fighting the USSR. Another leading Georgian was Soviet Foreign Minister **Edvard Shevardnadze** (1985–1991), who worked under Soviet President **Mikhail Gorbachëv** on East–West **détente** and **arms control**, only to resign in protest against the end of Soviet reforms.

After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, Georgia regained its independence, but was forced by Russia to join its **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**. As Georgian president after 1995, Shevardnadze survived civil wars and assassination attempts but was deposed by the popular democratic “Orange Revolution” of November 2003 against government corruption and pro-Russian policies, which in 2004–2005 also affected **Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine**, and, unsuccessfully, **Uzbekistan**.

As a pro-Western country, Georgia joined the **United Nations (UN)** and **Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** in 1992, and with its two transcaucasus neighbors insists on its pro-Western “European” identity to distance itself from Russia. Since 1994, Georgia is a **partner** in the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** and **Partnership for Peace**, as well as in the **European Union (EU)**, although both NATO and EU have rebuffed its membership requests. At the April 2008 Bucharest **NATO** Summit, both Russia and most NATO allies openly rejected U.S. President George W. Bush’s surprise proposal to make Ukraine and Georgia NATO aspirants because they dread a Russia–NATO clash and loss of Russia’s partnership ties. This has exacerbated regional tensions with Russia, which covertly supports the 1992 secessions of Georgian ethnic minorities in **Abkhazia** and **South Ossetia**, under “protection” of Russian-led CIS peacekeepers of the **South Ossetia Joint Force**, and hopes to reannex both secessionist regions into Russia, while these local civil wars aggravate Georgia’s poor governance, corruption, and factionalism. Russia has recently been forced by U.S.–Georgian pressures to close its former **Soviet** bases in Georgia, while NATO and the EU recognize Abkhazia and South Ossetia as “part” of Georgia. Moscow instead protests Georgia’s military training by U.S. advisors under NATO’s partnership, and inability to seal its borders from anti-Russian Chechen Islamic secessionists. Finally, in August 2008 Georgia provoked a major NATO–Russia crisis when it suddenly sought to reconquer South Ossetia killing 10 Russian peacekeepers and 2,000 civilians, with 10,000 fleeing to Russia. Georgia then appealed for U.S.–NATO–EU protection when Russia swiftly rescued South Ossetia, intervened in Abkhazia, defeated Georgia, and bombed its oil terminals. The U.S. and NATO–EU condemned the Russian response as excessive and called for Georgia’s territorial integrity. *See also* OSCE MISSION TO GEORGIA

GERMANY (DEUTSCHLAND), EU-NATO. A federal republic (16 *Länder*) and the largest state in Europe, with an area of 357,021 square kilometers, bordering **Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland**, and the Baltic and North Seas. Since reunification, the capital has been Berlin (during the Cold War, it was Bonn). It is a Christian

country (34 percent Protestant, 34 percent Catholic, 3.7 percent Muslim, and 28.3 percent other), with a population of 83.5 million (91.6 percent German, 2.4 percent Turkish, and 6 percent other).

Germanic tribes were never really conquered by the Romans, and in the AD 350s–450s they broke through the fortified Danube–Rhine Roman *Limes* in the barbarian invasions, destroying the Roman Empire. By 496, Germans had become Christian, and in 800 the Franks’ ruler, Charlemagne, founded the Holy Roman Empire. Its control of Europe weakened throughout the centuries. By the 1500s, Germany was split between the Empire under Charles V Habsburg of **Spain**–Austria and rebel northern German princes, who joined the Protestant Reformation to gain independence with France’s help. The Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648) halved the population and consolidated the **balance of power** system (1500–1945) by demoting Austria and Spain. Between 1660 and 1800, France threatened Austria’s influence on the German states, and between 1800 and 1815 Napoleon’s Empire ruled Europe. Napoleon was defeated by the conservative great powers (Austria, Prussia, **Russia**, **Great Britain**), and between 1815 and the 1850s, their Concert of Europe controlled the continent, repressing efforts for democratic change and national revolts.

Germany was unified on 18 January 1871 under the military-industrial power of the north German state of Prussia, led by Chancellor Prince Otto von Bismarck (the first “Iron Chancellor”) in wars against Austria–Hungary (1866) and France (1870–1871). Germany became Europe’s major economic and military power and the most populous country. Germany’s dominion of Europe was established by the Bismarckian **balance of power** (1871–1914) and various alliances: the two Dreikaiserbunds (Austria–**Hungary**, Germany, and Russia, 1873–1878, 1882–1887) and the Triple Alliance (Austria–Hungary, Germany, and **Italy**, 1881–1914). However, great power rivalries unleashed **World War I** (1914–1918) between the Triple Alliance and **Allies** (France, Russia, Great Britain, Japan, Italy, and the **United States**). Millions died during the war, and by its end Europe was devastated.

Under U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, the Allies forged a new international order based on the Treaty of Versailles and the **League of Nations** (1919–1939), which was a weak, liberal–idealistic **collective security** system that punished and marginalized Germany between 1919 and 1939. Germany’s liberal Weimar Republic (1919–1933) was

undermined by horrendous economic conditions (early 1920s inflation and the Great Depression), intermittent communist insurrections, and the rise to power in 1933 of the antidemocratic, right-wing National Socialist Party. In the late 1930s, the totalitarian Nazi dictatorship restored German economic and military power, pursuing anti-Jewish, militarist, antidemocratic, anti-Slavic, anti-Western, and anticommunist policies. During **World War II** (1939–1945), Nazi Germany briefly conquered Europe, North Africa, and parts of the USSR, exterminating “inferior races” (six million Jews and two million others). The Allies finally destroyed Nazi Germany in May 1945.

Germany was disarmed and divided into occupation zones under control of the victorious “**Four Powers**” (the United States, Great Britain, the USSR, and France). Nazi leaders were prosecuted under the U.S.-led **United Nations’** (UN, 1945–present) collective security system. The Western Allies’ opposition to the USSR’s **satellization** of Eastern Europe and Communist East Germany led to an East–West Cold War (1946–1990). Marked by U.S. **containment** of Soviet influence and a U.S.–USSR “**balance of terror**.” When the United States, Great Britain, and France merged their occupation zones (“Bizonia” and “Trizonia”) in 1947 and prepared a German constitution or **Basic Law** (*Grundgesetz*, 1949), the USSR instituted the Berlin Blockade (1948–1949) in an effort to expel the Allies. During this year-long confrontation, the Allies supplied the besieged city through the Berlin Airlift and forged the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in April 1949, as a transatlantic **alliance** of the United States and Western Europe against the USSR. In 1949, Germany was divided into Communist **East Germany (DDR)** and the pro-Western West Germany (FRG), led by **Konrad Adenauer**, with full powers, except in foreign and security policy (1952 Petersberg Accords).

The 1954 London–Paris agreements and **status-of-forces accords (SOFA)** with West Germany allowed Western allies to keep their occupation sectors in Berlin and troops in the country for NATO’s defense along the **inter-German border**. Germany’s entry into NATO in 1955 placed all its forces under NATO’s **joint** military **command**, and the DDR became a front-line member of the Soviet-led **Warsaw Pact**. German rearmament remained constrained by the **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)** forbidding all **nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**, with only the United States allowed to field intermediate-range ballistic missiles

(INF) in Germany. NATO also stationed 240,000 U.S. forces (34,000 air force and 205,000 army) in southeast and central Germany, and a U.S. army brigade moved to Bremen in 1978 to strengthen German defenses. U.S. forces in Germany are under three commands: **U.S. Command–Europe (USEUCOM)** outside Stuttgart; U.S. Army–Europe (USAREUR) at Heidelberg; and U.S. Air Force–Europe (USAFE) at Ramstein. In addition, 60,000 French troops were placed in southwest Germany, with similar forces from Great Britain, **Canada**, Belgium, and the Netherlands in north Germany.

West Germany joined all postwar Western European political, economic, and defense cooperative organizations: the **European Economic Community (EEC/EC, now European Union [EU])**, the **Western European Union (WEU)**, the **United Nations (UN)**, and the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)**. Germany maintains close ties with the United States, NATO, and the EU, as well as being reconciled with France in 1963 through the **Treaty of Paris**. In 1955, West Germany established diplomatic relations and trade with its former enemy the Soviet Union, which in 1958 finally repatriated hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war.

West Germany was threatened by Soviet-engineered crises over Berlin (1948–1949, 1958, 1961, 1962, 1989), the constant fear of World War III, and propaganda campaigns to discredit and split it from the West. At the 1959 “Four Powers” foreign ministers’ meeting in Geneva, the USSR vetoed Western proposals to unify Germany with free elections and international guarantees for European security. In the 1952 Stalin Note, the USSR had insisted on reunification through peace treaties involving “both German states” to create a “**neutral**” Germany outside NATO and the EC, but open to Communist influence.

At the June 1961 U.S.–Soviet Vienna Summit, Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchëv** gave U.S. President **John F. Kennedy** an ultimatum to sign a separate peace treaty with Communist East Germany, but the USSR did not carry out its threat. Instead, on 13 August 1961 East Germany built the Berlin Wall to permanently isolate the city and block the flow of refugees from East Germany to the West via Berlin. The 1969 *Ostpolitik* (“Eastern Policy”) of Social Democrat Chancellor Willy Brandt allowed West Germany to improve diplomatic relations and trade, including the “Berlin clause”

(West Berlin to be included in overall West German trade). The Eastern European states (**Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary**, Poland, **Romania**, and **Yugoslavia**) and the DDR promoted Brandt's concept of a special relationship between "two German states within one German nation." This was followed by improved trade and investment accords with the USSR, renouncing all territorial claims and border changes with the Communist East, unless by peaceful means, and accepting as inviolable the postwar European status. In June 1972, the "Four Powers" Quadripartite Agreement allowed travel within divided Berlin and the DDR.

West Germany always consulted its NATO allies during its talks with the East, while promoting East–West economic ties to reduce political-military tensions in Europe, East–West freedom of movement, and the return of ethnic Germans. The December 1972 NATO Ministerials in Brussels officially repudiated the 1950s–1969 West German–allied Hallstein Doctrine of nonrecognition of Communist East Germany, finally allowing diplomatic relations with the DDR. The allies also restated the U.S.–Franco–British **Tripartite Declaration on Germany and Berlin** (26 June 1964), which held that European peace and security required self-determination, German reunification, and close ties between Berlin and West Germany, and that any Soviet–DDR or unilateral initiative to block the Quadripartite Administration of Berlin would not void previous allied–Soviet accords. West Germany also renounced the use of **force** to reunify or change postwar borders.

Finally, the decline of the USSR and sudden fall of the Berlin Wall in December 1989 led to the Soviet Union losing control over Eastern Europe in 1989–1990 and to the end of the Cold War in 1990, followed by the 1990 "**4 + 2 Talks**" between the "Four Powers" and two Germanies to reunify Germany, which occurred on 3 October 1990, with capital at Berlin and Germany as a NATO–EU member. Germany backed the NATO–EU **enlargements** in 1999–2008 to include 12 former Communist Eastern European countries, and spent huge amounts of money bringing East Germany up to Western standards. Germany supported EU monetary integration through the common euro currency. The weight of **Germany's** Nazi past of conquest and genocide also led Germany to consistently contribute to UN and **NATO peacekeeping** beyond its assessments. However, until 1995 Germany rejected any direct combat involvement abroad or peacekeeping, because of its antimilitaristic *Grundgesetz* (Basic Law)

constitution. This paradoxically led to an international fiasco in 1990–1991, when Germany refused to join the U.S. coalition under UN mandate in the First **Gulf War** against Iraq, which halted NATO’s own deployment. Later legislative reinterpretation of the Basic Law allowed Germany to participate in peacekeeping in **post–Cold War humanitarian** UN–NATO missions in **Bosnia** (1995–2004), **Kosovo** (1999–present), **Afghanistan** (2001–present), and the **EU Rapid-Response Force** (2004–present).

GIBRALTAR. Small geostrategic promontory belonging to **Great Britain** at the southern tip of **Spain**, facing Morocco across the Gibraltar Strait. In antiquity, it was known as the “Columns of Hercules” and controlled the exit from the Mediterranean Sea into the wide unknown beyond (Atlantic Ocean); later it became the springboard for Carthage to colonize Spain, before both were conquered by Rome. With the collapse of the Roman Empire under the Germanic invasions, Gibraltar resumed its role of strategic springboard for invasions. The Germanic Vandals used it to conquer North Africa; in the Middle Ages the Muslims overran the region and conquered the Iberian Peninsula; and finally Spain liberated itself from Muslim rule (the *Reconquista*) but failed to conquer Morocco, except for small **enclaves** (Ceuta and Melilla). In the 1700s, Great Britain emerged as the new hegemonic sea power in the Mediterranean, and after defeating Spain and **France** conquered Gibraltar, using it as the main naval **base** for the British **Mediterranean Fleet**. From Gibraltar, British Admiral Horatio Nelson vainly pursued Napoleon’s French fleet, which conquered **Malta** and Egypt during the 1798–1801 Egyptian Campaign. In 1800, Nelson took Malta back from France and made it another major British base. In the first and second Moroccan crises (1904, 1911), Great Britain sided with France against **Germany** over control of Morocco, provided that weaker Spain be given the sliver of land (Riff) facing Gibraltar to prevent one power from controlling both sides of the Gibraltar Strait and so threatening the British base.

In **World War I** (1914–1918) and **World War II** (1939–1945), the **Allies** used Gibraltar as a geostrategic gateway to the Mediterranean and an antisubmarine warfare (ASW) base for convoy protection against Germany and later Fascist Italy—both planned but aborted a paratrooper strike on Gibraltar—while supplying besieged Malta and

the Allied conquest of North Africa in 1942–1943. During the Cold War (1946–1990), it was an ASW air and naval base for the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** providing Western convoy protection against the Soviet Union (USSR) in case of **World War III**. Since the 1960s both Fascist Spain under Francisco Franco (1936–1975) and democratic Spain (1975–present) have intermittently claimed Gibraltar and initially even blockaded it, but several British referenda have shown that its English-speaking people want to remain with Great Britain. Once Spain joined Great Britain in both NATO and the **European Union (EU)**, the issue became moot.

GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM. An international **arms control** program to reduce the global threat of **terrorists** acquiring **nuclear** materials and **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. The Global Partnership Program is based on the U.S. Nunn–Lugar Act (1992) requiring certification of all nuclear weapons and materials in **Russia** and other former Soviet states as **safe, secure, and disarmed (SSD)**, while providing financial and research incentives to reintegrate former weapons scientists into the civilian sector.

GOOD FAITH AGREEMENT (1956), UN. United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld crafted this accord with Egypt to allow **neutral UN interposition peacekeeping** missions between states or in civil wars, and became the political-legal basis for all UN peacekeeping missions. It created the UN Emergency Force I (UNEF I) in the **Sinai** after Israel’s withdrawal from the Suez Canal following the **Suez Canal War** (1956). However, in 1967 Egypt forced out UNEF I and remilitarized the Sinai, threatening Israel, which in turn again defeated Egypt, reoccupying the Sinai and Suez Canal in the Six-Day War (1967). Since then Israel has rejected UN peacekeepers as not “neutral,” but accepted the U.S.-led **Multi-national Force and Observers (MFO)** in the Sinai under the 1980 Camp David Accords, and in 1999–2001 seriously debated possible peacekeeping by the **United States** or **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** for the West Bank and Golan Heights.

GOODPASTER, GENERAL ANDREW J., U.S. ARMY (1915–2005). From 1969 to 1974, he was both the **North Atlantic Treaty**

Organization's (NATO) sixth Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR) and the Commander-in-Chief (CINC) of U.S. European Command (EUCOM). From NATO's Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE) and Allied Command Europe (ACE), he preserved transatlantic peace and security, while as CINC–EUCOM he commanded U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe, U.S. Air Forces–Europe, U.S. Marines–Europe, and U.S. Special Operations Command–Europe for NATO and U.S. missions in Europe and the Middle East.

Andrew J. Goodpaster was born on 12 February 1915 in Granite City, Illinois. He graduated from West Point in 1939, and during **World War II** (1939–1945) commanded an engineer combat battalion in North Africa and **Italy**. Known as a “soldier-scholar” he received an M.S. in engineering and an M.A. and Ph.D. in international affairs from Princeton University. He became special assistant to the chief of staff of Supreme **Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** in 1950–1954 and was a favorite of General **Dwight D. Eisenhower**, NATO's first SACEUR (1951–1952). As U.S. president, Eisenhower asked General Goodpaster to serve as staff secretary and defense liaison officer in the White House's National Security Council (NSC) because of his ability to handle a vast national security portfolio. But Goodpaster openly confronted Eisenhower whenever he felt the president was pursuing wrong policies. In the mid-1950s, Eisenhower publicly stated that he wanted to reduce U.S. conventional **forces** in Europe and prodded NATO to increase its European forces, and could not understand why this was not happening. General Goodpaster retorted that it all depended on “the ability of the Europeans to fill the gap that's there, the gap we created” and swiftly enlisted Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on his side to deflect the president's anger. General Goodpaster remained a key advisor throughout the **Suez Canal War** (1956), the launching of the Soviet *Sputnik* satellite (1957), and Soviet downing of a U.S. U-2 spy plane in 1960. He held a series of top positions on the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the 1960s and was Commandant of the National War College in 1967–1968. As deputy commander of U.S. **forces** in Vietnam in 1968–1969, he advocated a stronger military effort to win, but was frustrated by the decline in political will. He was the military advisor to the U.S. team at the 1968 Paris peace talks with North Vietnam and

also advised Presidents **Lyndon Johnson**, **Richard Nixon**, and **Jimmy Carter**.

In 1969, Goodpaster succeeded U.S. Army General **Lyman L. Lemnitzer** (1963–1969) as SACEUR and closely collaborated with both NATO **Secretaries-General Manlio Brosio** (1964–1971) and **Joseph M. A. H. Luns** (1971–1984) to offset the USSR's massive gains in the strategic balance while the **United States** remained involved in the Vietnam War. However, transatlantic cooperation was shaken, first by leftist popular demonstrations against the Vietnam War, then by the Arab–Israeli Yom Kippur War (1973) and First Oil Shock, and finally by the Greek–Turkish clash (1974) over **Cyprus** and **Greece's** temporary withdrawal of forces from NATO. These four crises arose during East–West **détente**, when the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaties (SALT I and II, 1972, 1979) on **nuclear** weapons clashed with the decade-long, unsuccessful **arms control** talks over NATO–**Warsaw Pact** conventional forces (**Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions [MBFR]**). These difficulties weakened NATO and U.S. troop combat effectiveness, and SHAPE resisted pressures from several **allies** (**Canada**, **Great Britain**, and the United States) to reduce their forces in Europe. In 1970, Goodpaster issued the study ***Alliance Defense Problems in the 1970s***, which balanced East–West arms control with major improvements of ACE's conventional and nuclear forces, implemented by NATO's new strategic planning during the 1970s under his successor as SACEUR.

Goodpaster was greatly displeased at being replaced by U.S. Army General **Alexander M. Haig Jr.** (1974–1979), President Nixon's White House chief of staff, whom he publicly snubbed by not showing up at his ceremony. From 1977 to 1981, he was the superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. After he retired, he vocally advocated cutting nuclear weapons and in 1996 even urged their total elimination. Goodpaster died on 16 May 2005.

GORBACHËV, MIKHAIL SERGEYEVICH (1931–). Eighth and last premier of the Soviet Union (USSR) and general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party (1985–1991), his reforms ended the Cold War (1946–1990), but also undermined the Soviet Communist Party and helped provoke the USSR's own collapse. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990.

An ethnic Russian, Mikhail Gorbachĕv was born on 2 March 1931 in Privolnoye near Stavropol, **Russia**, to a peasant family. His grandparents were deported under the totalitarian rule of **Josef Stalin** for being rich farmers (*kulaks*). Considered locally the most intelligent student, and the rare winner at only age 19 of the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, Gorbachĕv graduated with a law degree from the prestigious Moscow University and joined the Communist Party in 1952 at 21, quickly rising through the ranks. By 1970 he was first secretary for agriculture and in 1971 became a member of the Soviet Central Committee. In 1974, he joined the Supreme Soviet and was chairman of its Standing Commission on Youth Affairs. In 1979, Gorbachĕv was promoted to the Politburo, under the patronage of the head of the KGB, Yuri Andropov, also from Stavropol. When Andropov became premier of the USSR (1982–1984), Gorbachĕv was promoted to be leader of the Communist Party. Gorbachĕv was also close to Premier Konstantin Chernenko, Andropov's successor in 1984–1985, serving as his second secretary. Gorbachĕv's technocratic background and frequent official visits to the West broadened his outlook, compared to the old Soviet leadership's isolationism.

After the death of Premier Chernenko, Gorbachĕv became general secretary of the Communist Party (11 March 1985) at age 54, the first Soviet leader born after the 1917 Russian Revolution, and the only one to seriously tackle the USSR's economic stagnation and rigid ideological inwardness. After consolidating power at the 27th Congress of the CPSU in February 1986, he tried to reform the stagnant Communist Party through a gradual liberalization policy (*glasnost*, "openness") and to reform the Soviet economy through *perestroika* ("restructuring"), to improve living standards and productivity. His Law on Cooperatives (May 1988) allowed for the first time private ownership of businesses in services, industry, and foreign trade. But his reforms were subtly resisted by the orthodox Soviet bureaucracy and within the Soviet government. Between 1986 and 1990, *glasnost* dismantled the USSR's totalitarian structure, giving people political freedoms and multicandidate elections, while using Soviet popular support of reforms to force the orthodox Soviet Communist Party and bureaucracy to stop opposing economic restructuring. On 15 March 1990, Gorbachĕv became president of the USSR.

The First Afghan War (1979–1989) had left 15,000 Soviets dead. Revolutionary movements in several Soviet **satellites** and client states—**Afghanistan**, Nicaragua, **Poland**, Angola, and Mozambique—funded and supplied by Western clandestine operations, took a huge toll on the USSR, at a time when U.S. and NATO arms buildups forced further **arms races** on the exhausted Soviet economy, which was seriously decaying by the mid-1980s. Therefore, Gorbachëv relaunched **détente** and **arms control**, while cultivating close relations with key Western leaders, including British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, West **Germany** Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and, especially since the first 1985 **Summit** in Geneva, arch-foe U.S. President **Ronald Reagan**, whose **Reagan Doctrine** openly advocated the “liberation” of Communist-controlled Third World countries, like Afghanistan. Since the 1980s, the West had insisted that *détente*, and renewed East–West trade and investments, be subordinated to the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. In 1988, Gorbachëv announced the withdrawal of all Soviet forces by 1989, although a proxy civil war continued until U.S.-supported *mujahideen* overthrew the pro-Soviet régime.

On arms control, Gorbachëv and Reagan surprisingly agreed, at the second U.S.–Soviet Summit (11 October 1986) in Reykjavík, **Iceland**, to remove all **intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)** from Europe, which led to the 1987 INF Treaty, a radical disarmament accord, and the first mutually verified **on-site inspections** (by both **NATO** and the **Warsaw Pact**). This was followed by new successful arms control accords, which halved U.S.–Soviet and NATO–Warsaw Pact forces in the **Atlantic-to-the-Urals (ATTU)** region (the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty), halved U.S.–Soviet strategic nuclear missiles (the 1991 **Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty**), and halved and withdrew to central storages all U.S. and Soviet short-range nuclear forces (SNF).

In 1987, Gorbachëv acknowledged that his liberalizing reforms were similar to Czechoslovakia’s Alexander Dubček’s “socialism with a human face” and the 1968 Prague Spring, which had been crushed by the **Brezhnev Doctrine** and Warsaw Pact invasion. In 1988, he abrogated the Brezhnev Doctrine of Communist intervention in the affairs of Warsaw Pact states, allowing them to reform. His

nonintervention in Eastern Europe encouraged a string of peaceful, popular, anticommunist revolutions in the satellite states in 1989, as well as a brief, bloody civil war in **Romania**, which swiftly eliminated all pro-Soviet Communist régimes and the Warsaw Pact, forcing the end of Soviet hegemony and withdrawal of its forces, stationed there since 1945.

Gorbachëv was bitterly criticized at home for losing the USSR's ideological-military "empire" over Eastern Europe, as well as the client states worldwide. In addition, his economic reform policy failed to improve domestic conditions and by the end of the 1980s had brought the USSR to the brink of disaster, with severe food shortages and exploding state and external deficits. The USSR's democratization and the loss of Eastern Europe had irreparably undermined the Communist Party's power as well as Gorbachëv's leadership. Political openness unleashed long-suppressed nationalist and anti-Russian calls for independence from some Soviet republics, notably the Baltic states (**Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania**), the Transcaucasus republics (**Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia**), and **Ukraine**. Gorbachëv had intended to reform and maintain in power the Communist Party through its gradual democratization, but the contradictions of both praising Lenin and Sweden's social model, while being unable to either cajole or secretly overthrow those in the **Baltic** and Caucasus seeking independence, forced him to stem separatism through a new Soviet federative, democratized constitution. However, the republics and Ukraine remained unmoved, and even radical reformists, such as his former protégé and rival, Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, saw that a rapid transition to a market economy and opening to the West were possible only through the dissolution of the USSR.

Hard-liners in the Communist Party, military, and Soviet leadership opposed their loss of power and a truly federative democratic Soviet Union with the risk of multiple secessions. On 19–21 August 1991, they arrested Gorbachëv and reimposed Communist totalitarianism. Russian President Yeltsin was able to rally parliamentary and popular opposition to the August coup from the besieged "White House" (Duma), forcing the coup's collapse. Once freed and restored to power, Gorbachëv fired many members of his Politburo and arrested the August coup leaders for high treason, but he soon lost control of both the USSR and Russia to Yeltsin, who had also dissolved

the Communist Party and won over the **Red Army**. Yeltsin had Russia secede from the USSR with Ukraine and Belarus, founding with them the Visegrad-3 security compact, on which the enlarged **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** was based in 1992. Gorbachëv was forced to resign on 25 December 1991, and the USSR ended. Yeltsin remained President of Russia (1991–1999).

Gorbachëv founded several nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and is praised in the West for ending the Cold War, but in Russia he is blamed for the USSR's collapse and resulting socioeconomic misery and political divisiveness. When he ran for president of Russia in 1996 he received only 1 percent of the vote. In November 2001, he founded the Social Democratic Party of Russia, but resigned as leader in May 2004. In September 2004, Russian President **Vladimir Putin's** centralization of power was criticized by both Gorbachëv and Yeltsin as antidemocratic.

GOVERNMENTS IN EXILE. International law and political term for exiled governments that have lost control of their country through internal coup d'états or foreign invasions, but continue their fight abroad with the aid of friendly states, who recognize them as the only "legitimate" government, as long as combat continues. Governments in exile were officially recognized by the **Allies** during **World War II** from most European states taken over by Nazi **Germany**, including the "Free French" under General **Charles de Gaulle** (1941–1945) and the three **Baltic** states (**Estonia**, **Latvia**, and **Lithuania**), which were twice annexed against their will by the Soviet Union (1939–1940 and 1944–1945). The Baltics' governments in exile continued their symbolic opposition to Soviet rule during the Cold War (1946–1990), supported ideologically by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Their countries finally achieved independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and they promptly turned to NATO and the **European Union (EU)** seeking full membership. Governments in exile as a political-legal opposition have disappeared since the end of the Cold War.

"GRAND ALLIANCE" (1941–1946). Political-diplomatic term for the unexpected **alliance** (1941–1946) of rival powers in **World War II**: **Great Britain** (the world's greatest colonial empire, anticommunist

and anticapitalist), the **United States** (the world's first capitalist superpower, anticolonialist and anticommunist), and the Soviet Union (the world's first Communist superpower, anticapitalist and anticolonialist). The "Grand Alliance" fought and defeated the common **Axis** threat (Nazi **Germany**, Fascist **Italy**, and Japan). They added Free **France** and Nationalist China to create the **United Nations (UN)**, but after the end of the war the "Grand Alliance" collapsed because of the USSR's political-military **satellization** of Eastern Europe (1946–1949) and the division of Germany. Soviet **vetoes** stopped the UN Security Council from acting against Soviet subversion in **Greece, Turkey, and Iran**. The 1947 **Truman Doctrine of Containment** and the Cold War (1946–1990) solidified the East–West split between the USSR and the Western **allies**.

"GRAND DESIGN" (or EUROPE OF NATIONS). President **Charles de Gaulle** of **France** conceived this long-term plan to ease out of Europe both superpowers, the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR), by forging a French-led "Europe of Nations," through different international schemes. The **Fouchet Plans** (1961–1962) called for the permanent grouping of all **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** European members (except **Great Britain**, considered too close to the United States to be truly European) under French leadership.

The theory was that NATO would be downgraded, the United States would withdraw its forces from Europe, and the USSR, no longer feeling threatened on its doorstep, would soon relinquish control of its Eastern European **buffer zone**. The disbandment of both NATO and the **Warsaw Pact** would allow Paris to lead an intergovernmental, semiconfederal continental Western and Eastern Europe, coordinating the political-economic and defense spheres. In this way, a weak, "decolonized" France could regain superpower status by leading a weak, nonsupranational **"Third-Force"** Europe, independent of the U.S.–Soviet superpowers yet the friend of both. De Gaulle would prevent any supranational integration in his "Europe of Nations" to prevent losing France's sovereignty, national identity, and leadership of Europe. France's European leadership would not rely on national military-economic strength (like the United States), or on conquest (like the USSR), but on the "diplomacy of denial: French political independence and **nuclear force de frappe**. De Gaulle's

"Europe of Nations" would act unanimously (with France having a **veto**), with a French-led Council of Heads of State meeting three times a year, the foreign ministers meeting in permanent session, a consultative parliament, and a state-centered commission.

In 1961–1962, the Fouchet Plan and its two watered-down revisions collapsed in a tangle of bitter inter-Atlantic quarrels over the nature of Atlantic and/or European supranationality versus France's "Grand Design," which would weaken both NATO and the **European Community (EC)**. France twice prevented Great Britain joining the EC. In 1966, de Gaulle sought to jump-start his "Grand Design" by withdrawing from NATO's integrated military **command**, but not from its political wing, lest future Soviet threats force France back into the Atlantic military fold. Forcing NATO's headquarters, infrastructure, and forces out of France, de Gaulle sought to undermine the alliance and compel America to withdraw from Western Europe. French diplomacy would thereafter convince the USSR to withdraw from Eastern Europe because the threat of U.S.–NATO forces was gone. A French-led "Third Force Europe of Nations" over both Western and Eastern Europe would then become a friendly **buffer** between the superpowers' global interests, appeasing Moscow with its anti-Americanism and reassuring Washington with the **Atlantic common values** of democracy and trade.

De Gaulle always saw the division of Europe as a function of the political-military confrontation between the superpowers, not as a reflection of ideological divisions and the rival aims for victory of one ideology over the other. His "Grand Design" was dramatically undercut in 1968 by the Soviet/Warsaw Pact invasion of Communist reformist Czechoslovakia: the Cold War was not over; the **Brezhnev Doctrine** reconfirmed the USSR's ideological-political "right" to repress any threat to Communist control of Eastern Europe (regardless of French diplomacy or U.S. disengagement from Western Europe); and Soviet Communist rule would never withdraw unless forced out.

NATO responded to France's withdrawal by reorganizing its **Central Front** defenses and command in **Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany**. Its headquarters were transferred from Paris-Rambouillet to Brussels, Belgium, while **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)**, NATO navies, and the **U.S. Sixth Fleet** moved from Toulon to Gaeta and Naples in **Italy**.

In 1969, a politically weakened de Gaulle signaled his interest in returning to NATO's fold to jointly counter the Soviet threat (**Méry Doctrine**). But his abrupt resignation over domestic issues stalled France's return to NATO, and his successors remained prisoners of an unchangeable "Gaullist legacy" of French "exceptionalism" from NATO's military command. However, in the late 1970s French Presidents Valéry Giscard d'Éstaing, François Mitterrand, and Jacques Chirac ambiguously increased France's role in NATO, but Chirac's December 1995 return to the alliance's integrated military command collapsed over Italy's opposition to French demands to share deputy command of AFSOUTH. Finally, in June 2008, new President Nicolas Sarkozy completed France's reentry in NATO's integrated military command. *See also* ADENAUER, KONRAD; NATO "TRIUMVIRATE."

GREAT BRITAIN (UNITED KINGDOM), NATO-EU. Constitutional monarchy, and federal state since the 1996 devolution into four autonomous communities (England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland), with overseas territories and **Gibraltar**. It is a major power in Western Europe, with an area of 244,820 square kilometers, surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean, North Sea, Irish Sea, and English Channel and facing **Belgium, France, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Norway**. The capital is London. It is a Christian Protestant country (76 percent Anglican, 14 percent Catholic, 5.5 percent Presbyterian, 2.5 percent Methodist, and 2 percent Jewish and other), with a population of 60.5 million (81.5 percent English, 9.6 percent Scots, 2.4 percent Irish, 1.8 percent Ulster, 1.9 percent Welsh, and 2.8 percent Caribbean and Indo-Pakistani).

Celtic Britain (England and Wales) was conquered by the Roman Empire, which failed to annex Scotland and Ireland. The collapse of Roman authority left England prey in the Middle Ages to German invasions (mostly Saxon) and Viking raids from **Scandinavia**. Saxon England became a unified kingdom under the Normans after 1066, followed by the conquest of Wales by 1284 and union with Scotland in 1609 under the joint Stuart crown. Ireland was conquered twice, in the 1650s and 1689. The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 made it independent (except for British Northern Ireland). After surviving the invasion of **Spain's** Grand Armada (1588), England expanded globally through trade, colonial expansion, and war against Spain, the Nether-

lands, and France, reaching at its zenith in the 1700s–1940s as the British Empire. The Empire covered one-fourth of the earth’s surface and was the world’s dominant maritime and industrial power, as well as the “balancer” in the **balance of power** system (1500s–1945).

Great Britain slowly declined in the first half of the 20th century, because of intense trade competition from **Germany** and the **United States**, followed by massive losses in shipping and resources during **World War I** (1914–1918) and **World War II** (1939–1945). Never a true believer in **collective security** under the **League of Nations** (1919–1940s) and **United Nations** (1945–present), Great Britain is one of five UN Security Council **veto** powers. Its international decline accelerated during the Cold War (1946–1990) amid decolonization of India and the Empire (1940s–1960s), which became the **Commonwealth**. Particularly humiliating was the outcome of the **Suez Canal War** (1956).

A Western state, Great Britain refashioned itself into a prosperous European nation and was founding member of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1949, and **Conference on/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** in 1976. Prime Minister Sir **Winston Churchill**’s famous “Three Circles Doctrine” put London at the center of three circles—the Commonwealth, the “special relationship” with the United States, and Europe—without belonging exclusively to any one circle. Between 1948 and the 1960s, British global foreign policy privileged its “Special Relationship” with the United States and NATO over European integration, which London feared as a new hegemony.

Between 1947 and the 1960s, Great Britain cut back its global military-colonial presence, despite becoming a **nuclear** power in 1950. It also ceded global naval and political leadership to the United States during the Cold War and **Containment** of the USSR, especially concerning the defense of Greece, Turkey, and Iran, while still trying to influence European politics by supporting France’s political-military resurgence against the USSR and keeping defeated **Italy** down. Thus, London formed the Brussels Pact (1947) with Belgium, France, **Luxembourg**, and the Netherlands, with external support of the United States, while denying membership to Italy. The Anglo-Americans cooperated with France in unifying their three **German** occupation zones in 1946–1948, then after the Soviet-led Berlin Blockade

(1948–1949) helped form an independent West Germany in 1949. Britain also fought alongside the U.S.-led UN **coalition** during the **Korean War** (1950–1953). Eventually economic needs prompted Great Britain to seek times entry in the **European Community (EC)**, which was vetoed three by French President **Charles de Gaulle**. Finally, pressure from other European countries forced France accept to Great Britain, Ireland, and **Denmark** into the EC in 1973. However, London remains critical of later European integration efforts (1992–1998), which transformed the EC into the **European Union (EU)**; Britain has “opted-out” of conversion to the euro and a controversial French-designed **EU Constitution** (2005).

During the Cold War, Great Britain promoted European–NATO security integration, subordinating its national **nuclear** strategic **forces** (air and now only submarines) to NATO’s integrated military **command** under the United States, with the British Army on the Rhine (BAOR) being the third-largest allied **force**, after West Germany and the United States against a possible Soviet–**Warsaw Pact** invasion. The controversial decisions in 1969 and 1972 to withdraw all British forces globally (“East of Suez” Doctrine) led also to the abandonment of British **control** of the Mediterranean (which had existed since 1700) and the closing down of **Malta**’s naval **base** and the Mediterranean Fleet. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher supported NATO in the **Euromissile Crisis** of 1977–1983, despite violent antinuclear protests by the Committee on Nuclear Disarmament (CND), and in 1982 Great Britain won the **Falklands War** against Argentina. Since **détente**, the end of the Cold War (1990), and the collapse of the USSR (1991), British forces in NATO have been scaled down, whereas since the 1980s **British peacekeeping** has increased, alongside the United States, UN, NATO, and OSCE in **Iraq** (1990–1991 and 2003–2007), **Bosnia** (1991–present), **Kosovo** (1999–present), and **Afghanistan** (2001–present). Britain also participates in the EU/NATO **European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (ESDI/P)**. *See also* FRANCO–BRITISH AXIS.

GREATER ALBANIA. Ethno-nationalist concept formulated in the late 1990s by ethnic Albanian populations in reaction to the collapse of **Yugoslavia** and the ensuing five civil wars in 1991–2000, which were instigated by Yugoslav President Slobodan Milošević’s attempts

to create an ultranationalist **Greater Serbia**. The defeat of the Serbs left the victimized Kosovar Albanian minorities in Serbia-Yugoslavia and **Macedonia** deeply resentful of Slav populations and influenced by Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) attempts to secure an independent **Kosovo** under **United Nations (UN)** control. The Kosovar Albanians want to create a Greater Albanian nation uniting **Albania**, Kosovo, West Macedonia, and Serbia's Albanian-populated Presevo Valley. The **United States**, **UN**, **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, and **European Union (EU)** opposed in 1999 anti-Albanian **ethnic cleansing** in 1999, but also opposed any Greater Albania. The **final status of Kosovo** as a UN-protected independent state in spring 2008 is unlikely to stop regional destabilization.

GREATER SERBIA. Ethno-nationalist concept resuscitated in the late 1980s and early 1990s by Yugoslav President Slobodan Milošević, to create an ultranationalist Greater **Serbia** out of the wreckage of the old Yugoslav Communist state, while resuscitating the historical dreams of the Medieval Greater Serbian Empire in the southern **Balkans** that had been crushed and annexed by the Muslim Turkish Empire (1400s–1850s). The independence of Serbia in the 1850s left it a landlocked, poor, rump state, with ambitions to annex all Serb minorities and then also other Southern Slavs in imitation of **Italy's** irredentist national unification drive (1820–1870). Secretly allied with Czarist **Russia's** pan-Slavism, Serbia joined the Balkan League with **Bulgaria**, **Greece**, **Montenegro**, and **Romania** against the Turkish Empire to free the last oppressed Christians in the Balkans (Balkan Wars, 1911–1912). This conflict also pitted Serbia against Bulgaria because the former seized **control** of Montenegro and **Macedonia** (earlier promised to Bulgaria). Serbia could not take control of Albania because of the naval interventions of Italy and **Austria-Hungary**. Serb irredentism thereafter sought to detach Austria's Slavic provinces of **Bosnia** (40 percent Serb), **Croatia**, and **Slovenia** and create a Greater Serbia by provoking a dynastic **crisis** through the assassination in June 1914 of Prince Franz-Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne. However, the assassination set off **World War I**, during which Austria-Hungary conquered Serbia (1915–1918), while Italy seized Albania and evacuated retreating Serb **forces** to Greece.

Serb aspirations were finally attained through U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points in the Treaty of Versailles (1919), which promoted ethnic self-determination and a Serb-controlled Federation of Yugoslavia. However, Serb centralization of powers immediately dissolved the federation and provoked long-standing Croat resentment. During **World War II** (1939–1945), Nazi **Germany** conquered and partitioned Yugoslavia (1941–1944), creating with an independent Fascist Croatia. At the end of the war, Communist partisan leader Josip Broz Tito re-created a multi-ethnic federal Communist Yugoslavia by keeping down both Serb domination and Croat desires for independence.

President Tito (1944–1980) created a strong, Communist, multi-ethnic state through a careful balance between federal and local powers, redrawing ethnic borders to include sizeable minorities within each state. In the late 1980s, following the decline in economic standards throughout Yugoslavia and the secessionist pressures of Croatia and Slovenia, Slobodan Milošević and his rival ethno-nationalist leaders in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia, and **Kosovo** sought to undo Tito's state. In the 1990s, Milošević engineered a series of regional ethno-nationalist conflicts between minorities in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo and local populations in an effort to carve out by military means Serb-pure secessionist enclaves (Krajina [30 percent of Croatia], and Republika Srpska [51 percent of Bosnia]), to be later annexed to Milošević's rump Yugoslavia/Serbia to form a Greater Serbia. The most devastated areas were Bosnia (in 1992–1995) and Kosovo (in 1999) where the predominant ethnic Muslim populations were often expelled and made homeless, in an orgy of **ethnic cleansing** (carnage, violence, deaths, and rapes) of all mixed-ethnic lands, including the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of refugees to nearby lands and throughout Europe. Intervention by the **United Nations (UN)**, **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, and Croatia reversed these flagrant crimes in 1995 and 1999 and imposed the Dayton Peace Accord and Rambouillet Accords. Atrocities by Serb ethno-nationalist extremists undermined all land gains and destroyed the dream of a Greater Serbia. *See also* IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA; KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE; STABILISATION FORCE–BOSNIA.

GREECE (HELLAS), NATO–EU. Democratic republic in Europe's Balkans with a mountainous area of 131,940 square kilometers, in a peninsula and archipelago of 2,000 islands bordering **Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Turkey**, and the Aegean, Ionian, and Mediterranean Seas. It strategically dominates the southern approaches to the **Turkish Straits** through the Aegean Sea. The capital is Athens. A Christian country (98 percent Greek Orthodox, 1.3 percent Muslim, and 0.7 percent other), it has a population of 10.8 million (98 percent Greek and 2 percent other).

Greece was the cradle of Western civilization in antiquity and dominated the Mediterranean under Athens's Delian League and later under Alexander the Great's Hellenistic Empire. Having defeated the Persian Empire several times, Greece was annexed by Rome in 150 BC. The slow collapse of the Roman Empire led Constantine the Great to create a new capital in Greek-populated Byzantium/Constantinople, ruling over the Eastern Roman/Byzantine Empire. By the 1300s, it too had weakened, under the onslaught of the Muslim Turks, who conquered Greece and the Balkans in 1350–1450 and finally Constantinople. Between 1820 and 1830, Greece freed part of its territory from the Ottoman Empire with the support of **Russia, France, and Great Britain**. In the late 1800s, Greece gradually seized most Greek-speaking islands and northern territories from Turkey, with implicit great power support, such as during the 1898 Crete Blockade. During **World War I** (1914–1918), Greece sided with the **Entente/Allies** against **Austria–Hungary**, Turkey, and Bulgaria, but after the war its expansion into Asia Minor was repelled by the Turks, accompanied by massive **ethnic cleansing** of the Greek populations of Smyrna and Constantinople. In the 1930s, Greece became a right-wing dictatorship rivaling Fascist **Italy** for control of Albania and the Aegean. It was invaded by Italy and Nazi Germany during **World War II** (1939–1945).

British **forces** replaced the retreating Germans in Greece in 1944, helping the Greek government fight against Greek Communist partisans in Athens and the mountains. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the **Truman Doctrine** (1947) of **Containment** against the Soviet Union (USSR) provided Greece and Turkey with direct military assistance and defense, resulting in the Communist rebels' defeat in

1949. Greece joined the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945 and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1952, sealing off the USSR from the Mediterranean.

Domestic tensions led to the 1967 Colonels' Coup and a military dictatorship that forced the king to flee, while tensions with Turkey over Greek aims to annex **Cyprus** led to two Cypriot crises (1965 and 1974). Greece was forced to back down, and during the second crisis, the military junta fell once Turkey seized Northern Cyprus.

As a democratic republic, Greece joined the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)** in 1981, and problems with Greek military ties with NATO, the United States, and Turkey were slowly patched up in the 1980s and 1990s.

GREEN LINE/ZONE. Terms for a militarily patrolled demarcation line or **neutral** zone separating rival Muslims and Christian ethnic **forces** in urban areas. Such a zone was created by the **British-led UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)** to separate Turkish Cypriots in the north from Greek Cypriots in the south.

GROUND SAFETY ZONE–KOSOVO (GSZ), NATO. Five-kilometer-wide demilitarized area in South Serbia bordering **Kosovo**, established by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** after the Kosovo War (1999). Created originally to protect the local Kosovar Albanian population from possible infiltrations of Serb **forces** in Kosovo after their expulsion by NATO, it was eliminated in spring 2001 following the escalation of ethnic Albanian insurgency in the neighboring Albanian-inhabited **Presevo Valley** of South Serbia. To stop the spillover of Albanian insurgency from Kosovo using the ground safety zone (GSZ) as a base for attacks, in March–May 2001 NATO brokered a cease-fire between the Yugoslavs and Albanians and, with the support of the **United Nations (UN)**, **European Union (EU)**, **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, and United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR), allowed Yugoslav troops to return to the GSZ.

GRUENTHER, ALFRED M., U.S. ARMY GENERAL (1899–1983). From 1953 to 1956, Gruenther was both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** third **Supreme Allied Commander–**

Europe (SACEUR) and Commander-in-Chief (CINC) of U.S. European Command (EUCOM). From NATO's **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** and Allied Command Europe (ACE), he preserved transatlantic peace and security, while as CINC–EUCOM he commanded U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe; U.S. Air Forces–Europe, U.S. Marines–Europe, and U.S. Special Operations Command–Europe for NATO and U.S. missions in Europe and the Middle East.

Born on 3 March 1899 in Platte Center, Nebraska, Alfred Gruenther graduated from West Point and served as Chief of Staff of the Third Army, Fifth Army, and Fifteenth Army Group between 1941 and 1949. During **World War II** (1939–1945), he was the main U.S. planner of the Allied invasions of North Africa (in 1942) and **Italy** (in 1943), and deputy commander of U.S. **forces** in Austria in 1945. Gruenther served at NATO in 1950–1953 as Chief of Staff of SHAPE for both of his SACEUR predecessors, U.S. Generals **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1950–1952) and **Matthew B. Ridgway** (1952–1953), working with NATO **Secretary-General Lord Ismay** (1952–1957) to help former enemy (West) **Germany** join NATO in 1955 as its 15th ally.

Gruenther was succeeded as SACEUR by U.S. Air Force General **Lauris L. Norstad** (1956–1962). He was then president of the American Red Cross (1957–1964); he died on 30 May 1983.

GUERRILLA WARFARE. *See* CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS.

“GULF.” Geopolitical term used by the **United States** and **West** for the Persian Gulf bisecting the Hormuz Straits. When the U.S.-led ad hoc Western **coalition** reflagged and patrolled the Gulf against Iranian attacks on oil tankers, the confrontation between Iran and moderate Arab states led the U.S. to unilaterally change the region's waterway's name to further isolate Iran/Persia and “not offend” Arab sensitivities during the **Iran–Iraq War** (1980–1988). The term was used again in the First Gulf War (1990–1991) and **Second Gulf War** (2003) with Iraq.

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HAGUE PLATFORM ON EUROPEAN SECURITY INTERESTS (1987), WEU. On 27 October 1987, the **Western European Union's**

(WEU) seven **allies** adopted the “Hague Platform on European Security Interests” after an August meeting of experts outlined future **joint** actions in the **Gulf** to replace the U.S.-led Western ad hoc **coalition**, which had reflagged local and international oil tankers and escorted them through the combat area of the Straits of Hormuz and Gulf to secure international freedom of navigation of the world’s oil shipping lanes during the **Iran–Iraq War** (1980–1988). Such U.S.-led Western coalition patrols since 1986 had replaced an abortive U.S. attempt to have the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) engage in this operation as its first “out-of-area” strategic mission—an effort opposed by **Germany**, which cited its antiwar constitution. The Hague Platform also collapsed, leaving the U.S.-led Western coalition to continue its Gulf patrols until the First and **Second Gulf Wars** against Iraq (1990–1991, 2003) brought the operation under a **United Nations** (UN) mandate.

HAIG, GENERAL ALEXANDER M., JR., U.S. ARMY (1924–).

From 1974 to 1979, he was both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s** (NATO) seventh **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe** (SACEUR) and **Commander-in-Chief** (CINC) of **U.S. European Command** (EUCOM). From NATO’s **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe** (SHAPE), he led **Allied Command Europe** (ACE) in preserving transatlantic security and territorial integrity, while as CINC–EUCOM he commanded U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe, U.S. Air Forces in Europe, U.S. Marines Forces–Europe, U.S. Special Operations Command–Europe for NATO, and U.S. missions in Europe.

Alexander Haig Jr. was born near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 2 December 1924, and graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1947. As a second lieutenant with U.S. occupation **forces** in Japan, Haig soon attracted the attention of high-ranking superiors; during the **Korean War** (1950–1953), he fought as a captain under General Douglas MacArthur in the 1950 Inchon landings. In the 1950s, he taught at West Point and earned an M.B.A. at Columbia University, then taught at the Naval War College and earned an M.A. in international relations from Georgetown University (1961). As a lieutenant colonel in 1962–1965, he worked for the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations; in 1964 he was deputy special

assistant to Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance, tactfully and efficiently handling interagency politics and diplomatic **crises**. He then became military assistant to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara until 1965. Haig went to the Army War College and fought in **Vietnam**, becoming a full colonel. By 1969, he was the invaluable chief military assistant to National Security Advisor **Henry Kissinger**, then his deputy national security advisor, and was promoted to major general. He worked on President **Richard Nixon**'s opening to China and the 1973 Vietnam peace accords. In 1973, Nixon controversially promoted Haig as a "president's man" over 240 senior officers, making him a four-star general and Army Vice Chief of Staff. He soon became special assistant to Nixon (1973–1974), and during the Watergate scandal, as Nixon's White House Chief of Staff he both kept the administration running and influenced Nixon's August 1974 resignation. Under President Gerald Ford, Haig briefly continued as White House Chief of Staff until he was replaced by Donald Rumsfeld, after which he was appointed NATO's SACEUR.

Haig's replacement of popular U.S. Army General **Andrew J. Goodpaster** (1969–1974) was controversial, but he soon won over all European leaders and worked closely with NATO **Secretary-General Josef Luns** (1971–1984), focusing NATO on countering the **Warsaw Pact**'s rise in military power through the "**3 Rs: Readiness, Rationalization, and Reinforcement**" policy to integrate **command, control**, and flexibility of NATO forces in Europe during the 1970s–1980s. Through SHAPE's Long-Term Defence Improvement Programme, the **allies' combat readiness** was greatly improved in the 1980s, and the Airborne Early-Warning System and a coordinated Air-Defense Ground Environment were created. Haig also introduced in 1975 a major new annual NATO exercise series, **Autumn Forge**, centered on the vital **REFORGER** (Return of Forces to Germany) maneuvers, which integrated multinational allied units in parallel national and NATO-wide exercises to improve training and annually test rapid U.S.–Canadian air- and sea-lift of reinforcements to NATO's **Central Front** in **Germany** and Europe in an invasion by the **Soviet Union (USSR)** and Warsaw Pact. Haig also implemented a long overdue realignment of command structures in Southeastern Europe (Aegean) and in senior leadership at SHAPE and Allied Command Europe, to reflect Germany's central role (in 1978 General

Gerd Schmueckle was the first German Deputy-SACEUR). His most enduring legacy was SHAPE's planning of the 1977–1983 controversial vital modernization of **NATO's intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)** in Europe to counter Soviet conventional and INF improvements since 1977. Haig's high-profile reforms of NATO led the German **terrorist** group RAF (Rote Armee Faktion) to unsuccessfully try to assassinate him in 1979 with a **land mine**.

Haig also mentored the careers of three future SACEURs: His immediate replacement was former West Point Commandant U.S. Army General **Bernard W. Rogers** (1979–1987); his four-time special assistant, U.S. Army General **George A. Joulwan**, became the 11th SACEUR (1993–1997); and his speech writer, U.S. Army General **Wesley K. Clark**, became the 12th SACEUR (1997–2000).

After retiring, Haig became head of United Technologies Co. (1979–1981), then in 1980–1982 became President **Ronald Reagan's** controversial “hawk” secretary of state, advocating a tough stance against the USSR and its Third World client states. Reagan and Haig hoped to enlist both Israel and moderate Arab states as bulwarks against the USSR after its invasion of **Afghanistan**, where the United States secretly channeled arms and funds through Arab states and Pakistan for the anti-Soviet *mujahideen* guerrillas. Haig also sought to end the Lebanese Civil War and destroy the terrorist Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) by encouraging Israel's 1982 operations against PLO **bases** in Lebanon, in return for Palestinian autonomy within Israel. However, international and domestic criticism of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, plus his inability to stop the **Falklands War** (1982) between NATO ally **Great Britain** and Argentina, a member of the U.S.-led **Organization of American States (OAS)** and Rio Pact, weakened Haig politically. Haig's abrasiveness and turf battles with Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and other cabinet rivals, plus his efforts to emulate his mentor, Kissinger, in dominating U.S. foreign policy, led to his being forced to resign in June 1982. Haig later lost the 1988 Republican presidential nomination to Vice President **George H. W. Bush**. Haig is president of Worldwide Associates and co-chair of U.S.–CIS Ventures.

HALLSTEIN DOCTRINE. *See* FORWARD DEFENSE; GERMANY.

HAMMARSKJØLD, DAG H. A. G. (1905–1961). **United Nations (UN) Secretary-General** twice (April 1953 to September 1961), universally praised as the most effective one. He was a posthumous Nobel Peace Prize winner (1961).

Dag Hammarskjöld was born in Sweden on 29 July 1905 at Dönköping (Uppsala). A student prodigy and later Christian mystic, he received a B.A. in 1925, an economics degree in 1928, a law degree in 1930, and a Ph.D. in 1934. He was secretary of the Government Commission on Unemployment (1930–1934); taught economics at the University of Stockholm (1934); at age 30 became secretary of the Bank of Sweden (1935); was undersecretary of the Ministry of Finance (1936–1945), was head of the Bank of Sweden (1941–1948); and was financial advisor on finance for the Foreign Affairs Ministry (1946–1948). He invented the welfare system and planned government economic growth in post-**World War II** capitalist European economies. He was Swedish representative to the Marshall Plan and European economic integration (1947–1948) and was a key government political voice advocating **neutrality** and European integration for Sweden, instead of joining NATO in 1949. He was Swedish vice ambassador to the UN (1949); a member of the Hague International Tribunal; chair of the Board of the Nobel Foundation; vice foreign minister (1951); prime minister and representative to the UN (1951–1953); and a member of the Swedish Academy (1954–1961). He received honorary degrees from Oxford, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, the University of California, and McGill University.

Hammarskjöld single-handedly shaped both the UN's internal regulations and the UN Secretary-General's role as an international activist and promoter of **UN peacekeeping** missions to plug global hot spots during periods of global tension. In 1954–1955, he personally negotiated with Communist China the release of 15 American prisoners from the **Korean War** (1950–1953). In 1956, he used the controversial "**Uniting for Peace Resolution**" (1950) and support of the UN General Assembly to overcome opposition by the UN Security Council, sending as the first UN peacekeeping mission the UN Emergency Force I (UNEF I) to demilitarize Egypt's **Sinai** peninsula after the **Suez Canal War** (1956) and the withdrawal of the **coalition** of Israel, **France**, and **Great Britain**, which had defeated Egypt. UNEF

I “**blue helmets**” became the basis of UN “traditional peacekeeping” in the 1950s–1990s, including in Lebanon and Jordan since 1958, after the withdrawal of Anglo–American **forces**, which had applied the **Eisenhower Doctrine** to crush local antigovernment Nasserite revolutions. During Congo’s First Civil War (1960–1964), as UN Secretary-General he was the key mediator in local peace talks. He was also the key promoter of the UN Security Council’s second use of peacekeepers (**UN Charter, Article 42**) after the Korean War in **UN Operation in Congo (UNOC)**. While he was on a peace mission in Congo in 1961 his plane was sabotaged by a bomb and crashed, killing all. Hammarskjöld’s UN activism inspired his successors, especially Secretary-General **Kofi A. Annan** (1997–2006).

HARMEL REPORT (1967), NATO. In the 1960s, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** suffered from twin crises. The first two were the withdrawal of **France** in 1966–1967, under President **Charles de Gaulle**, from NATO’s integrated military **command** (but not the political **alliance**), along with headquarters and logistics, and de Gaulle’s promotion of his “**Grand Design**,” which threatened to either disband NATO or repackage all alliance defenses, logistics, and infrastructures to **Belgium, Germany, Italy**, and the **Netherlands**, uncomfortably closer to the **Central Front** (which actually happened in 1967 under U.S. prodding). The third crisis came when NATO suffered from a long-term growing loss of self-confidence in the wake of the Second Vietnam War (1964–1975), in which leftist criticism of U.S. policies in Asia sidelined NATO’s defense of Europe against the Soviet Union (USSR), coupled with criticism of some of its **allies’** Fascist régimes or antidemocratic attitudes (**Greece, Portugal, Turkey**), which belied NATO’s defense of the “**Free World**” from the Soviet Communist totalitarian threat.

To deal with these problems, in 1967 Belgian Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel proposed a study on NATO’s future tasks, and on 13–14 December 1967 the Harmel Report was adopted by NATO, establishing more stable relations with the Communist **bloc**; practical **arms control** negotiations, including East–West conventional **forces** (**Nutual and balanced force reductions**), and strategic **nuclear** forces. The Harmel Report also revamped the alliance’s traditional

collective defense policy and identity to protect a free, democratic Europe within the **West**. The report officially redefined NATO as an alliance of like-minded Western democratic states promoting both collective defense and common values of democracy and a market economy. All antidemocratic allies were pressed to democratize, and once this was achieved (by 1975), the common democratic values became the political benchmark for all future NATO **enlargements**. NATO also pursued modernization reforms for military integration, defense interoperability, "burden sharing," and **joint** projects for U.S.–European defense industries.

"HAWKS." Colloquial political-military term in international affairs and foreign policy used during the Cold War for those policy makers who favor solving international **crises** through power, highly confrontational postures, coercion, **alliances**, **arms races**, and warfare. "Hawks" also rely on diplomatic negotiations, conflict resolution, **arms control**, and global cooperation through international organizations like the **United Nations (UN)** or intergovernmental conferences, but see them as subordinate to power and political-military responses to threats against the security of the **United States (U.S.)** and its **allies** in the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

This term emerged during the late 1960s in the political and strategic community, as well as in the U.S. Congress as a reaction to the Second Vietnam War and any confrontational, combat-oriented international posture against international communism. U.S. national policy against the USSR was shaped by interventionist "imperial presidents": the Democrat **Harry Truman** (1945–1952), the Republican **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1953–1960), the Democrats **John F. Kennedy** and **Lyndon Johnson** (1960–1969), the Republicans **Richard Nixon** (1969–1973), **Gerald Ford** (1973–1975), **Ronald Reagan** (1981–1988), and **George H. W. Bush** (1988–1992). The U.S. Democratic Party after 1968 and the Jimmy **Carter** administration were unable to overcome the policy makers' even split between "hawks" and "**doves**." National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski was a fervent anticommunist "hawk" who only belatedly succeeded in overcoming the opposition of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, an ex-"hawk" turned "dove" over Vietnam. Brzezinski

recrafted U.S. foreign policy in the “hawkish” mode against the Soviet invasion of **Afghanistan** and collapsing East–West arms control.

In the **post–Cold War** period, Democratic U.S. President **Bill Clinton**, who was considered a “dove,” undertook the most sweeping **humanitarian peacekeeping** operations as a reluctant “hawk” using both the UN and NATO. His successor, Republican **George W. Bush**, is a “hawk.”

HELSINKI FINAL ACT, CSCE/OSCE. International document known as the “final act” of the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)** of 1 August 1975 in Helsinki, **Finland**. Although not an official treaty, it was a key element in **détente**, initially opposed by the **United States** against the quest by the Soviet Union (USSR), pro-Western “**neutrals**,” and even many European **Allies** to peacefully legitimize the Cold War status quo by recognizing Europe’s post–**World War II** borders and engaging in East–West **arms control** to eliminate war in a divided Europe between the U.S.-led **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and the USSR-led **Warsaw Pact**. The United States and NATO finally agreed to the Helsinki Final Act because of its pro-human rights positions, which the USSR had overlooked, but in the late 1970s and 1980s it condemned Communist dictatorships compared to **Atlantic common values**. *See also* ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

HELSINKI GROUP, EU. The **European Union’s (EU)** Luxembourg **Summit** in 1997 decided on a fourth **enlargement** process for 2002–2007 to include the former Communist Eastern European and **Baltic** states. After the first batch of six **aspirants** (or candidates) started membership negotiations (the **Luxembourg Group**), the EU Helsinki Summit of December 1999 created a second batch of seven new aspirants: **Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Malta, Slovakia**, and **Turkey** (the Helsinki Group). **Croatia** sought to join the process in 2000, succeeding in 2003. All Central and Eastern European and Baltic aspirants to the EU (except **Cyprus**, Malta, and Turkey) signed “**Europe Agreements**” to prepare them for joining the EU, which incorporate the EU political-economic “**Copenhagen**

Criteria.” They later engaged in long negotiations to adopt the 31 chapters of the EU’s *Acquis Communautaire*. Europe’s **post–Cold War** unification was finally completed with parallel NATO–EU enlargements in 1997–2010 and the EU Copenhagen Summit (December 2002), accepting the 13 best EU aspirants between 2004 and 2007 and most Helsinki Group aspirants (Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Slovakia), plus Bulgaria and Romania, in 2007. Croatia and Turkey may join later with the Western Balkans Group (**Albania, Bosnia, and Macedonia**). *See also* PERRY PRINCIPLES.

HIGH COMMISSIONER OF THE EUROPEAN UNION. *See* SECRETARY-GENERAL/HIGH COMMISSIONER ON COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY.

HIGH COMMISSIONER ON NATIONAL MINORITIES OF OSCE. *See* OSCE HIGH COMMISSIONER ON NATIONAL MINORITIES.

HIGH-LEVEL GROUP (HLG), NATO. Senior advisory body of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) Nuclear Planning Group (NPG)**, covering NATO **nuclear** policy and planning issues. Chaired by the **United States**, the HLG consists of national policy makers and experts from all allied capitals, who meet several times a year to discuss NATO’s nuclear policy, force posture, nuclear security, and survivability of nuclear weapons. In 1998–1999, the HLG also took over the functions and responsibilities of the then Senior Level Weapons Protection Group (SLWPG), charged with overseeing nuclear weapons safety, security, and survivability. *See also* DEFENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE.

HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM (HEU). *See* ZANGGER COMMITTEE.

HIGH REPRESENTATIVE ON BOSNIA–HERZEGOVINA. A **European Union (EU)** or **United Nations (UN)** ambassador is appointed as high representative to coordinate all activities of civilian nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and international agencies operating in **Bosnia–Herzegovina**. The high representative implements

the 1995 Dayton Peace Accord on the former **Yugoslavia** in strict coordination with the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **Peace Implementation Council (PIC)**.

HIGH REPRESENTATIVE ON COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY (SG/HR), EU. *See* SECRETARY-GENERAL/HIGH REPRESENTATIVE ON COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY.

HOST NATION SUPPORT (HNS). Civil and military assistance provided in peacetime, **crisis**, or war by a host nation either to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** or **European Union (EU)** or other **forces** and organizations operating in or in transit through that nation's territory. Within the context of NATO, HNS is one of various activities within its **civil–military cooperation** concept (**NATO CIMIC**). Its main cooperation with local and international civilian bodies is balanced by NATO **peacekeeping** aid to local civilian bodies. HNS provides the NATO **commander** and sending nations with support, matériel, facilities, and services, including area security and administrative support, defined in accords between sender nations and NATO with host governments through NATO CIMIC.

Within **EU CIMIC**, HNS introduces peacekeepers into **areas of operations (AOO)** and coordinates both civil and military assistance by a host nation to EU peacekeeping/**humanitarian** missions between the military components of EU-led **crisis-management** operations (CMOs) and non-EU external civil actors. HNS provides equipment, facilities, security, logistics, and administrative support in areas of operations through arrangements with the EU and any EU member acting as “**nation-cadre/leader**,” while EU CIMIC coordinates with HNS and EU peacekeepers the division of resources among EU **forces**, populations, and non-EU external civil actors to avoid any civilian hardship. *See also* HOST STATE.

HOST STATE. Technical term for any country where **peacekeeping** operations occur through agreements between the host state and a mandating international organization, such as the **United Nations (UN)**, **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, or **European Union (EU)**. *See also* HOST NATION SUPPORT.

“HOTLINE,” U.S.–USSR. On 20 June 1963, the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR) signed the “hotline” accord in Geneva, **Switzerland**, creating permanent telex and (red-colored) telephone links between the leaders of both superpowers to make sure they have direct links during a showdown and to avoid repeating the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis** situation.

HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS. Technical political-military term for military **peacekeeping** missions to stop massive human suffering in **failed states**, in collapsed states, or during civil wars. Humanitarian operations by the **United Nations (UN)**, **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, or **European Union (EU)** precede or accompany humanitarian activities provided by specialized civilian international organizations, as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION (1956). *See* EISENHOWER, DWIGHT D.; HUNGARY.

HUNGARY (MAGYÀRORSZAG), NATO-EU. Landlocked republic in Central Europe with an area of 92,980 square kilometers, bordering **Austria**, **Croatia**, **Romania**, **Serbia**, **Slovakia**, and **Ukraine**. The capital is Budapest. Once part of the multi-ethnic empire of Austria–Hungary, it has a Christian population of 10,190,500 (90 percent Hungarian, 4 percent Romanian, 3 percent German, 2 percent Serb, and 1 percent other), divided among Catholics (67 percent), Protestants (25 percent), Jews, and others (85 percent).

Colonized by Rome as the Pannonian Province, after the collapse of the Roman Empire it was overrun by Attila’s ferocious Huns and Magyar tribes, who settled there. During the Middle Ages, the Hungarian kingdom controlled Hungary and parts of Transylvania, reaching its zenith under Matthias Corvinus. Between the 1450s and 1690, the country was overrun by the Ottoman Turks, who had conquered the Byzantine Empire and the **Balkans** in the previous century. After Austria defeated the Turks’ two sieges of Vienna in 1680–1688, it liberated from Turkish rule **Slovenia**, Hungary, Transylvania, and Croatia (1690–1740), annexing them in a multi-ethnic Catholic Austrian empire until 1918. Hungary briefly shook Habsburg rule through

autonomy and liberal democratization under Andreàs Kossuth (the 1848–1849 revolutions and republic), but the revolutions were crushed in Transylvania by a **joint** Russian–Austrian army. After Austria lost its attempts to prevent Italian independence (1848–1870) and German unification (1860s–1870), it was also forced by 1866–1867 to create a joint Austro–Hungarian kingdom (*Ausgleich*), without federative rights for Slavs, Romanians, and Italians. Hungary–Transylvania controlled Slovakia and Croatia, while Austria ruled Bohemia, Slovenia, the Italian provinces (Trentino, Friuli, Istria), Polish–Ukrainian Galicia, and **Bosnia**.

From 1870 to **World War I** (1914–1918), Austria–Hungary slowly declined under the political hegemony of Germany’s **alliances**: the Dreikaiserbunds (Germany, Austria–Hungary, and Russia, 1873–1878, 1882–1887) and the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria–Hungary, and Italy, 1881–1914). The impossibility of stopping domestic secession by Slavic populations, and the empire’s foreign enmities with Russia and Italy over the Balkans, precipitated World War I against the **Entente/Allies** (**Belgium, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, Portugal, Romania, Russia, and the United States**). Austria–Hungary’s defeat and national secession resulted in the dismantling of the empire in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, while Hungary’s Communist Republic was crushed by the invading armies of the pro-Allied Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Romania, and **Yugoslavia**), which annexed large swaths of Hungarian-inhabited lands.

In **World War II** (1939–1945), under right-wing dictator Admiral Miklós Horthy, Hungary joined Nazi Germany’s **Axis bloc**, reannexing Hungarian-inhabited northern Transylvania from Romania and southern Slovakia and Vojvodina from Yugoslavia, but it was devastated in 1945 by the invading Soviet Union (USSR), losing all lands annexed in 1939–1941.

During the Cold War (1946–1990), Hungary became a Soviet Communist **satellite** within the **Warsaw Pact**, poised to fight the **West and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** by invading “**neutral**” Austria and Yugoslavia. Hungary joined the **United Nations (UN)** in 1955 and the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** in 1976.

Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchëv**’s “de-Stalinization” campaign of 1955–1956 sparked the massive anticommunist Hungarian Revo-

lution (1956), which had been encouraged by U.S.–Western propaganda. However, when the Soviet military crushed the uprising, killing tens of thousands and sending 100,000 refugees streaming into Austria, NATO and the United States refused to come to the rescue for fear of unleashing **World War III**.

Hungary regained its democratic freedom in late 1989 through the peaceful **1989 Eastern European Revolutions**, which hastened the collapse of Soviet/Warsaw Pact authority in Eastern Europe in 1989–1990. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland then formed the Visegrad-3 Group, which sought to enter NATO in 1990, but the group was rebuffed, although they were integrated into the **West**, by joining NATO's **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** in 1990 and its **Partnership for Peace** and **peacekeeping** efforts in 1995. Hungary, the **Czech Republic**, and Poland were admitted into NATO during its first **enlargement** in 1997–1999 and into the **European Union (EU)** in 2002–2004.

HYDROGEN BOMB (H-BOMB). *See* ATOMIC BOMB.

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ICELAND (ISLAND), NATO, EU PARTNER. Democratic republic and Europe's northernmost Scandinavian volcanic island, with an area of 103,000 square kilometers, surrounded by the Arctic and Atlantic Oceans and strategically located between Greenland, **Canada**, and Europe. The capital is Reykjavik. It is a Christian Protestant country (96 percent Lutheran, 3 percent Catholic and Protestant, and 1 percent other), with a population of 270,000.

Settled first by Celtic monks in AD 700s–800s, then by Norwegian Vikings in 874, Iceland was independent for 300 years. It was merged with **Norway** in the late 13th century, then in the late 14th century both were annexed to **Denmark**. During the 15th century, the plague recurrently decimated Iceland; widespread famine in 1875 forced 20 percent of the population to emigrate to Canada and the **United States**. By 1874, Denmark had granted Iceland limited “home rule.” In **World War I** (1914–1918), Iceland was militarily occupied by **Great Britain** as a strategic outpost. It became virtually independent

from Denmark, then was reoccupied by the Anglo–Americans during **World War II** (1939–1945) to protect Allied convoys from Nazi **Germany**, which controlled parts of **Scandinavia**. Iceland became independent in 1944.

Iceland joined the **United Nations (UN)** as a founding member in 1945; joined the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1949; and then joined the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** in 1976. However, it has long rejected joining Europe’s political-economic integration under the **European Community/European Union (EC/EU)**, fearing the loss of its vital fisheries to British and Spanish trawlers, a situation that led to the 1975 “Cod War.” Iceland is, however, an economic **partner** of the EU. It has never had a standing military, relying instead on U.S. **forces** and **bases** for its security within the larger context of transatlantic defenses during the Cold War (1946–1990). Its geostrategically vital position as a convoy transit point between the Atlantic Ocean and North Sea complements NATO’s air, naval, and antisubmarine warfare (ASW) along the vital **UK–Iceland–Greenland Gap**, which shielded Atlantic sea lines of communication (SLOCs) from potential submarine attacks by the Soviet Union (USSR). After the Cold War, U.S. global realignment of forces and defense cuts reduced its presence in Iceland to 2,000 air force and navy troops and decreased U.S. fighters from 16 to 4 during the 1990s. In May 2003, U.S. attempts to remove its last fighters created political turmoil in Iceland, where the government had always supported NATO and U.S. policies, including even the **Second Gulf War** despite popular opposition.

IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA (IFOR), NATO. In 1991, **Slovenia** and **Croatia** seceded from Serb-dominated **Yugoslavia**, and Serb minorities in the new states seceded in turn, calling for Yugoslav help and annexation. Yugoslavia’s breakup resulted in five civil wars between 1991 and 2000 among its successor states: **Slovenia** (1991), **Croatia** (1991–1992, 1995), **Bosnia** (1992–1995), **Kosovo** (1998–1999), and **Macedonia** (2000–2001). Since 1991, Serb violence doomed all international mediations by the **European Union (EU)**, **United Nations (UN)**, **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, and **Western European Union**

(WEU), as well as **peacekeeping** by the **UN Protection Force-Bosnia (UNPROFOR)** since February 1992.

These civil wars forced the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to intervene through an “out-of-area” operation to preserve the **Balkans’** fragile postcommunist ethnic balance and **alliance** security, both threatened by the impact of hundreds of thousands of deaths, tens of thousands of systematic rapes, and hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing to NATO’s Western and Southern European **allies (Germany, Italy, and Greece)**. Initially, NATO air and sea patrols sought to stop ethno-nationalist conflicts by implementing **UN sanctions** and arms **embargoes** against all belligerent former Yugoslav states (Yugoslavia/**Serbia**, 1991–1995, 1999–2001; Croatia, 1992–1995; Bosnia, 1992–1995). In April 1993, NATO also enforced a “**no-fly zone**” over Bosnia by **Allied Forces-Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)**. When Serb **forces** attacked UNPROFOR, NATO retaliated with targeted air strikes in February 1994. NATO’s short air campaign in Bosnia in the summer of 1995, supported by Croatia’s reentry into the war, finally defeated the Serbs. NATO then forced both the Republika Srpska (supported by a rump Yugoslavia/Serbia) and Bosnian Federation (the rival Bosnian Muslims backed by the **United States** and Bosnian Croats backed by Croatia) to sign the Dayton Peace Accords (November 1995) and General Framework Agreement for Peace (Paris, 14 December 1995), based on UN Security Council **Chapter VII peace enforcement**, with NATO peacekeepers imposing peace and redrawing ethno-nationalist borders to significantly diminish the preponderance of Serbs.

On 16–20 December 1995, NATO’s eighth “out-of-area” mission (Operation Joint Endeavour) and the largest military operation in Europe since **World War II** (1939–1945) replaced UNPROFOR, with air and land deployments of 65,000 troops, in the multinational Implementation Force-Bosnia (IFOR, 1995–1996). In the middle of winter, IFOR deployed 50,000 NATO troops from all allies, plus 10,000 from 18 non-NATO **partners**, including **Russia** (NATO’s historic Cold War enemy), with most of the latter and Anglo-French **forces** transferred to IFOR under NATO **command** from the 15,000 UNPROFOR peacekeepers. IFOR then quickly separated the three ethnic armies into patrolled cantonments and storage sites. NATO’s

IFOR peacekeepers integrated all non-NATO states through its 1994 **Partnership for Peace** military cooperation and the Partnership Coordination Centre at SHAPE. Russia's opposition was overcome by making a Russian general the **Deputy-SACEUR** for Russian IFOR/SFOR peacekeepers between 1995 and 2004.

IFOR's success was bolstered by combat **rules of engagement** authorizing use of massive **force** against hostile forces to implement the Dayton Accords within a mandate, limited to one year to reassure a reluctant U.S. Senate, which was concerned about open-ended U.S.-led NATO missions. IFOR implemented the Dayton Accords' military annex, which involved preventing hostilities; overseeing movements of military forces; patrolling the 1,400 kilometers of the demilitarized Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL); separating rival Bosnian Muslims, Bosnian Croat (Bosnian Federation Entity) from the Bosnian Serbs (Republika Srpska); transferring areas between hostile ethnic groups by mid-March; removing all heavy weapons and equipment into 800 monitored central sites by the end of June and regularly inspecting them; repairing Bosnian infrastructure (2,500 kilometers of roads, railway lines, 60 bridges, and Sarajevo's airport); conducting free elections by April 1996; and limiting NATO police raids to capturing top war criminals among Bosnian Serbs (such as Radovan Karadžić in July 2008) and other ethnic groups.

IFOR's successful stabilization enabled the **High Representative on Bosnia** (London Peace Implementation Conference, 8–9 December 1995) to implement the civil aspects of the peace agreement by relying on **NATO civil–military cooperation (CIMIC)**, international aid organizations (UN, OSCE, EU, UN High Commission for Refugees), and nongovernmental groups (NGOs). However, IFOR's successful peace mission did not ensure a permanent end to instability in Bosnia or a safe NATO withdrawal. The meeting of NATO's defense ministers in Bergen, **Norway**, in September 1996 recommended indefinitely prolonging allied peacekeeping in Bosnia. The Bosnian Peace Implementation Conferences (November–December 1996, Paris and London) replaced IFOR on 20 December 1996 with a reduced 32,000-troop **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** in Operations Joint Guard/Joint Forge, funded by NATO and the peacekeeping states, with SFOR force drawdowns every six months until SFOR was replaced in December 2004 by the **European Force–Bosnia (EUFOR)**.

INDIVIDUAL PARTNERSHIP ACTION PLAN (IPAP), NATO. A defense coordination and transformation process by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** with those **partners** seeking closer military ties with NATO to move toward future membership. The first IPAPs were with **Georgia** and **Azerbaijan** in 2005, followed by **Armenia** in December 2005. IPAPs help consolidate Caucasus regional stability among rival former Soviet states. *See also* CAUCASUS NETWORKING AGREEMENT.

INFORMATION OPERATIONS (INFO-OPS), EU. **European Union's civil-military cooperation (EU CIMIC)** coordinates support for EU missions between military components of EU-led **crisis-management** operations (CMO) and non-EU external civil actors. Within this context, Info-Ops is an associated EU CIMIC activity. EU CIMIC, Info-Ops, and EU-led CMO must be closely coordinated to ensure that the EU commander's military actions can be explained clearly to EU-led **forces**, and that the population's mood is considered also. *See also* NATO CIVIL-MILITARY COOPERATION.

INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE/RIO PACT (1948). *See* RIO PACT/INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE.

INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES (ICBMs). *See* ASSURED DESTRUCTION.

INTER-ENTITY BOUNDARY LINE (IEBL). *See* IMPLEMENTATION FORCE-BOSNIA.

INTER-GERMAN BORDER. *See* WORLD WAR III SCENARIOS.

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES (INFs). The U.S.–Soviet Washington **Summit** (8–10 December 1987) on **arms control** between U.S. President **Ronald Reagan** and Soviet Premier **Mikhail Gorbachëv** resulted in the **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty**, which globally eliminated U.S.–Soviet INFs with ranges of 500–5,500 kilometers (670 Soviet missiles, including 405 SS-20s with three **nuclear** warheads each, plus 440 U.S. Pershing 1A and cruise missiles), with **on-site** verifications. For the first

time, an entire category of nuclear weapons was eliminated and the superpowers accepted reciprocal on-site inspections. *See also* EU-ROMISSILE CRISIS.

INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA), UN. International agency of the **United Nations (UN)**, tasked with enforcing the 1967 **Non-Proliferation Treaty**, which required its members to renounce military **nuclear** programs in exchange for access to international civil nuclear energy technology. The IAEA, based in Vienna, **Austria**, conducts both annual and surprise inspections of all civil nuclear reactors to ensure that no highly enriched uranium (HEU) rods are being secretly detoured from them into secret military nuclear programs. The IAEA annually recertifies its members as NPT nonnuclear states, but has been taken by surprise by the secret nuclear proliferation programs of “rogue states” that were supposed to be NPT nonnuclear states: Iraq (1980s–1990s), North Korea (1980s–present), and Iran (1980s–present). The other nuclear proliferant states were never NPT members: France (1958), China (1960), Israel (1960s), India (1980s), Pakistan (1980s), Brazil (1980s eliminated), Argentina (1980s eliminated), and South Africa (1980s–eliminated 1994). *See also* AUSTRALIA GROUP; NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS GROUP; ZANGGER COMMITTEE.

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT (ICC), UN. The 20th century was marked by repeated genocide (the 1905 extermination of the African Hereros by **Germany**; the slaughter of Armenians by **Turkey** in 1915–1916; the extermination of Jews by Nazi Germany in the Holocaust of the 1940s; the Cambodian “Killing Fields,” 1975–1977; the Iraqi Anfal campaigns against Kurds in 1988; and the Rwandan genocide in 1994), **ethnic cleansing** (extermination and expulsion of Greeks by Turkey and counterexpulsions of Turks by **Greece** and **Bulgaria** during the 1920s; the Shanghai and Nanking massacres by Japan in 1937; the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia, 1991–2000; the killings in Southern Sudan from the 1960s to 2002; and the deaths in Darfur from 2005 to the present), and war crimes (during **World War I**, **World War II**, the First Afghan War, the Iran–Iraq War, and the First Gulf War). After World War I, the **Allies** established national tribunals to prosecute war crimes and crimes

against humanity (genocide and ethnic cleansing) committed by Turkey and Germany, but with little effect. After World War II, the Allies used the **United Nations (UN)** to create the ad hoc Nuremberg and Tokyo Tribunals to retroactively punish the highest-ranking **Axis** leaders, but no permanent UN Crimes Court emerged for 50 years because of political-legal controversies over retroactive proceedings and universal jurisdiction.

Only after countless more war crimes and crimes against humanity had been committed did the UN finally create (in the mid-1990s) the International Tribunal on Rwanda and **International Criminal Tribunal for the former-Yugoslavia**. Then in 1998 an International Criminal Court (ICC) involving 139 states was established for future prosecution of war crimes committed anywhere in the world, on a non-retroactive basis, since its ratification in July 2002. The **United States** under President Bill **Clinton** initially supported the ICC, but it was openly opposed by both the U.S. Senate and U.S. military, which wanted exemption from ICC jurisdiction for U.S. peacekeepers and feared that U.S. **forces** could be wrongfully prosecuted on spurious political grounds. Under President **George W. Bush** the United States publicly refused to ratify the ICC Treaty. In reality, ICC jurisdiction starts only after the alleged crimes have not been prosecuted on a national level by the states accused of such crimes. Caught in this political-legal clash of interpretations, from 2002 to 2003 the UN Security Council unanimously approved a one-year temporary, renewable immunity for peacekeepers of any country that did not sign the ICC Treaty, while the United States signed a network of bilateral accords with most countries to secure their nonsupport of any ICC case against U.S. forces.

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICTY), UN. Ad hoc international legal court in The Hague, **Netherlands**, created by the **United Nations (UN)** in the mid-1990s after the bloody breakup of **Yugoslavia** and the five civil wars among its successor states (**Slovenia**, 1991; **Croatia**, 1991–1992; **Bosnia**, 1992–1995; **Kosovo**, 1998–1999; **Macedonia**, 2000–2001). Provoked by Serbian–Yugoslav president Slobodan Milošević’s drive to create an ultranationalist **Greater Serbia** out of the wreckage of the old Communist state, this series of regional

ethno-nationalist conflicts, engineered by Belgrade, pitted Serb minorities in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo against local populations in an effort to carve out Serb pure secessionist **enclaves** (Krajina in Croatia; Republika Srpska in Bosnia), to be later annexed by Milošević's rump Yugoslavia/Serbia. The Serbs' campaigns of carnage, violence, murder, and rape led to the **ethnic cleansing** of all regional mixed-ethnic lands, including the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of refugees who fled to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** European states and even more refugees internally dispersed (especially in Kosovo in 1998–1999 and Bosnia in 1992–1999), which forced NATO to intervene in these “out-of-area” conflicts. In Bosnia and Kosovo, NATO peacekeepers fully supported the ICTY mandate. Since June 1997 NATO's **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** has detained 23 persons indicted for war crimes, provided security and logistic support to ICTY investigative teams, and provided surveillance of mass-grave sites. Although for a decade the top Bosnian–Serb war criminals (Radovan Karadžić and Ranko Mladić) remained on the run, SFOR raids demonstrate NATO's intention to arrest many war criminals, balanced by local security concerns. Finally, in July 2008, Karadžić was caught and sent to the ICTY.

INTERNATIONAL MONITORING UNIT (IMU). The International Monitoring Unit (IMU) or Sudan Verification Mission was created in 2002 through **joint** mediation by the **United States** and **Switzerland** to stop the long civil war between Sudan's ruling Arab and black African Muslim majority, which was using **ethnic cleansing** against the secessionist Christian–Animist Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in the black African south. The 11 September 2001 **terrorist** attacks on the World Trade Center towers by Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda Islamic fundamentalist terrorists prompted the United States and other states to secure a cease-fire and peace in Sudan to prevent Al-Qaeda from continuing to use Sudan as a training **base**, and possibly escape there after being crushed by the 2001–2002 U.S.-led coalition in the Second Afghanistan War and the **peacekeeping** by NATO's **International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF)**. Sudan pledged not to support terrorist groups and to end the long civil war, while regional stabilization was pursued by IMU's April 2002 deployment to the Nuba Mountains of

15 monitors from nine states to observe the military disengagement. IMU is not mandated by the **United Nations (UN)** or **African Union (AU)**, but by an international agreement. However, since 2005 Sudan's relations with the U.S.–NATO and UN have deteriorated because of a new civil war between government Arab militias and secessionist black African Muslims and ethnic cleansing in the Darfur region, prompting NATO to airlift 16,000 UN-supported AU peacekeepers and in 2008 few hundreds of **European Union** peacekeepers to refugee camps in Chad. *See also* AFRICAN CRISIS RESPONSE INITIATIVE (ACRI); AFRICAN UNION MISSION IN SUDAN (AMIS).

INTERNATIONAL NONPROLIFERATION CONTROL REGIMES. *See* AUSTRALIA GROUP; MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME; NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY; NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS GROUP; ZANGGER COMMITTEE.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE MONITORING TEAM (IPMT). Ethnic conflict in 1998 at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands killed 100 people and made 30,000 refugees after the toppling of the government and the country's collapse. Australia, New Zealand, and **Commonwealth forces** mediated the Townsville Peace Agreement (15 October 2000) and sent the International Peace Monitoring Team (IPMT) of 49 monitors with **United Nations (UN)** support.

INTERNATIONAL POLICE TASK FORCE. *See* UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL POLICE TASK FORCE.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE FORCE–AFGHANISTAN (ISAF), NATO. After the **terrorist** attacks on the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001 (9/11), an international coalition of **forces**, led by the **United States** and supported by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** (under Article V concerning an attack against its member-states) assisted the Afghan Northern Alliance in removing the Taliban government from power in **Afghanistan**. The NATO-led ISAF was mandated by the Bonn Agreement (5 December 2001) between the Afghan Interim Authority and the **peacekeeping** states. The new Afghan Interim Authority government assumed power on 22 December 2001. The Western

powers organized ISAF to assist the interim government with military and police training, plus security on the ground. A small reconnaissance team arrived in Afghanistan on 1 January 2002 and joined British **forces** earmarked for ISAF. The **United Nations (UN)** backed ISAF with UN Security Council Resolution 1386 (2001).

A **joint** coordinating body oversees ISAF contingent providers and the Afghan government. ISAF trains and conducts joint patrols with the Afghan police and National Guard, provides **humanitarian** aid, and protects Afghanistan presidential and local elections. In February 2002, ISAF helped clear an avalanche blocking the strategic Salang Tunnel and in March 2002 a major earthquake in the north. By June 2002, ISAF had trained the first new battalion of the Afghan National Guard, and by July 2002 ISAF had 5,000 peacekeepers from 19 states based in Kabul. **Great Britain** led ISAF for the first six months, with later command rotations held by **Turkey, France, Germany**, and the **Eurocorps**. ISAF is financed by NATO and contingent providers. In 2005, ISAF expanded its **area of operations (AOO)** beyond Kabul, assuming **command** from the U.S.-led coalition in northern, then western Afghanistan, and in 2006 it expanded also into southern Afghanistan. The **NATO Summit** in Riga, **Latvia** (28 November 2006), gave ISAF complete peacekeeping **control** of Afghanistan and local U.S. forces, while fighting Taliban attacks in the south and suicide bombings from Pakistan. However, half of NATO forces are constrained by pacifist parliaments into only “safe” patrols in the north, rather than combat (since spring 2008 both France and Italy committed their troops to combat duty).

INTERNATIONAL STAFF, NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO)** International Staff is directed by the **Secretary-General** and has several hundred staffers from all allies and **partners**. It acts as a secretariat, political advisory, and operational staff on all issues affecting NATO and partners. The International Staff is the bureaucratic arm of the **North Atlantic Council**, its committees and working groups, as well as of the **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council**, **Russia-NATO Permanent Joint Council**, **NATO-Ukraine Commission**, and **Mediterranean Dialogue**.

INTERPOSITION FORCE. Military term for the **United Nations'** (UN) traditional **neutral peacekeeping** separating local belligerents in UN-patrolled "**demilitarized zones**" (DMZs).

IRAN–IRAQ WAR (1985–1988). *See* CHEMICAL WEAPONS (CW).

IRAQ STABILIZATION FORCE/COALITION. In April 2003, the **United States** planned a **peacekeeping** operation to supplement and replace U.S.–British **forces** in Iraq after the March 2003 **Second Gulf War**, which toppled Saddam Hussein's régime. The U.S.-led coalition divides Iraq into three military sectors, with the United States, **Great Britain**, and **Poland** each controlling one, combining their own troops and those of both coalition and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** **allies**. The **allies'** troops are present in the coalition on an individual basis because the the **United Nations (UN)** and NATO refused to join the Second Gulf War as organizations. Until 2006, Polish/NATO forces with a limited U.S. presence oversaw the Northern Sector, including Iraqi Kurdistan, to defuse potential problems with **Turkey** over a possible independent Kurdistan, which could spark secessionist tendencies in Turkish Kurdistan as well. The United States controls the Central Iraq Sector, including Baghdad and the insurgency-riddled "Sunni Triangle"; until 2008 the British managed the Shia South and Basra. Although in 2003 the UN lent a guarded support to the U.S. coalition's victory and NATO agreed to train Iraqi forces, the widening bloodshed wrought by competing insurgent factions and militias kept the U.S. coalition fully involved in local peacekeeping and reconstruction, despite rising anti-occupation opposition internationally and within the U.S. coalition. Many allies left the coalition (Spain, Poland, Italy, Japan, Great Britain), while U.S. troops rose to 190,000. *See also* U.S. PEACEKEEPING.

IRELAND (EIRE), EU, NATO PARTNER. Democratic republic and European island with an area of 70,280 square kilometers, bordering **Great Britain's** province of Northern Ireland, the Irish Sea, and the Atlantic Ocean. The capital is Dublin. It is a Christian Catholic country (93 percent Catholic, 3 percent Anglican Protestant, and 4 percent other), with a population of 3.6 million.

In antiquity, Ireland and Great Britain were inhabited by Celtic tribes, but when the Roman Empire conquered Gaul, England, and Wales, Ireland was spared as being too poor. After the Romans left Britain, Ireland suffered during the Middle Ages from constant Viking raids from **Scandinavia**. Catholic Ireland was conquered twice by Protestant Great Britain, in the 1650s and 1689, and was annexed, with Scots settling in Ulster and English as landed aristocracy throughout the island, but living secluded from the Irish. Mass emigration to Great Britain, other parts of the British Empire, and the **United States** halved the Irish population for 300 years, especially during the Potato Famine during the 1840s, while Irish troops fought for Great Britain. During **World War I** (1914–1918), Germany recruited many Irish POWs to fight against Great Britain, and during the same period Ireland tried to free itself from England in the Easter Rising (1916), which was crushed by the English. The Anglo–Irish War (1919–1921) resulted in Ireland gaining its independence within the Commonwealth under the Anglo–Irish Treaty (1921), but the northern counties remained part of Britain (Northern Ireland). Hostility against Great Britain led Ireland to remain **neutral** during **World War II** (1939–1945), despite its strategic location for U.S.–British convoys attacked by German submarines. Ireland joined the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945, but during the Cold War (1946–1990) it remained neutral and did not join the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. In 1973, together with Great Britain, it joined the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)**, and in 1976 the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)**. The end of the Cold War allowed Ireland to also secure **alliance** protection as a **partner** in NATO's **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** and **Partnership for Peace**, modernizing its **forces** while participating in UN, EU, and **NATO peacekeeping**.

IRON CURTAIN. *See* CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON L. S.

ISMAY, LORD HASTINGS L. (“PUG”; 1887–1965). Born on 21 June 1887 in Naini Tal, British India, from March 1952 to May 1957 the first **Secretary-General** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and vice chair of the **North Atlantic Council**.

Lord Ismay graduated from the Royal Military College at Sandhurst (1907) and the Staff College in Quetta, British India (1922). He

had a distinguished military career in India and the Northwest Frontier (1907–1914); served in **World War I** in British Somaliland fighting local guerrillas (1914–1919); was aide to the **Commander-in-Chief** of British **forces** in India (1919–1931); was military secretary to Viceroy of India Lord Wollington (1931–1937); served as at the War Office (1937–1940); and was secretary of the Committee on Imperial Defence. During **World War II** (1939–1945), he was deputy secretary of the British War Cabinet and Chief of Staff to Prime Ministers Sir **Winston Churchill** and Clement Attlee, attending the key **Allied Summits** at Tehran and Yalta. Lord Ismay retired from the army in 1946, but became Chief of Staff to Viceroy of India Lord Mountbatten, overseeing India's and Pakistan's independence (1946–1948) within the **Commonwealth**. In 1947, he became Baron Ismay of Warrington, Gloucester, and secretary of state (minister) for the Commonwealth (1951–1952).

As NATO Secretary-General, Lord Ismay took office on 4 April 1952, and in 1956 he became chairman of the NAC, a **joint** position held by all other Secretaries-General. Lord Ismay worked closely with three NATO **Supreme Allied Commanders–Europe** (SACEURs), U.S. Generals **Matthew B. Ridgway** (1952–1953), **Alfred M. Gruenther** (1953–1956), and **Lauris L. Norstad** (1956–1962) to enlarge the **alliance** to 15 members with three new allies: **Greece** and **Turkey** (1952), plus **Germany** (1955). As fears of **World War III** with the Soviet Union (USSR) receded after the death of Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** (1953) and the end of the **Korean War** (1950–1953), NATO struggled between Cold War pledges to build large conventional forces against the USSR and European political reluctance to invest needed funds, forcing it to rely heavily on the U.S. **nuclear** umbrella to deter the USSR.

Lord Ismay was succeeded at NATO by **Paul-Henry Spaak** (1957–1961) of **Belgium**. Lord Ismay died on 17 December 1965. *See also* CARRINGTON, LORD PETER; ROBERTSON, LORD GEORGE.

ISTANBUL COOPERATION INITIATIVE PARTNERSHIP, NATO. **Joint** bilateral partnership program between the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) and states in the broader Middle East/Gulf region (such as Bahrain, Kuwait, and Qatar), which the

Istanbul **NATO Summit** (28–29 June 2004) added to **Mediterranean Dialogue partners** and the **Partnership for Peace**.

ITALY (ITALIA), NATO–EU. Democratic republic in Southern Europe with an area of 301,230 square kilometers, which borders **Austria, Croatia, France, Slovenia, and Switzerland** and faces **Albania, Greece, Libya, Malta, Montenegro, and Tunisia**. It is a mountainous peninsula surrounded by the Adriatic, Ionian, Tyrrhenian, and Mediterranean Seas. The capital is Rome. It is a Christian Catholic state (98 percent Catholic, 0.5 percent Protestant, and 1.5 percent other), with a population of 59 million (minorities include Germans, French, Slovenes, and Albanians).

Italy's geostrategic location dominates the Central Mediterranean, east–west, and southern sea and air routes to Europe. In antiquity, it was unified by the Roman Empire, which also conquered the Mediterranean and Western Europe. The collapse of the Roman Empire under the German invasions left Italy split for 1,100 years into rival sub-Italian states. It was partially reunified in two French-dominated states during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815). Split again into several states by the reactionary great powers at the Congress of Vienna (1815), Italy was unified between 1820 and 1870 (the *Risorgimento*) by liberal-nationalist revolutionary insurrections under Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi, and Piedmont's military-diplomatic policies under Premier Camillo di Cavour, who enlisted French, British, and Prussian support for a united nation-state in 1861–1870.

Italy's constitutional monarchy under the Piedmont Savoyes faced four parallel challenges: complete unification by annexing Austria's remaining Italian provinces; crushing insurgency and banditry in Southern Italy; developing an integrated state and national economy through industrialization and mass emigration from poor regions; and reemerging internationally as a military great power and colonial empire. Italy's security and diplomacy balanced Mediterranean naval defense from sea invasions through a close **entente** with the world's hegemonic naval power Great Britain and creating a large Italian navy. It protected its porous Alpine borders against land invasions with a large army and cyclical **alliance**-shifting with Europe's new

hegemonic land powers. It allied with France against Austria in 1859–1870; joined in the Triple Alliance with **Germany** and Austria–**Hungary** against France in 1882–1914 (which gave Italy a small colonial empire under Premiers Francesco Crispi and Giovanni Giolitti); switched to the Entente/**Allies** (France, **Russia**, Great Britain, and the **United States**) against Austria–Hungary and Germany in **World War I** (1914–1918); and played the Anglo–French against Germany during Benito Mussolini’s Fascist dictatorship (1922–1945), to gain colonial concessions from the **West** in 1919–1936. Italy also formed the Fascist **Axis** with Nazi Germany and Japan against the Allies from 1936 through **World War II** (1939–1945), and conquered Ethiopia, Corsica, Slovenia, Greece, and Tunisia, but not **Malta**. Italy suffered a crushing defeat in the war, which left the country split during its last alliance shift in 1943 between the invading Allies in the south and the Germans and Fascist Italians in the north, fighting local partisans.

Under Anglo–American occupation from 1943 to 1947, Italy’s democratic republic replaced the monarchy in 1946 and accepted the loss of its colonies, border lands (Istria), and severe military cuts in the Paris Peace Treaty (1947). Christian Democratic Premier Alcide De Gasperi secured vital U.S. aid and military protection during the Cold War (1946–1990) against the Soviet Union (USSR) and its **satellite** states along Italy’s border, as well as at home against its pro-Soviet large Italian Communist Party. Italy’s economic revival as a Western capitalist state made it in one of the world’s seven or eight most-industrialized states (**G-7/G-8 Summits**), supporting European political-economic integration since 1950 in the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)** and international cooperation at the **United Nations (UN)** since 1955 (after the USSR lifted its decade-old **veto** against Italy), and at the 1976 **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)**.

Italy’s naval and land security were both assured after 1946 by America through the **U.S. Sixth Fleet** in the Mediterranean and since 1949 by U.S. leadership of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in Europe. Italy was a founding member of NATO. Italy’s Cold War land defense against a Soviet/**Warsaw Pact** armored invasion through “**neutral**” **Yugoslavia** and Austria focused on stopping

it at the Gorizia Gap and penetrating deeply into Austria to rescue that country and link up with NATO's Central Front in Germany, which would face the brunt of any attack. In the Mediterranean, Italy has hosted NATO's **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH) command** and the U.S. Sixth Fleet since both were expelled from France's Toulon naval **base** in 1966. After Great Britain disbanded its Mediterranean Fleet and left its Malta bases, Italy's rebuilt navy took over the role of sustaining the U.S. Sixth Fleet and NATO in any **World War III** naval combat against the Soviet Fifth Eskadra (since 1975–1977). Italy also hosts many NATO bases and has twice deployed U.S. theater **nuclear** missiles against the USSR, in 1955–1960 and in 1983–1989 during the **Euromissile Crisis**. These were dismantled under the 1987–1988 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty**. In the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), Italy provides key logistics and air and naval support to the UN, EU, and **NATO peacekeeping** in the **Balkans**, and has the second-largest peacekeeping force in UN, NATO, EU, and U.S. ad hoc coalitions. These include NATO's **Implementation Force (IFOR)** and **Stabilisation Force (SFOR)** in **Bosnia**; the **Multinational Protection Force (MPF/FMP)**, renamed **Albania Force (AFOR)**; NATO's **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)**; NATO's **International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)** in Afghanistan (with combat duties since spring 2008); the **Multinational Force and Observers (MFO)** in the Sinai, based in Rome; **Multinational Forces I and II (MNF I and II)** and **UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)** with a large force since summer 2006. Italy also joined the U.S.-led coalitions against Iraq in the **First** (1990–1991) and **Second Gulf Wars** (2003), until 2006.

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JAPANESE PEACEKEEPING. Japan's imperialist role during **World War II** (1939–1945) and its defeat left it under the military and **nuclear** tutelage of the **United States**, which imposed a democratic constitution and minimal national defense **forces**, prohibiting military operations abroad except in self-defense. Paradoxically, this constitutional clause also kept Japan from playing any role in **United**

Nations (UN) peacekeeping, limiting it to contributing massive funds instead, including to the 1990–1991 First **Gulf War**. Since the Cold War (1946–1990) Japan has been a strategic ally in the U.S. global **alliance** network and a key logistics forward **base** during the **Korean War** (1950–1953) and for any **World War III** scenario against the Soviet Union (USSR) and Communist China. Direct U.S. military support to Tokyo and other U.S. Asian **allies**—including South Korea, Taiwan, and the Philippines—never tied them together into another Western regional alliance like the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, nor did it overcome their anti-Japanese animosity.

Long-standing U.S. pressures since the 1970s pushed Tokyo to slowly increase its regional patrols and contributions in a new U.S.–Japanese Security Pact (1990s), and Japan’s International Peace Cooperation Law (1992) allowed Japanese peacekeeping in UN missions and monitoring elections for the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). After the **Second Gulf War** (2003), Japan sent 3,000 logistical troops to Iraq to help the UN and U.S.-led coalition between 2003 and 2006. **Post-Cold War** (1990–present) security changes and NATO–UN cooperation in regional peacekeeping led to NATO’s decision in April 2006 in Sofia, Bulgaria, to build global strategic partnerships—but not a “global alliance”—with non-allied **partners** in Europe, Asia, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, to support NATO-led peacekeeping. On the basis of the NATO–Japanese strategic dialogue forged in the early 1990s, in May 2006 Japan increased its security support in **Afghanistan** and Iraq.

JOHNSON, LYNDON B. (1908–1973). Thirty-sixth president of the **United States** (November 1963–January 1969). He was leader of the Democratic Party (1948–1963), vice president under President **John F. Kennedy** (1961–1963), and president during the Second Vietnam War (1964–1975). Facing growing opposition to the war and increasing personal unpopularity, he retired from politics rather than run for a second full term in 1968.

Lyndon Johnson was born in Stonewall, Texas, on 27 August 1908. He graduated in 1931 from Southwest Texas State Teachers’ College (now Texas State University–San Marcos). Johnson benefited from his father’s five terms in the Texas legislature, working in the U.S. Congress as an influential legislative aide under President **Franklin**

D. Roosevelt (1933–1945). Johnson became a powerful Democratic politician, whose domineering personality and arm twisting gave him a long, successful career. In June 1940, he was appointed to the Naval Reserves and after Pearl Harbor was sent by Navy Under Secretary Admiral James Forrestal to inspect shipyards, followed in 1942 by President Roosevelt appointing him as a political aide to personally report outside the military chain of **command** on Pacific combat. Johnson's report to Roosevelt, General **Douglas MacArthur**, navy leaders, and Congress on the deplorable U.S. combat conditions and bad morale was backed by a 12-point reform program. Congress appointed Johnson chairman of a related powerful Subcommittee of the Naval Affairs Committee, which exposed business inefficiencies and significantly upgraded the entire Pacific naval war effort.

In 1948 Johnson became a U.S. Senator in a highly controversial election and soon gained support of the powerful Senator Richard Russell. As chair of the Armed Services Committee, Johnson caught national attention by investigating defense costs and efficiencies, spurring the **Harry Truman** administration to make changes. In 1953, Johnson became the youngest Democrat Minority Leader and in 1954 also the most effective Senate Majority Leader, scheduling legislation favored by the Democrats and maintaining smooth bipartisan relations with Republican Senator Rayburn and President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** by promoting their domestic and foreign policies in Congress. Johnson's success made him Texas's "favorite son" and a Democratic presidential candidate in 1960, but Massachusetts Senator John Kennedy won the nomination. Johnson's popularity and political victories forced Kennedy to name him as vice president to win Southern states in a close race against Republican Vice President **Richard Nixon**. In the White House, Johnson was kept virtually powerless by Kennedy and his advisors, who rarely consulted him and prevented him from emulating Vice President Nixon's key role under Eisenhower in influencing the state parties. With limited international insights as a member of the cabinet and National Security Council, Johnson's only success was in 1961 when, as chairman of the President's Ad Hoc Committee for Science, he influenced Kennedy to overtake the Soviet lead in the space race and land an American on the Moon within a decade.

After Kennedy's assassination, Johnson became president on 22 November 1963 and was elected in his own right in a landslide in 1964. His Great Society program implemented Kennedy's policies on civil rights, the "War on Poverty," and anticommunist containment, although racial desegregation faced massive rioting and the burning of hundreds of black ghettos. Johnson held firm on global containment, believing that America must fight to stop communist expansion in Vietnam and regionally, according to the **Domino Theory**, or risk looking weak in the eyes of the world. Kennedy had increased Eisenhower's 300 U.S. military advisors in Vietnam to 16,000 men, but Johnson escalated their role and numbers into the Second Vietnam War between 1964 and 1968, reaching 600,000 U.S. personnel by 1968. Despite Johnson's efforts to end the communist insurgency and achieve a peace favorable to the United States, fighting continued and American deaths eventually rose to 55,000. After the Tet offensive of January 1968, which the U.S. crushed, Johnson's popularity plummeted, as college students and pacifists demonstrated against the war. During his 1968 reelection bid, antiwar candidates Senator Eugene McCarthy and Robert F. Kennedy challenged Johnson, while America and the Democratic Party split between "**hawks**" and "**doves**" over Vietnam, forcing him to withdraw his candidacy.

Johnson retired to his Texas ranch and died of a heart attack at age 64 on 22 January 1973.

JOINT (or MULTI-SERVICE). Military term describing actions, operations, or organizations by elements of at least two national services. *See also* COMMAND.

JOINT-CONTROL COMMISSION PEACEKEEPING FORCE (or MOLDOVA JOINT-FORCE), CIS. The collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) and independence of the former Soviet Republic of **Moldova** sparked ethnic clashes between the majority Romanians and Russian-Ukrainian minorities in the Transdneister/Transnistria area, which virtually seceded from Moldova with the external armed support of **Russia**, whose political-economic pressures also kept Moldova in the Russian-controlled **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**. The Russo-Moldova bilateral agreement of 21 July

1992 transformed local Russian troops into CIS “peacekeepers” through the Joint-Control Commission Peacekeeping Force (or Moldova Joint Force) of 1,312 troops from Russia, Moldova, and secessionist Transnistria, monitored by the **Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) Mission to Moldova**.

JOINT DATA EXCHANGE CENTRE—MOSCOW, RUSSIA—NATO. Russia and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** opened the Joint Data Exchange Centre in Moscow in the early 2000s to share early-warning data on missile launches. The Centre and other bilateral cooperation with NATO were temporarily put on hold by Russia since May 2007 to protest U.S. deployment of its Missile Defense antiballistic systems in former Soviet **satellites**, which became NATO **allies** in 1999 (the **Czech Republic, Poland**).

JOINT-FORCE COMMANDER, NATO (JFC). Military term for **command** authority or operational **control** by commanders over **joint forces**. Since early 2001, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** holds combined command as Joint-Force Commander of NATO peacekeepers for the **Stabilisation Forces–Bosnia (SFOR)** and **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)**, including **allies** and **partners**.

JOINT INVESTIGATION TEAMS, EU. A few days after the Islamic Fundamentalist terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 against the **United States**, the **European Union’s (EU)** European Council created joint investigation teams among law-enforcement authorities for criminal investigation of **terrorism** and transnational crimes—drugs, weapons, trafficking in women, and illegal immigrants. The September 2004 joint investigation teams formed by **France** and **Spain** fight ETA Basque terrorism, Al-Qaeda, and other Islamic fundamentalist terrorist groups. Joint EU–U.S. investigative teams were created under the 2003 EU–U.S. Extradition and Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement to speed up extraditions through direct contact between U.S. and European agencies and sharing of crime databanks. **Euprol** and **EuroJust** also work with joint investigation teams. *See*

also EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY; EUROGENDFOR; EUROPEAN ARREST WARRANTS.

JOINT NORDIC COMMITTEE ON UNITED NATIONS MILITARY MATTERS. A Scandinavian or “**Nordics**” committee consisting of **Denmark**, **Finland**, **Norway**, and **Sweden** for **joint** training in **United Nations (UN) peacekeeping** missions. **Iceland** does not participate because it has neither military nor peacekeepers.

JOINT OFFICE FOR COMMONWEALTH PERMANENT MISSIONS TO THE UN. Institutionalizing in 1996 an ad hoc forum that had been in operation since 1983, this organization coordinates **Commonwealth** conflict prevention, mediation, election monitoring, and regional economic development as an international pressure group for its 32 smaller members at the **United Nations (UN)**. The Commonwealth is led by **Great Britain** and had 54 members in 2007.

JOINT OPERATIONS AREA. Military term for a temporary area defined by a strategic or regional commander of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** or international coalitions, with a joint commander coordinating a mission at the **operational level of war** in coordination with **allies**, **partners**, or sending nations, under approval of the **North Atlantic Council** or **NATO Military Committee**. Any joint operations area, deployments, and scope are mission specific, with possible overlapping areas of responsibility.

JOINT TASK FORCE PROVIDE PROMISE, U.S. *See* TASK FORCE 212.

JOINT TASK FORCE SOMALIA, U.S. Operation by U.S. forces assigned in November 1993 to the **United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)**. After several clashes with Mohammed Farah Aidid’s guerrilla militias inside Mogadishu, the **United States** restructured its light unarmored forces in Somalia by briefly adding mechanized vehicles and Marines offshore, but also withdrawing its special forces assigned to capture Aidid. The U.S. **Joint Task Force Somalia** also downsized its support of **UN peacekeeping** by reducing U.S. patrols in Mogadishu, completely withdrawing by early 1994. *See also* TASK FORCE 160.

JONES, GENERAL JAMES L., U.S. MARINES (1943–). From 2003 to 2006, he was both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) 14th Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and **Commander-in-Chief (CINC) of U.S. European Command (EUCOM)**. From NATO's **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)**, he led Allied Command Operations (ACO) to preserve transatlantic peace, security, and territorial integrity, while as CINC–EUCOM he commanded 116,000 personnel in U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe, U.S. Air Forces in Europe, U.S. Marines Forces–Europe, and U.S. Special Operations Command–Europe to provide forces for NATO and U.S. missions or **humanitarian** aid in 93 countries in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.

Born on 19 December 1943 in Kansas City, Missouri, James Jones became a second lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps in January 1967 and fought in the Second Vietnam War (1967–1968). He served in several postings at the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.; became a major in 1977, a lieutenant colonel in 1982, and a colonel in 1988; was the commander of the 24th Marines Expeditionary Unit involved in **Operation Provide Comfort** in Iraqi Kurdistan and **Turkey** (1991); and became a brigadier general in 1992 and a general in 1994. He was Chief of Staff of NATO's **Joint Task Force Provide Promise** for **peacekeeping in Bosnia and Macedonia**; the director of the Expeditionary Warfare Division for the Chief of Naval Operations in Washington, D.C. (1996); the vice Chief of Staff for Plans, Policies, and Operations in Washington, D.C. (1996); a military assistant to the secretary of defense (1996–1999); a commandant of the U.S. Marines Corps (1999–2003); and a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The first Marine Corps general to become SACEUR/EUCOM, in 2003 Jones succeeded U.S. Air Force General **Joseph Ralston** (2000–2002) and closely collaborated with both NATO **Secretaries General Lord Robertson** (1999–2003) and **Jaap de Hoop Scheffer** (2003–present) throughout his term. Under their watch, NATO implemented its third major military structural reorganization, transforming Allied Command Europe (ACE) into Allied Command Operations (ACO), with responsibility for operations throughout the entire NATO and Euro–Atlantic area, not just Europe, and changing Allied Command Atlantic into Allied Command Transformation

(ACT), with its focus on innovative technologies, future weapons systems, and strategic policies for the 21st century.

SACEUR Jones was succeeded in December 2006 by U.S. Army General **B. John Craddock** (2006–). Jones retired to become a lobbyist for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He twice turned down Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's offers to become her deputy, and publicly criticized the 2003 **Second Gulf War** against Iraq as a "débâcle" with "the Joint Chiefs . . . systematically emasculated by [Defense Secretary Donald] Rumsfeld."

JOULWAN, GENERAL GEORGE A., U.S. ARMY (1939–). From 1993 to 1997, he was both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) 11th Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and **Commander-in-Chief (CINC) of U.S. European Command (EUCOM)**. From NATO's **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)**, he led **Allied Command Europe (ACE)** to preserve transatlantic peace, security, and territorial integrity, while as CINC–EUCOM he commanded U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe, U.S. Air Forces in Europe, U.S. Marines Forces–Europe, and U.S. Special Operations Command–Europe to provide combat **forces** for NATO and U.S. missions or **humanitarian** aid in 93 countries in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.

Born on 16 November 1939 in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, of Lebanese origins, George Joulwan graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point; served in Europe; and fought twice in the Second Vietnam War (1966–1967 and 1971–1972) under Lieutenant Colonel **Alexander M. Haig Jr.** As a major he was assistant professor of military sciences at Loyola University, Chicago, earning an M.A. in 1971, and in 1972 he also taught at West Point. In 1973, he became aide-de-camp of U.S. Army Vice Chief of Staff General Haig. In 1974, as he became a lieutenant colonel and was special assistant to U.S. President Gerald Ford, serving again under White House Chief of Staff General Haig. In 1975, he also was special assistant to General Haig as NATO's SACEUR. Joulwan graduated from the Army War College and taught until 1979. He commanded the 2nd Brigade, 3rd Mechanized Infantry Division (1979–1981), then served at the Pentagon in the Office of the Joint Chief of Staffs (1982–1984 and 1985–1986) as Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, U.S. Army Europe and Seventh Army. As a major general, he

commanded the 3rd Armored Division in Germany in 1988 and was later commanding general of the U.S. V Corps in 1989. In 1990–1993, General Joulwan was Commander-in-Chief of **U.S. Southern Command**; in his first 10 days in office he faced three coups, wars in Panama and El Salvador. He was able to help oust Panamanian President Manuel Noriega and bring peace to El Salvador. He also modernized and professionalized the military organizations of Latin America and reduced regional drug trafficking.

In 1993, SACEUR Joulwan succeeded U.S. Army General **John M. Shalikashvili** (1992–1993) and worked with three NATO **Secretaries-General** **Manfred Wörner** (1988–1994), **Willy Claes** (1994–1995), and **Javier Solana** (1995–1999), while being the first SACEUR to have commanded at every level from platoon through Army Corps, serving 18 years in Europe. Joulwan closely collaborated also with U.S. Ambassador to NATO Robert E. Hunter, who launched the **alliance's Partnership for Peace** in 1994 with all “**neutral**” former **Warsaw Pact** and Soviet states, as well as establishing the first strategic policy for U.S. military engagement in Africa and the State Partnership Program linking U.S. Reserves from 23 states with NATO **partners** from the former Communist states of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (USSR).

During Joulwan's tenure, NATO conducted more than 20 successful operations and finally solved the long, bloody Yugoslav civil wars (1991–1999). SHAPE and Allied Forces Southern Europe (AF-SOUTH) became the military instrument of the UN's international efforts to stop fighting in **Croatia** and **Bosnia**, with NATO warships in the Adriatic Ocean enforcing the UN **embargo** on arms shipments into the **crisis** area and NATO air patrols over Bosnia imposing a UN “**no-fly zone**” against Serb air strikes. However, without U.S. support for NATO's ground involvement, UN peace plans and peacekeepers found themselves neither able to stop combat nor resist Serb violence and atrocities. Thus, SHAPE and AFSOUTH developed plans to either “extract” withdrawing UN peacekeepers if they were attacked by Bosnian Serbs, or provide air support to UN peacekeepers under fire, or even enforce any peace plan that was agreed upon.

These UN commitments led to NATO's first combat actions since its founding in 1949, when Hunter and Joulwan finally secured vital U.S. political-military involvement in NATO's 1994 air strikes to destroy Serb bombers and selected Serb military positions. After the

Bosnian Serbs overran the UN “safe area” of **Šrebrenica**, NATO launched **Operation Deliberate Force** (August–September 1995), with heavy air strikes on all Serb command, control, and heavy weapons emplacements, while the Croat army defeated the bewildered Serb forces both in Croatia and Western Bosnia. The parallel NATO and Croat actions forced all warring ethnic factions to sign the Dayton Peace Accords (November 1995), which called for **disarmament** and **peace enforcement**.

IFOR was the largest and most complex military operation in Europe since World War II, deploying 50,000 troops from 36 nations to quickly separate the three ethnic armies into cantonment and storage sites, while transferring areas between hostile communities. NATO quickly developed new coordination, command, and control procedures to integrate in IFOR all non-NATO partners for **joint peace-keeping** with a Partnership **Coordination Centre** at SHAPE involving “neutral” former Warsaw Pact and Soviet states. SACEUR Joulwan personally conducted the difficult negotiations to overcome Moscow’s opposition to IFOR by appointing a Russian general as **Deputy SACEUR** for Russian IFOR troops and Russian personnel in IFOR’s **Coordination Centre** at SHAPE until 2004.

After release of *NATO’s Long-Term Defence Improvement Programme* in 1994, Joulwan reorganized ACE commands by adding the **European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI)** with the **Combined Joint Task Forces**, requiring NATO commands to conduct operations for NATO or the **Western European Union/European Union (WEU/EU)**.

SACEUR Joulwan was succeeded by U.S. Army General **Wesley Clark** (1997–1999). He was director of General Dynamics (1998–), president of One Team (1999–), and professor at West Point (1998–2000) and National Defense University (2001–2005).

– K –

KALININGRAD. *See* ENCLAVE.

KAZAKHSTAN, CIS, NATO PARTNER. Landlocked former Soviet state in Central Asia with an area of 2,717,300 square kilometers,

bordering the Aral and Caspian Seas, China, **Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan**. Its terrain is primarily mountains and desert. The capital is Astana. It has a multi-ethnic Turkish and Slav population of 15,144,000 (53.4 percent Kazakhi, 30 percent Russian, 3.7 percent Ukrainian, 2.5 percent Uzbeki, 2.4 percent German, 1.4 percent Uygur, and 6.6 percent other) of various religions (47 percent Muslim, 44 percent Russian Orthodox, 2 percent Protestant, and 7 percent other).

In the wake of Gengis Khan's Mongol Empire, mixed Turkish/Mongol nomadic tribes migrated into and settled Central Asia (Western Turkestan) in the 13th century. They later became Muslim, but were rarely united. Western Turkestan was conquered by Czarist Russia in the 1700s–1800s, and under the USSR it was split up during the 1920s–1930s into five related Soviet Republics, with the largest renamed Kazakhstan. Russian settlers and deported nationalities entered the region between the 1800s and 1900s, with larger influxes in the 1950s–1960s under Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchëv**'s industrialization and agricultural "Virgin Lands" program of irrigating the Central Asian steppe. The immigrants soon outnumbered the native Kazakhi. During the Cold War (1946–1990), Kazakhstan and neighboring Soviet Central Asian states were the vital logistical rear for the **Red Army** on the long Sino–Russian **front** (1960s–1990), the border with pro-Western Iran (1946–1979), and in the First Afghan War (1979–1989). The 6,000-square-kilometer Baykonur Cosmodrome is located in Kazakhstan, which since independence (16 December 1991) has been leased by Russia. The sudden collapse of the USSR in December 1991 caused much of the Russian-Slavic population to emigrate.

In the early 1990s, the **United States** enforced Kazakhi compliance with the U.S.–Soviet 1987 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty** and 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START I), requiring the elimination of all "**nukes**" left from the Soviet period. Many Soviet defense industry contractors and test ranges were located in Kazakhstan, resulting in severe industrial pollution and radioactive and toxic chemical sites. Its two main rivers, which flow into the Aral Sea, have been diverted for wasteful irrigation, leaving behind a drying lake leached by pesticides, just as pollution in the Caspian Sea is rising as a by-product of massive new offshore

oil drilling. With major deposits of petroleum, gas, coal, and key minerals, Kazakhstan's domestic and foreign goals are to develop its vast energy resources and exports to world markets; reduce dependence on former Soviet/Russian oil and gas pipelines; diversify economic growth; desalinization; fight Islamic **terrorism**; and strengthen political-military and economic relations with neighboring states and global powers. Like other former Soviet states, Kazakhstan's nationalist dictatorship has very close political-military and economic ties with Russia, and in 1992 it joined the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**. Kazakhstan also joined the **United Nations (UN)** and the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, and has been a **partner** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** since 1992 in its **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** and since 1994 in the **Partnership for Peace**. It provided logistical support during the U.S.–NATO Second Afghan War (2001–2002). Kazakhstan joined the Russo–Chinese **Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO/Shanghai-5/6)** in 2002, along with Kyrgyzstan, **Tajikistan**, and Uzbekistan.

KELLOGG–BRIAND PACT (1928). Officially called “General Treaty to Renounce War,” this multilateral treaty, negotiated by French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand and U.S. Secretary of State John Kellogg, was signed in Paris by 15 states and accepted by 68 states. It sought to abolish war and make sure nations used only peaceful solutions to solve **crises** by strengthening the 1919 **League of Nations’** roles in **collective security** and **disarmament**. It also brought the **United States** back into world politics after its refusal to join the League of Nations. However, the Kellogg–Briand Pact’s pacifist idealist principles were watered down by **Great Britain** and other states, which reserved the right to use arms for self-defense, and the United States excluded the 1823 Monroe Doctrine from the Kellogg–Briand Pact’s provisions. The pact’s fatal weaknesses were its extreme ideological pacifism and its inability to distinguish between “wars of aggression” and “self-defense wars.” Dismissed as a pacifist scrap of paper binding none, the Kellogg–Briand Pact’s principles were later incorporated by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt into **United Nations (UN) Charter Article 2** and used as legal basis in the 1948 Nuremberg and Tokyo trials to prosecute the political-military

leadership of Nazi **Germany** and **Japan** for war crimes committed during **World War II** (1939–1945), as well as since 1995 by the **UN International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia**.

KENNEDY, JOHN F. (1916–1963). The 35th president of the **United States**, (January 1961–November 1963), the only Catholic ever to hold that position. He was a charismatic, popular liberal politician. He faced down the Soviet Union (USSR) during the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis**. Kennedy's talented advisors and cabinet leaders were called the "Best and Brightest" and dominated U.S. politics, civil rights, and foreign policy. Kennedy's assassination on 22 November 1963 traumatized the nation for decades.

John F. Kennedy (JFK) was born on 9 January 1916 in Boston, Massachusetts, the son of Irish businessman and Democratic leader Joseph P. Kennedy Sr., whom President Franklin Roosevelt appointed U.S. ambassador to **Great Britain** in an attempt to isolate his political rival. JFK graduated cum laude from Harvard and Stanford University's Business School; his 1940 honor's thesis, "Why England Slept," on the 1938 Munich Treaty, became a best seller. During **World War II** (1939–1945), his father's political ambitions were thwarted when he was recalled to the United States as an isolationist "appeaser." JFK volunteered for the U.S. Navy in September 1941, serving as a lieutenant commanding a PT boat in the Pacific. His PT boat was sunk by the Japanese on August 1943, and he rescued three men, later receiving the Navy–Marine Corps Medal and Purple Heart.

In 1946, JFK entered politics. A gifted orator, Kennedy served in the U.S. House of Representatives (1947–1952) and U.S. Senate (1953–1960), defeating incumbent Republican Henry Cabot Lodge. Throughout JFK's career, his father used his political influence to help him with various challenges, including national controversies on economic growth, his youth, his Catholicism, the U.S.–Soviet **nuclear** "missiles map," and the space race.

In 1960 JFK ran for president, defeating Republican Vice President **Richard Nixon** in one of the closest elections in U.S. history. His running mate was Senator **Lyndon B. Johnson** of Texas. In domestic affairs, Kennedy pursued the ambitious "New Frontier" federal programs against recession and civil rights, sending thousands of

troops to enforce desegregation. However, the Civil Rights Act (June 1963) crafted by his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, became law only under President Johnson in 1964.

Kennedy was a strong anticommunist “hawk.” At the beginning of his administration, he implemented President **Dwight Eisenhower**’s secret plan to depose Cuba’s Communist leaders Fidel Castro and “Che” Guevara. On April 1961, with the support of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 1,500 U.S.-trained Cuban “Batistas” exiles from Florida landed at the Bay of Pigs; they were defeated. Kennedy refused open U.S. military intervention to back them up. He was forced to pay \$53 million in food and medicine to secure the release of the 1,189 surviving exiles. Kennedy later contained Cuban-sponsored communist revolutions in Latin America through the Alliance for Progress, which supplied aid to the region, promoted human rights, and trained local police. He also created the Peace Corps, through which U.S. volunteers helped underdeveloped nations.

The Bay of Pigs fiasco affected the U.S.–Soviet 1961 Vienna Summit, at which a secretly ill Kennedy was berated by aggressive Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchëv**, who mistakenly concluded that JFK could be pushed around on the thorniest NATO issue: Berlin. The propaganda image of a militarily strong USSR having more nuclear intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) than the United States (the “missile gap”) had been publicly debunked by Kennedy, who had launched a three-year, tenfold increase in nuclear ICBMs and a crash expansion of conventional **forces** to return to the Truman years of strength, which Eisenhower had whittled away behind a cheaper front of theater nuclear missiles. On 13 August 1961, Soviet **satellite** Communist East Germany (DDR) suddenly built the 155-kilometer-long Berlin Wall, dividing the city and violating the “**Four Powers Agreements**,” to stem the flood of East German refugees escaping to the **West**. Kennedy did not use the military to dismantle the Berlin Wall, fearing a wider **East–West** military **crisis**. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) nations soon realized that by blocking East German refugees, the Berlin Wall internally stabilized the DDR, as well as militarily stabilizing NATO by “freezing” Berlin’s status quo for both blocs.

Khrushchëv’s next gambit was to undermine both the 1823 Monroe Doctrine and the status of West Berlin through another surprise:

the **Cuban Missile Crisis**. In 1962, 20,000 Soviet troops and advisors helped secretly build in Cuba Soviet **intermediate-range** ballistic missile (IRBM) sites aimed at U.S. cities from Miami to New York, to reverse the U.S. lead in ICBMs while publicly appearing to defend Cuba from any future U.S. invasion. In reality, the USSR would never have jeopardized its security by threatening the United States with nuclear weapons just to defend Cuba; Khrushchëv's ill-conceived plan was to play on Kennedy's apparent political weakness by unveiling the secret Soviet missiles in Cuba and then trading their removal as a bargaining chip for NATO's evacuation of West Berlin (a fourth Berlin crisis) and a public U.S. pledge never to invade Cuba.

American U-2 spy planes secretly photographed the Soviet IRBM sites on 14 October 1962. Kennedy faced a quadruple deadly strategic dilemma. First, if the United States did nothing, it would risk remaining under perpetual threat of nuclear weapons on its own doorstep, and if the USSR launched a preemptive "first strike," the United States could not retaliate in time. Second, the United States would appear to the world as weak and unable to enforce the Monroe Doctrine in its own hemisphere despite the **Rio Pact** and **Organization of American States (OAS)**. Third, the United States would have to trade West Berlin for its own hemispheric and national security, dramatically "decoupling" the U.S. nuclear "umbrella" security guarantee for NATO in Europe. Finally, if the United States attacked the unfinished Soviet missile sites in Cuba, it had no guarantee that any hidden IRBMs secretly targeted at the United States would not be fired, leading to World War III with the USSR.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff and many cabinet members, together with former Secretary of State **Dean Acheson**, pressed for a surgical air strike on the missile sites followed by carpet bombing of all military **bases**, rather than a slow amphibious invasion (also being readied). But Kennedy ordered instead a naval **blockade** by U.S. warships, which would inspect ships for secret nuclear cargo bound for Cuba. He also publicly denounced the Soviet-made crisis and ordered the **Kremlin** to remove from Cuba all secretly emplaced Soviet IRBMs or risk a nuclear war for violating the Monroe Doctrine and threatening the security of America and the Western Hemisphere. NATO and the UN supported the United States, but **French** President **Charles de Gaulle** and many **allies** were upset by this unilateral U.S. action, of which they had no advance warning. After public and secret nego-

tiations and reciprocal military buildups, Khrushchĕv finally agreed to remove all missiles from Cuba; Kennedy promised not to invade the island and secretly removed U.S. IRBMs from **Turkey**.

In Europe, Kennedy also clashed with de Gaulle by continuing President **Harry Truman**'s and Eisenhower's legacy of total U.S. leadership of NATO and **alliance** defenses, rebuffing France's quest for equality or joint control of nuclear forces. Eventually the two leaders agreed on a multilateral force (MLF) to develop European-manned NATO nuclear defenses using U.S. missiles, but MLF collapsed under President Johnson. De Gaulle then refused to submit his nuclear *force de frappe* to NATO's integrated military **command**, and later withdrew his military altogether, seeking to undermine NATO and replace the anti-Soviet U.S. global nuclear "umbrella" tied to NATO with a French nuclear and political deterrent ("**Grand Design**").

As a "hawk" regarding global Communist expansion, Kennedy also continued Eisenhower's political-economic and military support of unstable South Vietnam, with advisors and U.S. Special Forces. At the time of his death his Vietnam policy was uncertain, but his entire administration, under President Johnson, committed U.S. **forces** to a Second Vietnam War (1965–1975). Yet after the Cuban Missile Crisis, a more cautious Kennedy pursued a bilateral mini-*détente* with the USSR in 1962–1964: a direct "**hotline**" telex–phone connection was set up between the two countries' leaders; a first **arms control** accord was agreed upon among the United States, Great Britain, and USSR in the form of the Partial-Test Ban Treaty (August 1963), designed to stop long-term radioactive contamination by prohibiting nuclear tests on the ground, in the atmosphere, and under water, but not underground; and a future joint U.S.–Soviet space venture. But this mini-*détente* died soon after Kennedy's assassination in November 1963 and Khrushchĕv's 1964 fall from power.

KHRUSHCHĚV, NIKITA SERGEYEVICH (1894–1971). Fourth leader of the **Soviet Union (USSR)** (1953–1964) as premier and general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party (1953–1964) and chairman of the Council of Ministers (1958–1964). His "destalinization" liberalizations and economic growth were undermined by his repression of the Hungarian Revolution (1956), the building of the **Berlin Wall** (1961), and his provocations of the **United States**.

Nikita S. Khrushchĕv was born on 17 April 1894 in the village of Kalinovka, Kursk Oblast, in Czarist **Russia**, then moved to Yuzovka (now Donetsk), **Ukraine**. Very intelligent but with little education, he worked in factories, mines, and trade unions. During the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, he joined the Communist Party and fought in the **Red Army**; he then held various party positions in the Donbas industrial region and Kiev. In the 1930s, **Josef Stalin**'s purges of the Soviet Communist Party allowed Khrushchĕv to move up to the position of first secretary of Moscow's Committee; become a member of the Soviet Central Committee in 1934; become first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party in 1938; and become a member of the Soviet Politburo in 1939. During **World War II** (1939–1945), Khrushchĕv was a political officer and lieutenant general, coordinating the defense of Ukraine against Nazi **Germany**'s invasion (1941–1944). He was dismissed after the fall of Kiev in 1941. By late 1942, he was in charge of Soviet defenses of Stalingrad, and in 1943 he was senior political officer for the southern USSR, until the reconquest of Ukraine and repression of pro-German Ukrainian nationalists.

As a close member of Stalin's entourage, and having survived that murderous dictatorship, after Stalin died on 5 March 1953, Khrushchĕv came out on top of the power struggles within the Communist Party, arresting and executing KGB Chief Lavrenti in 1953 and then forming the "Second Troika" (1953–1955) with Georgy Malenkov as Soviet leader and Vyacheslav Molotov as foreign minister. Khrushchĕv was the weakest member of the "Second Troika" but as Communist Party **Secretary-General** (1953–1964), he undermined his colleagues by dramatically denouncing Stalin's past crimes at the 20th Communist Party Congress (23 February 1955). He became sole leader of the USSR by 1955 and instituted liberalizing policies, including granting amnesty to most political prisoners, surviving relatives, and internally exiled ethnic groups.

Khrushchĕv also sought to reform the Soviet economic system by placing emphasis on producing consumer goods, rather than heavy industry, while sharply cutting defense spending. Khrushchĕv's erratic efficiency and propaganda bombast led him to predict that the USSR would soon overcome the West economically. However, Soviet agriculture barely kept up with population growth, exacerbated

by a disastrous harvest in 1963. The Politburo resented Khrushchëv's erratic policies and regular humiliations of the Soviet *nomenklatura* (Communist élite). Khrushchëv's very poor diplomatic skills and public clownishness were displayed when he repeatedly disrupted the **United Nations (UN)** General Assembly in 1960 by pounding his fists and shoe on the desk when opposing other members' criticism of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and anti-Western policies.

Khrushchëv made several dangerous gambles in challenging the West with shows of **force**, but stopped short of a full-fledged **arms race**. In 1956, he undercut the faltering **East–West détente** when he crushed the anticommunist Hungarian Revolution and halted Soviet liberalization. In 1958, he set off a second Berlin crisis which fizzled, only to bring about a third crisis in 1961 when he supported East German leader Walter Ulbricht in building the Berlin Wall, reinforcing the Cold War partition of Germany and Europe. Finally, Khrushchëv's secret plan to force Western withdrawal from Berlin through the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis** was thwarted when Kennedy called his bluff, threatening a nuclear World War III to force the removal from Cuba of all secretly emplaced Soviet **intermediate-range** ballistic missiles (IRBMs). Thereafter, he accepted East–West **arms control**, but his controversial policies alienated Communist China's leader Mao Tse-tung, who denounced the 1956 “destalinization” and Khrushchëv's leadership, then left the **Soviet bloc** in 1963 during the **Sino–Soviet split**, which unleashed a parallel new “cold war” within the communist world.

Khrushchëv's erratic behavior and foreign policy failures undermined his prestige within the Politburo. His military and political rivals regarded him as a tremendous international embarrassment for the USSR. The Soviet Central Committee secretly deposed him in a bloodless coup on 14 October 1964, turning power over to Khrushchëv's protégé, Vice Premier **Leonid Brezhnev**. Khrushchëv died under house arrest on 11 September 1971.

KISSINGER, HENRY A. (1923–). Influential U.S. national security advisor and secretary of state during the presidencies of **Richard Nixon** (1969–1973) and Gerald Ford (1973–1975), international troubleshooter, 1973 Nobel Peace Prize winner, strategist, consultant, author, and Harvard University professor.

Henry Kissinger was born on 27 May 1923 in Fürth, **Germany**, and emigrated to America in 1938, serving in the U.S. Army in **World War II**. He obtained a doctorate from Harvard, becoming a professor and an influential author, and was a U.S. government consultant on **nuclear strategy** and East–West relations. As President Nixon’s National Security Advisor and foreign policy alter ego, he developed East–West **détente** and “**linkages**” as international diplomatic policies of coexistence and relaxation of tensions with the Soviet Union (USSR); defused regional **crises** or wars among the superpower’s rival client states; created permanent East–West economic interdependency on investments and trade (e.g., in the grain deal); stabilized European security; ended the cyclical **Berlin crises**; expanded **arms control** with reductions of nuclear weapons; promoted Soviet Jewish emigration to the **West**; and renewed U.S.–Soviet **Summits**.

Despite their conservative views, Nixon and Kissinger were keen advocates of **Realism**: Realpolitik involved pursuit of power and U.S. national interests in world politics without regard for morality or ideology. They shocked the world by opening diplomatic relations with Communist China, holding a first summit with President Mao Tse-tung and agreeing on bilateral trade and a “One-China Policy” of future peaceful reunification of China and Taiwan, in exchange for Beijing’s pressures on Communist North Vietnam to end the 1964–1975 Second Vietnam War on U.S. terms. Nixon’s and Kissinger’s détente with the USSR depended on an ever-changing secret web of complex, intricate, cooperative “linkages” and power diplomacy to forge a stable triangular relationship. They exploited the **Sino–Soviet split**’s legacy of regional animosity to extract political-military concessions from the USSR in arms control, East–West trade, and pressures on North Vietnam, and from China in pressures on North Vietnam, Western trade, and technology, as well as peace with U.S. ally Taiwan under a “One-China Policy” concept of future peaceful reintegration.

At the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, Kissinger tackled the existing strident transatlantic contrasts over **standardization** of weapons systems and **burden sharing**—increasing allied conventional **forces** or logistics to balance the U.S. dominant conventional–nuclear role—by forceful advocacy of stronger European resolve to increase their defense expenditures, given the drain on

U.S. forces during the Second Vietnam War, while reassuring the **allies** that East–West nuclear and conventional arms control was a stabilizing process that would not “decouple” the U.S. nuclear umbrella from European security. Thus, the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) and **Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty** were accepted as cornerstones of détente for NATO’s strategic stability, but Kissinger never allowed the alliance to dictate or influence East–West arms control negotiations or strategy. In his 1973 speech “The Year of Europe,” Kissinger cynically tied U.S. support for the **European Community’s (EC)** expanding regional integration with **Great Britain, Ireland, and Denmark** to the creation of a stronger European political “voice” and resolve on common Atlantic defenses and burden sharing within the context of U.S. leadership. Kissinger’s disdain for Europe’s ineffectiveness as a new united global power was immediately proven correct when the Arab–Israeli 1973 Yom Kippur War and First Oil Shock plunged the EC and NATO into disarray, leaving the United States alone to support Israel and prevent Soviet forces being parachuted in to rescue Syrians and Egyptians from Israel’s final victory. Kissinger initiated “shuttle diplomacy” after the 1973 Yom Kippur War between Israel and its Egyptian and Syrian enemies, securing cease-fires between the belligerents and later “land-for-peace” diplomatic talks, while introducing two more **UN peacekeeping** operations into the area: **UN Emergency Force II (UNEF II)** on the Suez Canal between Egypt and Israel, and UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF), separating Syria and Israel on the Golan Heights.

The only person to serve as both national security advisor and secretary of state, Kissinger was everywhere diplomatically (“Super K”), especially after Nixon’s impeachment for abuse of power and his replacement by the weaker Vice President Gerald Ford. Kissinger started negotiating the second U.S.–Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), but Jimmy **Carter**’s victory in the presidential election forced Kissinger back into private life. He became an author and president of his own private consulting firm, Kissinger Associates. Consulted around the world, he was influential in subsequent Republican administrations through many protégés and associates (such as Secretaries of State **Alexander M. Haig Jr.** and Lawrence Eagleburger), but he was never called back to power because both Democrats and Republicans mistrusted him and his Realpolitik.

KOHL-MITERRAND INITIATIVE (1990). *See* EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION.

KOKKINA. Turkish-Cypriot **enclave** within Greek-Cypriot western **Cyprus**. In August 1964, Greek-Cypriot militias attacked the Kokkina enclave in the worst cease-fire violation since the arrival of the **United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)**. **Turkey** launched air strikes on the island in defense of the Turkish Cypriots. The UN Security Council ordered UNFICYP to reestablish the cease-fire and reinforce UN **peacekeeping forces** in the enclave. Like the beginning of the ethno-nationalist controversies in the island, this **crisis** and the one in 1974 involved the islands' rival ethnicities being backed and increasingly armed by their brethren from **Greece** and **Turkey**, despite these countries' equal status as **allies** in the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. With the UN peacekeepers being no more than placeholders, only strong pressure from the **United States** and **NATO** calmed things down.

KÖNIGSWINTER CONFERENCE. Annual international security conference on relations between **Great Britain** and **Germany**, held since 1950 in late March in Oxford, England. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) Secretary-General** Lord **George Robertson** celebrated the conference's 50th Anniversary in 2000.

KOREAN WAR (1950–1953). The end of **World War II** (1939–1945) left Korea occupied and divided between the Soviet-backed Communist Korea and the U.S.-controlled semidemocratic South Korea. Korea suddenly became the second most volatile flash point of the Cold War (1946–1990) between the U.S.–Soviet superpowers when neighboring China became the Communist People's Republic of China in late 1949, extending the **Soviet bloc** from Eastern Europe and the USSR all the way to China and North Korea.

In his "Perimeter Defense" speech in early 1950, U.S. Secretary of State **Dean Acheson** excluded South Korea from the list of countries on the edge of America's Pacific defense perimeter, which ran from Alaska to Japan, to Taiwan, to the Philippines, to Indonesia, to Australia and New Zealand. Thereafter, North Korean Communist dictator Kim Il-Jung secured the secret backing of both Soviet leader

Josef Stalin and Red China's leader Mao Tse-tung for a violent reunification of the peninsula.

The North Korean invasion started on 25 June 1950, but U.S. President **Harry S. Truman** immediately secured combat support from the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council, which was possible because the Soviet delegation was boycotting Council meetings to protest its refusal to give Communist China the permanent **veto** seat that Nationalist China held. On 7 July 1950, the UN Security Council recommended full military assistance to South Korea, so 20 states deployed military **forces** under a U.S.–UN coalition, and 45 states sent aid to South Korea. Thereafter the USSR, as rotating president of the Security Council, blocked further resolutions on the Korean War, but the United States pushed the “**Uniting for Peace Resolution**” (or Acheson Plan) through a pro-U.S. UN General Assembly on 2 November 1950. The resolution allowed any international security issue to be moved from a deadlocked Security Council to the General Assembly. In June 1950, U.S. General **Douglas MacArthur**, Allied “proconsular” governor of occupied Japan and hero of both **world wars**, became the first force commander of all U.S.–UN forces during the Korean War. After holding the victorious North Koreans’ at bay around the “Pusan Perimeter,” the fully reinforced U.S.–UN forces counterattacked, bursting north while MacArthur launched a parallel amphibious landing at Inchon, Seoul’s port, to cut the North Korean forces in two and crush them. Then, U.S.–UN forces liberated all of South Korea and North Korea, pushing the retreating Communist forces up to the border with China on the Yalu River.

Under the pretext of deploying army corps of “Communist volunteers” rather than official Chinese soldiers, Mao intervened on 25 November 1950, defeating the divided forces of General MacArthur and pushing the U.S.–UN coalition back to South Korea. Truman fired General MacArthur because of his insistent requests to use **nuclear** weapons against the USSR and China, replacing him with General **Matthew B. Ridgway**. Another U.S. offensive stabilized the front roughly along the original border (38th parallel of latitude) of the divided Korea. The United States feared the war was just the first stage of a larger **World War III**, and thus pursued a thorough rearmament of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and of West **Germany** to resist a possible Soviet invasion of Western Europe.

Truman nominated General **Dwight D. Eisenhower** as NATO's first **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** to organize multinational defenses, while he dropped the “**Bomb on the Plaza**” at the 1950 New York NATO **Summit**, in which he pressed the **allies**’ for **Germany**’s full rearmament and membership in the **alliance**. When this issue was sidetracked by **France**’s Plevan Plan for a multinational **European army** inclusive of Germany, Truman kept up the pressure for high NATO conventional forces to resist the USSR. Stalin’s death in 1953 assuaged international fears of World War III, and new U.S. President Eisenhower threatened to use nuclear weapons against China if an armistice was not signed. On 27 July 1953, China forced North Korea to sign the armistice. North Korea still threatens South Korea and U.S. forces protect the mined **demilitarized zone (DMZ)**, while North Korea’s nuclear proliferation since the 1990s spurred both U.S.-led international negotiations and a **Missile Defense** system to deter and intercept potential small nuclear missile strikes.

KOSOVO. *See* KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE.

KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE (KFOR), NATO. Until 1989, **Kosovo** was an autonomous southern province within the Communist Federation of **Yugoslavia**, with a predominant ethnic Albanian Muslim population (90 percent) in contrast to the rest of the country’s Slavic and Orthodox Christian majority. A few years after Yugoslav dictator Josip Broz Tito died (1980), Serb leader Slobodan Milošević rose to power by stoking Serb nationalist feelings in rump Yugoslavia/**Serbia**, eliminating the region’s autonomy, and ruling it directly from Belgrade, despite opposition from all Kosovar Albanians. In 1998, tensions between ethnic Albanians and the Serb minority within Kosovo broke out into fighting between Serbian military and the secessionist insurgents of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), resulting in more than 1,500 Kosovar Albanians dead and 400,000 refugees, forced by the Serbs to leave Kosovo. Yugoslav authorities rejected international pressures to end the **humanitarian crisis**, which threatened to spread to other states in the **Balkans** and even the **European Union (EU)**. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** intervened militarily to stop **ethnic cleansing** in Kosovo, enabling hun-

dreds of thousands of Kosovar Albanian refugees to return home, and promoted security in neighboring **Albania** and **Macedonia**.

The **United Nations (UN)** Security Council called for a cease-fire and condemned the excessive use of **force** by Serb security forces and the Yugoslav army against Kosovar insurgents. On 13 October 1998, the deteriorating situation led NATO to threaten air strikes to bolster diplomatic efforts and force Milošević to withdraw forces from Kosovo, end violence, and allow refugees to return. Diplomatic pressure from NATO and the **United States** led Milošević to pledge compliance, which was monitored by two observer missions: the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM)** to observe the cease-fire, and NATO's air surveillance, supported by several non-NATO nations. To assist the OSCE, NATO also deployed in **Macedonia** a special military task force under NATO's **Supreme Allied Commander-Europe (SHAPE)** to handle emergency evacuation of KVM observers if renewed conflict put them at risk. Despite these steps, the situation in Kosovo flared up again in early 1999, after provocations from both sides and renewed excessive repression by the Serb Army.

The failure of diplomatic pressures by the Contact Group (the EU, **Great Britain, France, Russia**, and the United States) led NATO to threaten repeatedly between 13 October 1998 and 19 January 1999 to launch air strikes against both sides in the conflict, forcing them to accept international negotiations at Rambouillet (6–23 February 1999) and Paris (15–18 March). However, only the Kosovar Albanian delegation signed the peace agreement, while the Serbian delegation broke off talks. In March 1999, the situation escalated again, as Serb military and police with heavy reinforcements launched a massive military operation against ethnic Kosovar Albanians, violating the October 1998 agreement and forcing hundreds of thousands to flee. On 20 March 1999, the Kosovo Verification Mission withdrew, and U.S. Ambassador Richard Holbrooke failed to persuade Milošević to stop the attacks. On 23 March, NATO **Secretary-General Javier Solana** and the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)** instructed **Supreme Allied Commander-Europe (SACEUR)** General **Wesley K. Clark** to launch **Operation Allied Force**, both a bombing campaign and allied ground forces, to stop local combat, force the withdrawal from Kosovo of Yugoslav forces, occupy Kosovo with a

NATO international **peace-enforcement** force, return all refugees, help aid organizations, and develop a political accord for Kosovo based on the Rambouillet Accords and UN Charter.

Following a 77-day bombing campaign, a NATO–Yugoslav accord was signed on 9–10 June, ending NATO’s air operations, while under **UN Charter Chapter VII**, the Security Council decided that the political solution to the crisis would be to adopt the 6 May principles put forth by the **G-7** industrialized powers and Russia (**G-8**). In 12–20 June 1999, NATO’s Kosovo Stabilisation Force (KFOR) occupied Kosovo and Serb forces left. A semipermanent UN “interim” administration was established under the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). KFOR comprised 50,000 peacekeepers, with 40,000 on the ground in five multinational brigades from all 19 NATO members and 20 non-NATO countries under unified **command**, among them 16 **partners**, including **Switzerland** and an unwelcome Russian contingent of 3,200 men, who broke off from their Bosnian **base** to try to occupy the Pristina Airport in Kosovo before NATO reached it and contained the Russians by integrating them into KFOR. KFOR sought to create a secure environment in which all Kosovars, regardless of ethnic origins, could live in peace and rebuild their homes and a peaceful and democratic society, to stabilize the southeastern Balkans as a whole. NATO troops in Kosovo, **Albania**, and Macedonia built refugee camps and emergency feeding stations, moved many hundreds of tons of humanitarian aid, and supported the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

In early April 1999, the UNHCR estimated that Yugoslavia’s ethnic cleansing of Kosovo had resulted in 226,000 refugees in Albania, 125,000 in Macedonia, and 33,000 in Montenegro. By the end of May 1999, over 430,000 refugees had entered Macedonia, more than 230,000 were in Albania, there were 64,000 in Montenegro—also used as a transit area to **Bosnia** and the **West**—21,500 were in Bosnia, and more than 61,000 had evacuated to other countries, mostly **Germany**. An estimated 1.5 million people (90 percent of the population of Kosovo), had been expelled and some 580,000 people left homeless. Approximately 5,000 Kosovar men were executed; the **International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** reported that several hundred mass graves have been identified in Kosovo and more than 4,000 bodies exhumed.

Assistance by NATO forces to refugees included equipment and building camps for 50,000 refugees in Albania; expanding camps in Macedonia; and flying in more than 4,666 tons of food and water, 4,325 tons of goods, 2,624 tons of tents, and 1,600 tons of medical supplies by the end of May 1999. In the aftermath of the Kosovo conflict, the most urgent tasks for NATO were the return of Kosovar Albanian refugees and protection of Kosovar Serbs from retribution. KFOR's pooling of NATO, Russia, **Ukrainian**, and many non-NATO forces to achieve these goals owed much to the experience gained in the deployment of NATO's **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** and **Partnership for Peace**. The Kosovo conflict also prompted the establishment of stronger NATO–EU cooperation on the **European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (ESDI/P)** by building up EU capabilities for **crisis management** and **peacekeeping** in future conflicts where NATO as a whole might not be involved. In 2003, ESDI/P allowed EU peacekeepers to replace NATO in Macedonia and by December 2004 in Bosnia with the **European Implementation Force (EUFOR)**, but tensions in Kosovo prevented replacing KFOR, even after the UN finally granted independence to Kosovo in spring 2008. *See also* GREATER ALBANIA; GREATER SERBIA.

KOSOVO VERIFICATION MISSION (KVM), OSCE. *See* KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE.

KOSOVO WAR (1999). *See* KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE.

KRAJINA. *See* CROATIA; UN PROTECTED AREAS.

KYRGYZ REPUBLIC/KYRGYZSTAN, CIS, NATO PARTNER.

Landlocked, mountainous Central Asian republic and former Soviet state, with an area of 198,500 square kilometers, bordering China, **Kazakhstan**, **Tajikistan**, and **Uzbekistan**. The capital is Bishkek. It has a mixed Turkic/Slavic multi-ethnic population of 5,080,000 (64.9 percent Kyrgyz, 13.8 percent Uzbeki, 12.5 percent Russian; 1 percent Ukrainian, 1 percent Uygur, and 6.8 percent other), of various religions (75 percent Muslim, 20 percent Russian Orthodox, and 5 percent other), speaking Russian and Kyrgyz.

In the wake of Genghis Khan's Mongol Empire, mixed Turkish/Mongol nomadic tribes migrated into and settled Central Asia (Western Turkestan) in the 13th century. They later became Muslim, but were rarely united. Western Turkestan was conquered by Czarist **Russia** in the 1700s–1800s; under the USSR in 1936 it was split into five related Soviet Republics. Russian settlers and deported nationalities came to the area during the 1800s–1900s, with larger influxes in the 1950s–1970s. During the Cold War (1946–1990), Kyrgyzstan and neighboring Soviet Central Asian states were the vital logistical rear for the **Red Army** on the long Sino–Russian **front** (1960s–1990) and in the First Afghan War (1979–1989). The sudden collapse of the USSR in December 1991 and Kyrgyzstan's independence (31 August 1991) forced much of the Russian-Slavic population to emigrate. In the early 1990s, the **United States** enforced Kyrgyzi compliance with the U.S.–Soviet 1987 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty** to prevent any future **nuclear** proliferation. Kyrgyzstan contained some Soviet defense industries and test ranges, with the resulting severe industrial pollution.

Lacking major energy or natural resources, Kyrgyzstan's domestic and foreign goals are economic development; integration in world markets; desalinization; fighting Islamic **terrorism** in the multi-ethnic Fergana Valley; and political-military and economic relations with neighboring states and global powers. Like other former Soviet states, Kyrgyzstan's nationalist dictatorship had very close political-military and economic ties with Russia, and it joined the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** in 1992. It also joined the **United Nations (UN)** and the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** and has been a **partner** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** since 1992 in the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC–C)** and since 1994 **Partnership for Peace**, providing a logistic NATO **base** for the U.S.–NATO Second Afghan War (2001–2002). Kyrgyzstan joined the Russo–Chinese **Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO/Shanghai-5/6)** in 2001, along with Kazakhstan, **Tajikistan**, and Uzbekistan. Since its 2005 prodemocratic “Orange” revolution in 2005, Kyrgyzstan has expanded democracy and closed its main NATO base, but it still provides logistics support.

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LAND MINES. *See* ANTIPERSONNEL MINES.

LATVIA (LATVIJA), NATO-EU. Small former Soviet state, and one of the three Baltic states, with an area of 64,589 square kilometers, bordering **Belarus**, **Estonia**, **Lithuania**, **Russia**, and the Baltic Sea and facing **Sweden**. The capital is Riga. It is a Christian country (60 percent Lutheran, 3.5 percent Catholic, and 35.7 percent Russian Orthodox), with a mixed population of 2,310,000 (57.7 percent Latvian, 29.6 percent Russian, 4.1 percent Belorussian, 2.7 percent Ukrainian, 2.5 percent Polish, 1.4 percent Lithuanian, and 2 percent other).

Founded in the Middle Ages as a border between the Christianizing military religious order of the Teutonic Knights from Prussia and the still-barbarian Russians, Latvia and the other Baltic states were heavily colonized by Germanic culture. In the 1400s–1500s, the area was split between the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom and part of **Denmark**. In the 1500s–1600s, Latvia was converted to Lutheranism and annexed to Sweden along with the other Baltic states. In the 1690s, it was conquered by Russia's Czar Peter the Great after the collapse of Sweden's invasion of Russia. As a European province, it remained part of Czarist Russia until **World War I** (1914–1918), when it was conquered by **Germany** (1915–1916) and then made independent in February–March 1918 as a “**neutral**” state. Latvia and the other Baltic states were first annexed by the USSR in 1940 after the secret partition of Eastern Europe under the 1939 Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact between the USSR and Nazi Germany, with consequent deportation of their intelligentsia to Soviet concentration camps in Siberia. Then Latvia was conquered by Nazi Germany during its 1941–1944 invasion of the USSR, which created a local pro-Nazi province annexed with other Baltic states to Germany (“**Balticum**”) and exterminated the large local German Jewish minority. Latvia and the other Baltic states were reannexed by the USSR in 1944–1945, which expelled the large German minority and deported large parts of Latvia's population to Siberia, resettling depopulated areas with Russian-Ukrainian migrants.

During the Cold War (1946–1990), the **United States** and NATO refused to recognize the Soviet reannexation of the Baltic states and supported anticommunist resistance groups and spies in that region. Following Lithuania's lead in 1990–1991, Latvia and the other Baltic states regained their independence in August–September 1991 during the slow disintegration of the USSR. Although the last Russian troops left in 1994, the status of the Russian minority (36 percent of the population) remains a source of friction and interference by Moscow. As “European” parliamentary democracies, all Baltic states restructured their economies for full integration into Western European institutions, joining the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** between 1976 and 1991, the **United Nations (UN)** in 1992, and the **Partnership for Peace** as a partner of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1994. In 2002–2004, Latvia finally joined NATO as an ally in the **second enlargement**, and the **European Union (EU)**.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS (1919–1945). The League of Nations was created by the Treaty of Versailles (1919) and established on 10 January 1920, with 65 members, although its main creator, the **United States**, refused to join. As a universal organization, the League of Nations promoted world peace through **collective security**, **disarmament**, trade, and international law. Its headquarters were in Geneva, **Switzerland**. The Council of the League was the precursor of the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council, handling security and economic **sanctions** against violators, and its Assembly was later mirrored by the UN General Assembly. However, the League of Nations was a weak organization, unable to prevent Japan from attacking China twice (1931–1933 and 1937–1945), and only used sanctions against Fascist **Italy** during the Italian–Ethiopian War (1935–1936), without preventing Italy's victory. Totally irrelevant thereafter, it could not prevent **World War II** (1939–1945), and in 1945 it was absorbed by the UN. *See also* KELLOGG–BRIAND PACT.

“LEFT OUTS.” *See* NATO ENLARGEMENT, FIRST TRANCHE; NATO ENLARGEMENT, SECOND TRANCHE; NATO ENLARGEMENT, THIRD AND FOURTH TRANCHES.

LEMNITZER, GENERAL LYMAN L., U.S. ARMY (1899–1988).

From 1963 to 1969, he was both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) fifth Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and **Commander-in-Chief (CINC)** of **U.S. European Command (EUCOM)**. From **NATO's Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)**, he led Allied Command Europe (ACE) to preserve transatlantic peace, security, and territorial integrity, while as CINC–EUCOM he commanded U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe, U.S. Air Forces in Europe, and U.S. Marines Forces–Europe to provide combat **forces** for NATO and U.S. missions in Western Europe.

Lyman L. Lemnitzer was born on 29 August 1899 in Honesdale, Pennsylvania. He graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1920 and became a professor there (1926–1930); graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1936; and was professor at the Coast Artillery School until 1939. During **World War II** (1939–1945), as a colonel, he served on the Pentagon's General Staff War Plans Division, then the Army Ground Forces Staff (1941). By June 1942, he was a brigadier general and Assistant Chief of Staff at Allied Forces Headquarters in London, under General **Dwight D. Eisenhower**. He helped plan the North African invasion. In February 1943, he fought in Sicily under General George Patton, by late June 1943 he was Deputy Chief of Staff of the Allied 15th Army Group, and he was promoted to major general in November 1944. After the war, he was deputy commandant of the National War College (1947–1949). He fought in the **Korean War** (1950–1953) and in August 1952 became a lieutenant general and U.S. Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Research. In 1955, he became general commander of the Far-East Command and **United Nations (UN)** Command for Japan and South Korea. As a four-star general, he succeeded General Maxwell D. Taylor as Army Chief of Staff (1957–1960) and chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1960–1962). In 1962, he approved Operation Northwoods, a plan to stage false **terrorist** acts to discredit Fidel Castro's Communist régime and invade Cuba. The plan was rejected.

In 1963, Lemnitzer succeeded U.S. Air Force General **Lauris L. Norstad** (1956–1962) as SACEUR and worked closely with both

NATO **Secretaries-General Dirk U. Stikker** (1961–1964) and **Manlio Brosio** (1964–1971) to finally adopt as **NATO strategy** the U.S. doctrine of “flexible response” (December 1967). “NATO’s Shield” (established in 1956 by SACEUR Norstad) defended Europe with forward-deployed conventional forces, supplemented by **nuclear** retaliatory forces (“NATO’s Sword”) in case of invasion by the Soviet Union (USSR). During Lemnitzer’s tenure as SACEUR, NATO also faced internal tensions: the first **Cyprus crisis** (1963–1964) and **France’s** withdrawal of its forces from NATO (1966), which nearly destroyed the **alliance**. SHAPE, ACE, and other ACE headquarters had to leave France by April 1967. Instead of collapsing as de Gaulle had hoped, NATO quickly relocated headquarters, forces, and logistics.

Lemnitzer was succeeded by U.S. Army General **Andrew J. Goodpaster** (1969–1974) and retired from the army in July 1969. He died on 12 November 1988.

LINKAGE(S). *See* KISSINGER, HENRY A.

LISBON DECISIONS (25 February 1952), NATO. The **North Atlantic Council’s (NAC)** Lisbon meeting established a Channel **Command** and made the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** a permanent organization with the “Lisbon Decisions” of February 1952. **Great Britain’s Lord Ismay** was appointed in March as both NATO’s first **Secretary-General** and vice chairman of the NAC.

LITHUANIA (LIETUVA), NATO–EU. Small former Soviet republic and one of the three Baltic states, with an area of 65,200 square kilometers, bordering **Belarus, Latvia, Russia,** and the Baltic Sea and facing **Sweden.** The capital is Vilna/Vilnius. It is a Christian country (Catholic, Lutheran, Russian Orthodox, and Protestant), with a mixed population of 3,610,000 (80.7 percent Lithuanian, 8.5 percent Russian, 7 percent Polish, 1.5 percent Belorussian, and 2 percent other).

Founded in the Middle Ages as a border between the Christianizing military religious order of the Teutonic Knights from Prussia and the still barbarian Russians, Lithuania and other Baltic states (**Latvia, Estonia**) were heavily Germanized. In the 1400s–1500s, Lithuania was part of the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom, and in the 1500s–1600s

it became Lutheran and was annexed to Sweden with the other Baltic states. In the 1690s, the Baltics were conquered by Russia under Czar Peter the Great, following the collapse of Sweden's invasion of Russia. Lithuania remained a European province of Czarist Russia until **World War I** (1914–1918), when it was conquered by **Germany** (1915–1916). It became independent in 16 February 1918. After a brief period between the two World Wars as a “**neutral**” state, Lithuania and the other Baltic states were annexed by the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1940 after the secret partition of Eastern Europe under the 1939 Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact between the USSR and Nazi Germany, with consequent deportation of its intelligentsia and officers to Soviet concentration camps in Siberia. It was conquered by Nazi Germany during its 1941–1944 invasion of the USSR, which created a local pro-Nazi province and annexed it, along with the other Baltic states to Germany (“Balticum”), and exterminated the large local German Jewish minority. Lithuania and the other Baltic states were reannexed by the USSR in 1944–1945, which expelled the substantial German minority and deported segments of Lithuania's population to Siberia, then colonized Lithuania with Russian-Ukrainian migrants. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the **United States** and NATO refused to recognize the Soviet reannexation of the Baltic states, and supported anticommunist resistance groups and spies.

Lithuania's struggles for independence in 1990–1991 against Soviet repression sparked the symbolic 11 March 1990 declaration of independence, the first of the Soviet republics to dare to do this, but the USSR did not allow Lithuania to secede until September 1991 after the abortive August coup in Moscow. The other Baltic states also gained independence in September 1991 during the slow disintegration of the USSR. Although the last Russian troops left in 1993, the status of the Russian minority (10 percent) remains a source of friction with Moscow. As “Western” and “European” states, all Baltic states restructured their economy for full integration into West European institutions. Between 1976 and 1991, they joined the **Conference/ Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)**, as a **partner** in 1992, Lithuania joined the **United Nations (UN)**, and in 1994 the Partnership **for Peace** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. In 2002–2004, Lithuania finally joined NATO as an ally in the second enlargement and the **European Union (EU)** between 2002 and 2004.

LONDON DECLARATION ON A TRANSFORMED NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE (1990), NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) Summit** in London in July 1990 faced dramatic geopolitical changes in Eastern Europe following the collapse of the Soviet Union's (USSR) domination over its **satellites** in fall 1989. NATO's "London Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic alliance" (5 July 1990) restated that the Cold War had ended and that NATO no longer considered the USSR and Eastern Europe enemies. It also promoted talks on short-range nuclear forces (SNF) and official East–West political-military regional cooperation, including the USSR, Eastern Europe, and "**neutrals**" in NATO's new **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)**.

LONDON GUIDELINES (1991). *See* ARMS SALES/TRADE.

LONDON REPORT (1981), EC. *See* EUROPEAN POLITICAL CO-OPERATION.

LONDON SUPPLIERS GROUP. *See* NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS GROUP.

LUNS, JOSEPH M. A. H. (1911–2002). Born on 28 August 1911 in Rotterdam, **Netherlands**, he was the second Dutchman to serve (October 1971 to May 1984) and was the fifth and longest-serving **Secretary-General** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and chairman of the **North Atlantic Council**, succeeding **Manlio Brosio** (1964–1971) of **Italy**.

Luns received a law degree from the University of Leyden and a degree in economics from the London School of Economics in the 1930s. He was a diplomat in the Dutch Foreign Affairs Ministry and joined the Dutch **government in exile** in London (1939–1945); was ambassador to **Great Britain** (1945–1949) and to the **United Nations (UN)** in New York (1949–1952); was a parliamentarian for the Catholic People's Party (1952–1971); was minister of foreign affairs five times, for 19 years (1952–1971); and was the signer for the Netherlands of the 1957 Treaty of Rome, which created the **European Community (EC)**.

As NATO's Secretary-General, Luns worked closely with three NATO **Supreme Allied Commanders–Europe (SACEUR)**: U.S. Generals **Andrew J. Goodpaster** (1969–1974), **Alexander M. Haig Jr.** (1974–1979), and **Bernard W. Rogers** (1979–1987). Under their watch, the **alliance** focused on East–West **détente**, the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaties (SALT I and II, 1972, 1979), and the failed decade-long **arms control** talks over NATO–**Warsaw Pact** conventional **forces (Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions)**. At the same time, Luns's ardent Atlanticism and legendary ability for interpersonal diplomacy steered NATO through transatlantic tensions over the Second Vietnam War (1964–1975); the Arab–Israeli Yom Kippur War and First Oil Shock (1973); and the Greek–Turkish clash over **Cyprus** and **Greece's** temporary withdrawal of forces from NATO (1974). Even more difficult was the controversial, vital modernization in 1977–1983 of NATO's theater nuclear forces (INFs) in Europe to counter the USSR's massive growth of conventional and theater nuclear capabilities in Eastern Europe (the **Euromissile Crisis**). Luns urged Europeans to support NATO's INF “**zero option**” as the only solution to the **crisis**, but also publicly criticized the **United States** for creating the neutron bomb and hanging back on arms control, **standardization**, and reciprocal burden-sharing contracts (Congress and the Pentagon were unwilling to buy European weapons systems).

Luns was succeeded at NATO by **Lord Carrington** (1984–1988) of Great Britain. He visited NATO weekly for 20 years and became legendary for schmoozing diplomats. He died on 17 July 2002 at 90. *See also* DE HOOP SCHEFFER, J. G.; STIKKER, DIRK U.

LUXEMBOURG/LUXEMBURG, NATO-EU. Constitutional Grand Duchy and parliamentary democracy, Luxembourg is the smallest state in Europe, with an area of 2,586 square kilometers, bordering **Belgium, France, and Germany**. The capital is Luxembourg. It is a Christian country (87 percent Catholic and 13 percent Protestant), with a population of 463,000 of German extraction plus immigrant minorities (Portuguese, Italians, Slavs, and other Europeans).

Founded in AD 963 as part of the Holy Roman Empire, Luxembourg became a Grand Duchy in 1815 in a personal union with the

Netherlands, which at the time also included Belgium. It lost half of its territory to Belgium in 1839, achieving full independence only in 1867, and became a “**neutral**” state to prevent future annexation by Prussia and a consequent German–French war. Annexed by Germany during both **World War I** (1914–1918) and **World War II** (1939–1945), Luxembourg abandoned neutrality, joining the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945. It joined the Benelux Customs Union in 1948, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1949, the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)** between 1950 and 1957, and the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** in 1976.

LUXEMBOURG GROUP, EU. The **European Union’s (EU)** Luxembourg Summit (December 1997) agreed on a fourth **enlargement** by 2002–2007 for former Communist Eastern European and Baltic states. The Luxembourg Group is comprised of the first six, better-prepared **aspirants** (or candidates) (**Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia**) to NATO, which started membership talks on 30 March 1998. All Eastern European and Baltic aspirants to the EU (except Turkey) signed “**Europe Agreements**” incorporating the political-economic “**Copenhagen Criteria**” and the 31 chapters of the EU’s *Acquis Communautaire*. Europe’s **post–Cold War** (1990–present) unification was finally completed with parallel enlargements of the EU and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1997–2007. The EU Copenhagen Summit (December 2002) accepted in 2002–2004 the 10 best EU aspirants: the entire Luxembourg Group and most **Helsinki Group** aspirants (**Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, and Slovakia**), plus **Bulgaria and Romania** in 2007.

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MACARTHUR, GENERAL DOUGLAS, U.S. ARMY. *See* ACHE-SON, DEAN; KOREAN WAR; RIDGWAY, MATTHEW B.; TRUMAN, HARRY S.

MACEDONIA (MAKEDONIJA), NATO PARTNER. Mountainous democratic republic in the **Balkans**, formerly part of Yugoslavia,

with an area of 25,333 square kilometers, bordering **Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia**. The capital is Skopje. Despite its small size, Macedonia controls the major north–south Salonika transit route of the Balkans. A mostly Slavic Christian Orthodox country (70 percent Orthodox, 29 percent Muslim, and 1 percent other), it has a population of 2,075,000 (64.2 percent Macedonian, 25.2 percent Albanians, 3.8 percent Turkish, and 6.8 percent other).

Historically Macedonia was a Hellenized northern kingdom that unified Greece and under Alexander the Great conquered the Persian Empire. Later conquered by the Roman Empire, it then became part of the Byzantine Empire, while being colonized in the northern part by Slavic tribes since the 7th century. It was conquered by the Ottoman Empire in the 1350s, and in the 1877 Russian–Turkish War was briefly liberated from Turkish oppression, only to be annexed with Albania to a Greater Bulgaria. The Berlin Congress (1878) humbled Russia by returning Macedonia to **Turkey**. During the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), Slavic northern Macedonia was liberated by Serbia, which held onto it despite promising to turn it over to Bulgaria, while Greece got southern, Greek-inhabited Macedonia with the strategic port of Salonika/Thessaloniki. Rivalry between the Serb and Bulgar states led them into different **alliances** during **World War I** (1914–1918), Serbia allying with the **Entente** and Bulgaria with the German-led Central Powers, which conquered Macedonia and Serbia in 1915, to be defeated in turn by the Allies in 1918. During the interwar years (1919–1939), the Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes were merged in a **joint** kingdom under Serbia, renamed **Yugoslavia** in 1929, allied with **France** and a member of the Little Entente (with **Czechoslovakia** and **Romania**). In **World War II** (1939–1945), Bulgaria joined the **Axis** and in 1941, with Nazi **Germany**, Fascist **Italy, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia**, invaded and dismembered Yugoslavia, with Macedonia going to Bulgaria without its western Albanian lands, which were annexed with **Kosovo** to Italy's **Greater Albania**. In 1944, Communist Yugoslav partisans under Marshal Broz Tito reunited Yugoslavia as a federal communist state, tied to the Soviet Union (USSR) until the 1948 **Yugo–Soviet split**.

The collapse of Soviet/**Warsaw Pact** control of Eastern Europe in 1990–1991 led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia when **Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia**, dissatisfied with the majority Serbs' monopoly on power, seceded (1991–1992). International

recognition of Macedonia's independence was delayed by Greece's trade blockade (1991–1995) protesting Skopje's use of the country's Hellenic name and symbols, which were already being used by Greece's Macedonian province. In the 1990s, international organization used the name of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), until Greece lifted its trade blockade and normalized bilateral relations in 1995. Macedonia has since integrated into the **West** by joining the **United Nations (UN)** and the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** in 1993, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** and **Partnership for Peace** in 1993–1995 as a partner, and in the 2000s the **European Union (EU) Stability Pact** for the Balkans. Macedonia cooperates in **NATO peacekeeping** and is an **aspirant**, but was rejected in NATO's first **enlargement** (1997–1999) as unstable and economically and militarily weak, relying for admission on its geostrategic position. NATO's **membership action plan (MAP)** civil and military reforms were adopted in 1999, and Macedonia provided logistical support for NATO during the 1999 Kosovo War, but the country remained too politically unstable and divided in a budding civil war (2001) to join either NATO's second **enlargement** or the **European Union (EU)** in 2002–2004. Macedonia's ethnic Albanians were galvanized into civil war in early 2001, following the example of Kosovo's Albanian insurgents. However, under joint pressure by NATO, OSCE, and EU, both Macedonian Slavs and rebel Albanians stopped fighting and signed the **Skopje Peace Accord** (13 August 2001), ensuring reforms and political participation of the excluded Albanian minority. NATO disarmed ethnic Albanian insurgents through **Operation Essential Harvest** (27 August–26 September 2001), **Task Force/Operation Amber Fox** (26 September 2001–16 December 2002), and **Operation Allied Harmony** (16 December 2002–31 March 2003). Nevertheless, at the April 2008 Bucharest NATO **Summit**, Greece surprisingly **vetoed** Macedonia's entry in NATO as an ally, over the old name dispute. *See also* EUROPEAN FORCE–MACEDONIA.

MALTA, EU, NATO PARTNER. Geostrategically important archipelago of only three inhabited islands (Malta, Gozo/Ghawdex, and Comino/Kemmuna), at the center of the Mediterranean's trade

routes, south of Sicily and facing **Italy, Libya, and Tunisia**, with an area of 316 square kilometers. The capital is Valletta. It is a Christian Catholic country (2 percent other) with a population of 400,000, which speaks English and Maltese.

Colonized in antiquity by Carthage, then by Rome, in the Middle Ages Malta was conquered by Muslim Arabs. Liberated by the Knights of St. John and Rhodes (the Knights of Malta) it became a powerful Christian **base** against Muslim Saracene pirates. During the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815), Napoleon conquered Malta during the Egyptian Campaign (1798–1801), only to lose it to **Great Britain**, which rejected **joint** rule with Czarist **Russia** and annexed it until 21 September 1964. Malta and **Gibraltar** were the main naval bases for the British Mediterranean Fleet from the 1800s. In 1881, Italy's plans to annex Tunisia south of Sicily and Malta were preempted by France seizing Tunisia, while Great Britain, which traditionally favored Italy against France, now sided with Paris to prevent the same power (Italy) from controlling both sides of the Sicilian Channel and so threaten Malta, on which Rome also had designs. During **World War I** (1914–1918), the **Allies** feared the locally superior Triple Alliance navies of Italy, **Austria-Hungary**, and **Germany**, and their possible conquest of Malta, but Italy's **neutrality** in 1914–1915 and its switch to the Allies' side shifted naval warfare to the Adriatic and Aegean Seas, and **Turkish Straits**. During **World War II** (1939–1945), Malta was isolated and bombed by Fascist Italy, which wanted to annex it, but **Axis** plans to conquer it were aborted, leaving Malta as a vital British airbase raiding Axis convoys to North Africa. During the Cold War (1946–1990), Malta was an air and naval base for the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** for antisubmarine warfare (ASW) and Western convoy protection against the Soviet Union (USSR) in case of **World War III**, but after its independence in 1964, as a **Commonwealth** member its NATO military role waned, and in 1975 Great Britain disbanded the Mediterranean Fleet and left Malta.

Thereafter, Libyan and Soviet attempts to **control** Malta, which the United States and NATO regarded with indifference, forced Italy to intervene in 1977, officially guaranteeing Malta's "**neutrality**" and defense against all threats. In 1985, Malta became a freight transshipment and tourist-financial center. As a Western state, Malta

joined the **United Nations (UN)** in 1964, the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** in 1975, NATO's **Partnership for Peace/Mediterranean Dialogue** in 1994 as a **partner**, and the **European Union (EU)** in 2002–2004.

MANAGEMENT OF CIVIL RESOURCES, EU. Within the context of the **European Union's (EU) civil–military cooperation (EU CIMIC)** to coordinate support for EU missions between military components of EU-led **crisis-management** operations (CMO) and non-EU external civil actors, management of civil resources is an associated EU CIMIC activity for coordination in theater to assess available civil resources, make them available, and ensure balanced resources from the EU military **force**, the local population, and external non-EU civil actors. Even in the absence of **humanitarian crises**, the introduction of a large military force can reduce the available civil resources and cause hardship among civilians. EU CIMIC thoroughly assesses available civil resources and supports civil authorities in managing them to meet both civil and military needs. In extreme cases, it may be necessary to ration critical scarce local commodities, with EU CIMIC monitoring supply distribution. *See also* NATO CIVIL–MILITARY COOPERATION.

MANDATES. *See* ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES/MANDATES; UNITED NATIONS.

MARRI CENTRE, EU. *See* MIGRATION, ASYLUM AND REFUGEES REGIONAL INITIATIVE—STABILITY PACT.

MARSHALL, GENERAL GEORGE C., U.S. ARMY. *See* ACHE-SON, DEAN; KOREAN WAR; TRUMAN, HARRY S.

MARSHALL PLAN (1947). *See* TRUMAN, HARRY S.

MEDITERRANEAN COOPERATION GROUP. *See* MEDITERRANEAN DIALOGUE.

MEDITERRANEAN DIALOGUE (MDG), NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** Mediterranean Dialogue (or

Mediterranean Cooperation Group) is an integral part of its cooperative approach to security in the whole of Europe, which is closely linked to that of the Mediterranean region. Since 1994 NATO has held a continuing security dialogue with seven Mediterranean countries: Algeria (joined in 2000), Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia. Libya's radical anti-Western and anti-Israeli policies have softened since the 2003 **Second Gulf War**. Since the 1999 Washington **Summit**, the Mediterranean Dialogue has enhanced regional stability and bilateral political-military cooperation with NATO. NATO's 2004 Istanbul and 2006 Riga Summits made Mediterranean Dialogue members full **partners** within the **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**, with Israel as holding the highest levels of training and cooperation.

MEDITERRANEAN FLEET. *See* MALTA; TURKISH STRAITS.

MEMBERSHIP ACTION PLANS (MAPS), NATO. Following criticism of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** first **enlargement** in 1995–1999, NATO's Washington **Summit** (April 1999) approved MAPs to streamline and assist all new **aspirant partners** in preparing for NATO's **second enlargement** after 2002. The MAPs provide a comprehensive program of political-military reforms in five areas: political and economic, defense, resources, security, and legal issues. NATO stressed that MAPs are not a list of membership criteria and that aspirants seeking to join NATO must actively participate in the **Partnership for Peace (PfP)** and **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**. All NATO membership decisions are made on a case-by-case basis, and based primarily on defense, political, and economic criteria.

MÉRY DOCTRINE, FRANCE. A security policy under **French** President Valéry Giscard d'Éstaing in 1975 stressing that in any **World War III**, French security would remain tied to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to defend West **Germany** and the **alliance**. *See also* FOURQUET DOCTRINE.

"MESSAGE FROM TURNBERRY" (1990), NATO. In June 1990, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** Foreign Ministers

Meeting in Scotland issued the exceptional “Message from Turnberry,” extending an offer of friendship and cooperation to the Soviet Union (USSR), **Warsaw Pact**, and “**neutral**” European states. This first official recognition of the end of the Cold War (1946–1990) followed the reduction of NATO–**Warsaw Pact** tensions between 1985 and 1990, successful East–West **nuclear** and conventional **arms control** accords, and the democratic **1989 Eastern European Revolutions**, which destroyed Soviet-controlled Communist dictatorships. The “Message from Turnberry” was followed by the July 1990 London **NATO Summit**, which declared the USSR and Warsaw Pact no longer “enemies” of the West and invited them and “neutrals” into a permanent diplomatic liaison with NATO through the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)**, on the basis of mutual **nonaggression**, territorial integrity, political independence, the **United Nations (UN) Charter**, and the **Helsinki Final Act**. *See also* EURO-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHP COUNCIL.

MIDDLE EAST TREATY ORGANIZATION (METO, 1954). *See* CENTRAL TREATY ORGANIZATION.

MIGRATION, ASYLUM AND REFUGEES REGIONAL INITIATIVE—STABILITY PACT (MARRI), EU. Regional initiative in the Western **Balkans** by the **European Union (EU) Stability Pact**, related to asylum, legal migration, illegal migration, border controls, visas, and return and resettlement in 2000–2003 of refugees/displaced persons in the former Yugoslav states after its five civil wars.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCIES (MAHE), NATO. One of various associated activities of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) civil–military cooperation (NATO CIMIC)**, whose main focus on cooperation with local and international civilian bodies is balanced in practice by NATO **peacekeeping** assistance to local civilian bodies. Within this subsidiary role, military assistance in **humanitarian** emergencies provides national and international disaster relief with national or NATO-led multinational **forces**, carrying out humanitarian emergency tasks for limited periods under the auspices of national or international civilian authorities. *See also* EU CIVIL–MILITARY COOPERATION.

MILITARY COMMITTEE, NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** Military Committee gives advice to NATO's high-level civil decision-making bodies. It meets three times yearly at the Chiefs of Staff (CHODS) level (January, May, September).

MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE AT NATO. A document issued every two years by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** defense ministers for defense and **force** planning guidance, according to existing and new areas of concern. NATO's Ministerial Guidances also help members fine tune their national defense planning to meet both **alliance collective defense** needs and "non-Article V" "out-of-area" **peacekeeping**. It provides guidance on cooperation with other organizations, such as the **Western European Union (WEU)** and **European Union (EU)**, on EU-led operations using NATO assets.

"MIRV BUS." *See* MULTIPLE INDEPENDENT REENTRY VEHICLES.

"MISSILES GAP" (1957–1961). *See* KENNEDY, JOHN F.

MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME (MTCR). Created in 1987 by the **G-7** (now **G-8**) **Summits**, the multilateral **non-proliferation** Missile Technology Control Regime stops exports of equipment and technology for ballistic missiles and unmanned aircraft with a 500-kilometer range by Third World states with **nuclear-capable** missile programs.

MISSION. Technical military term for a clear, concise statement of the task of a **command** and its purpose. Alternatively also indicates aircraft sent to accomplish a task.

MOLDOVA (formerly BESSARABIA), CIS, NATO PARTNER. Republic and former Soviet state in Europe's **Balkans** with an area of 33,843 square kilometers, bordering **Romania** and **Ukraine**. The capital is Chisinau. Moldova's seceding Russian-Ukrainian Transdniester/Transnistria **enclave** is under **Russia's** protection. Moldova is a Latin-Slavic Christian Orthodox country (98 percent Orthodox,

1.5 percent Jewish, 0.5 percent other) with a population of 4,447,000 (64.5 percent Moldovan/Romanian, 13.8 percent Ukrainian, 13 percent Russian, 2 percent Bulgarian, 1.5 percent Jewish, and 5.2 percent Gagauz Turk and others), who speak Romanian and Russian.

Moldova and **Romania** were colonized by the Roman Empire as part of the Dacia Province. After the empire's collapse, its Latin populations mixed with invading German and Slavic tribes. In the Middle Ages it became the Romanian principality of Moldavia. Muslim Turks conquered the region between the 1350s and 1500, making this region the northernmost province of the Ottoman Empire. In 1812, Russia annexed Moldova, which was at that time called Bessarabia. The autonomous principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were joined to form Romania on 9 May 1877, as an independent pro-Russian Christian state. Russia deflected Romanian ethnic claims to Bessarabia/Moldova by supporting its parallel claims on **Austria-Hungary's** Transylvania, with its mixed Romanian Hungarian population. During **World War I** (1914–1918), Romania joined the **Allies** in 1916, but it was immediately conquered by Germany and Austria-Hungary, along with Bessarabia, Ukraine, and part of Russia. Following the Allies' victory in 1918 and Russia's collapse, Romania annexed Bessarabia, North Buchovina, and Transylvania. During **World War II** (1939–1945), Romania's **Axis alliance** with Nazi **Germany** required that Hungarian Northern Transylvania rejoin **Hungary**, while Bessarabia and North Buchovina went to the Soviet Union (USSR) in the secret Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact (1939). But Nazi Germany's invasion of the USSR in June 1941 allowed Romania to reannex Bessarabia and North Buchovina, plus the Prut area of Ukraine.

In 1944, the USSR pushed back the Axis **forces** and invaded Romania, making it a Communist **satellite** state in 1945–1948, while also reannexing North Buchovina to Ukraine and making Bessarabia the Soviet republic of Moldova by adding to it a sliver of Russian-Ukrainian lands across the old Dniester River border (now Transdniester/Transnistria). Moldova became independent on 27 August 1991 after the USSR collapsed, but as one of the poorest nations in Europe, its Communist government was forced by Russia to join the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**. Moreover, former Soviet/Russian **forces** in Moldova militarily supported the secession

as an independent state of Slav Transdnier/Transnistria, which is protected by the CIS's **Joint-Control Commission Peacekeeping Force** and Moldova Joint Force. Moldova joined the **United Nations (UN)** in 1992, the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** in 1993, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** and **Partnership for Peace** in 1993–1995 as a **partner**, and the **European Union (EU) Stability Pact** for the Balkans in the 2000s. Talks on ethnically merging with Romania are on hold.

MOLDOVA JOINT FORCE, CIS. *See* **JOINT-CONTROL COMMISSION PEACEKEEPING FORCE.**

MONNET, JEAN. *See* **EUROPEAN COMMUNITY; EUROPEAN DEFENCE COMMUNITY.**

MONTEBELLO DECISION (1983), NATO. Decision made at Montebello, **Canada** (27 October 1983), by **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** defense ministers in the **Nuclear Planning Group**, agreeing to withdraw an additional 1,400 **nuclear** warheads from Europe (1,000 “**nukes**” had previously been withdrawn in 1979). Neither action was reciprocated by the Soviet Union (USSR). *See also* **INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES.**

MONTENEGRO (CRNA GORA), EU PARTNER. *See* **SERBIA-MONTENEGRO.**

MULTILATERAL (NUCLEAR) FORCE (MLF), NATO. Proposed in 1962–1963 by U.S. President **John F. Kennedy**, the Multilateral Force (MLF) idea sought to both overcome the pressure of **French** President **Charles de Gaulle** for more influence in the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and serve as a way for the **United States** to control any proliferation of European **nuclear forces** outside NATO. Kennedy repeatedly called for an integrated “European Pillar” in NATO to balance U.S. supremacy and provide some European nuclear autonomy. The MLF envisaged autonomous multinational European nuclear crews on special ships or barges under NATO and U.S. **command**. These MLF proposals were shelved

by all sides during America's plunge into the Second Vietnam War (1964–1975). Only **Great Britain** subordinated its national nuclear weapons under NATO, but France refused to abandon its nuclear independence and related political leverage. The United States did not wish to share its political-military-nuclear leadership of NATO, while many Europeans feared that closer European defense integration could allow the United States to “decouple” its national security from NATO. After Kennedy's assassination in 1963, President **Lyndon Johnson** abandoned MLF, although NATO implemented the U.S.–**allied** principle of “dual keys” on nuclear weapons (U.S. control of its nuclear missiles but in consultation with the NATO–European host nation where the **bases** are—Great Britain, **Germany**, and **Italy**). *See also* FOUCHET PLANS; “GRAND DESIGN”; NATO “TRIUMVIRATE.”

MULTINATIONAL. Technical military term for activities, operations, training, and organizations in which elements/units of several nations participate. *See also* COMBINED JOINT TASK FORCES.

MULTINATIONAL FORCE AND OBSERVERS (MFO). Western multinational **peacekeeping force** not mandated by an international organization, with military inspectors created in 1980 to patrol Egypt's demilitarized Sinai peninsula. The MFO is headquartered in Rome, **Italy**, under a director general with his **force commander** and 31 military-civil observers, conducting reconnaissance and arms verification outside the **neutral** zone patrolled by MFO peacekeeping battalions in the Sinai at Sharm el-Sheih. These battalions control the international waterway of the Strait of Tiran and access to Israel's port of Eilat.

In 1954–1956, Egypt closed the Strait of Tiran and the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping, provoking the **Suez Canal War** (1956) and Israel's conquest of the Sinai and the canal. Thereafter, the **United Nations (UN)** deployed **United Nations Emergency Force I (UNEF I)** to replace Israeli **forces** with 52 UN peacekeepers at Sharm el-Sheikh and restore free international shipping. When Egypt forced UNEF I out of the Sinai and remilitarized the area in 1967, Israel unleashed the Six-Day War and again seized both the Sinai and Suez Canal, holding them until the early 1980s.

After the October 1973 Yom Kippur War, the UN deployed **United Nations Emergency Force II (UNEF II)**, which remained until the 1978 Camp David Accords between Israel and Egypt (mediated by U.S. President Jimmy **Carter**), were implemented. The agreement traded Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai for bilateral Israeli–Egyptian peace through a “land-for-peace” swap within a broader Arab–Israeli–Palestinian settlement. Because the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** refused to be directly involved at the time in an “out-of-area” peacekeeping mission to replace UNEF II, the **United States** created the MFO from its own U.S. Sinai Field Mission (SFM), originally deployed with UNEF II to man radar installations against surprise air strikes by either Egypt or Israel. MFO comprises 2,000 soldiers from Colombia, Fiji, and the United States, with three combat battalions in the neutral zone between Egypt and Israel, based in northern, central, and southern areas, while **Italy** provides naval patrols, and Australia and New Zealand provide air patrols.

The Camp David Accords divided the Sinai and western Israel into four zones. Zone A, in western Sinai, is an arms-limitation area, where Egypt may station only 230 tanks and 22,000 soldiers; Zone B, in the central Sinai, holds only four Egyptian infantry battalions; Zone C is the MFO's neutral zone along the eastern area of the Sinai and has no Egyptian forces; and Zone D is a very narrow area inside Israel across the border, where Israel has just four infantry battalions. Outside Zone D Israel has unlimited troops and weapons, and Egypt may post unlimited troops and weapons west of the Suez Canal. MFO maintains liaison with the UN Disengagement Observation Force (UNDOF), the **UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)**, and UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). Israel and Egypt evenly share MFO costs, and the United States has increased its economic aid to both countries to help them fund MFO. The MFO's only dark moment came in 1980 with the assassination of its U.S. director general in front of the MFO gates in Rome by the Brigade Rosse/Red Brigades (BR), an ultracommunist **terrorist** organization.

MULTINATIONAL FORCES I and II (MNF I and II). In August 1982, the **United States**, **France**, **Italy**, and **Great Britain** fielded MNF I as an ad hoc Western land and naval **peacekeeping** coalition similar to the U.S.-led **Multinational Force and Observers (MFO)**

in the Sinai to evacuate Yassir Arafat's encircled Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) **terrorists** trapped in Beirut, Lebanon, by the onslaught of Israel, which since June had swiftly retaliated against PLO attacks by invading and conquering half of that war-torn country. Israel destroyed all PLO **bases** and supported local Christian Falangist **forces** in a bid to gain the upper hand in the Lebanese Civil War (1975–1988) against PLO–Syrian–Sunni combined forces. The MNF I prevented a final Israeli–PLO clash inside Beirut, while sidestepping all other existing inefficient **peacekeeping** forces: the **Arab League's** Arab Deterrent Force (ADF) in Eastern Lebanon, the **United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)** in Southern Lebanon, and the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). MNF I operated without a UN mandate, relying on bilateral agreements between the Western contingent providers and Lebanon, with the external approval of the Arab League. MNF I deployed 800 U.S. Marines, 800 French troops, and 400 Italian soldiers to evacuate the PLO from Beirut, protect local PLO refugee camps, and deny access by their enemies—the Israeli military or Christian Falangist forces.

However, once MNF I withdrew from Beirut and relocated Arafat's PLO forces to Tunisia and other Arab states, where they were promptly disarmed, Beirut's infamous Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Chatila were attacked by local Christian Falangist forces after the assassination of a Lebanese Christian leader, massacring more than 500 Palestinian civilian refugees, only belatedly stopped by the Israeli occupation forces. This forced U.S. President **Ronald Reagan** to return peacekeepers to Lebanon with MNF II to protect the Palestinian camps with a **buffer zone**, while seeking to stabilize the local situation by helping Lebanon's powerless government regain **control** of the country. Because the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** was unwilling to be involved in such a controversial “out-of-area” peacekeeping mission, both MNF I and II were funded as U.S.-led Western coalitions without a UN mandate. The United States sent 1,400 Marines, France sent 1,500 troops, Italy sent 1,400 men, and Great Britain sent 80–300 troops with armored cars. However, MNF peacekeepers lacked a central headquarters for **command, control, and coordination (C³)**, and the four contingents operated autonomously under direct command from their own governments, with only field liaison officers and

diplomatic coordination. This damaged the credibility of MNF II, which was not seen as **neutral**, and undermined its effectiveness because four different **rules of engagement** were being used. The various Lebanese guerrilla formations left alone both the well-defended Italian **humanitarian** mission, seen as truly neutral in the local conflict, and the secluded British, but attacked the U.S., French, and Israeli forces for their support of the Christian-led Lebanese government. The United States reversed its restrictive rules of engagement with air and naval gunfire to support the Marines, but a series of devastating pro-Syrian Shia suicide truck bombings of U.S., French, and Israeli **bases** in 1983, plus two car bombings in one year of the U.S. embassy, killing the ambassador, forced the U.S. and French forces to withdraw by February–March 1984, followed by the English and Italians. Israel did not leave until 1986. The Lebanese civil war raged until 1988, and the Christians were defeated by pro-Syrian factions. *See also* FORCE MOBILE RESERVE.

MULTINATIONAL PROTECTION FORCE (MPF/FPM or OPERATION ALBA). For 40 years (1945–1985), **Albania's** Communist government, led by Enver Hoxha, secluded itself from the outside world: The **United States** and other **Western** nations were ideological-political enemies, while Albania feared that independent Communist **Yugoslavia** would annex it to the Albanian minorities in **Kosovo** and **Macedonia**. Yet Albania also had rocky relations with its protectors, shifting from the Soviet Union (USSR) (1945–1963) to Communist China (1963–1980s) after the Sino–Soviet split (1963), only to break with Beijing over the new U.S.–Chinese ties since the 1970s.

In 1990, six years after Hoxha's death, his iron-fisted Communist régime collapsed, in response to the collapse of Soviet-ruled Communist Eastern Europe in the **1989 Revolutions** and the disintegration of the USSR and Communism. The newly freed Albanians adopted democracy and a chaotic free market economy, while seeking to imitate the rest of Eastern Europe and integrate with the **West**. However, fraudulent pyramid investment schemes attracted most of the population with promises of easy high financial returns, and their collapse in 1996 precipitated national economic turmoil and political riots by early 1997, sparked by criminal gangs. By March 1997, the

army had disintegrated and armories were looted, while thousands of economic refugees flooded **Italy** and **Greece**, prompting Rome to organize a Western ad hoc **peacekeeping coalition** to stabilize Albania and protect **humanitarian** relief from the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** and **European Union (EU)**. However, the United States opposed deploying U.S. or **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** peacekeepers from the **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)**, and **Great Britain** and **Germany** vetoed Italy's attempts to use the **Western European Union (WEU)** as a mandating organization for a **Petersberg** humanitarian mission.

Italy managed to secure a **United Nations (UN)** Security Council mandate for the 7,000-strong MPF (*Forza di Protezione Multinazionale*) to Albania with EU–OSCE endorsements (Operation Alba). This was the first self-funded, all-European peacekeeping mission. It deployed in March 1997 with mostly Italian and Greek **forces** and U.S. logistical assistance, coordinated by the MPF/FMP Ad Hoc Political Steering Committee, overseeing in April–August 1997 the eight-country peacekeepers, with 3,780 men from Italy, 1,000 from **France**, 800 from Greece, 400 from **Romania**, and the rest from **Austria**, **Denmark**, **Spain**, and **Turkey**. Part of Italy's forces and 200 Greek troops remained in Albania under bilateral accords with Tirana to reorganize its military, until in 1999 rump Yugoslavia's repression of Kosovar Albanians precipitated open conflict with NATO, forcing it to expand its presence in Albania by integrating MPF peacekeepers as the Albania Force (AFOR) under NATO's new **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)**.

MULTIPLE INDEPENDENT REENTRY VEHICLES (MIRVs).

Military-strategic term, used since the 1970s, for the transformation of traditional one-warhead **nuclear** missiles into 3 to 14 multiple independent reentry vehicles: multiple-headed ballistic missiles with miniaturized warheads, on a “MIRV bus” inside the empty nose cone. Once a “MIRVed” ballistic missile is launched on a ballistic trajectory into outer space, it sheds its spent boosters and empty nose cone, then fires each independently calibrated miniaturized warhead separately, thanks to miniaturized targeting, range finding, radar, and electronic guidance systems. MIRVed missiles can be either theater

nuclear intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) as part of **intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)** with 2 to 3 warheads and a 500- to 5,500-kilometer range, or strategic nuclear intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), with 6 to 12 warheads each, or even **submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs)**, with 12 to 14 warheads each, both with a 9,000-kilometer range.

The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty II (START II, 1993) between the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR) cut each arsenal to 3,500 strategic warheads by “de-MIRVing” U.S.–Soviet land-based ICBMs (down to one warhead per U.S. ICBM and three warheads in larger Soviet ICBMs), also halving SLBMs warheads from 14 to 8 per “de-MIRVed” missile. *See also* ASSURED DESTRUCTION.

MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS (MBFR, 1970s). The failed, decade-long, conventional **arms control** talks in the 1970s between the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **Warsaw Pact** designed to stabilize their **forces** and equipments in Europe and redress the Soviet Union’s (USSR) and Warsaw Pact’s superiority of forces. In the 1950s–1960s, NATO’s peacetime imbalance in conventional forces compared to the Soviet **bloc** was partially offset by higher qualities of NATO equipment (especially aircraft and armor) and the superior U.S. **nuclear umbrella** (“massive retaliation”) to deter any surprise Warsaw Pact attack. Although in prolonged **World War III** conventional scenarios NATO’s wartime mobilization would have succeeded in matching Soviet–Warsaw Pact forces over the course of a year, most plans had considered war to be a brief conventional affair (a few weeks to a month), followed by nuclear combat. Thus, when the USSR’s massive gains in the strategic nuclear “**balance of terror**” by the early 1970s eroded NATO’s nuclear umbrella, the **allies** remained divided over NATO’s adoption in 1967 of the U.S. “flexible response” doctrine of forward-deployed conventional forces (“NATO’s Shield”), supplemented by nuclear forces (“NATO’s Sword”) against major Soviet attacks, fearing that it would weaken U.S. commitment to defend Europe in a nuclear war (“decoupling”).

During the relaxation of East–West tensions and nuclear **arms control** under **détente** (1969–1979), MBFR sought to redress the USSR/Warsaw Pact superiority of forces in Europe at a time of

weakening NATO combat effectiveness (especially U.S. troops after the Second Vietnam War). MBFR talks covered five categories of NATO–Warsaw Pact forces in Europe: infantry, armor, artillery, aircraft, and helicopters. The superior U.S.–NATO forces refused to engage in naval arms control talk. After 10 years, MBFR talks collapsed over two points. First, the Soviets refused to accept major cuts in their post-1968 forces and arithmetical troop equivalencies with NATO rather than numerical parity by units (**Red Army** divisions had one-fifth more troops than NATO ones). Second, in the late 1970s to early 1980s, the USSR had publicly stressed that Soviet–Warsaw Pact conventional force levels were “frozen” after their increase in 1968, when they were used to crush reformist Communist Czechoslovakia, but Moscow surreptitiously upgraded in Europe all its conventional equipment (artillery, tanks, armored personnel carriers, combat jets, and attack helicopters) and that of its best Warsaw Pact **satellites** (East **Germany**, Czechoslovakia, **Hungary**, and **Poland**) to further enhance their superiority to NATO. Serious conventional arms reduction talks resumed only in the mid-1980s, leading to the breakthrough 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty, which first halved NATO–Warsaw Pact forces, then forced all Soviet troops to withdraw to post-Soviet **Russia**, while limiting and subdividing all conventional forces by concentric sectors within a broader **Atlantic-to-the-Urals** (ATTU) region stretching from **Portugal** to European Russia.

MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION (MAD). *See* ASSURED DESTRUCTION.

– N –

NAC COMMITTEES/WORKING GROUPS, NATO. In the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO), the **North Atlantic Council** (NAC) created 40 specialized committees and working groups for specific policy areas or technical fields, with respective NAC senior committees chairing meetings and implementing decisions. Key NAC committees are the: **Senior Political Committee**, Political Committee, **Executive Working Group**, **Defence Planning Com-**

mittee, Nuclear Planning Group (NPG), Defence Review Committee, **High-Level Group (HLG)**, and Senior Level Weapons Protection Group. On financial issues, the NAC relies on the Senior Resource Board, Military Budget Committee, or Civil Budget Committee. *See also* Appendix III: NATO Committees.

NAC-C WORK PLANS (RENAMED EAPC ACTION PLANS), NATO. *See* NORTH ATLANTIC COOPERATION COUNCIL.

NAC + N MEETINGS, NATO. Policy-planning meetings and six-month reviews of **peacekeeping** missions by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** with **partners** and non-NATO states, the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)**, **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** and **commands** for peacekeeping: the **Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR)**, **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)**, **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)**, and **International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF)**. NAC + N meetings decide on non-NATO states' role and **forces** in **joint** peacekeeping, training with **allies**, **areas of operations (AOO)**, and “drawdowns” of forces in quiet AOOs. Both partners and non-NATO forces in United Nations (UN) or United States (U.S.) coalitions are integrated into NATO commands with liaison officers at **SHAPE's** Coordination Centre and NAC + N meetings.

NAC SECRETARIAT, NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) International Staff** and **North Atlantic Council (NAC) Executive Secretariat** implement all NAC decisions.

NAGORNO-KARABAKH, ARMENIA. *See* ARMENIA; AZERBAIJAN.

NATION-CADRE/LEADER. Military term for any state of the **European Union (EU)** or **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** that leads with **rapid deployments** of peacekeepers in small, “out-of-area” **humanitarian** missions, such as **France** in Africa, to secure **areas of operations (AOO)** with troops and headquarters before the arrival of large EU, NATO, or **United Nations (UN) peacekeeping forces**.

NATIONAL COMMAND. Military term for any **command** organized under the authority of any nation. It may be placed under integrated command of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** or not, like **France's forces** or **Nation-Cadre/Leader** units.

NATIONAL COMPONENTS/CONTINGENTS. Military terms for national **forces** of one or more services under the **command** of a single national commander and/or assigned to any strategic or regional commander of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE (NMD/MD). *See* BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE.

NATO-ASSIGNED FORCES. Military term for “**forces in-being**” that are not **combat ready**, **assigned** for future **operational command** or **control** under strategic or regional commanders of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in the NATO Precautionary System or under special agreements.

NATO CIVIL–MILITARY COOPERATION (NATO CIMIC). Since the mid-1990s, **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** **peacekeeping** and postconflict stabilization relies on NATO CIMIC and the Military Committee's document MC 411/1: CIMIC streamlines NATO peacekeeping cooperation with local and international civilian bodies, rather than supporting or assisting local civilian bodies, which is undertaken on a practical level through liaison by NATO CIMIC staff, but is not a CIMIC activity. Activities closely associated with NATO CIMIC are **military assistance in humanitarian emergencies (MAHE)**, **civil emergency planning (CEP)**, and **host nation support (HNS)**. *See also* EUROPEAN UNION CIVIL–MILITARY COOPERATION.

NATO COMMUNICATIONS AND INFORMATION SYSTEM SCHOOL (NCISS). The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** has several military educational programs to foster common training and cooperation among all **allies'** and **partners' forces**. Created in 1959 and rechartered in 1989 as NATO's Communications and Information System School (NCISS) in **Italy**, under sponsorship

of the Defense Ministry, it is responsible to NATO's Communications and Information Systems Operating and Support Agency (NA-COSA). NCISS's school commandant is a NATO colonel. NCISS trains NATO strategic **commands** and **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)**, with 50 courses annually for 1,650 fellows from 50 states, mostly partners, and since 1995 it has also provided courses to support **NATO peacekeeping** in **Bosnia** and **Kosovo**. NCISS has two branches: training focuses on transmission systems, **command**, and **control**, networks software, operations, and cryptographic equipment; and support is responsible for logistics and administration. *See also* NATO DEFENCE COLLEGE; NATO SHAPE SCHOOL–OBERAMMERGAU.

NATO CONFERENCE OF COMMANDANTS. *See* NATO DEFENCE COLLEGE.

NATO DEFENCE COLLEGE, ROME, ITALY. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**'s military educational programs foster common training and cooperation among all **allies** and **partners**, with the NATO Defence College being the most important one. Founded in Paris in 1951, it was transferred in 1966 to Rome, **Italy**, when President **Charles de Gaulle** withdrew **France** from NATO's military integrated structures. The NATO Defence College's commandant is a NATO lieutenant general, appointed every three years by the **Military Committee**, and chairs an independent advisory board, which plans the annual courses and seminars, while obtaining from the Military Committee funds and NATO fact-finding visits. The Military Committee supervises and approves the college's annual organization of a series of strategic-level seminars on transatlantic security and politics for senior allied officers (colonels and Navy captains) and upper-governmental officers from Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense, plus partner countries of the **Partnership for Peace (PfP)**.

Twice a year the senior course, for 80–90 fellows selected by their own governments, allows most military fellows to be posted to NATO commands or national NATO-related positions. Two general flag officers' courses are organized yearly, the first for officers and officials of allies and partners, the second also for representatives

from NATO and its **Mediterranean Dialogue** partners on regional security. A two-week course addresses senior officers from the **Conference on/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE/OSCE)**, integrated since 1992 as the OSCE/PfP senior course. Every other year the college holds its NATO reserve officers' course to update reserve officers on **alliance** structural and command changes. An annual NATO Conference of Commandants brings together all allied and partners' commandants of national senior defense colleges, as does the annual alumni seminar of the NATO Defence College. Two annual international research seminars are offered to allies, partners, and Mediterranean Dialogue partners. *See also* NATO COMMUNICATIONS AND INFORMATION SYSTEM SCHOOL; NATO SHAPE SCHOOL–OBERAMMERGAU.

NATO DEFENSE PLANNING. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** defense planning process and **collective security** relies on political solidarity among **allies** and **partners** in implementing adequate military force levels for **alliance strategy** against any threat to the security of its member states, plus the stability and security of the Euro–Atlantic area. Each ally and partner retains full sovereignty and independence of action in determining the size and nature of its contribution to **collective defense**, while taking into account overall alliance needs through **joint** defense and **force-planning** goals to coordinate national defense plans. Allied defense planning is reviewed annually under the Ministers of Defense's **Annual Defence Review**, which provides a common five-year force plan for NATO defense planning to assess national contributions to NATO's common defense in relation to each member state's capabilities and constraints within the context of the **force goals**. Detailed defense and force-planning guidance are provided biannually by the Defense Ministers' "Ministerial Guidance for NATO Military Authorities on Force Goals" and national defense planning. Close coordination between international civil and military staff, NATO's military authorities, and governments—except **France**, which since 1966 no longer participates in NATO integrated military structures—provides annual information exchanges on national plans, reviewed to compare NATO's defense and modernization requirements.

As part of NATO's **post-Cold War** (1990–present) adaptation since 1991, NATO defense planning is based on the alliance's evolving **strategic concepts** (1991, 1997, and 1999 versions), with broad objectives and means, while NATO authority over **forces** in Europe was quietly returned to the individual allies' national military establishments. Moreover, NATO's defense planning process has been revised since June 1997 into a single, streamlined process to include military-economic and technological factors, equitable division of roles (burden sharing), risks, and even changing political circumstances as assessed by NATO's military commanders. This includes case-by-case assembly of needed NATO and coalition forces against any threat, "out-of-area," or **peacekeeping** mission, while also providing NATO with operational support and planning for the **European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (ESDI/P)** and EU-led peacekeeping, such as the **European Force–Bosnia (EUFOR)**, which in December 2004 took over from NATO's **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)**. *See also* NATO "FIRST DIMENSION."

NATO ECONOMIC COLLOQUIA. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** annually studies the security aspects of regional economic development through NATO's intergovernmental **Economic Committee** and annual public NATO *Economic Colloquia* on regional economic security and socioeconomic restructuring, with private and government experts, whose proceedings are published by NATO's **Office of Information and Press**.

NATO ENLARGEMENT COSTS. Every **enlargement** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** imposes changes in structure and mission for new **allies**, but individual costs to the **United States** and allies were negligible during the 1999 first enlargement, confounding critics, thanks to the **Partnership for Peace's** and **Membership Action Plans' (MAPs)** key preparatory role and funds to modernize **aspirants**. Moreover, NATO never invited borderline aspirants based on purely "political criteria." Early high cost figures touted by opponents of NATO's enlargements were based on the infamous February 1997 Pentagon study, *Enlargement to Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic*, which estimated total NATO costs at \$27

to \$35 billions over 13 years (with the U.S. share at \$1.5 to \$2 billion). NATO's Fall 1997 *Study on Enlargement* cut these estimates down to \$1.5 billion (with the U.S. share at \$400 million over a decade), focusing on the three new allies' (the **Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland**) better military, which reduced NATO resources from common-funded budgets for military restructuring upon enlargement. These lower costs were approved by both the 1997 Madrid **NATO Summit** and U.S. Senate. NATO's assessment for the 2002 second enlargement to include seven new allies (**Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia**), reiterated that in the **post-Cold War** period new allies do not need high-cost war-fighting capabilities for old **World War III** scenarios against the USSR, focusing instead on smaller, rapidly deployable, mobile **forces**.

Without enlargements, both NATO and rejected aspirants ("left outs") would feel insecure and unable to pool resources for common security missions. Each aspirant would spend more funds for purely national defense outside NATO, while the **alliance** would face rising costs to protect members and partners by intervening in politically and economically unstable peripheries and ethno-nationalist wars. Thus, close NATO-aspirant cooperation aided NATO interventions and produced savings during the 1999 Kosovo War through key logistic access and peacekeepers provided by new allies (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland) and aspirants (**Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, and Romania**). *See also* EU ENLARGEMENTS; NATO ENLARGEMENT, FIRST TRANCHE; MEMBERSHIP ACTION PLANS.

NATO ENLARGEMENT, FIRST TRANCHE (1997–1999). The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** allowed addition of new members to the 12 original **allies (Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United States)**. NATO enlargement is an "**open door**" process of accession for new members in compliance with the **North Atlantic Treaty's** Article X: "The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European state in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty." Through the

years NATO has doubled its members: **Greece** and **Turkey** were added in 1952 (NATO-14); West **Germany** in 1955 (NATO-15); **Spain** in 1982 (NATO-16); and the former Communist East Germany (merged with West Germany) in 1990. The end of the Cold War (1989–1991) was followed by a flood of applications from former Communist Eastern European states (1991 Visegrad and 2000 **Vilnius** Groups). NATO split the new enlargements into three “tranches”: three states in 1997–1999, (the **Czech Republic**, **Hungary**, and **Poland**) seven states in 2002–2004 (**Bulgaria**, **Estonia**, **Latvia**, **Lithuania**, **Romania**, **Slovakia**, and **Slovenia**), and two out of seven possible candidates in April 2008 (**Albania** and **Croatia**), while after 2010 others might join, too (“Left out” **Macedonia**, and former “neutral” partners **Austria**, **Finland**, **Ireland**, and **Sweden**).

Influential U.S. Ambassador to NATO Robert E. Hunter launched the alliance’s **Partnership for Peace** and a road map for NATO’s enlargement to include qualified future members. The January 1994 Brussels **NATO Summit** and 1995 *Study on NATO Enlargement* detailed internal political-military criteria for each aspirant and the security-related developments throughout Europe. NATO reaffirmed its “open door” to any European aspirant and partner supporting North Atlantic Treaty principles, security in the Euro–Atlantic area, and NATO interoperability through military restructuring under **Membership Action Plans (MAPs)**. After resisting in 1994–1995 proposals by the United States to enlarge NATO to some former Communist Eastern European states, the allies supported adding a few new members (the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland), to minimize **Russia**’s opposition. In 1996–1997, the alliance undertook intensified individual dialogues (“NATO + 1 Review”) with 12 partners to explain how NATO works and analyze the situation of each aspirant in terms of domestic political, economic, and military developments and regional conflict resolution with neighbors, while NATO military authorities analyzed military factors of the aspirants.

When the United States endorsed a larger NATO enlargement in 1996–1997, the allies scrambled to petition their “favorite” aspirants among several rivals. America, Germany, and most allies supported a “Visegrad-3 Mini-Enlargement” option (the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland), as anticommunist poster children for a true “**Europe united and free**” with the best-prepared militaries. In 1997, a southern allied bloc (France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Spain, and

Turkey) plus the United States cosponsored Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia (the “Maximalist-Mitteuropa” option of six aspirants). But soon these last three candidates were “delegitimized” by their stalled political, military, and economic reforms, exclusive reliance on geostrategic assets as “consumers of security,” and unstable anti-Western governments. A controversial 13 “Central-Eastern European” option (Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia) also collapsed, under the allies’ fears of Russian “red lines” against enlargements (the Baltic states and Poland) and rejection of ethnically or politically unstable aspirants (Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania, and Slovakia). The July 1997 Madrid NATO Summit invited only the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland as new members.

NATO ENLARGEMENT, SECOND TRANCHE (2002–2004). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) Madrid (1997) and Washington Summits (1999) reaffirmed the “open door” to any European states (**aspirants** and **partners**) supporting North Atlantic Treaty principles, security in the Euro–Atlantic area, and NATO interoperability through military restructuring under **Membership Action Plans (MAPs)**. NATO’s second round of **enlargement** was characterized by stricter MAP requirements to streamline the candidature of “left-out” aspirants, as well as a temporary decline in popular-élite support following the shock of NATO’s involvement in the 1999 **Kosovo** War and political fatigue. In 1999–2000, most **allies** tacitly preferred at least a modest “2 + 1 Option” with the better-prepared **Slovakia** and **Slovenia**, plus eventually **Lithuania**, to complete Central Europe’s security integration and geostrategically link isolated **Hungary**, while defusing any NATO–**Russia** clash over the Baltics. Many allies also liked a “North–South Enlargement” option to avoid the controversial Baltics and integrate instead **Bulgaria**, **Romania**, Slovakia, Slovenia, and maybe **Croatia** after 2008, despite weak MAPs and domestic reforms. This would consolidate NATO’s defenses into a contiguous whole, linking isolated Greece, Hungary, and Turkey. All aspirants, but only a few allies, advocated the maximalist “Big Bang” Enlargement/“Regata” options to include all **Vilnius-10** aspirants (2000 Vilnius Declaration). The allies still rejected

Albania and **Macedonia** as the least-ready MAPs and unstable aspirants, and doubts persisted about a sequential “Regata” (locked-in memberships but delayed individual entries until completing MAPs), unless the **United States** pushed and the best-prepared “**neutrals**” joined—**Austria, Finland, Ireland, Sweden**—to complete dual NATO–**European Union (EU)** integration and power projection. Likewise, in April 2001 the United States and allies rejected both the “Zero” and “Moratorium” options, which would close or postpone the “open door” until a slower EU enlargement, because they alienated aspirants, split the United States and allies, and emboldened Russia’s obstructionism.

By 2001 the most likely options were the “2 + Balts/North Enlargement” and “7/Mini-Bang”; both included the three best-prepared MAP aspirants (Lithuania, Slovakia, and Slovenia) and barely ready but geostrategically vital ones (**Estonia** and **Latvia**, plus Bulgaria and Romania as swing aspirants in the second option). Initially supported only by a few allies (the Czech Republic, **Denmark**, Hungary, **Iceland**, **Norway**, and Poland) and opposed by **Germany** and **Great Britain**, by early 2001 the “2 + Balts/North” option benefited from President **George W. Bush**’s domestic bipartisan support for Baltic entry along with Slovakia and Slovenia, while U.S.–Russian cooperation dispelled fears of a clash. Yet by mid-2002 this option was also weakened, once the U.S. administration and Senate approved NATO enlargement funds for seven new allies (Freedom Support Act, June 2002), adding Bulgaria and Romania as repayment for their past political, logistical, and **peacekeeping** support of NATO in **Bosnia** and **Kosovo**. The winning “Mini-Bang” option stabilized both the Baltic states and the Balkans by completing the **post–Cold War** political vision of a “Europe whole and free,” while for the first time making NATO geostrategically contiguous by linking it to isolated Hungary, **Greece**, and **Turkey**. Both NATO’s September 2002 meeting of defense ministers in Warsaw, Poland, and the November 2002 Prague Summit announced a second enlargement to include seven aspirants who had met their MAP requirements: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. After ratification these latest allies formally joined NATO at the June 2004 Istanbul Summit. *See also* EU ENLARGEMENTS; NATO ENLARGEMENT COSTS; NATO ENLARGEMENT, FIRST TRANCHE; NATO ENLARGEMENT, THIRD AND FOURTH TRANCHES.

NATO ENLARGEMENT, THIRD AND FOURTH TRANCHES (2010s). The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** has not completed the process of integrating European states and **aspirants**. NATO's "**open door**" remains available to all qualified aspirants, provided they are both in the **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council** and engaged in **membership action plans (MAPs)** to restructure their military and also support NATO interoperability and **peace-keeping (Balkans, Afghanistan)**, as well as political-economic reforms in line with **Atlantic common values** (democratic stability, human rights, minority rights, market reforms, and Western civil-military **controls**). Political fatigue and **alliance** divisiveness over the U.S.-led coalition's 2003–2008 **Second Gulf War** in Iraq fostered the generalized view that NATO's third tranche would happen within the decade, while the **European Union (EU)** would enlarge to **Bulgaria** and **Romania** in 2007, **Croatia** by 2008, and **Turkey** by 2015.

All allies reservations about **Albania** and **Macedonia**, as the least-ready MAPs and most unstable aspirants, NATO included them in the April 2008 third enlargement at the Bucharest Summit by pairing with Croatia (the best-prepared "left-out"), while hopes dimmed of pairing also the candidacy of some "**neutral**" **partners (Austria, Finland, Ireland, and Sweden)** to finish Europe's dual NATO–EU integration of both institutions' members. **Switzerland** and EU states/non-NATO "neutral" partners **Cyprus** and **Malta** are unlikely to join soon. Instead, in April 2008, only Albania and Croatia became new allies, while Macedonia was vetoed by Greece.

The third tranche also prompted a mini-rush of undesirable new aspirants from former Soviet states—**Ukraine** and **Georgia**, within in the wings also **Armenia**, **Moldova**, and **Azerbaijan**—all equally unstable and well within **Russia's "near-abroad"** sphere of influence among the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**. Despite support from the United States, Bulgaria, **Greece**, **Poland**, Romania, and Turkey for Ukraine's entry into NATO and the EU, most allies and Russia, too, oppose including these economically weak, militarily unready, and unstable partners, or **Bosnia**, **Kosovo**, **Montenegro**, and **Serbia**. Russia's opposition to NATO enlargements has been appeased by closer relations with the United States, the NATO–Russia Partnership Council (June 2002) (without "**vetoes**" on alliance decision making), and NATO's adoption after the 9/11 Islamic terrorist attacks on the United States of cooperation to fight **terrorism**, pre-

vent proliferation of **WMDs**, and carry out peacekeeping missions. Should positive NATO–Russian relations be revamped in the coming years and overcome Moscow’s outright 2007–2008 **arms control** violations, allied views might be altered to favor possible full NATO membership in a distant fourth tranche of controversial aspirants, such as Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and oil-rich Azerbaijan, if they complete their own MAPs and also Russia would respect previous arms control accords and join NATO as a “team player.” It is the right of every OCSE member and NATO partner, such as Russia, and CIS states, to join NATO if ready. However, Russia remains a semi-authoritarian state, beset by anti-Western political-economic rivalry, crime, and **terrorism** in Chechnya, while the other CIS partner are not much better off either. Full NATO membership would allow Moscow to emulate France’s old Gaulist “obstructionism” and weaken the alliance from the inside, making it as ineffective as the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, saddled by Russian “permanent objections,” or subject to blackmail over arms control and energy issues. *See also* EU ENLARGEMENTS; MEMBERSHIP ACTION PLANS; NATO ENLARGEMENT, FIRST TRANCHE.

NATO “FIRST DIMENSION” (COLLECTIVE DEFENSE AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY). The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO)** fundamental political and defense roles since its founding in 1949 constitute NATO’s “First” and “**Second Dimensions**” to safeguard the freedom and security of its members, plus the stability and security of the Euro–Atlantic area, while also serving as a forum for transatlantic consultation on vital security interests of **allies** and **partners**. The “First Dimension” is the commitment to **collective defense** and security to deter and protect member states against any aggression (Article V), such as the threat of invasion by the Soviet Union (USSR) and **Warsaw Pact** during the Cold War (1946–1990) Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in **Afghanistan** (2001–present). NATO must always retain adequate **combat-ready** military capabilities to act collectively for common collective defense and territorial integrity against any coercion or military aggression.

Since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet military and ideological threat, NATO’s defense dimension remains indispensable, in parallel with political-diplomatic and **crisis-management**

interventions, to maintain peace and stability in Europe and neighboring areas of concern. In the **post–Cold War** period, NATO has expanded its membership, from 16 in 1990 to 26 by 2004, plus 20 partners from “**neutral**” states, Eastern European, and former Soviet states. The **alliance**’s scope has extended to the entire Euro–Atlantic security sphere, with its **transformation** into an effective **collective security** structure for the whole of Europe and the non-automatic protection, decided on a case-by-case basis, of partners or “out-of-area” neighboring areas affecting Euro–Atlantic security (Article IV), such as **peacekeeping** and non-Article V military interventions in **Albania** (1997–2003), **Bosnia** (1995–2004), **Kosovo** (1998–present), and **Macedonia** (2001–2002), and training of Iraq’s military.

Within this context, NATO transformed its political and military structures through the 1991 **North Atlantic Cooperation Council** (NAC-C), the 1994 **Partnership for Peace** (PfP), and **Euro–Atlantic Partnership Council** (EAPC), creating a broader Euro–Atlantic interlocking structure of partnership and cooperation that ties allies and partners together, including the NATO–Russia Founding Act (1997), NATO–Ukraine Charter (1997), and NATO–**Mediterranean Dialogue** (1995). NATO’s military reorganization has also privileged **forces**’ mobility and multinational interoperability to rapidly react to a wider range of contingencies and regional collective security, both within an enlarged Euro–Atlantic area (allies and partners) and “out-of-area” (the former **Yugoslavia**, **Afghanistan**). New structures and procedures to further NATO’s transformation are ongoing, including the 1990s **European Security and Defence Identity/Policy** (ESDI/P) of the **European Union** (EU) and NATO, the **Combined Joint Task Forces** (CJTFs), and creation of **NATO Rapid-Reaction Forces** (2002) for antiterrorism strikes worldwide. *See also* NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION; NATO “SECOND DIMENSION”; NATO “THIRD DIMENSION.”

NATO FORCE PLAN. *See* NATO “FIRST DIMENSION.”

NATO HEADQUARTERS. NATO had its **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe** (SHAPE) in 1951 in a Paris hotel, then moved to the Chaillot Palace, and then again to nearby Rocquencourt (July 1951–March 1967). In 1966, **French** President **Charles de**

Gaulle withdrew from NATO's integrated **command**, forcing NATO Headquarters to move to Brussels, **Belgium**, in April 1967 and SHAPE to move to Mons/Casteau. In 2007–2009, NATO Headquarters was rebuilt and expanded.

NATO INDUSTRY DAY. Annual gathering (since 2004) in alternating **alliance** capitals in September, of the NATO Allied Command Transformation (ACT) to discuss cooperation among top NATO civilian and military leaders with defense industries, including seminars and exhibits on **forces** and capabilities.

NATO LIBRARY. NATO has a small, specialized security library at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, managed by NATO's **Office of Information and Press** for **alliance** military and civilian staff, as well as scholars and journalists.

NATO NUCLEAR POLICY AND STRATEGY. During the Cold War (1946–1990), Europe was geostrategically divided between free, democratic Western countries aligned with the **United States** and North American Treaty Organization (NATO) the Soviet **bloc** dominating Eastern Europe ("Iron Curtain") through the **Warsaw Pact**. This political-ideological contrast was exacerbated by the vast disparity in conventional **forces** in Europe, which favored the USSR and its **satellites**, as well as by the proximity of Soviet reserve forces and **nuclear** weapons in the USSR, compared to the Atlantic Ocean's size, which would delay prompt reinforcement of NATO by U.S.–Canadian reserves (REFORGER). Consequently, since its creation in 1949 NATO relied heavily on the U.S. nuclear umbrella (and marginally on Anglo–French national nuclear arsenals) to deter the Communist USSR/Warsaw Pact from a possible **World War III** or threatening **alliance** members with conventional, nuclear, **biological**, or **chemical weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. Under Presidents **Harry S Truman** and **Dwight D. Eisenhower**, the United States also relied mostly on its nuclear superiority to compensate for lower U.S./NATO conventional forces, threatening "all-out" nuclear war should the USSR attack Europe conventionally (the "massive retaliation" strategy, backed by Eisenhower's buildup of "substrategic nuclear" forces in Europe after 1954).

Given the geostrategic division of Europe and NATO's numerically weak conventional defense posture, all **allies** ended up relying for their security on America's nuclear superiority to deter any Soviet threat, rather than seriously expanding their national conventional forces (given the concurrent requirements of domestic socioeconomic budgeting). Thus, the hidden bargain the European allies quietly cultivated through the decades was that the transatlantic "coupling" of U.S.–European security implied that any Soviet attack on Europe would force a U.S. "strategic nuclear" retaliation (sparked by "sub-strategic nuclear" forces as a final "tactical" link between collapsing NATO conventional defenses on the Central Front and a final "all-out" nuclear war between the superpowers) to prevent NATO conventional forces from being defeated in West **Germany** after a few weeks of war. The virtual certainty of a Soviet conventional victory in any "short" World War III scenario (three to four weeks), made inevitable a U.S.–Soviet nuclear holocaust, which in turn paradoxically deterred war itself and preserved peace by making victory impossible for either side. Washington was never satisfied with this bargain, and starting with **John F. Kennedy** president sought to enhance both U.S. and NATO conventional defenses, while rebalancing its nuclear strategy through a multiple-tiered conventional-nuclear "escalation ladder" to take into account all levels of threats (the "flexible response" strategy). Since the 1970s, both America and Europe sought to further strengthen **deterrence** and national security by relying on East–West **arms control** reductions of nuclear and conventional forces.

NATO's nuclear strategy and force posture changed radically following momentous security improvements attained through the East–West arms control reductions (1987–1992) and especially the end of the Cold War. NATO has adapted to an essentially nonnuclear new security environment in the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), radically reducing to a minimum its reliance on "strategic" and "substrategic/theater" nuclear forces, while retaining its older strategy of war prevention but without the risk of nuclear escalation. NATO's nuclear forces help preserve European peace and security for both allies and **partners**, by deterring any major war in the Euro–Atlantic area treated now as a geostrategic whole, and by making aggression against NATO militarily and politically unacceptable in a way that conventional forces alone cannot. NATO's (nuclear)

“Shield” deters countries from seeking political-military advantage through the threat or use of WMD, and since 2007 it also relies on U.S. **Missile Defense (MD)** radar-detection and interception systems in Alaska, the **Czech Republic** and **Poland** against “rogue states” (Iran and North Korea).

U.S. nuclear forces in Europe committed to NATO provide a vital political-military link between Europe and North America within NATO, while participation of nonnuclear allies in NATO’s nuclear strategy shows alliance solidarity and sharing among all of burdens and risks. Political oversight of NATO’s nuclear posture is shared between the United States and **Great Britain** (NATO’s two nuclear members), and every member state (excluding **France**, which quit NATO’s integrated military structures in 1966, but rejoined it in June 2008) through the Nuclear Planning Group (NPG), in which all NATO defense ministers (nuclear and non-nuclear allies) develop the alliance’s nuclear policy. NATO’s and East-West theater nuclear forces were radically cut in 1987–1991 in Europe, by more than 85 percent compared to Cold War levels, through both their destruction and withdrawal under the 1987 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty** and 1991 Short-range Nuclear Forces Unilateral Accords (SNF). Likewise, strategic forces available to NATO allies have also been reduced (U.S.–British forces under NATO control, plus autonomous French national forces). The only NATO nuclear weapons left in Europe in the post-Cold War are some 800 nuclear bombs for dual-capable aircraft, stored in a few highly secure locations (none targeted against specific countries), while aircraft readiness has also been gradually reduced. However, Russia’s political criticism of MD, was not soothed by NATO declarations that its enlargements will not change its post–Cold War nuclear posture, nor will it deploy nuclear arms on new allies’ territories. Instead, since May 2007, Moscow temporarily stopped enforcement of all East-West arms control accords.

NATO OFFICE OF INFORMATION AND PRESS. All **allies** and **partners** of NATO respect both the democratic right of their peoples to be informed about NATO’s role in their national security, and that the responsibility for explaining to the public and media the status of national and NATO defense, rests with each individual government.

NATO's Office of Information and Press in Brussels, **Belgium**, complements public information circulated in allies, partners, and **Mediterranean Dialogue** partners with NATO publications; NATO's daily relations with the media; conferences at NATO Headquarters, with annual visits of 20,000 opinion formers for briefings and discussions with experts from NATO's **International Staff**, **International Military Staff**, and national delegations; participation in external events under the auspices of governmental or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs); participation in events organized by other external agencies with assistance from NATO; and maintains the **NATO Library**. The Office of Information and Press also administers an annual **Manfred Wörner** Fellowship and dozens of pluri-annual **NATO/Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council** fellowships for scholars in NATO and partner countries. NATO distributes in both English and French its official texts, speeches by NATO's **Secretary-General**, publications (*NATO Review*, handbooks, brochures, and newsletters), and NATO Integrated Data Service electronic media and Internet (www.nato.int). NATO's Science Programme has its own separate scientific publications.

With NATO's inclusion of 12 new allies (1999–2008) and 40 partners (since 1994), its Office of Information and Press has focused especially on former Communist partners to reverse decades of Cold War censorship and ideological-public anti-NATO views, as well as to advertise NATO's civil-military relations and decision making processes. **EAPC Action Plans** by the EAPC Foreign Ministers, **Russia–NATO Permanent Joint Council**, **NATO–Ukraine Commission**, and NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue also promote free information sharing. NATO's Office of Information and Press administers all NATO national liaison officers for information, visits to NATO, conferences, and seminars throughout the **alliance**, plus assisting parliamentarians, academics, journalists, and professional military groups. National liaison officers for NATO allies also act as program officers for partners through national rotating "contact points" in embassies. In **Russia**, NATO's Information Office in Moscow (established in 1995) was upgraded in January 1998 to an independent NATO Documentation Centre at the Russian Institute for Scientific Information for Social Sciences (temporarily closed

when Russia suspended ties with NATO during the 1999 Kosovo War). In February 2001, it was upgraded again, to a NATO Information Office. In 1996, NATO's Office of Information and Press opened in Kiev, **Ukraine**, in the Ukrainian Institute of International Affairs.

Other organizations that provide information on NATO include the **NATO Parliamentary Assembly** in Brussels, **Belgium**; national parliaments of NATO allies and partners; public information and press offices of NATO members and EAPC/partners; embassies of NATO members serving as rotational contact point embassies in partner countries; public information offices of NATO's military headquarters in different member states; NATO education training schools, such as the **NATO Defence College** in Rome, **Italy**, and **NATO's (SHAPE) School in Oberammergau, Germany**; independent institutions like the Marshall Centre in Oberammergau and national defense colleges; National Atlantic Councils in allies and partners to explain NATO policies; **Atlantic Treaty Association (ATA)** of Atlantic committees and associations of allies and partners; the **Confederation of Inter-Allied Reserve Officers (CIOR)**; and national or international foundations throughout the Euro-Atlantic area for academic and policy research on security. *See also* NATO PRESS SPOKESMAN AND PRESS SERVICE.

NATO-OSCE RELATIONS. *See* OSCE-NATO RELATIONS.

NATO PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY (formerly NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY). The independent interparliamentary organization of **NATO**, created in 1955 as the North Atlantic Assembly, for legislators from all **allies'** national parliaments to debate common security issues. The NATO Parliamentary Assembly meets twice a year in plenary session, rotating among members' and associate members' national parliaments, with delegates nominated by their parliaments on the basis of national party representation. The Parliamentary Assembly has a secretariat of 30 people in Brussels, **Belgium**, and six committees as forums: political; defense and security; economics and security; science and technology; civilian security; and a Mediterranean special group. After the Cold War (1946-1990), NATO's Parliamentary Assembly expanded its members with three twin **NATO**

enlargements (1997–1999, 2002–2008), and through the “**Rose-Roth Initiative**” also integrated on an advisory level all partners’ parliamentarians, promoting legislative cooperation, civil-military relations, and joint analysis of partners’ politics, security, economics, and environment. After the enlargements, partner delegations fell to 10: **Austria, Bosnia, Finland, Georgia, Macedonia, Moldova, Russia, Switzerland, and Ukraine.**

Parliamentary Assembly recommendations are sent to national governments, parliaments, organizations, and **NATO’s Secretary-General**. It works on consensus building and education of both national legislators and NATO’s decision-making bodies on common security, while assessing parliamentary and public opinion on NATO policies and playing an important indirect policy-formation role in facilitating national ratification of NATO enlargements. The assembly’s legislative role with East European parliaments on democratic control of the military is enshrined in the NATO–Russia Founding Act (1997), NATO–Ukraine Charter, **Euro–Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**, and **Partnership for Peace**.

NATO PEACEKEEPING. At the end of the Cold War in 1990, **NATO** developed new missions, including peacekeeping operations through universal consent within the **North Atlantic Council** and NATO’s Military Council, although not all members are required to participate. NATO’s first peacekeeping missions were in the former **Yugoslavia**, including **naval peacekeeping** in the Adriatic Sea to enforce **United Nations (UN)** sanctions and air and land peacekeeping by a **NATO rapid-reaction force** in **Bosnia–Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Macedonia**, with active support of the 27 **Partnership for Peace** members integrated in NATO peacekeeping operations.

NATO PRESS SPOKESMAN AND PRESS SERVICE. The Press Spokesman and Press Service in the **NATO Office of Information and Press** works daily with the office of the **Secretary-General**, supporting his media and press contacts. The Press Service prepares daily news summaries from the international press for the international staffs, national diplomatic missions, and liaison officials at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, **Belgium**. It also arranges

contacts between NATO senior officials and foreign media, accreditation of journalists at attending NATO events, and reviews of national press in NATO and partners for the Secretary-General.

NATO RAPID-REACTION FORCE. In November 2002, NATO created a rapid-reaction **force** to quickly deploy for **peacekeeping**.

NATO RESPONSE FORCE (NRF). A special, technologically advanced, multinational, **joint-combat force** of land, air, sea, and special **forces** that NATO can rapidly deploy anywhere.

NATO REVIEW. The main security policy periodical publication, in English and French, on **NATO**, published by its **Office of Information and Press** in Brussels, **Belgium**, on NATO policies, security, and public information on **allies**, **partners**, and **Mediterranean Dialogue** partners. Once called *NATO's Fifteen Nations*, then *NATO's Sixteen Nations* (after Spain's entry in 1981), it became the *NATO Review* (also online) during the **first-tranche enlargement**.

NATO REVIEW CONFERENCE. NATO conference held annually in September in **Berlin**, attended by NATO's **Secretary-General**, ambassadors, senior officials, experts from governments, and think tanks to analyze future challenges. The conference is closed to the public to allow frank intergovernmental debate. Initiated in 1989 by NATO Secretary-General **Manfred Wörner** (1988–1994), it is organized by the German government think tank Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP). NATO's **post–Cold War** agenda focuses on NATO's role in **Kosovo** and **Bosnia**, NATO–Russian ties, **NATO's enlargements**, cooperation with **partners**, NATO–**European Union** ties, defense capabilities, and U.S. Missile Defense. *See also* WEHRKUNDE CONFERENCE.

NATO–RUSSIA NON-AGGRESSION PACT (1995). French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur proposed in 1995 a **nonaggression pact** between **Russia** and **NATO** to stabilize bilateral relations in the **post–Cold War** period. However, Russia rejected it as a ploy to muzzle Russian “**red lines**” opposition to any eastward **NATO enlargement**

that would include former Communist **satellites** (Eastern Europe) and Soviet states (the Baltic states, **Ukraine**, Transcaucasus, and the **Commonwealth of Independent States** in Russia's "near-abroad" sphere of influence), while also being unable to address ethno-nationalist wars in the **Balkans** and CIS. *See also* RUSSIA–NATO PERMANENT JOINT COUNCIL.

NATO SCIENCE PROGRAMME. Administrative multinational program to promote scientific and defense-related development, research, studies, and divulging of information among **allies** and **partners**.

NATO SEA DAY. Annual naval shows put on by NATO.

NATO "SECOND DIMENSION" (POLITICAL COORDINATION). Transatlantic political-diplomatic cooperation and consultation within the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)** and as the only international security organization linking the **United States, Canada,** and **Turkey** to Europe. NATO was founded to guarantee European security and U.S. security protection after the 20th-century struggles for political-military mastery of Europe precipitated two **world wars**, in which U.S. intervention helped the **Allies** finally secure victory. After 1945 the Soviet Union's (USSR) military and ideological threat and division of Europe threatened a future **World War III**, even more destructive because both superpowers had nuclear arsenals. Strong Atlantic political solidarity among all allies revamped their old reciprocal commitments of both world wars, common defense capabilities, and their actual security was mainly based on NATO's guarantee that America would intervene immediately against any threat to the **alliance** by deploying the U.S. military and nuclear umbrella from day one.

This inter-allied political-military reciprocity, combined with the U.S. security umbrella, has always depended on the willingness of all allies to build up sufficient military capabilities and cooperate on NATO security. For many years, European allies provided the major part of the military **forces** and logistical burden in Europe, while much of the technological, economic, political, and military leader-

ship of NATO was shouldered by the United States and its large forces. North America and Europe play more equal roles, strengthening NATO's identity as a community of shared values and an alliance of shared responsibilities, although the defense-burden balance is still not readjusted: the transatlantic gap in global military and technological power since the end of the Cold War (1990–1991) has shifted massively to the United States as European capabilities and military budgets have steadily eroded. *See also* NATO “FIRST DIMENSION”; NATO “THIRD DIMENSION.”

NATO SHAPE SCHOOL–OBERAMMERGAU, GERMANY.

NATO has several military education programs to foster **joint** training and cooperation among **allies** and **partner forces**, including the SHAPE school at Oberammergau in **Germany** and the **NATO Defence College** in Rome, **Italy**. Created in the 1950s, the SHAPE school was rechartered in 1975 as a center for allied and partner training of military and civilian personnel under the **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and a board of Advisors. Courses focused on **collective defense** during the Cold War; since 1991 NATO's **new strategic concept** focuses on cooperation with partners and **post–Cold War** geostrategic issues, including defense against **weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical, and biological)**, **crisis management**, mobilization, multinational forces, **peacekeeping**, electronic warfare, and **command and control (C²)**. Logistics are provided by **Germany** and the **United States**, with 5,500 fellows from 50 states taking 47 courses annually on staff and officer orientations, technical procedures, operational procedures, and NATO–multinational operations.

NATO SHIELD. *See* LEMNITZER, LYMAN; NORSTAD, LAURIS.

NATO STATUS-OF-FORCES ACT (1951). *See* EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY.

NATO STRATEGIC PLANNING IN THE 1970s. *See* WORLD WAR III SCENARIOS.

NATO SUMMITS. NATO members at the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)** can meet at the highest level through infrequent summits every few years of heads of states and governments together with NATO's **Secretary-General**, to address evolving **alliance** security policies. *See also* FOREIGN MINISTERIAL MEETINGS OF NATO; RUSSIA–NATO PERMANENT JOINT COUNCIL.

NATO SWORD. *See* LEMNITZER, LYMAN; NORSTAD, LAURIS.

NATO “THIRD DIMENSION” (CIVIL EMERGENCIES AND SCIENTIFIC-ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES). NATO's primary focus on cooperation among **allies** (since 1949) and **partners** (since the 1990s) in the political-military fields (the “**First Dimension**” and “**Second Dimension**”) has been supplemented since the **Cold War** by **joint** civil emergency planning and scientific-environmental cooperation, its “Third Dimension.” Allies and partners share resources in emergencies and **humanitarian** rescue through NATO's civil emergency planning and **Partnership for Peace**. In early 1998, a proposal by **Russia** resulted in formation of the **Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre** in Brussels, **Belgium**. The Centre has coordinated relief to **Ukraine** after the November 1998 massive floods in Western **Ukraine**; provided aid to humanitarian agencies in the **Balkans** after the exodus of Albanian refugees from **Kosovo** in 1998–1999; and assistance from partners for the August 1999 earthquake in **Turkey**. NATO's global allied–partner cooperation also includes the environment, natural resources, and health.

NATO “TRIUMVIRATE.” After coming to power in 1958, **French** President **Charles de Gaulle** tried several times to boost France's international influence by first seeking to control the leadership of **NATO**. De Gaulle perceived NATO as being led by the **United States** and **Great Britain**, just as the Anglo-Americans had done in the **World War II** coalition against the **Axis**. Between 1958 and 1961, he repeatedly urged the forming of an all-powerful U.S.–Franco–British “triumvirate” to direct and integrate NATO foreign and security policies, while extending NATO's influence globally (and by relation France's also) with use of NATO **forces** worldwide,

eliminating any distinction between the treaty-based “transatlantic area” and “out-of-area.” Plans for a “triumvirate” were opposed by all small **allies**, which cherished their official and political “equal vote” in NATO decision making (although in practice they are often discreetly sidelined). U.S. Presidents **Dwight D. Eisenhower**, **John F. Kennedy**, and **Lyndon B. Johnson** rejected any idea of sharing “sole” Atlantic leadership with France in a NATO “triumvirate.” After the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis**, de Gaulle stopped supporting NATO and instead pursued anti-U.S. and anti-NATO policies during the 1960s, seeking to replace the Cold War division of Europe under the superpowers with the “**Grand Design**” of a French-led loose “Europe of Nations” system (**Fouchet Plans**).

NATO–UKRAINE COMMISSION (NUC). NATO and the **European Union (EU)** see the former Soviet state of **Ukraine** as a key geopolitical asset in Europe whose security, stability, and democracy are vital to preserving the wider Euro–Atlantic stability in the **post–Cold War** period. NATO established several bilateral cooperative activities through Ukraine’s participation in the **Partnership for Peace**. In 1997, the Charter on a Distinctive Relationship between NATO and Ukraine created the NUC for common security, **joint NATO peacekeeping**, civil emergency planning, disaster preparedness, defense reform, economic security, science, and technology. *See also* EURO–ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP COUNCIL.

NATO’S LONG-TERM DEFENCE IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMME. Key NATO policy document in the 1970s–1980s that promoted major enhancement in allied **forces** combat readiness, creating NATO’s Airborne Early-Warning System and Air-Defense Ground Environment. *See also* WORLD WAR III SCENARIOS.

NAVAL PEACEKEEPING. Military term for primary use of naval assets to support **peacekeeping** missions at sea or on inland waterways by employing surveillance, **sanctions**, and naval blockades, as the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** did in the Adriatic Sea against the former **Yugoslavia** (1991–1995 and 1999–2000) and as the **Western European Union (WEU)** did along the Danube. The

first time the **United Nations (UN)** considered naval peacekeeping, it rebuffed a request by Israel for permanent naval **UN peacekeeping** at Sharm el-Sheikh in Sinai, after the **UN Emergency Force I (UNEF I)** replaced Israeli forces after the **Suez Canal War (1956)**.

"NEAR-ABROAD." After the collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) in December 1991, **Russia** assumed a much weakened political-military and economic influence over 10 to 12 of 15 former Soviet states (**Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan**), where large minorities of Russians also lived. Russia's influence is exercised through the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** or "near-abroad," minus the Baltic states (**Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania**), **Georgia**, and **Moldova**. *See also* RUSSIAN PEACEKEEPING.

"NEITHER CONFIRM NOR DENY" POLICY. *See* ANZUS; "NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES."

"NEO-ATLANTICISM." *See* FRANCO-GERMAN AXIS.

NETHERLANDS (NEDERLAND), NATO-EU. Medium-sized constitutional monarchy in Europe with an area of 41,526 square kilometers. The capitals are Amsterdam and The Hague. It borders **Belgium** and **Germany** and faces **Great Britain** across the North Sea. A Germanic Christian country (31 percent Catholic, 21 percent Protestant, 44 percent other, and 4.4 percent Muslim), with a population of 16.5 million (83 percent Dutch and 17 percent other).

In antiquity, the Netherlands was a Germanic region until the 30s B.C., when Emperor Octavian Augustus conquered the area. At the time of the collapse of the Roman Empire, the Netherlands had been overrun by the Germanic Franks, who then subjugated Gaul/France between the AD 400s and 500s. Frank ruler Charlemagne created the Holy Roman Empire in the AD 800s, including the area of the Netherlands. During the Middle Ages the Holy Roman Empire was split in three: **France** detached itself in the west with the central Kingdom of Burgundy, **Belgium**, and **Luxembourg**, while the Netherlands remained with the Holy Roman Empire together with

Germany and **Italy**. In the 1500s, the Netherlands was unified along with Belgium (Southern Netherlands) under Emperor Charles V Habsburg within **Spain–Austria**. The Protestant Reformation briefly turned Belgium into a hotbed of rebellion, and after years of Protestant rebellion, the Netherlands became independent with English support, while Belgium was reconquered under Philip II and re-Catholicized. The Netherlands quickly became a major colonial empire in the 1600s–1700s, over Indonesia, South Africa, New York, and the Caribbean, battling Spain and **Great Britain** for **control** of international trade.

The 1670s–1700s saw several unsuccessful hegemonic drives by France under King Louis XIV to annex the Rhineland, Belgium, and the Netherlands, which were resisted by Great Britain and Austria. King William of Orange and his Anglo–Scot wife, Mary Stuart, became the **joint** rulers of the Netherlands and Great Britain after the Glorious Revolution (1668–1689) through the early 1700s. The French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815) brought most of Europe under the control of France, including Belgium and the Netherlands. After Napoleon’s fall, the Congress of Vienna (1815), under Austria’s Prince Clemens von Metternich, created a strong **buffer zone** against France by merging Belgium and Luxembourg into the new Kingdom of the Netherlands, despite the deep north–south, Protestant–Catholic divides between those countries. The Belgian Revolution (1830) pitted France on the side of the secessionist Belgians against the Netherlands and pro-Dutch Prussia and Great Britain, until the Dutch-speaking Catholic provinces of Flanders and Francophone Wallonia formed the independent constitutional parliamentary Belgian monarchy with a German dynasty, “neutralized” by the great powers until 1914 to prevent its reannexation by either France or the Netherlands. The Netherlands was “**neutral**” in **World War I** (1914–1918), but in **World War II** (1939–1945) it was conquered by Nazi Germany (1940–1944), and its **government in exile** escaped to Great Britain until the country was liberated by the Anglo–American **Allies**.

A Western nation, the Netherlands was a founding member of the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945, joined the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1949, joined the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)** in 1950–1957, and joined the **Conference/**

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE) in 1976. A member of **Eurocorps**, the Netherlands has peacekeepers in the UN, NATO, OSCE, and the EU.

NEUTRALITY/NEUTRALIZATION. Diplomatic-military term for a country choosing not to align itself with other countries in either **alliances** or political-ideological **blocs** against common enemies or threats. Since the early 1800s and the War of 1812, international law has recognized the right of “neutrals” like the **United States** to trade with all sides in wartime, unimpeded, and unharassed by belligerents, while the Congress of Vienna (1815) internationally recognized the permanent neutrality of **Switzerland**. During the 1830s–1860s, the great powers sought to neutralize **Greece** (1830), **Belgium** (1836), and **Luxembourg** (1867). The **Netherlands**, **Sweden**, **Norway**, and **Denmark** declared themselves “neutrals” in the late 1800s and during **World War I** (1914–1918). The Great War spared some “neutrals” but not Belgium, Luxembourg, and Greece; Nazi **Germany**’s conquest of Europe in **World War II** (1939–1945) left only **Ireland**, **Sweden**, **Switzerland**, and **Portugal** as “neutrals.” During the Cold War (1946–1990), the impact of Nazism, communism, and the Soviet Union (USSR) left few pro-Western “neutrals.”

Switzerland, Ireland, Sweden, and **Finland** jointly threatened to join the U.S.-led **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** if Finland was occupied by the USSR. In 1955, the USSR left its **occupation zone** in **Austria**, signing the Austrian State Neutrality Treaty (1955), seeking to turn it into a model for a future “demilitarized” reunited and “neutral” Germany. Vienna secretly agreed in the 1950s to join NATO and have the **alliance**’s **Central Front** and **Italy**’s defenses extended to Austria if the USSR attacked in a possible **World War III**. Finally, although the allies and West Germany opposed all Soviet proposals in the 1950s for German reunification at the price of it being neutral and leaving NATO, **Cyprus** and **Malta** became “neutrals” in 1960s and 1979 respectively. In 1947, the United States abandoned forever any residual illusion of neutrality and neo-isolationism with the anti-Soviet **doctrine of containment**, then created a permanent transatlantic alliance in 1949, accepting in NATO as founding members former neutrals Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Portugal, as well as Greece in 1952. The col-

lapse of the USSR in 1991 allowed the other neutrals to join the **European Community/Union** (Ireland in 1973; Austria, Finland, and Sweden in 1995; Cyprus and Malta in 2002–2004), while NATO accepted as members of its **Partnership for Peace** in 1995 the neutrals Austria, Finland, Ireland, Malta, Sweden, and Switzerland, with the option of becoming **aspirants** and allies in future NATO **enlargements**.

"NEW APPROACH" (1950s). Strategic policy developed under U.S. President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** in 1953–1956 to support the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in defending Europe and deterring/fighting any conflict with the Soviet Union (USSR). The "new approach" relied on deploying in Europe (**France, Great Britain, Italy, Turkey, West Germany**) less-costly U.S. tactical **nuclear** weapons (TNFs) to augment **alliance** conventional defenses against any massed Soviet armor attack. In 1950–1952, General Eisenhower, as NATO's first **Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR)**, had quickly built up NATO as an integrated military alliance but could not readily compensate for the chronic shortages of conventional **forces**, weapons, and matériel against the conventionally superior **Red Army**. At the same time, European **allies** had repeatedly failed to supplement NATO either with sufficient **force** levels already committed on paper (at the 1952 NATO Lisbon **Summit** and 1954 Meeting) or by allowing the rearmament and integration of **Germany's** forces (1949, 1950, 1950–1954). Moreover, after 1953 President Eisenhower's domestic policies balanced the U.S. budget by slashing defense spending after his predecessor **Harry Truman** had massively invested in expanding American conventional and nuclear forces during the **Korean War** (1950–1953).

The "new approach's" complete reliance on nuclear weapons for the defense of Europe was criticized severely after 1955 following the fiasco of NATO's **Operation Carte Blanche** war games in West **Germany**, which surprisingly showed how quickly NATO use of TNFs would escalate to relieve overrun allied forces from Soviet assaults, devastating the entire **Central Front** and **Warsaw Pact** states, with military and civilian casualties in the millions. Thereafter the "new approach" was quietly deemphasized and supplemented in 1957 by NATO's adoption of the U.S. strategic doctrine of "massive

retaliation" (NATO document MC 14/2) by linking TNFs in Europe to America's strategic nuclear arsenal under the **U.S. Strategic Air Command (SAC)** against any Soviet aggression ("coupling"). NATO reluctantly abandoned in 1967 both the "new approach" and "massive retaliation" after much agitation by European allies (especially **France**, which feared it would "decouple" U.S. commitments to defend Europe with nuclear weapons), then adopted the new U.S. strategic **doctrine** of "flexible response," based on expanded forward-deployed forces (NATO's "Shield"), supplemented by nuclear retaliatory forces (NATO's "Sword") only in case of major Soviet attacks.

"NEW THREATS." See "ARC OF CRISIS."

NEW WORLD ORDER. See BUSH, GEORGE HERBERT WALKER.

1989 EASTERN EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS (or 1989 REVOLUTIONS). Soviet President **Mikhail Gorbachëv's** attempts between 1985 and 1991 to shore up the declining Soviet Union (USSR) through political-economic liberalization of the USSR and Eastern Europe—*glasnost* and *perestroika*—as well as his successful **nuclear** and conventional **arms control** reductions with the **West**, had as an unforeseen effect the sudden collapse of the entire Soviet bloc in 1989–1990. In February 1989, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party endorsed a gradual transition to a multiparty political system and elections for 1990. Then in April 1989, **Poland** ushered in major political reforms, allowing free elections and recognition of the banned Solidarność trade union. In July General Wojciek Jaruzelski, as general-secretary of the ruling Communist Party (Polish United Workers Party, PUWP), became Poland's president, but he failed to secure a multiparty "grand coalition" government. Solidarność instead formed a prodemocratic coalition, forming in August the first noncommunist government in 40 years, while **Hungary** opened the "Iron Curtain" to the free flow of people. By fall 1989, the democratic reform spirit had plunged East **Germany** (DDR) into deep **crisis**, with tens of thousands of DDR tourists seeking refuge in the West through Hungary and Western embassies in Eastern Europe.

Daily demonstrations in the DDR reached a climax on 6 November, when more than 100,000 protesters called for democracy and the Berlin Wall to fall. Gorbachëv refused to allow Soviet forces to help the DDR crack down on its protesters, fearing that like Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchëv** in the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, he too would sacrifice domestic reforms for Communist stability. Both the East German government and Communist Party Politburo resigned on 7 November, and on 9 November the Berlin Wall fell, while East German public demonstrations in Leipzig spurred inter-German talks about reunification, backed by the old “**Four-Powers Agreement**” framework. The new **4 + 2 Talks** led to formal reunification in December 1990.

In November–December 1989, Czechoslovakia’s Communist government bowed to the “Velvet Revolution” reformist, prodemocracy demonstrations led by Vaclav Havel of Civic Forum, followed by similar events in **Bulgaria**. By the end of 1989 and early 1990, all Eastern European **satellites** had shed both Communism and Soviet domination, reclaiming their complete national independence in the face of Soviet impotence. Parallel to the last U.S.–USSR **Summit** at Malta between United States President **George H. W. Bush** and Soviet President Gorbachëv in 1990, in Moscow **Warsaw Pact** leaders denounced their predecessors’ invasion of Communist-reformist Czechoslovakia (1968) and the **Brezhnev Doctrine** of limited sovereignty used to justify Soviet Communist political orthodoxy and control over satellite states. Finally, on 20–25 December **Romania**’s corrupt leader, Nicolai Ceaucescu, was toppled in a brief, bloody revolution and executed. The collapse of Soviet domination over the Eastern Europe satellite states in 1989 was completed in 1990 at a breakneck pace, as democracy was proclaimed throughout Eastern Europe with the dismantlement of Communist rule (isolated **Albania** was the last to act). In spring 1990, the Warsaw Pact collapsed when Hungary withdrew, followed soon by all Eastern European states, forcing further Soviet withdrawals from Eastern Europe in 1991 and Germany by 1995, while in March–May 1990 the USSR’s three Baltic states—**Lithuania**, **Latvia**, and **Estonia**—seceded and sought political-economic integration with Western Europe.

Accustomed to slow, cautious multilateral diplomacy, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, Western governments, and

publics of “Old Europe” remained shocked and cautious about these global geostrategic repercussions, which were rapidly eating away the core of the Soviet Communist “empire” and the **Cold War**. The United States and NATO still feared a sudden major ideological-military bloody backlash from the USSR, even at the price of a showdown with NATO, which every country sought to avoid. Finally, in May 1990 NATO foreign ministers seized the political initiative, and in the little-known but immensely symbolic “**Message from Turnberry**,” offered full cooperation and friendship to the USSR and all European countries (former Eastern satellites and Western “**neutrals**”), calling for the end of the Cold War. In July 1990, NATO’s London Summit still opened with uncertainty about how to react to the monumental geopolitical changes in Eastern Europe. The Summit’s “**London Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance**” restated that the Cold War was at an end and that NATO no longer saw the USSR and Eastern Europe as enemies, also offering formal East–West diplomatic ties and political cooperation beyond the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** with the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC–C)**. Despite the USSR’s collapse in December 1991 under the weight of its failed domestic reforms, NATO’s “London Declaration” and East–West security cooperation anchored in the West all former Communist Eastern European and Baltic states, while deflecting their constant pleas for membership in NATO and the **European Union (EU)**, also sought by **Russia** and all other former Soviet states.

NIXON, RICHARD M. (1913–1994). Thirty-seventh president of the **United States** (January 1969–August 1974). He was a very controversial politician and a **Realist** in world politics who had major diplomatic successes with the Soviet Union (USSR) and Communist China and ended the Second Vietnam War. A brilliant but insecure, and immoral president, with a self-isolated, centralized decision-making style, Richard Nixon was the only president to resign from office under impeachment (for the Watergate scandal; he was later pardoned), and the only person twice elected as president and twice as vice president (under **Dwight D. Eisenhower**). He redefined the vice presidency as a highly visible position. Copying from the “best and brightest” of the **John F. Kennedy–Lyndon B. John-**

son Democratic administrations, the Republican Nixon administration rallied an impressive array of talent that dominated U.S. politics and foreign policy over 40 years and six administrations, under Republican Presidents Gerald Ford, **Ronald Reagan**, **George H. W. Bush**, and **George W. Bush**. Among these talented men were National Security Advisor–Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger**; CIA Director, Vice President, and President George H. W. Bush; National Security Advisors Lawrence Eagleburger, General Brent Scowcroft, Frank Carlucci, and General Colin Powell); six secretaries of state (Kissinger; **Alexander M. Haig Jr.**, George Shultz, James Baker, Eagleburger, Powell); five secretaries of defense (James Schlesinger, Donald Rumsfeld, Casper Weinberger, Carlucci, Cheney); a chair of joint chiefs of staff (Powell); and three White House chiefs of staff (Rumsfeld, Cheney, Baker).

Richard M. Nixon was born in Yorba Linda, California on 9 January 1913. He declined a full scholarship from Harvard, graduating in 1934 from local Quaker Whittier College second in his class and student president. In 1937, he graduated from Duke University–School of Law and was a U.S. Navy officer in **World War II**. Nixon’s reputation as an unprincipled politician (“Tricky Dick”) started since his 1946 election as a conservative Republican in the U.S. House of Representatives after alleging his opponent’s collaboration with Communist-controlled labor unions. Nixon’s reputation as a strident anti-Communist rose when in 1948 he unmasked as a Soviet spy the high-ranking State Department official Alger Hiss, ex-senior advisor of President Franklin D. Roosevelt on the House on Un-American Activities Committee. In 1950, Nixon became U.S. Senator, again alleging his opponent of Communist sympathies. At 39, he became vice president under Eisenhower, although he risked being fired when accused during the campaign of using a slush fund; he responded on television that also Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson had one, prompting a flood of support. Nixon was the first to redefine the vice presidency as a highly visible office and international platform; he personally challenged Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchëv** in an impromptu debate about the merits of capitalism vs. Communism at the July 1959 U.S. National Exhibition in Moscow; he temporarily ran the government three times when Eisenhower had a series of heart attacks in 1955–1957; and he also turned

the vice presidency office in a domestic springboard for his own presidential race. Yet, Eisenhower marginalized Nixon, who in 1960 lost a very close presidential race to Democratic Senator Kennedy, with Kennedy accusing the Eisenhower–Nixon administration of being “soft” on defense (“**Missile Gap**”) and besting Nixon in the first televised presidential debate.

Thereafter, Nixon wrote acclaimed political books, lost the race for governor of California, and during the 1966 Congressional elections stumped the country in support of Republican candidates to rebuild his power base and complete a remarkable political comeback as Republican nominee in the 1968 presidential elections dominated by the Second **Vietnam War**. Nixon won against Vice President and Democratic nominee Hubert H. Humphrey by promising “peace with honor” and appealed to the “silent majority” of conservative Americans to reject the anti-war “hippie” counter-culture.

President Nixon and his powerful national security advisor Kissinger brilliantly pursued Realism as a power-driven foreign policy. They cast aside moral considerations on behalf of U.S. national interests while exploiting the dramatic reduction in East–West tensions through the **détente** (1969–1979) as peaceful coexistence in the **Cold War** with the USSR and Communist China. Nixon extended the unpopular Vietnam War by continued to bomb North Vietnam and escalating secret bombings of **neutral** Cambodia in March 1969 with **Operation Menu** and in Laos to destroy the Vietnamese Communist supply lines (“Ho Chi-Mihn Trail”), before the U.S. Congress cut funding for the Vietnam War. Eventually, he was widely praised at home for having delivered “peace with honor” by ending U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War following his 1969 **Nixon Doctrine** of reducing U.S. **forces** and turning over fighting to the South Vietnamese fully armed by the U.S. (“Vietnamization”). At the same time, Nixon and Kissinger skillfully shaped East–West détente with the USSR into a triangular **strategy** by exploiting the 1963 Sino–Soviet Split and rivalries between the USSR and China reaching its peak with the 1969 Amur–Ussuri shootings: to shift the Cold War **balance of power** toward the **West** they secretly opened bilateral relations with China in July 1971 to use the “China card” to gain a strategic advantage over the USSR, while also prodding Moscow to improve relations on **arms control** with the West to avoid being

squeezed by a U.S.–China détente. In October 1971, Communist China entered the **United Nations (UN)** replacing Taiwan at the permanent **veto** seat in the UN Security Council. In 1972, Nixon stunned the world because politically “only Nixon could go to China” and negotiate directly with Mao tze-Tung by partially abandoning Taiwan.

The surprise dramatic U.S.–Chinese diplomatic normalization helped Nixon and Kissinger build international political-economic “**linkages**” with these old enemies: fearing a potential Sino–American **alliance**, the USSR yielded on both Vietnam and East–West **arms control** with the 1972 U.S.–Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) and **Anti-Ballistic Missiles Treaty (ABM)**, while benefitting from Western investments and a U.S.–USSR grain deal to cover Soviet agricultural shortfalls. By successfully playing the “China card” against both USSR and North Vietnam, Moscow and Beijing were forced to pressure Hanoi to end the Second Vietnam War, but without eliminating their military aid. Thereafter, Nixon’s secret bombings of Cambodia and Laos in 1972 were followed by U.S. troops withdrawals from Vietnam with the 1973 Paris Peace negotiated by Kissinger, while the U.S. propped-up militarily South Vietnam long enough not to be blamed should it collapse later. Instead, low South Vietnamese morale, corruption, and U.S. Congress’ funds cutbacks led that country to collapse in 1975 under a Communist North Vietnamese offensive.

Both superpowers had agreed that détente be indivisible everywhere in the world, and to cooperate to prevent that regional brush wars among respective **allies** and client-states escalate into East–West clashes or even **World War III**. Yet such a complex détente faltered in several **crises**. The first crisis was the 1971 Indo–Pakistan War, where Nixon and Kissinger strongly supported Pakistan despite widespread human rights violations by the Pakistani Army in East Pakistan (independent Bangladesh since 1971), then gave military supplies to Pakistan despite Congress’ objections and sent the **nuclear**-armed air carrier *USS Enterprise* battle group to bully India, but Delhi won the war regardless. Instead, these unsuccessful U.S. pressures, combined with China’s enmity against India and U.S.–Chinese *rapprochement*, led Delhi to sign a bilateral security treaty with the USSR and spurred India’s secret nuclear proliferation. The second crisis was in Latin America, where Nixon had

opposed since 1971 Communist President Salvador Allende's election in Chile as another Soviet violation of the Monroe Doctrine (since Castro's Revolution in Cuba) and a threat to the **Organization of American States (OAS)**. Allende's domestic overthrow in September 1973 in a military coup by Chief of Staff General Augusto Pinochet, was externally backed by the CIA and various Latin American secret services.

The third crisis was the Middle East, where Israel was, since the 1960s, a key U.S. ally, while the USSR had turned into client states Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Somalia, and South Yemen. Moscow breeched détente when it secretly provided Soviet arms and support to Egypt and Syria, who then attacked Israel in the surprise Yom Kippur War of October 1973. Israel barely stopped the Arab offensives, while U.S. and Soviet rival airlifts of weapons to the region threatened to escalate into an East–West clash when Israel defeated its enemies. At this point, the USSR started secretly to prepare Soviet paratroopers to be dropped into Syria and Egypt with a fly-by from **Ukraine** over Yugoslavia and the eastern Mediterranean over Crete, but Nixon and Kissinger intervened by taking the calculated risk of ratcheting-up the crisis toward nuclear escalation (the Yom Kippur U.S.–Soviet Nuclear Crisis) by putting all U.S. forces on nuclear and conventional alert (DEFCON 2) to force a furious Soviet Politburo to stand-down and stop its Arab allies just as Washington halted Israel's victory. Thereafter, Soviet influence in the Middle East declined, while Egypt and moderate Arabs sided with the U.S. as the only power able to corner Israel into a comprehensive regional peace.

Parallel to this came a fourth crisis with NATO and the **European Community (EC)** in 1973–1974, when Nixon and Kissinger advocated stronger European defense expenditures to help the drain on U.S. forces from the Second Vietnam War, while reassuring the allies that East–West nuclear and conventional arms control would stabilize Europe and not “**de-couple**” the U.S. nuclear umbrella. Nixon even initiated an official *rapprochement* with **France** in 1969 by visiting President **Charles de Gaulle**, who had clashed with U.S. presidents Franklin Roosevelt, **Harry S. Truman**, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. But the 1973 Yom Kippur War and “First Oil Shock” left the EC and NATO in disarray with the U.S. alone supporting Israel, while oil-dependent Europeans pursued a veiled pro-Arab policy in the Middle East.

In 1972, Nixon was reelected in one of the biggest landslide election victories in U.S. political history, defeating George McGovern with over 60 percent of the popular vote and 49 of 50 states, but the subsequent Watergate Scandal over his illegal break-in of the Democratic Party headquarters, illegal campaign finances, intrusive government surveillance, corruption of his top aides and political cover ups forced him to resign after being impeached for abuse of power, but he was immediately pardoned by vice president-turned-president Gerald Ford. He later became an acclaimed author on international and domestic politics, rehabilitated his public image, and was consulted by both Democratic and Republican presidents. He died on 22 April 1994.

"NO FIRST-USE." In late 1957, the **Soviet Union (USSR)** launched a massive propaganda campaign of disinformation against the **West** by publicizing a flow of Soviet **"peace messages"** to all members of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** calling for a new East–West **summit**, suspension of **nuclear** tests, creation of **"Nuclear-Free Zones"** in Europe, a bilateral Warsaw Pact–NATO **non-aggression pact**, and especially the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons in combat to support conventional **forces** (the "No First-Use" pledge). If accepted, these Soviet "peace messages" would have weakened NATO's tactical nuclear defenses against the larger Soviet conventional forces. Thus, the West opposed the Soviet "peace messages" as ploys to split NATO by **"decoupling"** U.S.–European security. Later, only few symbolic "Nuclear-Free Zones" were established in non-strategic areas (Antarctica, Latin America, southern Pacific).

"NO-FLY ZONES" (1991–2003). Military-diplomatic term for geographic areas where the **United Nations (UN)** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** allow aircraft overflights only by UN–NATO aircraft and other international organizations, in order to safeguard the local protected populations. All hostile aircraft within the "no-fly zones," which are mostly from defeated local governments or **forces**, like Iraq, the former Yugoslavia, and the Bosnian Serb forces, are forced or shot down. The U.S. coalition that defeated Saddam Hussein's Iraq under UN mandates during the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991) destroyed most of the Iraqi air force in combat, but

after the war sat helplessly by as Saddam systematically massacred tens of thousands of régime opponents who had risen both in the south (Shia) and north (Kurds) forcing hundreds of thousands of civilians in northern Iraq toward the sealed borders of **Turkey** and Iran, as well as in the south toward Iran, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. Already during the Shi'a uprising the U.S.-led coalition had imposed a strict southern no-fly zone in Iraq, manned by the United States, **France**, and **Great Britain**, shooting down Iraqi helicopters and jets challenging it. Likewise, to protect northern Kurdistan, a northern no-fly zone was imposed, manned only by U.S. and British jets due to opposition from Turkey and France. For more than a decade, until the U.S.-led **Second Gulf War** (2003–2004) toppled Saddam's régime, both no-fly zones were routinely challenged by Iraqi anti-aircraft missiles and radar installations, immediately destroyed without any loss of life by the coalition.

Similarly, U.S.–NATO no-fly zones were established in the former Yugoslavia in 1991–1995 during the Bosnian Civil War over **Bosnia** and Serb Krajina in Southern **Croatia**, and in the 1999 **Kosovo War**. No-fly zones were abolished not at the end of combat, but years later once the hostile local régimes had collapsed, eliminating the need to constantly deter them from attacking their victims.

NONAGGRESSION PACTS. The establishment of bilateral, automatically renewable nonaggression pacts for five-year periods and of trade relations or foreign aid treaties between ex-rival states was a favorite political-diplomatic initiative used in the Interwar Period (1919–1939) by both the **Allies** and totalitarian powers, including Nazi **Germany** and the Soviet Union, to facilitate closer political-economic relations and degrees of political-military cooperation, in particular to secure political **control** over **Eastern Europe** and the Baltic states. Between 1919 and 1935, the rivalry between **France** and Fascist **Italy** dominated political-economic affairs in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean, with France influencing **Belgium**, Czechoslovakia, **Poland**, **Romania**, **Spain**, **Switzerland**, and **Yugoslavia** and Italy exerting influence over **Albania**, **Austria**, **Bulgaria**, and **Hungary** (“revisionist states” that lost **World War I**). In addition, **Great Britain** influenced **Greece**, **Portugal**, the Scandinavian and Baltic states, and **Turkey**, as well as the **Middle East/Gulf**

region. Between 1935 and 1944, Nazi Germany succeeded in “satelizing” (dominating political-ideologically) Eastern Europe with the anticommunist **Axis** (1936–1945) and Anti-Comintern Pact (1937–1945), then conquered all of Eastern Europe and France in **World War II** (1939–1945). The **United States** favored both bilateral and broad regional conciliation treaties (compulsory arbitration accords in case of future bilateral controversies), as well as promoting multilateral treaties on international peace and disarmament, such as the **League of Nations** (1919–1945) and the **Kellogg–Briand Pact** (1928) to “abolish war.”

The post–World War II decline in bilateralism and nonaggression pacts derived in part from the international controversies over the four most infamous bilateral pacts of the 20th century: the Treaty of Rapallo (1924–1933) between the USSR and Weimar Germany, the Nazi–Polish Pact (1934–1939), the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact (1939–1941) between the USSR and Nazi Germany, and the USSR–Japanese Non-Aggression Pact (1940–1945). As a bilateral nonaggression and trade pact, the Treaty of Rapallo shocked the world by bringing together former enemies Germany and the Soviet Union, who were internationally ostracized by the victorious World War I Allies and League of Nations, while its secret military cooperation clauses aided German rearmament and training in the USSR with weapons prohibited by the Allied-imposed Treaty of Versailles (1919). The USSR saw Rapallo mostly through its ideological Marxist–Leninist lens, as a useful diplomatic tool to keep the democratic capitalist Weimar Germany and the Allies divided and hostile, thus preventing any “unified Western anticommunist front” from potentially emerging to threaten the USSR’s security while the Kremlin was undertaking its decades-long national industrialization and military rearmament prior to seeking to expand Communism against the capitalist powers. When Germany was taken over in 1933 by the totalitarian, anticommunist, anti-Western, and anti-Semitic Nazi Party under Adolf Hitler, he discarded the Treaty of Rapallo.

The Nazi–Polish Pact (1934–1939) was agreed upon after two unsuccessful Polish attempts to convince its ally, France, to launch a preemptive surprise attack on a still weak Nazi Germany. Since the 1920s Poland had been a key ally in France’s aggressive *alliances des rères*, an informal regional defense system with Eastern European

countries (the “Little Entente”: Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia) designed to encircle and attack Germany in case of any future threat against them. However, between 1929 and 1940, French concentration on building the ambitious Maginot Line of permanent fortifications and trench defenses on the Franco–German border, together with refusals to join Poland in a surprise strike on Nazi Germany in 1933 and 1934 (Paris rejected similar secret proposals from Fascist Italy), convinced Warsaw to jettison France’s unreliable protection of Poland’s ethnically mixed borders with Germany. Being also threatened by the USSR on its equally ethnically mixed borders, Warsaw suddenly switched sides, signing the Nazi–Polish Non-Aggression and Trade Pact. However, in 1939 Nazi Germany refused to renew the pact and threatened Poland over transit access to East Prussia through the “Corridor” (former German lands along the Baltic Sea, annexed by Poland after World War I), thus forcing Poland back into an alliance with France and Great Britain. France’s military plan to attack Germany to save Poland (Gamelin Plan) was never implemented and could not prevent the swift German defeat of Poland that started World War II, partitioning it with the USSR.

The Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact (1939–1941), between the USSR and Nazi Germany, was signed few days before World War II began. It scuttled an Allied–USSR military front against the Axis (until late 1941, after the Axis invasion of the USSR) and secretly divided Poland, Eastern Europe, and the Baltic states between Nazi Germany (60 percent of Poland and Europe) and the USSR (40 percent of Poland, the Baltic states, Finland, and part of Romania).

The USSR–Japanese Non-Aggression Pact (1940–1945) was signed after Japan’s defeat during the Manchurian border conflicts of late 1940 with the USSR. The pact allowed Tokyo to focus its military resources southward toward the Pacific and southeast Asia against the Allies, which were already reeling from the 1940 Axis defeat of France and conquest of Europe. Japan did not join the Axis in invading the USSR and maintained cordial diplomatic ties, despite its involvement in a parallel Asian–Pacific War with Nationalist China and the Allies (1937–1945). At the Allies’ Yalta (February 1945) and Potsdam (June–July 1945) Conferences, the USSR agreed to break its nonaggression treaty with Japan after the end of the conflict in Europe and join the victorious Anglo–Americans in attacking a retreating

Japan by August 1945. This action, together with the U.S. atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, terminated World War II.

During the early Cold War (1946–1960s), the USSR continued to favor bilateral nonaggression pacts and diplomatic-economic ties to cement its “**satellization**” of Eastern European states (1945–1949), influence other pro-Soviet Communist countries (Red China, Cuba, North Korea), and channel foreign aid and **arms trade** to establish influence over newly independent, **nonaligned** Third World states. At the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Summit** in Paris in November 1990, the 22 NATO and Warsaw Pact states signed both the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty on **arms cuts** and a **joint** nonaggression declaration. Since the end of World War II the allies and **West** have considered bilateralism potentially divisive and discriminatory, focusing instead on the establishment of a just and peaceful global order based on a web of mutually interconnected multilateral policies, treaties, and institutions, such as the **United Nations (UN)** and its affiliated international organizations, to expand multilateralism and free trade. *See also* NATO–RUSSIA NON-AGGRESSION PACT.

NONALIGNMENT. The gradual decolonization of European colonial empires between 1945 and 1975 unleashed various **forces** within the newly independent Third World as well as generalized resentment against the **West** for its 450 years of colonization. The Bandung Conference in Indonesia (April 1955) was the first official attempt to diplomatically combine the weak forces of the Third World and new revolutionary parties in 29 states, initially mostly Asian and Arabic. The Bandung Conference promoted six principles of peaceful coexistence: mutual respect for each member’s territorial integrity and sovereignty; **nonaggression**; noninterference in each member’s internal affairs; equality among members; mutual benefits; and peaceful coexistence. Bandung was an international political platform for **neutral** anti-Western states like India and Indonesia, which advocated nonalignment with both the U.S.-led West and the **Soviet bloc**, while allowing revolutionary states like Red China and Nasserite Egypt to also associate themselves with the nonaligned movement. The Bandung Non-Aligned Group, later known as G-77 within the **United Nations (UN)**, keenly opposed both European colonial

empires and the U.S. expanding **alliance** in Asia during the **Cold War**, creating **Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)** and **South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)** in 1954. Political cooperation among nonaligned states included all newly independent African states and Josip Broz Tito’s **Yugoslavia** in the 1960s after both India and China became rivals and abandoned the more neutralist dimension of nonalignment. Nonalignment, remained more anti-Western than anticommunist, until it was gradually marginalized in international politics between the 1970s through 1990s. In the 1970s, the oil-producing Arab countries left the group for economic reasons after the quadrupling of oil prices in the 1973 First Oil Shock. In the 1980s, U.S. President **Ronald Reagan** countered the anti-Western policies of the nonaligned G-77 within the UN and other international organizations, stopping all financing from the UN system, which the G-77 themselves could never replace. Between the 1970s and 1990s, several former Third World countries joined the West through economic growth and political alignment, including the East Asian “Tigers” and part of Latin America. Finally, the collapse of Communism, the USSR, and Yugoslavia in the 1990s left the world under the overwhelming political-economic sway of the U.S.-led West, forcing many Third World countries to join Western trade rules and globalization or be marginalized. The nonaligned group vanished politically except at the UN.

“NON-ARTICLE V” OPERATIONS, NATO. Any “out-of-area” military operations, **peacekeeping** missions, or **humanitarian** missions by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** undertaken beyond the vital self-protection mission to deter and protect all member states against any threat of aggression to the **alliance** (Article V). Thus, the **United Nations (UN)** mandate for NATO to enforce the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords in **Bosnia** was considered a “Non-Article V” (or better an Article IV) mission, undertaken by its **Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR)** in 1995–1996 and **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** in 1996–2004. Article V refers to any hypothetical escalation of the Cold War (1946–1990) into a full-fledged **World War III** with the Soviet Union (USSR), or in the **post–Cold War** period, the Second Afghan War (2001–2002) and

peacekeeping by NATO's **International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF)** (2002–present).

NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT, 1967). International treaty jointly sponsored by **Great Britain**, the Soviet Union (USSR), and the **United States** to prevent the proliferation of **nuclear** weapons outside the three original “nuclear weapons states,” which sponsored the treaty and pledged future **arms control** and eventual disarmament of their nuclear arsenals. All NPT signatories forswore research and production of nuclear weapons in exchange for access to peaceful nuclear reactors and technology, also allowing their nuclear reactors and facilities to be annually inspected by the **United Nations (UN) International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)**. Political pressure from the United States and Great Britain forced most countries in the world and all Western and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** members to sign, especially the former enemies of **World War II (Germany, Italy, and Japan)**, but could not keep **France** from becoming a nuclear proliferant in 1958. The USSR made sure its **Warsaw Pact satellites** and client states did not develop an independent nuclear **force**, except for Communist China, which became a nuclear proliferant in 1958 as well. Until the 1990s, both China and France refused to renounce their nuclear weapons and join the NPT, unless they were accepted as new “nuclear weapons states,” which was done when the NPT was renewed in the mid-1990s. Other nuclear proliferants were Argentina, Brazil, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Libya, North Korea, Pakistan, and South Africa, but the first two disarmed their facilities in the mid-1970s due to economic difficulties; South Africa did so in the 1990s with the end of apartheid and the country's adoption of black majority rule; Iraq's nuclear program was twice destroyed by the United States and UN, during both **Gulf Wars** (1990–1991, 2003–2004); and Libya openly disarmed its **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)** programs under UN supervision. The Second Gulf War prompted North Korea and Iran to come out as official nuclear proliferants to deter future U.S. surgical strikes against their WMD programs (the Six Powers Talks of 2003–2007 have now forced North Korea to eliminate its nuclear program), while India and Pakistan remain locked in mutual nuclear deterrence,

and Israel refuses to acknowledge possession of more than 200 nuclear weapons.

"NORDICS." Political-diplomatic term for Pan-Scandinavian cooperation on regional security, and diplomacy issues between members of the Nordic Pact (**Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden**). The Nordic Pact fields joint peacekeepers in the "Northbat" for the **United Nations (UN)** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. *See also* JOINT NORDIC COMMITTEE ON MILITARY UNITED NATIONS MATTERS.

NORSTAD, GENERAL LAURIS B., U.S. AIR FORCE (1907–1988).

From 1956 to 1962, he was both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**'s fourth **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and commander of **U.S. European Command (EU-COM)**. From NATO's **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)**, he led Allied Command Europe (ACE) to preserve transatlantic peace and security, while as CINC–EUCOM he commanded U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe, and U.S. Air Forces—Europe for NATO and U.S. combat missions.

Lauris Norstad was born on 24 March 1907 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, to Norwegian immigrants. He graduated in 1930 from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and served as a lieutenant colonel in World War II (1939–1945) under General Henry H. Arnold, commander of the Army Air Forces. In February 1943, as a brigadier general, he coordinated Mediterranean Allied Air Forces. As a major general in June–August 1945, he planned the atomic bomb missions against Japan. In June 1946, he became director of plans and operations, Division of the General Staff, and helped draft the National Security Act of 1947, which created the Department of Defense and an autonomous Air Force. As a lieutenant general, he became Vice Chief of Staff for Operations, and under President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** he served in various NATO and European posts between 1951 and 1956. As a general (July 1952), he became air deputy to his predecessor SACEURs and U.S. Army Generals **Matthew B. Ridgway** (1953–1954) and **Alfred M. Gruenther** (1954–1956), and in November 1956 succeeded Gruenther as SACEUR.

Norstad worked with NATO **Secretaries-General Lord Ismay** (1952–1957), **Paul-Henri Spaak** (1957–1961), and **Dirk U. Stikker** (1961–1964). Under their **joint** watch NATO slowly adopted in 1957 as its new **strategy** (MC 14/2 document) the preexisting U.S. “massive retaliation” **doctrine** against Soviet aggression, relying on America’s retaliatory **nuclear** arsenal (“NATO Sword”) under the **U.S. Strategic Air Command (SAC)**. Norstad strove to build a forward-deployed conventional “NATO Shield” of 30 allied divisions to block major Soviet attacks.

Norstad led NATO through difficult times. First, with the USSR officially branding him a warmonger, the efforts to build a “NATO Shield” were repeatedly delayed by allied pressures for East–West **détente** and trade, as well as the opposition of **French** President **Charles de Gaulle**. Paradoxically, the more the European **allies** delayed fielding a “NATO Shield” of 30 divisions, the more dramatic the alliance weaknesses in troops, obsolescent weapons, and equipment became. Second, in 1956–1958 NATO fell into disarray after U.S. political-financial broadsides sank the Anglo–French–Israeli attacks against Gamal Abdel Nasser’s **Egypt** during the **Suez Canal War** (1956). The allies were convinced that U.S. leadership of NATO was focused exclusively on superpower rivalries and would cavalierly overrule even vital European colonial or national security interests, such as Anglo–French influence in the Arab world and Suez Canal. Third, although U.S. anticolonialism helped dismantle European empires between the 1940s and 1960s, it still failed to sway Arab nationalists away from Soviet influence, thus forcing a growing U.S. military presence in the Middle East. At the same time, the 1958 Eisenhower Doctrine actively contained Communist and Nasserite radical nationalist subversion against pro-Western moderate Arab states (Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen) with limited Anglo–American military operations in Lebanon and Jordan. Finally, the Cold War worsened in Europe with the second **Berlin crisis** (1958) and Berlin Wall crisis (August 1961).

Norstad saw his own role as that of an international allied servant, like SACEURs Eisenhower and Gruenther, rather than just a U.S. general, like SACEUR Ridgway had been, or as Presidents Eisenhower and **John F. Kennedy** wanted him to act, criticizing him for

relying too much on conventional weapons instead of more tactical nuclear weapons for the **alliance's** arsenal against the USSR. Nevertheless, in 1961 he created, using existing formations, NATO's first fast-moving multinational units, winning the respect of President Kennedy during the third Berlin crisis in 1961, when East Germany erected the Berlin Wall to seal off West Berlin from the Communist East. Norstad's scheduled departure as SACEUR on 1 November 1962 was postponed by Kennedy and NATO due to the **Cuban Missile Crisis** (October 1962), and he turned over command at year's end to U.S. Army General **Lyman L. Lemnitzer** (1963–1969).

Once retired in 1963, Norstad became president of Owens-Corning Fiberglass, chief executive and chairman (1967–1972). He died on 12 September 1988.

"NORTH." *See* WEST.

NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. *See* NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION.

NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY. *See* NATO PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY.

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL (NAC). Principal civil-military and political body of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, with exclusive decision-making authority based explicitly on the **North Atlantic Treaty**. The NAC meets regularly at different levels of authority with the same decision-making powers and validity: at least once a week at the level of its member states' **permanent representatives** with ambassadorial status (Permanent Council); at least twice a year at ministerial level among ministers of foreign affairs (**Foreign Ministerial Meetings**); at least twice a year as defense ministers (Defence Ministers Sessions); and every few years as heads of state/government at **NATO Summits**, to address key security issues or **crises**. The North Atlantic Treaty also allows the NAC to create subsidiary bodies (more than 40 committees and planning groups) to support its work or assume specialized responsibility, such as defense planning, **nuclear** planning, and military issues. The

NAC provides the most important forum for wide-ranging consultation between governments and any issue of concern may be raised any time by **allied** representatives or **NATO's Secretary-General**. All allied member states are under NAC authority, with equal rights to debate and fully participate in NATO decision making based on collective will and consensus (unanimity). Although this is vital for Article V common defense actions and **enlargement**, recently NATO has widened areas for majority decisions. NAC declarations and communiqués publicize NATO policies and decisions to the general public and non-allied governments. *See also* NORTH ATLANTIC COOPERATION COUNCIL.

NORTH ATLANTIC COOPERATION COUNCIL (NAC-C). The security impact of the Cold War's end in 1990, the 1990–1991 First **Gulf War** against Iraq, and the Soviet Union collapse, pushed the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to open up to its former enemies of Eastern Europe, former Soviet states, and Western “**neutrals**.” NATO's May 1989 Brussels **Summit** had already recognized the growing democratization of the Communist **Soviet bloc**, **arms control**, and waning East–West tensions, all of which finally met the **alliance's** historical aim to promote peace and unity in Europe. The Brussels Summit restated NATO's need for an effective deterrent and adequate defense, while endorsing U.S. President **George H. W. Bush's** triple initiatives to accelerate conventional arms cuts through the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE), to sharply reduce U.S.–NATO and Soviet–**Warsaw Pact forces** in Europe, and to expand East–West ties. In June 1990, NATO's Foreign Ministers Meeting in Scotland issued the “**Message from Turnberry**,” offering friendship and cooperation to the Soviet–Warsaw Pact former enemies, followed by NATO's July 1990 London Summit, which declared the Cold War over and established permanent diplomatic liaisons with the USSR, and Eastern European, and neutral states.

The result was the NAC-C, comprising 16 NATO **allies**, the USSR, 10 Central and East European and former Soviet Baltic states (**Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia**), Western “neutrals”

(Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Ireland, Malta, Sweden, and Switzerland), and former Yugoslav states (Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, and Yugoslavia/Serbia). The November 1990 NATO/NAC-C Paris Meeting issued a **joint** declaration that the East and West no longer considered each other to be enemies and would sign a **nonaggression** accord against the threat or use of **force** against the territorial integrity or political independence of any member state, based on the principles of the **United Nations (UN)** and **Helsinki Final Act** of the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)**. The 1991 NATO Rome Summit issued a “Declaration on Peace and Cooperation” for European security and new partnership with Central and East European states, supporting their democratization through NATO/NAC-C institutional **partner** links and assistance programs in political, military, economic, or scientific areas. After the USSR’s disintegration in late 1991, the NAC-C also integrated also **Russia** (replacing the USSR) and 11 former Soviet states of the new **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** in March 1992: **Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan**. The NAC-C met at least once a year, cooperating through NAC-C work plans (annually, then since 1995 biannually), which since 1997–1999 are expanded **EAPC Action Plans**. NAC-C cooperation on security focused on **peacekeeping, arms control and disarmament**, defense planning, democratic civil-military relations, defense conversion to civilian use, defense expenditures and budgets, scientific cooperation, policy planning, and air traffic management. In 1997–1999, the NAC-C and 1995 NATO **Partnership for Peace** were merged as the **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY (1949). Signed in Washington on 4 April 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty, or Washington Treaty, created the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, a political-military **alliance** of 12 independent, democratic nations committed to the members’ **collective defense** (Article V) and security against the Soviet Union (USSR). NATO’s founding members or **allies** are **Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom, and the United States**. By 2008, NATO membership had reached 28 allies, adding

other Western European states (**Greece** and **Turkey** in 1952, **West Germany** in 1955, **Spain** in 1982), followed after the USSR's collapse by East European former enemies, in the three **enlargements** of 1999 (the **Czech Republic**, **Hungary**, and **Poland**), 2002–2004 (**Bulgaria**, **Estonia**, **Latvia**, **Lithuania**, **Romania**, **Slovakia**, and **Slovenia**), and 2008 (**Albania** and **Croatia**).

The North Atlantic Treaty's collective defense guarantee for all members during the Cold War (1949–1990) focused on the threat of war from the USSR and its **satellite** states of Eastern Europe (**Warsaw Pact**). In the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), NATO has been restructured into an effective **collective security** structure covering the whole of Europe (allies and **partners**). Within this context, NATO has transformed its political and military structures for **peacekeeping** and **crisis management** in cooperation with partners and other non-NATO states, plus related international security organizations. Through the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** (1991), **Partnership for Peace** (1994), and **Euro–Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)** (1997), NATO created an interlocking structure of partnership and cooperation with other **neutral**, Eastern European, Mediterranean, and former Soviet states within a broader alliance (including the 1995 **Mediterranean Dialogue**, 1997 NATO–Russia Founding Act, and the NATO–Ukraine Charter). New structures for NATO's internal transformation are ongoing, including the strengthening of the European role in NATO while preserving the transatlantic relationship through the EU–NATO **European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (ESDI/P)**, **Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTFs)**, and 2002 **NATO rapid-reaction forces** against global **terrorism**.

NATO's security guarantee for its members and Euro–Atlantic partners is backed by its vital transatlantic forum on political-military use of its military-logistical and economic assets over the last 50 years. NATO's "**First Dimension**," on collective defense and security, deters and defends against any threat of aggression (Article V), while to improve security in the broader Euro–Atlantic area and neighboring "out-of-area" states, NATO promotes partnership, regional crisis management, and **joint** peacekeeping with other Euro–Atlantic partners on a case-by-case basis. Thus, in **Bosnia** (1995–2004) NATO implemented the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords

against **ethnic cleansing** to rebuild regional peace through a multinational, military **Implementation Force (IFOR)** and subsequent **Stabilisation Force (SFOR)**. In **Kosovo** (1999–present) as well, NATO’s **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)** militarily reversed ethnic cleansing in spring 1999, enabling hundreds of thousands of Albanian Kosovar refugees who fled Yugoslavian repression to return home safely. In **Afghanistan** (2001–present), in response to the 9/11 terrorist strikes of 11 September 2001 against America, a U.S.-led coalition and NATO’s **International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF)** toppled the Taliban Islamic fundamentalist government—the first and only case of an Article V action by NATO as a whole. Peacekeeping and changing post–Cold War security in the 21st century continue to push NATO into becoming a more flexible and mobile multinational military **force** and **command**, despite occasional inter-allied controversies limiting alliance security interventions, like NATO’s abstention from U.S.-led international coalitions during the Persian Gulf patrols (1986–present) against Iran and Iraq and both **Gulf Wars** against Iraq (1990–1991, 2003).

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO). After **World War II** (1939–1945), the **United States**, **Canada**, and Western European countries had drastically slashed their defense establishments and demobilized their **forces** to shift resources toward domestic economic reconstruction. However, between 1945 and 1949 they became alarmed that their former ally, the Soviet Union (USSR), had kept its military forces at half-strength and promoted hostile ideological Communist subversion against the capitalist **West**, while occupying and transforming Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Black Seas into political-ideological **satellites**. The imposition of undemocratic Communist governments, and repression in these countries, threatened also the independence of Western democratic states with possible outside aggression or internal subversion. In 1947–1949, Soviet attempts to encroach on **Turkey** and Iran were matched by the Greek Civil War (between the government and Communist insurgents) and threats of subversion from Communist parties in **Italy** and **France**.

In February–June 1947, U.S. President **Harry S Truman** responded by replacing America’s isolation of the past with a new com-

mitment to international **containment** of the Soviet threat (**Truman Doctrine**) and economic reconstruction of Western European **allies** (Marshall Plan). International tensions exploded with the 1948 Communist coup in Czechoslovakia and **Berlin Blockade** (an effort in May 1948–June 1949 to expel Western powers), which prompted **Belgium, France, Great Britain, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands** to form a regional **alliance** against the USSR and, implicitly, any German resurgence (1948 Brussels Pact). As the Brussels Pact was clearly insufficient to withstand an organized Soviet invasion of Western Europe, its members negotiated a larger alliance system with the United States and Canada following the June 1948 **Vandenberg Resolution** by the U.S. Senate authorizing President Truman to enter any peacetime alliance deemed vital to America's security. The result was the **North Atlantic Treaty** (Washington, 4 April 1949), signed by the United States, Canada, and Brussels Pact, which extended U.S. security to Europe and North America, with **Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway, and Portugal** invited to join as founding members. **Cold War enlargements** added: **Greece** and **Turkey** in 1952, the Federal Republic of **Germany** in 1955, and **Spain** in 1982. After the Cold War former Communist states joined in a **bloc**: the **Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland** in 1999, followed by **Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia** and **Albania** in 2002–2004, then **Croatia** in 2008, while **Macedonia** remains a “left out.”

NATO was freely accepted by all member states after public debates and parliamentary ratification (compared to the Soviet-imposed bilateral security system and 1955 **Warsaw Pact** of the Eastern European satellites). Treaty obligations of regional **collective defense** in the transatlantic area are in accordance with the Charter of the **United Nations (UN)** on regional defense organizations (UN Article 51, which reaffirms the inherent right of independent states to individual or collective defense). Throughout the alliance's half-century history, its core task has always been the immediate defense and security of all **allies**, but the **post-Cold War** freedom of Eastern European satellites and the 1990 German reunification have added other responsibilities and made fundamental changes. The alliance has striven since 1949 to build a just and lasting peace in Europe based on **Atlantic common values** of democracy and human rights by permanently

linking the security of North America with Europe. NATO's core objective was fulfilled with the end of the Cold War and Soviet threat in 1989–1991.

NATO is an intergovernmental organization in which member states retain full sovereignty, independence, and **control** of their armed forces in peacetime, while in wartime they all fall under the unified NATO military **command** of the **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)**, led by a U.S. four-star general as **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)**. NATO provides a forum for inter-allied consultations on any issues of concern, and **joint** action on political-military matters affecting their security. It also provides intergovernmental structures to facilitate consultation and cooperation in political, military, economic, scientific, and other nonmilitary fields. The resulting sense of equal security and cooperation among all members of NATO (allies and **partners**), regardless of differences or national military capabilities, contributes to stability in the Euro–Atlantic area.

NATO security relies on conventional and nuclear military capabilities to deter war and ensure effective area defense, plus diplomatic **crisis management** and cooperation with other nations on European security and **arms control**. NATO's tasks include

- security for a stable Euro–Atlantic area through indivisibility of each ally's national security, with peaceful resolution of disputes to prevent future coercion of other countries through the threat or use of **force**;
- collective defense, **deterrence**, and political-military cooperation between allies and partners, with integrated NATO command **control** of military forces and logistics for **joint** actions against threats or aggression against NATO (Articles V and VI);
- transatlantic forum consultations (Article IV) on vital issues and allied security, with coordination of joint counteractions and extension of regional security to partner countries within the Euro–Atlantic area, including Russia and Ukraine;
- **Atlantic common values** of democracy, market economy, security cooperation, and peaceful conflict resolution among allies and partners;
- consensual crisis management on a case-by-case (Article VII) basis for conflict prevention, military intervention, and **peace-keeping**;

- political-military support of the international community's and UN efforts to stop **crises** and conflict, while promoting peaceful solutions;
- partnership with other countries in the Euro-Atlantic area and **Mediterranean Dialogue** for **confidence building (CBM)** and joint action (both military and peacekeeping) with the alliance, plus selective entry of better-prepared aspirants as new NATO allies;
- joint planning for common defense, training exercises, infrastructure, and installations for military forces, implemented by a civil-military structure involving administrative, budgetary, and planning staffs, as well as agencies established by the allies to coordinate work in communications, command, control, and logistical support of military forces;
- creating a fairer balance in the transatlantic partnership at the core of NATO, by strengthening the Europeans' role in regional crisis management and peacekeeping, which NATO can support without necessarily assuming the leadership in every crisis; and
- unanimous decisions on NATO enlargements in 1997–1999, 2002–2004, and 2008.

The post-Cold War period has profoundly transformed NATO, with tumultuous changes and new challenges to allied security. Its role and missions have been expanded and modernized, without losing the operational ability to fight, despite predictions by several analysts that it would lose its *raison d'être*. NATO's challenge has been to ensure that its existing roles are not compromised by too many demands on its resources, while fulfilling its original security agenda to safeguard the freedom of its member states. NATO is not a world policeman or a self-determining entity, but rather an intergovernmental security alliance, which is the core and catalyst for effective multinational peacekeeping forces, such as in **Bosnia** with the **Implementation Force (IFOR, 1995–1996)** and **Stabilisation Force (SFOR, 1996–2004)** and the **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR, 1999–present)**, to stabilize areas of conflict throughout the Euro-Atlantic area. NATO has never been a tool for power projection or hegemony by individual member states, but rather a framework for each ally to determine its national interest within the broader consensus decision making of the alliance as a whole. Thus, NATO shares burdens and responsibilities, as well as benefits, with its members, who always determine in common its goals and missions.

All alliance decisions emanate from regular summits of the members' heads of state and government, frequent meetings of foreign and defense ministers, and daily interaction between permanent representatives in Brussels. The joint transatlantic consensus decision making and integrated military missions have molded regional security since the Cold War, extending geostrategically the alliance's security culture. NATO-led peacekeeping and common security also influences the process of ethnic reconciliation and cooperation in the bloodied **Balkans**, while promoting openness and future cooperation within NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue partners.

Finally, the process of rebalancing the transatlantic relationship between America and the other allies is a multifaceted task of cooperation with those institutions developing a European role in defense and security through the **Western European Union (WEU)**, now absorbed into the **European Union (EU)**, while developing operational capabilities to improve strengthen cooperation in the alliance. The end result is the successful parallel implementation of the EU's **European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI)** and NATO's **Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI)** affecting both the alliance and its dual NATO-EU members. *See also* NORTH ATLANTIC COOPERATION COUNCIL; EURO-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP COUNCIL.

"NORTHBAT." *See* "NORDICS."

NORTHERN ALLIANCE. *See* AFGHANISTAN; OPERATION TORA-BORA (2002).

NORTHERN FLANK, NATO. *See* FRONT(S).

NORTHERN "NO-FLY ZONE." *See* "NO-FLY ZONES."

NORWAY (NORGE), NATO, EU PARTNER. Mountainous democratic monarchy in Northern Europe's **Scandinavia** with an area of 324,220 square kilometers, bordering **Finland**, **Russia**, **Sweden**, and the North Sea and facing **Denmark** across the Kattegat and Skaggeak Straits. The capital is Oslo. Norway is a Christian Protestant country (86 percent Lutheran, 3 percent Catholic, and 12 percent other) with a population of 4,580,000 (there is a tiny Lapp-Sami minority).

A Germanic seafaring people, Norwegian-Scandinavian Vikings raided all of Northern Europe, Russia, and the Mediterranean, colonizing in waves **Great Britain, Iceland, Greenland**, northern **Canada**, and Northern **France** (Normandy), until centuries of Viking raids tapered off with the slow adoption of Christianity after AD 994. In 1397, Norway was absorbed into a monarchical union under Denmark. In 1814, Norwegians opposed the cession of their country to Sweden, which resulted in Norway being invaded, but it secured a monarchical union under Sweden. Rising nationalism during the 19th century led to a referendum and Norway's independence in 1905. Norway was **neutral** during **World War I** (1914–1918), but in **World War II** (1939–1945) it was conquered by Nazi **Germany** (1940–1945) and became an **Axis satellite**. Liberated by Great Britain in 1945, Norway abandoned neutrality and became a Western country and founding member of the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945 and of the **Nordic bloc**, a member of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1949, and a member of the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** in 1976. In NATO, Norway was a centerpiece of its Northern Flank (Allied Forces–Northern Europe, AFNORTH) against the Soviet Union (USSR), helping to box in Soviet submarines behind the **UK–Iceland–Greenland Gap**, while the **United States** and NATO secretly **pre-positioned** matériel for airlifted U.S. **forces** against a Soviet invasion on the Arctic **front**. In the late 1960s, North Sea oil boosted Norway's economy, which supported an extensive welfare system, but Norwegian nationalist isolation led to twin referenda in 1972 and 1994 that narrowly rejected joining the **European Union (EU)** despite pressure from government and business, leaving Norway just a partner. Norway also provides **peacekeeping** forces to the UN and NATO.

"NUCLEAR DECAPITATION." Strategic **Cold War** (1946–1990) term for the threat of sudden **assured destruction** of most national **command** and **control** systems in a surprise **nuclear** "first strike" through accurate "**counter-force**" targeting. *See also* C3I.

"NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES." Military-diplomatic term used by the Soviet Union (USSR) during the Cold War (1946–1990) to try to split the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** between its European **allies** and the **United States** by playing on the Europeans' fear

of sudden destruction in a **nuclear World War III** between the superpowers. The USSR or Eastern European **satellites** would publicly offer to create an international "nuclear-free zone" by not deploying nuclear weapons in specific, but strategically meaningless, areas, like the two Germanies and **Poland** or all of Eastern and Western Europe. In the first instance, the "nuclear-free zone" areas were intentionally too small to prevent Soviet 500- to 6,000-kilometer **intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)** from hitting NATO, but the political-ideological goal was to show the world how "peace-loving" the USSR was compared to "war-mongering," U.S.-dominated NATO, while eliminating the 0- to 500-kilometer short-range nuclear forces (SNFs) from West **Germany**, vital since the 1950s for Atlantic defense against a Soviet armored invasion.

In the second instance, any such "denuclearization" of the entire continent, except for **Great Britain** and European **Russia**, would be even more detrimental to NATO defenses, because the USSR could still target most of NATO and Europe from the borders of **Belarus** and **Ukraine**, while NATO could defend Europe only with U.S. nuclear aircraft from Great Britain plus submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) from the Mediterranean and North Sea, plus British nuclear forces (both air-launched and SLBMs) and very likely also **France's** *force de frappe*. NATO always rejected any such provocative diplomatic propaganda, including Soviet pledges of "no first use" of nuclear weapons in wartime, knowing very well that NATO, despite being a defensive alliance, would have to rely on first use of "**nukes**" in combat against the superior Soviet forces to prevent the total collapse within three weeks of the entire **Central Front**. This threat pushed the NATO defense ministers, in the Defence Planning Committee on 7–10 December 1976, to strengthen conventional forces against the relentless Warsaw Pact growth in conventional military forces, despite the **Multilateral Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR)** talks.

Moreover, even if the USSR had signed a "no first use" pledge, the Chief of Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces in the early 1980s, General Sergei Ogarkov, told Soviet officers at the Frunze Military War College in January 1985 that the USSR never intended to respect previous arms control accords or "no first use" pledges, and would immediately use on NATO forces a combination of conventional,

chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons (CBNs) to quickly break the alliance, while relying on Soviet CBN-trained forces. A month later, the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in **Ukraine** excoriated Ogar-kov's nuclear bellicism, and he was relieved by Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachëv. The "nuclear-free zone" concept was adopted in Latin America in the Treaty of Tlatelolco, and in the "South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone" developed by New Zealand and the Pacific islands, while harassing France's South Pacific nuclear tests by promoting an international nuclear test-ban moratorium. New Zealand's "no entry policy" for visiting nuclear warships clashed with the U.S. policy of "neither admit nor deny" the presence of nuclear weapons on board, thus marginalizing New Zealand in the Australia–New Zealand–U.S. (ANZUS) alliance.

NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP (NPG), NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** defense ministers meet in the **Defence Planning Committee** and Nuclear Planning Group, a forum for **nuclear** and nonnuclear **allies** to develop, implement, or change **alliance** nuclear strategy, covering the safety, security, and survivability of nuclear weapons (SSD); nuclear deployment; nuclear **arms control**; and nuclear **proliferation**. The NPG's work is prepared weekly on behalf of the NPG permanent representatives by an NPG staff group with members from all national delegations, minus **France**, which withdrew in 1966 when President **Charles de Gaulle** left NATO's integrated military **command**. In June 2008, French President Nicolas Sarkozy finally brought France back into NATO's military command and NPG, although retaining national control of French nuclear arms. The senior advisory body to the NPG on nuclear policy and planning issues is the NPG **High-Level Group (HLG)**.

NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS GROUP (formerly LONDON SUPPLIERS GROUP). Created in 1976 in London in reaction to India's **nuclear** tests in 1974, by member states of the **International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)**, all of whom report back to the IAEA on their cooperation to apply specific export controls of nuclear materials, equipment, or technology to prevent the proliferation of **nuclear weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. The Nuclear Suppliers

Group develops guidelines for the physical prevention of theft and export of materials nuclear fuel cycle, such as plutonium, highly enriched uranium (HEU), reprocessing plants, enrichment plants, and related equipment resulting in a complete **embargo** on enrichment and reprocessing equipment from member states to “rogue states” or conflict regions. *See also* NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY; MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME; ZANGGER COMMITTEE.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS (NW) (“NUKES”). Defined as **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**, because of the vast number of casualties, especially civilian, nuclear weapons (or “nukes”) include both **atomic bombs (A-bombs)** and hydrogen bombs (H-bombs), also called thermonuclear devices. A-bombs were invented by the **United States** during **World War II** by breaking apart molecules in a chain reaction, or fission, leading to an atomic explosion with thousands of times the force of conventional explosives. H-bombs were invented in 1951 by using the fusion process of forcing molecules inward to release even greater magnitudes of explosive energy, more powerful than A-bombs. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the Soviet Union (USSR) exploded its first A-bomb in 1949, unleashing a massive nuclear weapons **arms race** between the two superpowers, totaling more than 50,000 devices of all types, before East–West **arms control** treaties radically reduced them, to a few thousand by 2010. Based on their range and targeting, nuclear weapons are either “strategic” (global) or “substrategic” (“theater”/“tactical”).

“Strategic weapons” have an “intercontinental” range (more than 5,500 kilometers) and comprise both intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). “Substrategic weapons” include intermediate- and short-range nuclear weapons, including air-delivered weapons from NATO’s dual-capable aircraft and a small number of British Trident SLBM warheads since the 1990s, both of which constitute the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO)** main nuclear shield since the 1987 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty** and 1991 Short-range Nuclear Forces (SNF) Unilateral Accords mandated their destruction

and withdrawal from Europe. NATO's nuclear strategy is decided by the **Nuclear Planning Group (NPG)**.

“NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES.” *See* NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY.

NUNN-LUGAR ACT (1992), U.S. *See* GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM.

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OAU DEFENSE COMMISSION. One of five specialized commissions of the **Organization of African Unity (OAU)**, the OAU Defense Commission sought to coordinate African defense policies and create an OAU African High **Command** with military units from its members. During the late 1970s and 1980s, the OAU Defense Commission ineffectually debated the military threat posed by Rhodesia and South Africa to the Front Line states (Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique), while in the 1980s–2000s it ineffectively faced regional civil wars with weak **peacekeeping** missions.

OAU PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN CHAD I and II (OAUPKF I and II). After Chad became independent in 1960, it was embroiled in several civil wars between its Arab Muslim population in the desert north and the black African Christian south, precipitating the military intervention of the ex-colonial power **France**, airlifted by the **United States**, and Libya, supported by the Soviet Union (USSR). In 1980, the failure of Nigerian **peacekeeping** led the **Organization of African Unity (OAU)** to send the multinational OAU Peacekeeping Force in Chad I (OAUPKF I) to replace French **forces**, supervise a cease-fire, restore law, and integrate a national army. However, French forces did not withdraw until 1981, and the OAUPKF's lack of transport prevented deployments of its few units. The OAU was unable to field enough peacekeepers or receive troops from the **United Nations (UN)**. This abysmal failure led the OAUPKF I to collapse in 1980.

When France withdrew in 1981, Libyan troops seized Chad, which most OAU members considered even more intolerable than the French “neocolonial” presence. Therefore, the OAU Peacekeeping Force in Chad II (OAUPKF II) was created in 1981 to secure Chad, with troops from Nigeria, Senegal, and Zaire, airlifted by the United States, France, and **Great Britain**. Libyan troops were forced out by November 1981 as OAUPKF II deployed, albeit in small numbers and with little funding, central Chad to block pro-Libyan rebel attacks. By March 1982, more OAUPKF II units were entrenched in several towns north of the capital, N’Djamena. OAU cease-fire offers were rejected by both the government and rebels, and in June 1982 Libyan-backed rebels seized power, forcing OAUPKF II to leave Chad, airlifted by the **West**. The OAU refused to participate in any more regional peacekeeping until the 1993–1994 genocide in Rwanda. In the early 2000s, France developed the concept of **rapid-deployment force** intervention by a single Western power as a **nation-cadre/leader**, to precede larger multinational peacekeeping deployments of the UN, **European Union (EU)**, or **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

OBJECTIVE. Technical military term for the physical object of the military action, such as definite tactical features whose seizure and/or holding are essential to the commander’s plan. Alternatively indicates the political-military goals of operations, campaigns, or wars.

OCCUPATION ZONES OF AUSTRIA (1945–1955), ALLIES. *See* AUSTRIA.

OCCUPATION ZONES OF BOSNIA–HERZEGOVINA (1995–2000s), NATO–UN. *See* IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA; STABILISATION FORCE–BOSNIA.

OCCUPATION ZONES OF GERMANY (1945–1955), ALLIES. *See* BERLIN CRISES.

OCCUPATION ZONES OF KOSOVO (1999–2000s), NATO–UN. *See* KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE.

OCCUPATION ZONES/PEACEKEEPING AREAS IN AFGHANISTAN (TPAs), NATO–UN. *See* INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE FORCE IN AFGHANISTAN.

OHRID PROCESS, EU. *See* STABILITY PACT.

OIL-FOR-FOOD PROGRAM, UN. *See* SECOND GULF WAR.

“ONE EUROPE” DECLARATION, EU (2002). The **European Union’s** (EU) declaration of principles on **enlargement** at the December 2002 EU Copenhagen **Summit**. Ten new EU members were accepted by 2004 (**Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia**). Then the **European Council** and these 10 new EU members advocated implementing the “One Europe” Declaration of continued enlargement to aspirants under the **Copenhagen Criteria** and *Acquis Communautaire*, as equivalent to NATO’s “**open door**” policy on common values and enlargement criteria. By January 2007, **Bulgaria** and **Romania** had joined the EU, while **Turkey**, which already meets the Copenhagen Criteria, has started talks with the EU on a possible 2015 membership. **Aspirants** in the Western **Balkans** (**Albania, Bosnia, Croatia, and Macedonia**) have also started the process for future EU membership. Among the non-members, **Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Ireland, Malta, and Sweden**, although already NATO **partners**, are not yet ready for full membership, but fear of isolation may push NATO’s **Iceland** and **Norway**, plus “**neutral**” **Switzerland**, to also join the EU after 2010 so that both the EU and NATO should have virtually identical membership.

O-PLAN. *See* OPERATION PLAN.

ON-SITE INSPECTIONS. Major **arms control** tool to verify the implementation of bilateral/multilateral treaties through the presence and work of mutual inspectors on the ground. Because verification of arms reductions and **disarmament** is one of the thorniest diplomatic-military issues between adversaries, the on-site inspections are the most taxing of verification provisions, needing to rely on all parties’ full governmental cooperation, secret documents, remote **satellite**

sensing (technical means), and human intelligence (HUMINT) to provide a highly accurate picture of the respective forces scheduled for dismantlement. The Soviet Union (USSR) refused any agreed on-site or "**open skies**" overflight regime at the Geneva Conference on arms control proposed by the **United States**, because it considered any local verification akin to "espionage" rather than meant to defuse bilateral tensions and **arms races**. Therefore, verification and intelligence have relied on unilateral U.S. and Soviet overflights with U2 spy planes, and after 1960, on satellites.

Disagreement remained on arms control implementation of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties I and II (SALT I and II, 1972, 1979), until in a major breakthrough Soviet Premier **Mikhail Gorbachëv** accepted on-site inspections for the 1987 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty** and all later East–West accords, such as the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty and Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties I and II (START I and II, 1972, 1979). On-site activities include bilateral on-site temporary inspections of arms and equipment (prior, during, and after destruction); permanent monitoring of selected factories' production to confirm that no old "prohibited" weapons are still being secretly produced; and regular bilateral verification sessions in Geneva to review compliance of the parties and to diplomatically solve implementation controversies. After initial U.S.–Soviet tensions over implementation, on-site inspections have become the most successful arms control tool available, although the experience of **United Nations (UN)** inspectors disarming Iraq after the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991) showed the limitations of this process in a host country that conceals and removes documents to use them in future prohibited research and weapons production.

"OPEN DOOR" OF NATO. Since its foundation in 1949, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** remains open to accepting new members able to meet common obligations and responsibilities (**collective defense**, democracy, market economies, and partnership). **NATO enlargements** are part of a wider process of European integration involving the parallel enlargement of the **European Union (EU)**. Increases in membership during the Cold War (1946–1990) were based on geostrategic and defense priorities, but in the

post-Cold War period (1990–present), the “open door” policy responded to pressures from 13 former Soviet **satellites** seeking to join NATO and EU as “new Europeans” after the collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) and communism. The creation of NATO’s **Partnership for Peace** in 1994 and **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)** in 1999 allowed pro-Western states to seek future NATO membership if they shared **alliance** values, defenses, and **peace-keeping** (1995 *NATO Enlargement Study*), and since 1999 also **membership action plans (MAPs)**.

At the Madrid NATO Summit (July 1997), the **first-tranche enlargement** invited three **aspirants** from the pool of Eastern European ex-enemies (the **Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland**) to become new **allies** by the time of the Washington NATO Summit (March 1999). At the Prague NATO Summit (November 2002) on a **second-tranche enlargement**, seven of the remaining **Vilnius-10** aspirants were accepted as members (**Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia**). A third-tranche enlargement in April 2008 accepted **Albania and Croatia**, but not **Macedonia**, which could join after 2010 with future possible aspirants, such as **Austria, Finland, Ireland, and Sweden**. *See also* EU ENLARGEMENTS; “ONE EUROPE” DECLARATION.

“OPEN SKIES” (1955, 1992). In 1955, U.S. President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** proposed in Geneva the first **arms control** treaty, the “open skies” overflight regime with the Soviet Union (USSR) to defuse bilateral tensions and **arms races**. Soviet refusal led to unilateral U.S. overflight monitoring with U2 spy planes and later, after the USSR had downed a U2 plane in 1960, “black” **satellites**. The downed spy plane gave Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchëv** the excuse to storm out of the 1960 Paris **Summit** with the United States, **France, and Great Britain**. After the collapse of the USSR in December 1991, the East–West “Open Skies” Treaty of March 1992 finally permitted reciprocal overflights of national territories to enhance confidence building and monitoring of existing and future **arms control** accords, while defusing any potential **crises**. Although many trial flights took place, a complete overflight monitoring regime is not yet in force, with NATO urging **Russia and Belarus** to ratify the treaty.

OPERATION. Technical term for military actions or carrying out strategic, tactical, logistical, training, or military missions. It also indicates the combat process with supply, movements, attack, defense, and maneuvers to achieve the objectives of any battle or campaign.

OPERATION ABLE SENTRY (July 1993), U.S.–UN. A **rapid-deployment** operation in July 1993 by the **United States** for defensive aid of the **United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** against any Serb threat to **Macedonia**. Operation Able Sentry started with 315 U.S. soldiers transferred from the **Berlin Brigade**, which was scheduled for deactivation after the reunification of **Germany** but was instead assigned to a UN **force** of 1,000 peacekeepers in Macedonia. In 1994, U.S. **forces** were increased to 600 to allow a Scandinavian company to transfer to **Bosnia** for UN **peacekeeping** duties. U.S. forces in Macedonia manned the border with Serbia and were decreased to 300 by the time the 1999 **Kosovo War** began, when the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** engaged in its eighth “out-of-area” operation, on behalf of UN efforts to stop the bloody Yugoslav civil wars and Serbia’s massacre of Muslim Kosovar Albanians. Some U.S. troops in Macedonia were captured by Serb forces in a raid across the border. After the war U.S. forces provided logistical support to NATO peacekeepers of both the **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)** in 1999 and **Operations Essential Harvest/Amber Fox** in Macedonia in 2000.

OPERATION ACHILLES (Spring 2007), NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO)** largest ground operation in southeastern **Afghanistan**, carried out by the **International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)** to fight Taliban insurgents infiltrating from Pakistan’s border through guerrilla attacks and suicide bombings.

OPERATION ACTIVE ENDEAVOUR (October 2001–present), NATO. The 11 September 2001 Islamic fundamentalists attacks by Al-Qaeda on the **United States** led the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to order its **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** command and **Standing Naval Force–Mediterranean (STANAVFORMED)** to pursue **antiterrorism** maritime pa-

trols and controls. Since 8 December 2004, Operation Active Endeavour and STANAVFORMED have also included **Russia**, a historical first after AFSOUTH's Cold War mission to protect the Mediterranean from the Soviet Union (USSR)/Russia.

OPERATION ALBA. *See* MULTINATIONAL PROTECTION FORCE.

OPERATION ALLIED FORCE (23 March–10 June 1999), NATO.

To reimpose peace in the **Balkans** and stop Yugoslavia's "**ethnic cleansing**"—killing and deporting hundreds of thousands of Kosovar Albanians—the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** unleashed the **Kosovo War** with Operation Allied Force and put in place economic **sanctions** against the former **Yugoslavia** with only tacit UN support, which feared vetoes from **Russia** and China, who strongly opposed international military interference in the internal affairs of UN members. NATO's air campaign against Yugoslav **forces** in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, plus ground offensive preparations in **Albania** and **Macedonia**, forced Yugoslav forces to stop fighting by June. Kosovo was then occupied by NATO's **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)**.

OPERATION ALLIED HARMONY (16 December 2002–30 March 2003), NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** planned to turn over its **Operation Amber Fox peacekeeping** in **Macedonia** to the **European Union (EU)** at the end of 2002. However, the EU was unable to deploy any peacekeeper **forces** because of political disagreements between **Greece** and **Turkey**, with the former being both a NATO–EU member and the latter only a NATO member and therefore excluded from most EU operational preplanning, despite NATO's "**3-Ds**" **doctrine**. NATO fielded Operation Allied Harmony (16 December 2002–1930 March 2003) as a transition mission of 400 men to replace Operation Amber Fox, support international monitors, and provide security advice to Macedonia until the deployment of the EU's **European Force–Macedonia (EURFOR)** in **Operation Concordia** (1 April 2003).

OPERATION AMBER FOX (26 September 2001–16 December 2002), NATO. When the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's**

(NATO) peacekeepers of **Operation Essential Harvest** left **Macedonia** in September 2001, NATO left behind a small follow-up group, Task Force Amber Fox, renamed Operation Amber Fox (26 September 2001–16 December 2002), led by **Germany**. A thousand NATO soldiers were assigned to protect and/or extract international monitors overseeing the 13 August 2001 **Skopje Peace Accord**, disarm ethnic Albanian insurgents, and stop clashes with the majority Slav Macedonians. The **United Nations (UN)** Security Council endorsed NATO, with primary security for the teams under Macedonia's **forces**. NATO sought to turn over its peacekeeping to the **European Union (EU)** in late 2002, but disagreements between **Greece** and **Turkey** delayed **European Force–Macedonia (EURFOR)** to 1 April 2003, while NATO fielded a transitional mission, **Operation Allied Harmony** (16 December 2002–1930 March 2003).

OPERATION ARTÉMIS (12 June–8 September 2003), EU. Second small **European Union (EU)** peacekeeping operation in Central Africa, to reduce local ethnic warfare in the eastern part of Congo and regionally help **United Nations (UN)** efforts to reestablish peace. **France** spearheaded Operation Artémis as its **nation-cadre/leader** with Operation Mamba, to secure the ground and allow the EU **Eurocorps** to intervene.

OPERATION BIG LIFT (22–23 October 1963), NATO. War game conducted by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, involving moving 14,500 American soldiers from the **United States** to **Germany** as a U.S. rapid reinforcement of NATO **forces** in Europe in case of emergency or **World War III**. *See also* REFORGER.

OPERATION CARTE BLANCHE (1955), NATO. War game by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, involving simulated combat use of theater **nuclear** weapons on the **Central Front** in West **Germany** against a possible armor invasion by the Soviet Union (USSR) and **Warsaw Pact forces**. Ever since the beginning of the Cold War (1946–1990), NATO has had to cope with the severe military disadvantage of facing larger Soviet conventional forces at the beginning of any major combat scenario. U.S. President **Harry Truman** relied on both strategic nuclear supremacy and a massive

buildup of U.S. and NATO conventional forces during the **Korean War** (1950–1953) to match the USSR in troops and armor.

His successor, President **Dwight D. Eisenhower**, the **Allied Supreme Commander in World War II** and the first NATO **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)**, opted to reverse this policy and to not replace the natural attrition of conventional forces, replacing them instead with massive deployments of a wide range of cost-effective theater nuclear weapons, including **intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)**, atomic artillery shells, theater nuclear bombers, and atomic mines to stop and annihilate any Soviet armored assault in a mixed conventional–limited nuclear **World War III**, without resorting to the use of strategic nuclear weapons, which would escalate into a total nuclear war. NATO's Operation Carte Blanche was the first and most important war game in which U.S.–allied forces faced this dilemma, which involved the need to cope with fast-moving Soviet armor, by first releasing theater nuclear codes from the centralized hold of the U.S. president to that of SACEUR, then, once Soviet forces pierced NATO's thin defenses, moving the nuclear release authority down the **command** chain to field commanders facing the brunt of the Soviet onslaught, with ensuing heavy losses on both sides.

The “lessons learned” from Operation Carte Blanche revealed that giving complete nuclear release authority to U.S. field commanders would result in the annihilation of both Soviet and U.S.–allied forces when intermixed in combat, while the destruction of the Soviet–Warsaw Pact invasion would be at the price of “nuking” most of West Germany, **Austria**, the **Netherlands**, **Belgium**, **Switzerland**, East Germany, **Poland**, and Czechoslovakia! When these results were leaked to the German press, it created a political firestorm against NATO, because “to liberate” Germany from a Soviet conventional attack, all the country would end up being sacrificed. After this, NATO's land-based theater INFs were deemphasized and were not replaced when technological attrition reduced their number. They were not completely abandoned because of the continuing reliance on an air-based theater nuclear deterrent. When the USSR suddenly introduced in Europe new triple-headed MIRVed SS-20 INFs in 1977, NATO was forced to modernize its obsolete land-based INFs, precipitating the **Euromissile Crisis** (1977–1983). There were

widespread leftist pacifist demonstrations in Europe until 1983, followed finally by serious Soviet **arms control** talks and total destruction of all INFs under the **INF Treaty** (1987–1988).

OPERATION CONCORDIA (31 March–15 December 2003), EU.

First **peacekeeping** mission by the **European Force–Macedonia (EURFOR)** to replace the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** peacekeepers (**Operation Amber Fox**) and stop the minority secessionist Albanians. *See also* OPERATION ESSENTIAL HARVEST.

OPERATION DELIBERATE FORCE (August–September 1995), NATO.

In the 1990s, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** engaged in its seventh “out-of-area” operation, on behalf of **United Nations’ (UN)** efforts to stop the bloody Yugoslav civil wars. **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** plans would either provide NATO close air support of UN peacekeepers in **Bosnia** if they were under fire by Bosnian Serb forces, or “extract” withdrawing UN peacekeepers if they were attacked, and even ensure air logistics and support for an eventual large-scale NATO **peacekeeping** operation to enforce any UN peace plan finally brokered. After the Bosnian Serbs overran the **Šrebrenica UN “safe area”** in summer 1995, massacring all males and attacking two more UN safe areas, NATO launched Operation Deliberate Force in August–September 1995, making heavy air strikes on all Bosnian Serb **command-control** sites and heavy-weapons emplacements, while parallel to this **Croatia** entered the war and defeated the bewildered Serb forces both in Croatia (Serb-controlled Krajina) and Western Bosnia. These parallel, independent NATO–Croat actions forced all warring ethnic factions to sign the UN Dayton Peace Accords (November 1995), with local disarming and peace enforced not by the UN, but by NATO peacekeeping: **Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR, 1995–1996)** in **Operation Joint Endeavour** and **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR, 1996–2004)** in Operations Joint Guard/Joint Forge, as NATO’s eighth, ninth, and tenth “out-of-area” operations.

OPERATION DENY FLIGHT (1993–1999), NATO. *See* OPERATION SKY MONITOR/DENY FLIGHT.

OPERATIONS DESERT SHIELD/STORM (August 1990–February 1991), U.S.–UN COALITION. **Rapid-deployment** operations during the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991) by U.S. and 30-plus coalition **forces** deploying either combat or logistical and medical support, mostly individual **allies** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, under **United Nations (UN)** mandate, after Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990. The failure of negotiations led the UN Security Council to approve **sanctions** against Iraq on 6 August, while on 7 August U.S. **forces** began arriving in Saudi Arabia under a bilateral defense accord, for the first time gaining Saudi permission to build U.S.–coalition **bases** against possible military advances by Iraq on the strategic Saudi oil fields 200 miles farther south. Existing Western coalition naval patrols of the Persian Gulf, which had been taking place since 1986, were strengthened as a new tool to enforce UN sanctions against Iraq. U.S.-led coalition forces built up to 500,000 men in just six months, for a later counterinvasion against the entrenched Iraqi forces in Kuwait if UN peace mediations failed.

With Operation Desert Shield (August 1990–January 1991), U.S. President **George H. W. Bush** succeeded in turning the entire world and the UN Security Council against Saddam Hussein's annexation of Kuwait and attempt to corner the world oil market through the two largest producers, as well as bringing their attention to the threat of Iraq's **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)** and missiles that could be used against Israel, neighboring Gulf states, and coalition forces. Only **Germany's** opposition to joining "Desert Shield/Storm," based on the antigovernment Social Democratic and Green Parties' misreading of constitutional provisions against foreign wars unless mandated by the UN, kept NATO as an **alliance** from deploying "out-of-area" in the strategic Gulf. Instead, all allies individually joined the UN-mandated coalition, and Germany's conservative government deployed air wings to **Turkey's** border with Northern Iraq to guard against possible strikes—which also would have automatically brought Germany and NATO as a whole into the First Gulf War to defend a fellow member. When UN mediations failed, the U.S. unofficially warned Iraq not to use WMDs against the coalition, or the United States would retaliate with a **nuclear** strike.

Operation Desert Storm (January–February 1991) started with a month-long massive air bombardment and a few days of lightning

ground strikes into Iraq through a left wheel, turning-and-flanking, army-size movement to envelop and destroy Iraqi forces in Kuwait and southern Iraq, reaching its second-largest city, Basra. Iraq's conventional strikes, with mobile SCUD missiles, against coalition bases and Israel were unable to split the coalition's Arab allies by seeking to draw in Israel into combat, because of the successful U.S. diplomatic pressures and deployment to Israel of tactical U.S. Patriot anti-missile batteries. After the hostilities, the UN fielded two peacekeeping operations, the **UN Iraq–Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM)** and **UN Guards Contingent in Iraq (UNGCI)**, also keeping sanctions in place until 2003. The peace accord with Iraq allowed UN inspectors to twice seize and destroy (1991–1994 and 1995–1998) most Iraqi WMDs, ballistic missiles, and production components for nuclear, **chemical**, and **biological** weapons, despite Saddam's continued proliferation attempts and subversion in the mid-1990s of the iUN Oil-for-Food Program, designed to reduce sanctions to meet Iraqi **humanitarian** needs. Such unsolved issues led to the controversial **Second Gulf War** (2003), involving another U.S.-led coalition. *See also* "NO-FLY ZONES"; OPERATION PROVIDE COMFORT.

OPERATION DISPLAY DETERRENCE (6 February–19 May 2003), NATO. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) **rapid-deployment** operation for defensive aid against any Islamic threat to **Turkey**, while deploying **Airborne Early-Warning System (AWACS)** aircraft at Konya air **base**, plus Patriot air-defense missiles and **chemical-biological** defenses at Diyarbakir and Batman.

OPERATION EAGLE ASSIST (9 October 2001–16 May 2002), NATO. After the 11 September 2001 Islamic fundamentalist attacks on the **United States**, Operation Eagle Assist dispatched on five NATO **Airborne Early-Warning System (AWACS)** aircraft and a cargo plane to patrol U.S. skies against **terrorist** attacks.

OPERATION ESSENTIAL HARVEST (17 August–26 September 2001), NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), together with the **European Union (EU)** and the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, promoted the

Skopje Peace Talks of July–August 2001 to end five months of Albanian insurgency and avert a civil war with the Slav Macedonian majority. Following NATO's request that all political parties in **Macedonia** accept a cease-fire and a political framework on constitutional reforms under the **Skopje Peace Accord** (13 August 2001), NATO deployed 400 peacekeepers, then 3,100 more in late August, in Operation Essential Harvest, its 10th “out-of-area” operation, on behalf of the **United Nations'** (UN) and Macedonia to disarm ethnic Albanian insurgents and destroy weapons and ammunition voluntarily given up. At the request of **Macedonia** on 19 September, NATO remained in the country with a second smaller follow-up Task Force Amber Fox, renamed **Operation Amber Fox** (26 September 2001–16 December 2002) to protect international monitors implementing reforms. NATO peacekeepers were replaced by the **European Union (EU)** with the **European Force–Macedonia (EUFOR)** in **Operation Concordia**. *See also* OPERATION ALLIED HARMONY.

OPERATION GLADIUS, NATO. *See* FIFTH COLUMN.

OPERATION HAMMER (“CHAKUSH”), (Summer 2007), NATO.

The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** second ground operation of the **International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)** in **Afghanistan's** Helmand Province, against Taliban insurgents.

OPERATION JOINT ENDEAVOUR (December 1995–December 1996), NATO. *See* IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA.

OPERATIONS JOINT GUARD/JOINT FORGE (December 1996–December 2004), NATO. *See* STABILISATION FORCE–BOSNIA.

OPERATION LICORNE (September 2002–March 2003), FRANCE-EU. *See* UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE/IVORY COAST.

OPERATION MAMBA (June 2003), FRANCE-EU. *See* OPERATION ARTÉMIS.

OPERATIONS MARITIME MONITOR/GUARD (1992–1996), NATO. In the 1990s, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** engaged in its first two “out-of-area” operations, on behalf of **United Nations (UN)** efforts to stop the Yugoslav civil wars. Operation Maritime Monitor (July–October 1992) used mostly **Italy’s** naval **bases** and a NATO fleet in the Adriatic Sea under **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH) Command** to monitor and then enforce the UN naval **embargo** of **arms trade** to the former **Yugoslavia**, in Operation Maritime Guard (November 1992–June 1996). NATO **peacekeeping** forces implemented the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords in **Bosnia** in 1995–2004. *See also* IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA; STABILISATION FORCE–BOSNIA.

OPERATION MENU (March 1969), U.S. *See* NIXON, RICHARD M.

OPERATION MOUNTAIN THRUST (July 2006), U.S.–UN COALITION–NATO. After the Second Afghan War (2001–2002), during which an international coalition led by the **United States** defeated the Islamic fundamentalist Taliban and Al-Qaeda **forces**, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** engaged in its 11th “out-of-area” operation under a **United Nations (UN)** mandate, to replace coalition forces with NATO **peacekeepers** in Kabul and later in northern and western **Afghanistan**. Operation Mountain Thrust was the largest anti-Taliban offensive since **Operation Tora-Bora** in 2002. Thousands of coalition troops from the United States, **Canada**, **Great Britain**, and **Afghanistan** attacked the last Taliban **bases** in Sangin and Helmand province of the Pashtuni in southern Afghanistan, destroying all resistance by late 2006 in coordination with NATO peacekeepers, who took over the area thereafter. The high level of combat also reflected the Taliban’s last-ditch, desperate escalation, regardless of their disproportionately high losses and a fragmented **command**, to capitalize on the spiraling violence to sway volatile public opinion in key NATO countries, like **Germany**, **Italy**, and **Spain**, against expanding the **alliance’s** mandate to the south.

OPERATION ORDER. Technical military term for a directive issued by a commander to subordinate commanders to coordinate and execute an **operation**.

OPERATION OVERLORD (June–August 1944), ALLIES. *See* CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON L. S.

OPERATION PLAN (or O-PLAN). Technical military term for a plan for a single, or a series of connected, **operation(s)** to be carried out simultaneously or in succession. An operation plan (O-Plan) is usually based on stated assumptions and is in the form of a directive issued by higher authority to permit subordinate commanders to prepare supporting plans and orders. The designation “plan” is usually used instead of “order” in preparing for operations well in advance. An O-Plan may be put into effect at a prescribed time, or on signal, upon which it becomes the **operation order**.

OPERATION PLAN DISCIPLINED GUARD (1993), NATO. In the 1990s, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** engaged in its sixth “out-of-area” operation, on behalf of **United Nations’ (UN)** efforts to stop the bloody Yugoslav civil wars. Operation Plan Disciplined Guard was developed by NATO’s **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** to implement Lord Owens’s UN Peace Plan for Bosnia, which called for local all-party accords on cantonization and cessation of hostilities, monitored in the air and on the ground by UN and NATO peacekeepers. But the “Owen UN Plan” collapsed before implementation was possible because of Bosnian Serb duplicity. This forced NATO to terminate Operation Plan Disciplined Guard, because the **alliance** was divided and could not enlist **U.S.** support for NATO ground combat peacekeeping to impose the “Owen UN Plan” and stop Bosnian Serb atrocities. *See also* IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA; KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE; OPERATION SHARP GUARD; STABILISATION FORCE–BOSNIA.

OPERATION POISED HAMMER (1991–2003), U.S.–UN COALITION. After the First **Gulf War** against Iraq (1990–1991), the **United Nations (UN)** assumed responsibility for **humanitarian aid** to the Kurds in Northern Iraq, while the **United States** and coalition **forces** set in place Operation Poised Hammer, to provide air support from Western **Turkey** in case of Iraqi strikes against Kurdish safe havens in northern Kurdistan, plus a northern “no-fly zone” against

Iraqi aircraft. Both deterrents kept Saddam Hussein from striking (except briefly) northern Kurdistan. The **Second Gulf War** (2003) destroyed his régime and liberated all Iraqi Kurds. *See also* OPERATION PROVIDE COMFORT.

OPERATION PROVIDE COMFORT (1990–1991), U.S.–UN COALITION. After the First Gulf War against Iraq (1990–1991) in **Operations Desert Shield/Storm**, the U.S.-led coalition that defeated Saddam Hussein under **United Nations (UN)** mandates sat helplessly while Saddam's **forces** systematically massacred tens of thousands of régime opponents, who had revolted in both southern Iraq (Shi'a) and northern Iraq (Kurds). The collapse of a brief independent Kurdistan led to the mass flight of hundreds of thousands of civilians to northern Iraq near the sealed borders of **Turkey** and Iran, which opposed any independent Kurdistan. The plight of the Kurdish refugees forced the **United States** and coalition allies (**France, Italy, Canada, Belgium, Luxembourg, Australia, Spain, Netherlands, and Germany**) to intervene with **humanitarian** support through Operation Provide Comfort in Kurdish northern Iraq and **Turkey** (1990–1991), air dropping food, setting up refugee camps, and interdicting Iraqi military activities in northern Kurdistan with **Operation Poised Hammer** and a northern "no-fly zone." Coalition **forces** in Operation Provide Comfort were replaced by the **UN Guards Contingent in Iraq (UNGCI)** in July 1991.

OPERATIONS SHABA I and II (1977), FRANCE. *See* FRENCH PEACEKEEPING.

OPERATION SHARP GUARD (June 1993–December 1999), NATO. In the 1990s, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** engaged in its third "out-of-area" operation, on behalf of the **United Nations' (UN)** efforts to stop the bloody Yugoslav civil wars. Operation Sharp Guard (June 1993–December 1999) officially put all NATO and **Western European Union (WEU)** warships in the Adriatic Sea under direct NATO **command** through **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)**, from naval **bases** in **Albania, Croatia, Greece**, and mostly **Italy**, to enforce the UN naval **embargo** against arms shipments into the former **Yugoslavia**. Detached

WEU naval patrols also enforced the arms embargo on the Danube River from bases in **Bulgaria**, Croatia, **Hungary**, and **Romania**. Operation Sharp Guard continued to provide the air and naval platforms and bases for NATO combat missions for the air strikes (1994–1995) against the Bosnian Serb forces (**Operation Deliberate Force**) and during the 1999 **Kosovo War** against the Yugoslav army, plus logistical and support missions to NATO's **peacekeeping** operations in 1995–2004 to implement the Dayton Peace Accords in Bosnia and UN protection of Kosovo since 1999. *See also* IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA; KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE; STABILISATION FORCE–BOSNIA.

OPERATIONS SKY MONITOR/DENY FLIGHT (October 1992–April 1993, April 1993–December 1999), NATO. In the 1990s, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** engaged in its fourth and fifth “out-of-area” operations, on behalf of the **United Nations’ (UN)** efforts to stop the bloody Yugoslav civil wars. After the UN declared a “**no-fly-zone**” over **Bosnia** to prevent attacks by warring factions (mostly Bosnian Serbs), NATO's Operation Sky Monitor monitored air activities over the former **Yugoslavia** from bases mostly in **Italy** under **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AF-SOUTH)** Command. AFSOUTH also provided **humanitarian** air drops, protected UN humanitarian convoys, and monitored heavy weapons' movements of the warring factions. NATO then actively enforced the UN “no-fly-zone” through air strikes in 1994–1995 in Operation Deny Flight, which led to NATO's first combat actions since its founding in 1949. It conducted several limited air strikes at UN request, shooting down Bosnian Serb bombers that were attacking Bosnian Muslim positions in 1994, and destroying selected Serb positions. Operation Deny Flight continued to support NATO's large-scale **peacekeeping** operations to enforce the UN Dayton Peace Accords in Bosnia in 1995–2004 and during the **Kosovo War** (1999) against the Yugoslav army. *See also* IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA; KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE; OPERATION SHARP GUARD; STABILISATION FORCE–BOSNIA.

OPERATION SMASH (September 1961–January 1963), UN. After the collapse of newly independent Belgian Congo in its First Civil War (1960–1964), the **United Nations (UN)** engaged in its second combat operation under UN Charter, Article 42, with the **UN Operation in Congo (ONUC)**. Operation Smash was a series of three highly controversial UN offensives, in September–December 1961 and December 1962, against secessionist **forces** from the mineral-rich Katanga region in the south. The first offensive, code-named “Round One” (13–21 September 1961), to end Katanga’s secession from the Congo, was poorly executed. **UN Secretary-General Dag H. A. G. Hammarskjöld**, pursuing another fruitless cease-fire, died on 18 September 1961 in an aircraft crash, purportedly sabotaged with a bomb. After the capture of 200 Irish peacekeepers, ONUC launched a “Round Two” offensive (5–21 December 1961), with better planning and military support, but 21 peacekeepers died, and there was widespread opposition by some UN members (Central African Republic, Congo, **France**, **Great Britain**, **Portugal**, and Rhodesia). ONUC’s “Round Three” offensive (28 December 1962–21 January 1963), involving Indian and Ethiopian troops, reconquered Katanga, ending its secession. Controversies over Operation Smash led the Soviet Union (USSR) to stop financing UN **peacekeeping** in Congo, and the UN did not launch another Article 42 combat operation until **Operations Desert Shield/Storm** in the First **Gulf War** against Iraq (1990–1991). *See also* AFRICAN UNION.

OPERATION STAUNCH (1982–1988), U.S. *See* REAGAN, RONALD W.

OPERATION TORA-BORA (Spring 2002), U.S.–UN COALITION. During the Second Afghan War (2001–2002), an international coalition led by the **United States** defeated the Islamic fundamentalist Taliban and Al-Qaeda **forces**, avenging the latter’s attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., on 11 September 2001 (9/11). Operation Tora-Bora was the last massive coalition anti-Taliban offensive after their rout in northern **Afghanistan** and Kabul, with thousands of coalition troops from the United States, **Great Britain**, and Afghanistan’s Northern Alliance seeking to trap and de-

stroy Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda forces in their high mountain fastness.

Although mostly successful, Operation Tora-Bora failed to capture or kill bin Laden, because of the delayed direct engagement of U.S. forces, which had initially sought to portray the operation as mostly an Afghan governmental one. Thereafter the U.S.-led coalition and new Afghan government enlisted the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in its 11th “out-of-area” operation, under a **United Nations (UN)** mandate to replace coalition forces with NATO peacekeepers in Kabul and later in northern and western Afghanistan, to free U.S. forces to continue hunting bin Laden in the south and east on the mountain border with Pakistan. *See also* OPERATION MOUNTAIN THRUST.

OPERATION TORCH (June–July 1944), ALLIES. *See* CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON L. S.

OPERATIONAL COMMAND. Technical military term for the commanders’ authority to **assign missions** or tasks to subordinate commanders, deploy units, reassign **forces**, and delegate operational or tactical **control** as commanders need—but not administration. *See also* COMMAND; OPERATIONAL CONTROL; TACTICAL CONTROL.

OPERATIONAL CONTROL. Technical military term for the authority delegated to a commander to direct **forces** assigned to him to accomplish specific limited missions or tasks by function, time, or location. Operational control also means to deploy units and retain or **assign** tactical **control** of those units. It does not include authority to assign separate employment of components of the units concerned, or administrative or logistical control. *See also* CONTROL; OPERATIONAL COMMAND.

OPERATIONAL LEVEL OF WAR. Technical military term for the level of war at which campaigns and major operations are planned and conducted to accomplish strategic objectives within theaters or **areas of operations (AOO)**. *See also* OPERATIONAL COMMAND; TACTICAL LEVEL OF WAR.

"OPT-OUTS" (1992), EU. The surprising nationalist rejection in **Denmark** of the **European Union's (EU)** 1992 Maastricht Treaty on political-economic integration forced the EU to revise the treaty to secure its universal ratification by granting Denmark, **Sweden**, and **Great Britain** four "opt-outs" to: reject the EU monetary union and euro currency; reject the EU passport; limit EU justice affairs to EU intergovernmental cooperation; and refuse to participate in the EU **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)** or EU **peacekeeping**. Only London participates in CFSP.

ORGANIZATION FOR PROHIBITION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS (OPCW). *See* CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION/TREATY.

ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (OSCE). The **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)** was renamed the OSCE in January 1995. It is based in Vienna, **Austria**. The CSCE was launched in 1972 at the height of East–West **détente** as a political consultative and **confidence-building** process between hostile states and **alliances: North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (North American and Western European allies), **Warsaw Pact** (Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union), and Western **"neutrals"** in a "Vancouver-to-Vladivostok" arc. The CSCE process was consolidated with the **Helsinki Final Act** (1975), recognizing the immutability of post–**World War II** borders (a key USSR demand) and creating a wide range of international commitments among members (key Western/NATO demands): a forum for consultations; political-military confidence-building measures; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and cooperation in economic, cultural, technical, and scientific fields. The Helsinki Final Act's enhancement of East–West political-military, economic, cultural, and technical and scientific cooperation was countered by its role in sparking major international tensions over human rights violations in the USSR and its satellites of Eastern Europe, until their democratization of these countries in 1989–1992 following the collapse of the USSR.

The CSCE's original 37 members (1975) were **Albania**, Andorra, **Austria**, **Belgium**, **Bulgaria**, **Canada**, **Cyprus**, Czechoslovakia,

Democratic Republic of (East) Germany, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, the Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, the Soviet Union (USSR), Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United States, West Germany, and Yugoslavia (suspended from 8 July 1992 to 10 November 2000 following its unleashing of Serb ethnic-nationalist conflicts in its secessionist republics of **Croatia** and **Bosnia–Herzegovina**).

After the breakup of Yugoslavia and the USSR (1991), the OSCE grew to 55 members (2006), adding **Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia** (suspended on 8 July 1992–10 November 2000), **Slovakia, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan**. The CSCE met initially every four years as a roving international conference, until the CSCE Paris **Summit** (21 November 1990) adopted the “Charter of Paris for a New Europe,” establishing a secretariat in Prague, folded in 1993 into a General Secretariat in Vienna; a **Council of Foreign Ministers** as a central forum for regular political consultations; a Committee of Senior Officials to review current issues, prepare the work of the Council, and carry out its decisions (renamed in 1994 the OSCE **Senior Council**); the OSCE Conflict-Prevention Centre in Vienna; and an Office for Free Elections in Warsaw, later renamed the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). The CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers’ Meeting in Berlin (19 June 1991) adopted a mechanism for emergency consultation, first used during the civil wars in **Yugoslavia** and Nagorno-Karabakh.

The CSCE Helsinki Summit (9 July 1992) adopted the “Challenges to Change” Declaration, strengthening CSCE institutions, establishing a **High Commissioner on National Minorities**, and creating structures for early warning, conflict prevention, fact-finding missions, and **crisis management**. The CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers’ Meeting in Stockholm (14 December 1992), adopted a Convention on Conciliation and Arbitration and created a CSCE Secretary-General. The CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers’ Meeting

in Rome (1 December 1993) established a CSCE Permanent Committee for political consultation (renamed in 1994 the OSCE **Permanent Council**), while forging close relations with “European and Transatlantic Organizations” to jointly cope with escalating regional ethnic-nationalist conflicts. The CSCE Budapest Summit (November 1994) transformed the CSCE into an organization (OSCE) with multinational peacekeepers to monitor the end of hostilities in Nagorno-Karabakh between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Finally, the OSCE Istanbul Summit (November 1999) established close cooperation with NATO-led peacekeeping forces through OSCE field operations, coordinated by the OSCE Operations Centre and the OSCE Rapid Expert Assistance and Cooperation Teams (REACT), a quickly deployable civilian unit of experts in conflict prevention, crisis management, and postconflict rehabilitation.

Since 1992, the OSCE regularly sends official missions and its chairman in office to areas of potential regional tension or conflict for fact-finding, monitoring, and “good offices” missions, while also promoting local crisis management and conflict prevention through its Office of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities. The OSCE is active in Kosovo, Sandjak, Vojvodina, Skopje, Georgia, Estonia, Tajikistan, Moldova, Latvia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Chechnya. From September 1992, the CSCE’s Sanctions Assistance Missions (SAMs) in Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Hungary, and Romania implement UN sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The **Kosovo War** (1999) and NATO intervention to rebuild peace were significant challenges for OSCE resources.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU). A regional institution, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was created on 25 May 1963, comprising 52 members from the entire continent, except briefly South Africa and Morocco. The OAU sought to promote African unity, defend its members’ sovereignty from external “colonial” threats or regional wars or civil wars, while also improving the continent’s economic development. Often unable to arrange or impose local cease-fires, the OAU was a latecomer in regional **peacekeeping** under UN mandates, fielding only four weak peacekeeping operations in the 1980s–1990s (Rwanda, Burundi, and two in Chad),

with logistical support from **France** or the **United States**. In 2002 the OAU renamed itself **African Union (AU)**. It still has limited effectiveness in regional peacekeeping, despite its declaration of a **Unified African Action**, envisioning new OAU regional peacekeeping under the **United Nations (UN)** and external logistical training by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in Darfur, Sudan. *See also* OAU PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN CHAD I and II.

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS). Established in March 1948, the OAS is a regional organization based in Washington, D.C., with 31 member states from North, Central, and South America, excluding Cuba, which was expelled for its Communist régime aligned with the Soviet Union (USSR). The OAS is the evolution of the Monroe Doctrine (1823) of regional cooperation within the Western Hemisphere against European colonialism, culminating between the 1880s and 1930s in the U.S.-based Pan-American Conferences, plus regional security coordination with the **United States** against **Germany** in **World War I** and **World War II**, as well as within the **United Nations (UN)** as founding members. The OAS handles regional security, trade, development, and social issues. During the Cold War (1946–1990), it provided international coordination with the United States against Soviet threats or internal leftist insurgencies. The OAS has had only one **peacekeeping** operation and has assisted UN missions.

OSCE CONFLICT-PREVENTION CENTRE. *See* ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

OSCE (FORMER CSCE) HIGH COMMISSIONER ON NATIONAL MINORITIES. The **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, previously the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)**, established at the CSCE Helsinki Summit (9 July 1992) a High Commissioner on National Minorities and structures for early warning, conflict prevention, fact-finding missions, and **crisis management**. The OSCE regularly sends official missions and representatives of its chairman in office to areas of potential regional tension or conflict. The OSCE Office of High Commissioner on National Minorities conducts **on-site**

missions and preventive diplomacy for early resolution of ethnic tensions endangering peace and stability among OSCE states. OSCE activities have been undertaken in **Kosovo**, Sandjak, Vojvodina, Skopje, **Georgia**, **Estonia**, **Tajikistan**, **Moldova**, **Latvia**, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Chechnya. From September 1992, the CSCE operated Sanctions Assistance Missions (SAMs) in **Albania**, **Bulgaria**, **Croatia**, **Macedonia**, **Hungary**, and **Romania** to implement **United Nations (UN) sanctions** against **Yugoslavia**.

The Kosovo War (1999) and intervention by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to rebuild peace and stability have been the greatest challenges for the OSCE, imposing substantial demands in terms of resources, personnel, and time, as well as requiring close coordination with NATO. In January–March 1998, the **OSCE's Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM)** monitored compliance on the ground with the cease-fire agreements reached as a result of NATO intervention in support of the UN Security Council. NATO provided the OSCE and UN with aerial surveillance and a special military task force for emergency evacuation of the OSCE KVM as local conflicts flared up again. The OSCE KVM monitored human rights violations on both sides of the ethnic divide, but the Kosovar Albanians endured widespread suffering at the hands of the Yugoslav military and security apparatus. Mediation efforts by the OSCE Verifiers could not prevent an escalation of clashes in January 1999, while a fresh Yugoslav offensive against Kosovar Albanians forced the evacuation of the KVM on 20 March 1999. After NATO's 1999 offensive forced Yugoslav withdrawal from Kosovo, the **OSCE Mission in Kosovo (OMIK)** took the lead within the overall framework of the **United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK)** on institution and democracy building and human rights. The OMIK established several field offices and regional centers, working with other international and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to rebuild Kosovo through democratic political party training; NGOs and civil structures; human rights issues; judicial institutions; police training; electoral registration; and media and broadcasting structures supporting freedom of the press.

OSCE KOSOVO TASK FORCE. The **OSCE** sent the OSCE Kosovo Task Force in June 1999 as a three-week transition between its

OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM) and OSCE Mission in Kosovo (OMIK). *See also* KOSOVO FORCE (KFOR); UN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION IN KOSOVO (UNMIK).

OSCE KOSOVO VERIFICATION MISSION (KVM). The **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** established its KVM in October 1998 after the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** authorized air strikes to force the former **Yugoslavia** to stop its “**ethnic cleansing**” of Kosovar Albanians, the culmination of a decade of repression since the elimination of local autonomy in 1989. By 1998, tensions between **Kosovo’s** ethnic Albanian majority, backed by the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), and the politically dominant Serb minority and Yugoslav **forces**, resulted in the latter attacking and nearly destroying the KLA, while Albanian refugees flooded the entire region. A cease-fire imposed by NATO soon in March 1999, left NATO to extract the KVM from the area of renewed fights. In the Kosovo War (1999), NATO launched air strikes on Yugoslavia and sent in the **Kosovo Implementation Forcer (KFOR)** as peacekeepers, under a belated **United Nations** Security Council Resolution 1244, monitored by the **OSCE Mission in Kosovo (OMIK)** of 1 July 1999.

OSCE MISSION IN KOSOVO (OMIK). After the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** defeated the former **Yugoslavia** in the Kosovo War (1999), halting its “**ethnic cleansing**” of Kosovar Albanians, the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** established the OSCE Mission in Kosovo (OMIK) (1 July 1999), the OSCE’s largest operation, with 700 international monitors and 1,600 local staff to monitor Yugoslavia under **United Nations’ (UN)** resolutions on **Kosovo**, the cease-fire, movements of military forces, human rights, and democracy, while providing joint OSCE–UN training of a new Kosovo Police Service. OSCE’s Head of Mission is also the **United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo’s (UNMIK)** Deputy Special Representative for Institution Building. *See also* OSCE HIGH COMMISSIONER ON NATIONAL MINORITIES; OSCE KOSOVO VERIFICATION MISSION.

OSCE MISSION TO GEORGIA. After the collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR), newly independent **Georgia** faced several upheavals, coups, and secessionist attempts by its northwestern province of Abkhazia and in the north by South Ossetia, seeking to rejoin **Russia's** North Ossetia. The intervention of 2,000 Georgian soldiers in summer 1992 failed to crush Abkhazia's independence, and Russia's cease-fire of September 1992 collapsed within a month. In December 1992, the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** sent an observer mission of 44 unarmed observers from 23 OSCE members to attempt to settle the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, while monitoring the Russian peacekeepers' **South Ossetia Joint Force**. In December 1999, the OSCE expanded its monitoring with the **United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia** along the border with Russia's Chechen Republic. In the mid-1990s and in 2007, both the OSCE and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** condemned South Ossetia's two secessionist referenda (1992, 2007) for merger with Russia. In August 2008, Georgia provoked a major NATO–Russia crisis when it suddenly attempted to reconquer South Ossetia, killing 10 Russian peacekeepers and 2,000 civilians, with 10,000 fleeing to Russia, but was swiftly defeated by Russia's military counterstrike to rescue South Ossetia.

OSCE MISSION TO MOLDOVA. The **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** sent an eight-man observer OSCE mission to **Moldova** in February 1993 to monitor the Transdniester region, following the break up of the Soviet Union (USSR) and clashes between Romanians in **Moldova** and secessionist Russians in Transdniester, under the protection of **Russia's Joint-Control Commission Peacekeeping Force**, fielded by the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**.

OSCE MISSION TO TAJIKISTAN. Tajikistan became independent from the Soviet Union (USSR) in September 1991, but soon socioeconomic instability, tribal rivalries, and tensions between Tajik secularists and Islamic fundamentalists brought the country to civil war (May 1992). The antigovernmental faction, which had seized power, was defeated in late 1992 and fled to Afghanistan. **Tajikistan** and **Russia** signed an accord deploying Russian soldiers along the border

with **Afghanistan**, followed on 24 September 1993 by the **Commonwealth of Independent States's (CIS) Collective Peacekeeping Force**. The **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)**, in cooperation with the **United Nations (UN)**, mandated its 15-man OSCE Mission to Tajikistan on 1 December 1993 to assist the **UN Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT)**, promote **confidence-building measures (CBMs)**, protect human rights, and monitor refugees after the end of the civil war in June 1997.

OSCE–NATO RELATIONS. As the only forum among all NATO countries and former enemies in Europe, **Russia, Canada**, and the **United States**, the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, formerly the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)**, is a key component of Europe's **post–Cold War (1990–present)** security architecture, providing comprehensive cooperation on human rights, fundamental freedoms, democracy, rule of law, and economic cooperation. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and the **United States** have actively supported the CSCE since its creation and institutionalization as the OSCE at the CSCE Paris Summit (19 November 1990) by 22 NATO and **Warsaw Pact** members.

The NATO Rome **Summit** (November 1991) Declaration confirmed its commitment to the CSCE process as complementary to the **alliance**, stressing that changing post–Cold War security in Europe could not be comprehensively addressed only by NATO, but must be dealt with by a new interlocking European security architecture, inseparably tying together all countries of Europe, the former Soviet Union (USSR), and North America, through “mutually reinforcing institutions” comprising NATO, CSCE/OSCE, the **European Community** (renamed the **European Union**), the **Western European Union (WEU)**, the Council of Europe, and the **United Nations (UN)**. Both the OSCE and NATO see dialogue and cooperation among these security institutions as essential for defusing **crises** and preventing conflicts within the broader European and OSCE areas.

In December 1991, NATO's security cooperation with CSCE/OSCE members from Eastern Europe, the former USSR, and “**neutrals**” was institutionalized through its **North Atlantic Cooperation**

Council (NAC-C) forum, promoting regional relations, **arms control**, and **peacekeeping**. The Oslo Meeting of NATO's Foreign Ministers (June 1992) also offered peacekeeping forces, resources, and expertise to support similar CSCE/OSCE missions. Likewise, the CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Rome (1 December 1993) established close CSCE/OSCE relations with "European and Transatlantic Organisations" to jointly overcome escalating regional ethnic-nationalist conflicts. The "Common Concept for the Development of Cooperation between Mutually Reinforcing Institutions," agreed upon at the OSCE Ministerial Meeting in Copenhagen (December 1997), codifies a list of principles and commitments in the Platform for Cooperative Security. This cooperation among the OSCE, NATO, and mutually reinforcing security organizations is based on a continuous framework of institutional dialogue, meetings, transparency, and practical cooperation, including liaison officers to increase understanding of each organization's conflict-prevention tools.

A stronger, more operational partnership between NATO and NAC-C partners emerged through the 1994 **Partnership for Peace**, and especially with the NAC-C's replacement, the 1999 **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**, an overall framework for cooperation between NATO and its partners. The EAPC's Political-Military Steering Committee/Ad Hoc Group on Cooperation in Peacekeeping provides a key institutional link to the OSCE, with a representative of the OSCE chairman in office attending meetings and briefings on OSCE political-military issues. NATO-OSCE relations also led the alliance to institutionally promote security, prosperity, and democracy throughout the Euro-Atlantic region as the centerpiece of NATO's new security concept (1999), which supports regional conflict prevention, peacekeeping, **crisis management**, and postconflict rehabilitation in the **Balkans**.

In **Bosnia**, the NATO-led **Implementation Force (IFOR)** and its successors, the **Stabilisation Force (SFOR)** and **European Force (EUFOR)**, have always cooperated closely with the OSCE to implement the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords on security, intelligence, logistics, arms control, weapons cantonments, and monitoring of local elections. The Kosovo War (1999) raised OSCE-NATO cooperation to new levels, with the alliance providing security, intelligence, and logistical support to the OSCE's Kosovo Verification Mission in 1999,

as well as preparing extraction contingency plans if combat threatened the OSCE monitors. Since summer 1999, the NATO-led **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)** continues to provide security to the OSCE and **UN Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK)**.

Finally, the 1997 NATO Madrid Summit supported the OSCE Lisbon Summit's (December 1996) "Declaration on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe in the 21st century" (December 1994 OSCE Budapest Summit), based on cooperation among European and transatlantic organizations. This is complemented by the OSCE Charter on European Security, adopted at the OSCE Istanbul Summit (November 1999), aimed at strengthening security in the region and OSCE operational capabilities. The Charter on European Security included developing OSCE's role in peacekeeping operations; OSCE rapid expert assistance and cooperation teams (REACT) for large civilian field operations; police activities; the OSCE Operations Centre in Vienna, **Austria**, to plan OSCE field operations; and a platform for cooperative security to strengthen cooperation with security organizations supporting OSCE.

OSCE OPERATIONS CENTRE. *See* OSCE–NATO RELATIONS.

OSCE RAPID EXPERT ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATION TEAMS (REACT). *See* ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

OSCE SPILL-OVER MONITOR MISSION TO SKOPJE. The former Yugoslav state of **Macedonia** faced potential ethnic conflict in 1992 as **Yugoslavia** split into several independent regions, with Serbs fighting Croats and Bosnian Muslims in **Croatia** and **Bosnia**. The **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)** sent a multinational monitoring operation of four men to the border between Macedonia and Serbia to prevent conflict spillover, promote ethnic cooperation, and train Macedonian police, while also representing the **European Community (EC)** Monitoring Mission (ECMM). In 1994, the CSCE became the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, with Macedonia joining as a member in October 1995. The OSCE Spill-Over Monitor Mission increased to 150 monitors and police advisors by 2002.

OTTAWA CONVENTION (1997), UN. *See* ANTIPERSONNEL MINES.

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PANEL ON UNITED NATIONS PEACE OPERATIONS (BRAHIMI REPORT). In March 2000, **United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Kofi A. Annan** created an international 10-member Panel on UN Peace Operations under Algeria's former Foreign Minister Ladhdar Brahimi to improve **UN peacekeeping**, which had been criticized by the Carlsson Report, *Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations*, on the 1994 Rwandan genocide and **Šre-brenica** massacre. Brahimi's report recommended more conflict-prevention measures and fact-finding missions; enhanced peace-building strategies; "robust" **rules of engagement** for UN peacekeepers; clear, achievable UN mandates; a secretariat on information and strategic analysis; a criminal code for peacekeeping operations; rapid deployment of UN peacekeepers within 30–90 days in **UN Charter, Article 42** combat missions; better selection of country leaders for UN peacekeeping; a strengthened **UN Standby Arrangements System**; enhanced peacekeeping training of police-civilian specialists; increased budgets for public information and logistics; restructuring of the UN Headquarters Department of Peacekeeping Operations; establishing a peace-building unit in the UN Department of Political Affairs; integrating UN peacekeeping planning, support, and operations; and field planning for the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights.

PARTICIPATING STATE AGREEMENT, UN. Agreement between the **United Nations (UN)** and a **peacekeeping** state on providing personnel and/or equipment for UN operations.

PARTNERS, NATO. Since 1990, this term has indicated former Communist states of Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union, Western European "**neutrals**," Mediterranean and Gulf states in partnership with the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, through its **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)**, the **Partnership for Peace (PfP)**, the **Euro-Atlantic**

Partnership Council (EAPC), the **Mediterranean Dialogue**, the Istanbul **Gulf** partners, and since 2007 also “Global Strategic” partners, as well as members of the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**.

PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE (PfP), NATO. In 1994, at the urging of U.S. Ambassador to NATO Robert E. Hunter, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** created a Partnership for Peace (PfP) to enhance its **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)**. In 1990, many of the NAC-C’s 22 cooperation **partners** sought NATO membership and the protection of the U.S. “**nuclear umbrella**” against any resurgence of **Russia**, after the collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) liberated them from Cold War **satellization** (1946–1990). The Partnership for Peace expanded bilateral defense ties among the **allies** and 27 partners from Eastern Europe (**Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia**), former Soviet Baltic states (**Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania**), Western “**neutrals**” (**Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Ireland, Malta, Sweden, Switzerland**), former Yugoslav states (**Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia**), Russia, and former Soviet **Commonwealth of Independent States** (**Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan**).

The partnership’s practical bilateral cooperation improved allied partners’ ability to pursue **joint** operations under standard NATO criteria, tailoring cooperation to each partner’s needs, promoting a stronger regional security relation between NATO and partners beyond the NAC-C, and forging NATO’s **post–Cold War** (1990–present) expanded coalition approach to Euro–Atlantic security. NATO created two special strategic partnerships, the **Russia–NATO Permanent Joint Council (PJC)** and **NATO–Ukraine Commission (NUC)**, to enhance Russia’s pro-Western ties with NATO (“NATO-26 + 1” or “NATO at 27”), while bolstering Ukraine’s democracy and independence from Russia. NATO also allowed 12 partners to join as **aspirants** (and later allies) in three **enlargements** (1997–1999, 2002–2004, and 2008): Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. In 1999, the NAC-C was renamed the **Euro–Atlantic**

Partnership Council (EAPC), absorbing the PfP, with **Bosnia** joining the EAPC in 2007 and also adding **Mediterranean Dialogue** partners (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia).

“PEACE DIVIDEND.” Political-journalistic term of the 1990s for domestic benefits that were expected to result from the political-military collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1989–1991. The end of the **Cold War** sparked generalized domestic political pressure in Western countries and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to “cash in.” The legislatures of all **allies** called for cutting combat **forces** and military equipment to free more resources for domestic social services. Eventually, NATO adapted to the “peace dividend” crunch by shifting in the mid-1990s from tank, heavily armored, mechanized forces to a light, mobile, and rapidly deployable **peacekeeping** force. Continuous defense cuts in **France**, **Germany**, and **Italy** forced them to abandon compulsory military service and create small professional forces modeled on those of **Great Britain** and the **United States** with peacekeeping capabilities. The “peace dividend” bottomed out by 2005, because low-cost peacekeeping operations clash with very expensive high-precision munitions needed to win in modern combat. In the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991), the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France shared similar levels of **combat readiness**, but by the **Kosovo War** (1999), only the United States and Great Britain were at the same level, with France a distant third; in the **Second Gulf War** (2003), only the Anglo-Americans were on top.

PEACE ENFORCEMENT. Military term for the use of combat **forces** in international **peacekeeping** operations by the **United Nations (UN)**, **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, regional organizations, or coalitions in the field, to **force** compliance with UN resolutions and restore international security. UN **Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali** stressed reliance on such peacekeeping operations in his “Agenda for Peace” Report.

PEACE IMPLEMENTATION COUNCIL (PIC). A 50-state international monitoring body that since 1996 biannually assesses political-economic and **peacekeeping** issues in **Bosnia–Herzegovina (BiH)**,

supervises the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords, and collaborates with the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **UN High Representative on Bosnia–Herzegovina**.

PEACEKEEPING. Military term for “traditional peacekeeping” operations by the **United Nations (UN)**, **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, regional organizations, or coalitions, with the consent of all belligerent **forces**, to implement truces or diplomatic settlements of disputes. The **United States** identifies it as “aggravated peacekeeping” if belligerents attack peacekeepers. *See also* NATO PEACEKEEPING; NAVAL PEACEKEEPING; PEACE ENFORCEMENT; RUSSIAN PEACEKEEPING.

PERIMETER DEFENSE SPEECH (1950). *See* ACHESON, DEAN; KOREAN WAR.

PERMANENT COUNCIL OF NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO)** member states meet in the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)** at the level of **permanent representatives** of the Permanent Council weekly, and on shorter notice if necessary. All meetings are chaired by NATO’s **Secretary-General** or Deputy Secretary-General, while the senior ambassador is dean of the Permanent Council and convenes meetings, including those to select a new Secretary-General. The order of precedence in the Permanent Council and all NATO committees is based on length of service (seniority), and seating is by the English alphabet.

PERMANENT COUNCIL OF OSCE (FORMERLY PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF CSCE). All political consultation and decision making done by the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, previously the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)**, is by the OSCE Permanent Council. This body started as the CSCE Permanent Committee at the CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers’ Meeting in Rome (1 December 1993) and was renamed at the CSCE Budapest **Summit** (November 1994), when the CSCE became OSCE. To strengthen political consultation, the OSCE Istanbul Summit (November 1999) then created a Preparatory Committee under the OSCE Permanent Council.

PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF EU. *See* COMMITTEE OF PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES.

PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** member states and **partners** are represented in the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)** by permanent representatives/ambassadors, who meet in the **Permanent Council**. These ambassadors act on instructions from their governments, informing on and explaining national views or policies, while reporting back on security developments, **allies'** and partners' consensus building, or conflicts. Each ambassador leads a national delegation (a permanent mission) and political-military staff **based** at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, **Belgium**. With the **United States** traditionally leading NATO, one of the most influential U.S. ambassadors to NATO was Robert E. Hunter, who launched the **alliance's Partnership for Peace**, air strikes in **Bosnia**, and the road map for the **NATO first-tranche enlargement** (1997–1999). *See also* FOREIGN MINISTERIAL MEETINGS OF NATO; SECRETARIES-GENERAL OF NATO.

PERRY PRINCIPLES, NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Summit** in Washington in 1999 pledged an “**open door**” for future NATO **enlargements**, to reassure the 10 upset “left-out” **aspirants** (**Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia**) that they would be considered for membership at the 2002 NATO Prague Summit. U.S. President Bill **Clinton** and NATO used the “lessons learned” from the **first-tranche enlargement** (1997–1999) to craft mandatory objective readiness benchmarks (“Perry Principles”) to enhance NATO membership. Every aspirant biannually presents to the “NATO + 1 Review” detailed **membership action plans (MAPs)** to streamline individual political-military reforms, realistic military budgets, NATO training, and interoperability, **peacekeeping**, and civilian-military professionalism. Despite initial misgivings by aspirants and many **allies**, the “open door,” coupled with the “Perry Principles” and strict MAPs, successfully enhanced the 1995 *Study on NATO Enlargement* goals and ensured that all aspirants meet objective “military criteria” as “producers of security.” They also quelled criticism over the past disproportionate role of “geostrategic and po-

litical criterias” and the embarrassment of having the 1999 three new allies later fail to maintain their NATO combat-readiness goals.

Mandatory MAP military readiness constitutes a virtual “NATO *acquis*” process, copying the extensive **European Union (EU) *Acquis Communautaire*** of accession regulations, to enhance all aspirants’ defense planning, combat readiness, and NATO interoperability, as well as some “geostrategic and political criteria” to boost weaker MAPs (geostrategic links, peacekeeping, democratization, human rights, and market economy). By the 2002 Prague NATO Summit, all 10 former Communist aspirants had applied the “Perry Principles” to complete several six-month MAP cycles of intense, painful, political-military-economic restructuring, to attain common European security. Five of the 10 aspirants fully completed the process and joined NATO by 2002–2004 (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, and Slovenia, with Bulgaria and Romania helped also by “political criteria,” while Albania and Croatia joined in 2008.

PETERSBURG TASKS, WEU-EU. The **Western European Union (WEU)** ministerial **summit** in Bonn on June 1992 sought to make the organization an alternative to traditional European security reliance on the **United States** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. In reaction to U.S. opposition to contributing peacekeepers for **United Nations (UN)** missions in many European **crises** during the 1990s, such as in **Croatia** and **Bosnia**, **France** convinced other Europeans to develop an autonomous military intervention capability in crises without U.S.–NATO participation. Thus, the WEU pledged conventional military **forces** for **humanitarian**, rescue, and **peace-keeping** missions based on the “Petersberg Tasks,” in cooperation with the UN, the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)**, and the **European Union (EU)**, as well as providing support for African peacekeeping efforts assisted by the EU. The “Petersberg Tasks” were adopted by the WEU-EU **joint-summit** document, “WEU Contribution to the European Union Intergovernmental Conference of 1996” and the EU Amsterdam Treaty (1999). The merger of the EU and WEU in 1999–2000 and intense U.S.–NATO–EU debates on the “Petersberg Tasks” reversed French pressures to create an EU **rapid-reaction force** in close liaison with NATO.

PILLARS, EU. *See* EUROPEAN UNION.

PLEVEN PLAN (1950). In October 1950, French Prime Minister René Pleven proposed a plan for German rearmament within the context of a **European Defence Community (EDC)**, in which newly formed German troops would be wholly integrated at the company level in a multinational European Army, rather than as an autonomous national military within NATO. The Pleven Plan diplomatically sought to counter U.S. President **Harry Truman's** "**Bomb on the Plaza**" proposal at the 1950 New York **NATO Summit** that West **Germany** be remilitarized and integrated as an equal ally within the newly created **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** as its front line against any possible invasion of Western Europe by the Soviet Union (USSR). The real architect and political **force** behind the Pleven Plan was the influential **Jean Monnet**, who had also crafted the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) to bring West Germany's rising industry within the context of European integration with **Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg**, and the **Netherlands**. Monnet also crafted the EDC as an inducement to save his cherished ECSC, whose negotiations with West Germany were stalled by German recalcitrance unless France acquiesced to West German rearmament. European opposition to German rearmament and entry into NATO only five years after **World War II** led Monnet to press Pleven to propose a separate supranational European security organization to institutionally constrain West Germany in a broader European integration. Although Monnet did not personally direct the EDC treaty negotiations of 1951, his influence swayed U.S. support for the Pleven Plan and an EDC parallel to NATO.

However, U.S. and French pressures could not convince **Great Britain** to join. Despite British membership in the 1948 European-based Brussels Pact, London harbored deep distrust of its Western European **allies'** military capabilities, as all had quickly collapsed under Nazi Germany's onslaught in World War II, compared to the U.S.-led NATO alliance, which effectively guaranteed transatlantic security against the USSR. British rejection of both the ECSC and EDC did not kill them, and after long, acrimonious negotiations the ECSC's six members signed the EDC Treaty in Paris (27 May 1952). Yet, the EDC floundered by 1954, after France unexpectedly refused

to ratify the treaty seeking to stop German rearmament, and in response America threatened to withdraw because West Germany was not allowed to rearm in either the EDC or NATO. Therefore, British Prime Minister Anthony Eden engineered the transformation in 1954 of the dormant Brussels Pact (Belgium, France, Great Britain, Luxembourg, and Netherlands) into the **Western European Union (WEU)**, including West Germany and Italy, to guarantee European security integration and West Germany's rearmament. Long dormant, the WEU was revamped in 1984–1999, first as a possible “European Army” parallel to NATO, then as a linchpin between NATO and the **European Union (EU)** following the EU–WEU merger in 1999–2000.

POLAND (POLSKA), NATO–EU. Democratic republic in Eastern Europe with an area of 312,685 square kilometers, bordering **Belarus**, the **Czech Republic**, **Germany**, **Lithuania**, **Russia** (Kaliningrad Oblast), **Slovakia**, **Ukraine**, and the Baltic Sea and facing **Sweden**. The capital is Warsaw. Poland is a Slav Catholic state (95 percent Catholic and 5 percent Orthodox and Protestant), with a population of 38,630,000 (96 percent Polish and 4 percent other).

Poland emerged as a country in the late 10th century and became a great power in the 16th century in a union with Lithuania, covering the area from Poland to the Baltic states, Belarus, and Ukraine. During the 1600s internal disorders weakened it and left it prey to its rival neighboring powers, which annexed it through the Three Polish Partitions among Russia, Prussia, and Austria. France's European hegemony during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815) briefly returned Poland to independence, until its reconquest by Russia, Prussia, and Austria in 1813–1815, sanctioned by the Congress of Vienna (1815). Under Russia, Poland lost its autonomous status of Grand Duchy after a series of failed rebellions. During **World War I** (1914–1918), Germany defeated Russia and liberated Poland, which then under the Treaty of Versailles (1919) aligned itself with the **Allies** to prevent both Germany and the Soviet Union (USSR) from annexing large areas from it. During **World War II** (1939–1945) Poland was partitioned by Germany and the USSR under the 1939 Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, until Germany attacked the USSR in mid-1941.

During the Cold War (1946–1990), Poland was repressed by the **Red Army** and received one-fifth of Germany's lands in exchange for again losing its large Belorussian and Ukrainian territories to the USSR. It was also made a key Soviet **satellite** and rear-logistical line for the Soviet occupation zone of East Germany and a Soviet/**Warsaw Pact** invasion of the **West** in a **World War III** against the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. After Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchëv's** “de-Stalinization” campaign of 1955–1956, Polish political unrest almost led to a new Soviet military repression, deflected by Moscow's crushing of the Hungarian Revolution (1956). Although relations with West Germany improved in 1968–1969 with *Ostpolitik* (Opening to the East) and East–West **détente** between the superpowers, domestic labor turmoil led to strikes and repression in 1970, 1977, and 1980, when the trade union **Solidarność** (Solidarity) emerged as a national political **force**, humbling the Communist government. The **Polish Coup** (1981) by Poland's military repressed the country's budding democratic movement to preempt a parallel military repression by the USSR and possible civil war.

Poland joined the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945, the Warsaw Pact in 1955, and the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** in 1975. By 1989, the need for drastic economic reforms to salvage Communist Poland from bankruptcy forced the legalization of **Solidarność**, whose electoral victory unleashed the **1989 Eastern European Revolutions**, followed by the collapse of Soviet and local Communist rule. **Solidarność** swept the 1990 parliamentary elections and presidency, implementing a “shock therapy” of Western-style capitalist reforms and democratization, while together with the other members, it disbanded the Warsaw Pact. Poland, joined Czechoslovakia, and **Hungary** formed the Visegrad-3 Group, seeking entry into NATO in 1990. Although rebuffed, all three joined NATO's **Partnership for Peace** in 1995 and cooperated in **NATO peacekeeping** in the **Balkans**, finally entering NATO together in the first **enlargement** (1997–1999) and the **European Union (EU)** in 2002–2004. Poland also joined the **United States** coalition after the 2003 **Second Gulf War**.

POLISH COUP (1981). The 1981 Polish Coup pitted the prodemocratic **Solidarność** (Solidarity) Labor Movement, led by Lech Walesa,

against **Poland's** Communist Party, and after its collapse, the Polish military, which undertook the first military coup d'état under General Wojćek Jaruzelski to defeat the prodemocratic movement and thus prevent a Soviet invasion to enforce the **Brezhnev Doctrine**. East–West **détente** and **arms control** collapsed in 1980, following Soviet Premier **Leonid Brezhnev's** promoting Soviet penetration in the Third World and **Afghanistan**. The Polish Coup exacerbated fears of **World War III** as the **United States** feverishly rearmed under President **Ronald Reagan**, while the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** readied its forces should Poland collapse into civil war, to resist a Soviet military intervention. After several years of martial law and imprisonment of Solidarność activists, the advent of Communist reformist Soviet leader **Mikhail Gorbachëv** in 1985, as well as the international influence of and two pilgrimages to Poland by Polish Pope John-Paul II (Karol Woytila), finally forced the Polish military to back down, free political prisoners, and allow free elections in summer 1989. Solidarność won the elections.

The transition of powers allowed General Jaruzelski to remain president and maintain continuity with the dying Communist régime. But the rapid liberalization of Poland precipitated the **1989 Eastern European Revolutions** in Eastern Europe in fall 1989, as well as the collapse of Soviet and Communist domination in **Hungary**, Czechoslovakia, and Eastern **Germany** (DDR) in September–December. The fall of the Berlin Wall and German reunification followed, paralleled by the bloody **Romanian** Revolution of December 1989. The collapse of independent Communist **Yugoslavia** into a series of civil wars between 1991 and 2001 was a consequence of the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR. Poland's quest for democracy propelled all post-1989 governments to seek dual membership in the **NATO** and **European Union (EU)**, which was achieved between 1999 and 2004.

POLITICAL AND SECURITY COMMITTEE, EU. As a body of the **European Council**, the Political and Security Committee (always referred to by its French acronym, COPS) is the **European Union's** (EU) linchpin between the **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)** and **European Security and Defence Identity/Policy (ESDI/P)**. It is composed of the members' ambassadors or political

directors. The **European Commission** is fully associated with COPS through its own representative. COPS prepares recommendations on CFSP's functioning, day-to-day issues, and deliberations at the General Affairs Councils. COPS is central in dealing with international **crises** and defining EU responses without prejudice to the decision making of each pillar. *See also* COMMITTEE OF PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's** (NATO) political work at the **North Atlantic Council** is prepared by the **Senior Political Committee (SPC)**. Otherwise, it is handled by the Political Committee, consisting of political counselors from national delegations of NATO states.

POLITICAL-MILITARY GROUP, EU. The Political-Military Group examines the political and military aspects of all proposals within the framework of the **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)**. *See also* COMMITTEE OF PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES; EUROPEAN UNION MILITARY COMMITTEE.

PORTUGAL, NATO-EU. Democratic republic in Western Europe with an area of 92,391 square kilometers, bordering **Spain** and the Atlantic Ocean, with its geostrategic Azores islands controlling the approaches to the Strait of **Gibraltar** and Mediterranean. The capital is Lisbon. It is a Latin Christian country (94 percent Catholic, 6 percent Protestant), with a population of 10,535,000 (98 percent Portuguese, 2 percent other).

The Iberian Peninsula's western Lusitan tribes were intermixed with Celtic tribes in the north, and in 200 BC were unified under Carthage and later Rome. The collapse of the Roman Empire under the Germanic invasions of the 400s–600s AD left the Iberian Peninsula under the Visigoths' and Vandals' Germanic kingdoms. The Muslim invasion from North Africa conquered the Iberian Peninsula in 750 AD, leaving only small Christian feudal redoubts in the north, which over seven centuries slowly liberated the region (*Reconquista*). Partially independent since 1143, Portugal completed its liberation by the late 1400s and started the Great Discoveries and Europe's global colonial expansion, opening the routes to Africa, India,

Indonesia, China, Japan, and Brazil, but was soon challenged by Spain and the **Netherlands**.

After Portugal's failed invasion of Morocco, with the loss of its king and nobility in battle, the country was annexed to Spain under the Habsburg Emperor Charles V, who controlled most of Europe in the 1500s through the fusion of its Holy Roman Empire with **Austria**. Yet Charles V could never truly unify Europe against **France** and its allied secessionist Northern German Protestant princes and the Ottoman Empire. Austria and Spain lost their European hegemony after the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), while Portugal had already regained its independence by 1580. With its heyday as a world power waning, Portugal lost its wealth and status with the Lisbon earthquake (1755), followed by France's European hegemony during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815), which also conquered Portugal, forcing its king to resettle in Brazil under the protection of **Great Britain**. A **joint** Anglo-Spanish-Portuguese coalition slowly liberated the Iberian Peninsula, keeping Portugal as a British ally after Napoleon's fall and the Congress of Vienna (1815). After the consensual independence of Brazil in 1822, Portugal declined as world power, becoming an isolated backwater in European politics, unable to embrace the mercantile and Industrial Revolutions.

Portugal fought with Great Britain and the **Entente/Allies** in **World War I** (1914–1918) but was repeatedly defeated in Mozambique by **Germany**. Political turmoil led to the 1910 revolution and a Fascist republic, which pursued **neutrality** during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and **World War II** (1939–1945), while remaining pro-British in its diplomatic leanings, unlike the pro-**Axis** Spain. Portugal also allowed Great Britain and the **United States** to use its Azores islands as transit zone for Allied convoys resupplying the liberation of North Africa, **Italy**, and Europe. Portugal became a founding member of the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945 and of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1949, due to its geostrategic importance to NATO in case of **World War III** against the USSR. Portugal's Azores islands became even more important once NATO instituted its **REFORGER** (Return of Forces to Germany) annual exercises for rapid convoy resupply in wartime. However, Portugal was weakened by the burden of colonial wars in Africa

(Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique) against local Marxist insurgents. After the 1974 left-wing military coup, Portugal granted independence to all its African colonies in 1975, but the influence of local pro-Soviet Communist revolutionaries kept Portugal on the margins of NATO and temporarily excluded from its **Nuclear Planning Group (NPG)**. Soon after, Portugal was stabilized as a Western democratic state and finally ended its long isolation by joining the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** in 1976 and the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)** in 1986, along with Spain. A member of the **Eurocorps**, Portugal provides peacekeepers to NATO, the EU, and the UN.

POST-COLD WAR PERIOD (1990–present). The 1989–1991 collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) and **Warsaw Pact** domination over Eastern Europe, followed by the USSR’s own disintegration in December 1992, ended the Cold War (1946–1990) and radically changed global security on several levels, without establishing a clear-cut, unifying trend.

Instead, three distinct trends have emerged. With the **United States** as sole superpower since 1992, the two parallel phases of the “end of history” (ideologies and wars nullified by Western democracy) and “globalization” (world integration through Western capitalism and high technology/the Internet) saw the political-military end of the Cold War’s “division of Europe” and military-economic “victory” by the **West** through capitalist globalization of trade and economic market transformation of hostile former Communist and Third World states. At the same time, under U.S. leadership, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** sought to preserve East–West **arms control** treaties and renewed **détente** in Europe among the superpowers by declaring in 1990 that the USSR and Warsaw Pact were no longer enemies (the “**Message from Turnberry**” and 1990 **London NATO Summit**), while creating long-range East–West security cooperation through the **North Atlantic Cooperation-Council (NAC-C)** and **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** to tie to NATO all Eastern European countries, “**neutrals**,” and former Soviet states, along with **Russia**. This new European security architecture was expanded to prevent any new cold war by building parallel political-economic ties between Russia and the

G-7/G-8; integrating postcommunist Russia and Eastern Europe into the West, **European Union (EU)**, and **NATO peacekeeping** with the **United Nations (UN)** as fledgling democracies and market economies; and keeping Eastern European and Baltic **aspirants** from joining NATO in the early 1990s.

However, ethnic-nationalist civil wars unleashed by the end of Cold War **blocs** and military-ideological **controls** also ushered in the parallel, longer trend of a “clash of civilization” against the West (Slav Orthodox ethnic-nationalism and anti-Islamism; Confucian Asians’ economic global competition; Muslims’ dictatorships and **terrorism**), belying the rosy triumphs of the West. This was countered in Europe by U.S. President Bill **Clinton**’s phase of “European unification,” with UN–NATO **peacekeeping** in the **Balkans** against bloody ethnic-nationalist fragmentation and **ethnic cleansing** after the collapse of **Yugoslavia** in five civil wars (1991–2000) and Russian instability. The United States crafted both the Dayton Peace Accords and the EU **Stability Pact**, as well as NATO’s **Partnership for Peace**, to give all NAC-C and OSCE members bilateral security ties and **joint** peacekeeping with NATO as **partners** (including Russia and **Ukraine**). Between 1999 and 2008, virtually all Eastern European aspirants were allowed to join both NATO and EU, ending the Cold War “division of Europe.” Internationally, Clinton’s message of economic integration, trade, technology, and prosperity became the winning diplomatic carrot to integrate Asia and the former **Soviet bloc** into international economic organizations.

The third trend emerged in 1998 and especially after September 2001, when terrorist attacks against the West and moderate Muslim states by Al-Qaeda and other Islamic fundamentalist groups (with thousands of civilian casualties) forced the West into a frustrating “war on terror” with U.S. “preventive strikes” against Islamic terrorist groups worldwide and “rogue states” guilty of both state-sponsored terrorism and proliferation of **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. In the case of Saddam Hussein’s Iraq this was erroneously construed as a potential link in arming Islamic terrorists with WMDs to surreptitiously strike the West. The Second Afghan War (2001–2002), against Al-Qaeda/Taliban Islamists, and the **Second Gulf War** against Iraq, have instead unleashed long-term insurgency in a new religious “clash of civilizations” scenario,

despite the West's policy of "democratizing" the Middle East and seeking to end the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

"POTUS." Acronym in government documents for president of the **United States**.

PRE-POSITIONING. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the Soviet Union's and **Warsaw Pact**'s superiority in conventional **forces** forced NATO in the 1970s to pre-position secret dépôts of tanks, ammunitions, and matériel in **Germany** and **Norway**. In a **World War III** scenario, **United States** tank crews would be flown to Europe and immediately fielded at division strength for combat.

PRESEVO VALLEY, SERBIA/YUGOSLAVIA. *See* GROUND SAFETY ZONE–KOSOVO.

PRESIDENT OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL (formerly CHAIRMAN, NAC), NATO. Since 1956, the honorary position of president of the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)** at ministerial meetings has rotated among foreign ministers of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, with its **Secretary-General** as NAC chairman. Before the Secretary-General's post was created, these duties were performed by the chairman of the NAC's Council of Deputies (1951–1952), and until 1956 the Secretary-General was just NAC Vice-Chairman.

PRIVATIZATION OF PEACEKEEPING. Trend among **peacekeeping** states and the **United States** to privatize logistics, **base** maintenance, security guards, and police carried out by military **forces**, by subcontracting to private civilian companies. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the United States arranged for civilian airlines and merchant companies to provide vital air- and sea-lift assets for peacekeeping. This policy has been continued into the **post–Cold War** period by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **European Union (EU)** in **Bosnia**, through NATO's **Implementation Force (IFOR)** and **Stabilisation Force (SFOR)**, as well as the EU's **European Force (EUFOR)**. It reached its highest implementation after the **Second Gulf War** (2003) with 15,000 private security contractors operating in an unstable Iraq in 2003–2009.

PROVINCIAL RECONSTRUCTION TEAMS (PRTs), NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF)** slowly expanded its **control of Afghanistan** by establishing provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs) of civilian and military personnel to provide security, reconstruction, and government authority beyond the capital, Kabul. Nine PRTs cover the northern half of Afghanistan (December 2003–2004) and the west (31 May–14 September 2005), relieving U.S.–coalition **forces** fighting Talibani and Al-Qaeda **terrorism**. Between September 2005 and fall 2006, ISAF implemented NATO's final PRT expansion, to unstable pro-Taliban south Afghanistan, preceded by its largest anti-insurgent offensive (**Operation Mountain Thrust**) and constant combat patrols in 2007–2009.

PUTIN, VLADIMIR VLADIMIROVICH (1952–). Second president of **Russia** (2000–2008), former Prime Minister to President **Boris Yeltsin**, and KGB officer, and former chief of the FSB. An ethnic Russian, Vladimir Putin was born on 7 October 1952 in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg), USSR (now Russia). He graduated in law from the Leningrad State University (1975); joined the Soviet Communist Party, and was an officer in the KGB secret service, often stationed abroad in East **Germany** (1975–1991). During the slow internal collapse of the USSR in 1990–1991, Putin became the international affairs advisor for the mayor of Leningrad/St. Petersburg (1990–1996). He was also a parliamentarian in the Russian Duma for the party “Our Home Is Russia” (1994–1997). Putin soon entered President Yeltsin's entourage as his chief of personnel (1997–1998); then as head of Russia's FSB, which replaced the KGB (1998–1999). He became prime minister in 1999, the only one to succeed in overcoming the Duma's stubborn opposition to Yeltsin's policies and in finally crushing Chechnya's secessionist Islamic fundamentalist state in 1999. Putin succeeded Yeltsin as president on 1 January 2000 and soon gained a large working majority in the Duma's new elections.

As president, Putin faced the difficult task of strengthening domestic government powers and revenues, and occasionally Yeltsin joined his former enemy Gorbachëv in criticizing Putin's antidemocratic centralization of powers and human rights violations. Putin continued Yeltsin's ambivalent support of the **West** and criticism of

specific policies by the **United States**, seeking to recast Russia as a world power again. He supported the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) Partnership for Peace** and **Russia–NATO Permanent Joint Council (PJC)**. His “red lines” could not stop NATO’s second **enlargement** (2002–2004), which took in seven former Communist Eastern Europe and Baltic states. He participated in all **G-8 Summits** and at the **United Nations (UN)**, while seeking at first to strengthen this organization against the United States as sole superpower and NATO, with the fleeting cooperation of China, France (under President Jacques Chirac), and Germany (under Gerhard Schroeder) against the U.S.-led coalition’s **Second Gulf War** (2003) against Iraq. Putin had developed secret lucrative oil deals with Iraq. Russia cooperated with the United States under President **George W. Bush** on **nuclear** arms cuts through the U.S.–Russian Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty in 2001, and accepted U.S. withdrawal from the **Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty** in 2001 to develop a U.S.–NATO Missile Defense system (MD), also cooperating with the U.S.–NATO military operations in **Afghanistan** (2001–2002) against the Taliban government and Al-Qaeda’s Islamic fundamentalists. Putin later cooperated with China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan in creating a purported regional alternative to NATO in Central Asia through the **Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)**. Since May 2007, Putin has temporarily frozen NATO’s **arms control** treaties with Russia on conventional and nuclear forces to protest MD systems in Eastern Europe, while seeking a deal to include Russia as well.

– Q –

“QUAD,” NATO. Four-nation, informal political-diplomatic group (**France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States**) at the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Although the **alliance** cherishes the principle of transatlantic parity among all **allies** independently of size or power, in practice U.S. leadership prevails. This situation is both bemoaned and expected, depending on ever-changing inter-allied qualms over either U.S. “unilateralism” or U.S. “retrenchment” from controversial issues that the allies fear being in-

volved in (such as the two **Gulf Wars** in 1990–1991 and 2003–2004), or despair of making headway without U.S. decisive military power (such as the **Euromissile Crisis** in 1977–1983 or combat in the former Yugoslav civil wars during the 1990s). Attempts by France under President **Charles de Gaulle** in 1958–1963 to create a NATO **Triumvirate** with the United States and Great Britain were rejected by the United States and smaller allies afraid of being “marginalized.” De Gaulle almost scuttled NATO in 1966 with his “**Grand Design**” and withdrawal from NATO’s integrated military **commands**, but could not destroy NATO nor replace U.S. leadership.

By the 1980s, subtler French diplomacy led to creation of a “Quad” at the Guadalupe **Summit** as an occasional, informal group of the four most powerful Western allies, meeting on international issues. **Italy** complained bitterly about being “excluded” from this grouping (the “Guadalupe Slap”). By the early 1990s, the “Quad” had become an informal body for inter-allied mediation and leadership on NATO’s pressing political-security issues, establishing a framework agreement on future common policies prior to their official adoption by the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)**. The “Quad’s” success depends on three factors. First, most small allies have difficulty mustering enough technical and political resources to either develop independent policies or reach a working consensus on all NATO security issues. Second, the “Quad” accelerates inter-allied decision making and consensus, as most smaller allies tend to follow U.S. or “Quad” leadership on common policies. Finally, NATO practice is to never acknowledge the “Quad’s” informal key policy role, lest this provoke medium-sized allies (**Italy, Poland, Spain, and Turkey**) to resist exclusion from “unofficial” new alliance bodies.

Neither the small allies, nor the leading NATO powers, would appreciate slowing down informal “Quad” decision making by turning it into a heavier, official NATO semi-council, besieged by “excluded” medium-sized powers and resented by the majority of the alliance because it violates its symbolic principle of parity. Thus, in the late 1990s, when Germany officially acknowledged the “Quad” role in cementing NATO policies on the former **Yugoslavia**, Italy bitterly criticized its political exclusion from the “**Contact Group**” and “Quad” despite its position as NATO’s third largest **peacekeeping force** in the **Balkans** and Mediterranean, while stressing the

“Quad’s” noninstitutional political role. The “Contact Group” was disbanded, but the “Quad” survived more discreetly and often as an informal “**Quint**,” when Italy is added, such as on Balkan peacekeeping and Mediterranean security issues.

QUADRIPARTITE TREATY (1972). *See* BERLIN CRISES.

QUARANTINE (1962). *See* BLOCKADE; CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS.

“QUARTET” (or MIDDLE-EAST QUARTET). Informal political-diplomatic monitoring body formed by the **United States**, **European Union (EU)**, **United Nations (UN)**, and **Russia** in the late 1990s to lead international coordination of political and economic actions for the stability of the Middle East/Gulf areas, including Iran’s proliferation of **nuclear** weapons and Arab–Israeli–Palestinian relations. With the EU representatives to the “Quartet” unofficially monopolized by **Germany**, **Great Britain**, and **France**, the sidelined **Italy** always resented its exclusion despite strong economic and energy interests in the region. Therefore, when the Lebanese War between Israel and Hezbollah in July–August 2006 required deploying a Western/UN **peacekeeping force**, Italy was the first to organize an international **summit** in Rome, offering 2,500 soldiers. It secured leadership of all peacekeepers and membership in the “Quartet” after the United States, Great Britain, and Germany refused to send troops, while France dickered over troop levels, finally sending 2,000 troops to enlarge the **United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)** peacekeepers to 10,000/15,000 men in September 2006.

QUICK-REACTION FORCE (QRF), U.S.–UN. A **United States (U.S.)** force of 1,700 men assigned to the **United Nations (UN) Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I)** for **rapid deployment** and combat to protect peacekeepers under attack. In Somalia, the UN relied heavily on the quick-reaction force (QRF) for non-emergency missions as well, such as convoy escorts and weapons sweeps, because UN peacekeepers were ineffective at these things. Constant combat and lack of armor increased U.S. casualties and prompted congressional hostility to the UN, forcing U.S. President Bill **Clinton** to end **U.S. peacekeeping** after the failed Mogadishu raid in 1994.

“QUINT,” NATO. Five-nation, informal political-diplomatic body (**France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States**) at the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Like the **“Quad”** in the 1980s–1990s, the **“Quint”** provides since the late 1990s informal inter-allied mediation and key leadership on NATO’s political-security issues on **peacekeeping** in the **Balkans** and the Mediterranean, forging a framework consensus on future common allied policies prior to their adoption at the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)**. The **“Quint”** was informally created after Italy’s bitter protests against its **“exclusion”** from the **“Quad,”** which it considered a political slight from the other powers, despite Italy’s role as NATO’s third largest peacekeeping **force** in the former **Yugoslavia** and Mediterranean. *See also* **CONTACT GROUP**.

– R –

“3 Rs”: READINESS, RATIONALIZATION, AND REINFORCEMENT. The 1970s–1980s policy of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to improve and integrate **command, control,** and mobility of NATO **forces** in Europe to counterbalance the **Warsaw Pact’s** rising military power. It was introduced in 1975 by **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** U.S. General **Alexander M. Haig Jr.** (1974–1979).

RALSTON, GENERAL JOSEPH W., U.S. AIR FORCE (1943–).

From May 2000 to December 2002 he was both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO)** 13th **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and **Commander-in-Chief (CINC)** of **U.S. European Command (EUCOM)**. At NATO’s **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)**, he was the second shortest-serving **SACEUR**, leading **Allied Command Europe (ACE)** to preserve NATO’s security, while as **CINC–EUCOM** he commanded **U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe, U.S. Air Forces in Europe, U.S. Marines Forces–Europe, and U.S. Special Operations Command–Europe** for NATO and U.S. missions throughout 93 countries in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.

Joseph Ralston was born in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, on 4 November 1943, and led in every level of **command** of the Air Force, fighting in the Second Vietnam War. General Ralston was vice chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon in 1996–2000. Upon the retirement of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff **John M. Shalikashvili** in 1997, General Ralston was prevented from succeeding him by media publicity about an old affair while separated from his wife. Ralston remained Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, then in 2000 was appointed SACEUR during the Pentagon turf battles that forced controversial SACEUR U.S. Army General **Wesley K. Clark** (1997–2000) into retirement.

Ralston worked with NATO **Secretary-General Lord Robertson** (1999–2003) to supervise **peacekeeping** in **Bosnia (Stabilisation Force–SFOR)** and **Kosovo (Kosovo Implementation Force–KFOR)** through the **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)**. In summer 2001, civil war threatened to break out in the former Yugoslav Republic of **Macedonia** between insurgent Albanian Muslims and majority Macedonian Slavs, but Ralston’s personal survey and advocacy dismissed NATO concerns of another long-term combat **peacekeeping** mission. NATO Task Force Harvest was deployed in Macedonia in only five days, enforcing a cease-fire and collecting all weapons within a month. SHAPE also prevented proliferation of **weapons of mass destruction** by “rogue states” and mitigated allied divisiveness on U.S. **Missile Defense (NMD/MD)** by enlarging its range to the entire **alliance**.

After the 11 September 2001 attacks by Islamic fundamentalist terrorists on the United States, Ralston and SHAPE coordinated security for NATO’s **allies**, deployed NATO AWACS aircraft to the United States for sky patrols, and with the UN provided NATO support to the Anglo–American and French forces fighting in the Second Afghan War (2001–2002) against Al-Qaeda’s Islamic terrorists and Taliban supporters.

Ralston was succeeded by U.S. Marine General **James L. Jones** (2003–2006), retiring to become vice chairman of the Cohen Group, Washington, D.C.

RAPID-DEPLOYMENT JOINT TASK FORCE (RDJTF). In late 1979, United States (U.S.) vital regional interests in the Persian Gulf were jeopardized by Iran’s Islamic Revolution and the Soviet Union’s

(USSR) invasion of neighboring **Afghanistan** during the First Afghan War (1979–1989). Since 1980, either anti-Western Iran or USSR could militarily cut off the global flow of Middle Eastern oil to U.S. **allies** in Europe and Japan by striking at the geostrategically vulnerable **Gulf** and Bab el-Mandeb Strait, thus denying Western strategic access to the largest global concentration of petroleum and U.S. political influence on pro-Western moderate Muslim states, like Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. On 1 October 1979, U.S. President Jimmy **Carter** created the U.S. **rapid-deployment forces (RDF)** or Rapid-Deployment Joint Task Force as a mobile fighting **force** for worldwide deployment, without drawing on existing forces committed to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. The January 1980 Carter **Doctrine** committed the RDF to militarily defend the Gulf and global oil routes. The RDF never had permanently deployed forces under its **command** but was authorized to draw upon all needed mobile units from the continental U.S. and overseas and quickly dispatch them to the Gulf for combat, while U.S. diplomacy secured new **bases** from Kenya to Oman and **Great Britain's** Diego Garcia island. By 1983 the RDF was the fully independent **U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM or USCENTCOM)** at MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa, Florida, covering a broad area of 25 states, from the Middle East (except Israel and Lebanon), to the Gulf (plus Pakistan), to former Soviet Central Asia (plus Afghanistan), to the Horn of Africa (plus Kenya), to the Indian Ocean. CENTCOM allowed the United States and allies to wage war against Iraq in the First Gulf War (1990–1991) and **Second Gulf War** (2003), as well as the Second Afghan War (2001–2002).

RAPID-DEPLOYMENT/REACTION FORCES (RDF). Rapid-deployment/reaction **forces** are not deployed **peacekeeping** units earmarked for quick action/support of other units. Instead, since the 1980s Western **allies** and the United States **base** in their countries specially trained, mobile RDF units for sudden **crises** and combat worldwide, or peacekeeping missions for the **United Nations (UN)** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

READINESS. Technical military term for preparedness in training, personnel, logistics, and technology of national or **alliance forces** for deployment or war—**combat readiness**.

REAGAN DOCTRINE. *See* REAGAN, RONALD W.

REAGAN, RONALD W. (1911–2004). The 40th and oldest president of the **United States** (January 1981 to January 1989). He was the only president to have been divorced and the only one to survive an assassin's bullet (1981). The Iran–Contra scandal in the mid-1980s almost led to his impeachment.

Ronald Reagan was born on 6 February 1911, in Tampico, Illinois, to an Irish-American Catholic family. In 1932, he received a B.A. from Eureka College. He worked as a radio announcer, then moved to California in 1937 and worked as a popular athletic actor in countless B movies. Reagan was a reserve lieutenant in the U.S. Army in 1935–1941, but he was disqualified for combat duty, and during **World War II** (1939–1945) he made training films for the U.S. Armed Forces. Called the “Great Communicator,” Reagan was a popular film and television actor, who as a Democrat publicly endorsed Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and **Harry S Truman**. An anticommunist, by the 1960s Reagan had become conservative, and as president of the Screen Actors Guild (1947–1952, 1959–1960), he testified at the House Un-American Activities Committee and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) about “communists” in Hollywood, while publicly endorsing the Republican presidential bids of **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1952–1960) and **Richard Nixon** (1960). In 1967–1975, he became Republican governor of California.

Reagan twice unsuccessfully sought the Republican presidential nomination, in 1968 and in 1976. The Republican Party was defeated in 1976 by Democrat Jimmy **Carter**. In 1980, Reagan became president, with his rival, former ambassador and CIA chief **George H. W. Bush** as vice president. They defeated incumbent President Carter and carried the first Republican-controlled U.S. Senate in 26 years, on a platform of anticommunism, military rearmament against the Soviet Union (USSR), supply-side economics, anti-inflation, tax cuts, and government reductions. Despite skyrocketing national debt, strong national economic growth and Reagan's popularity attracted many conservative Democrats, giving him a landslide reelection in 1984 and restoring America's optimism after its malaise during the 1960s and 1970s.

In foreign policy, Reagan forcefully confronted Soviet Communist expansionism worldwide and condemned the **détente** of his predecessors (Nixon, Ford, and Carter) as a one-way street, while expanding Carter's policies of military rearmament. Reagan launched a three-pronged U.S. **strategy** of "peace through strength" to confront the USSR and win the **Cold War** through NSDD-32 (National Security Decisions Directive), which involved increasing U.S. defenses with massive conventional or **nuclear arms races** to economically outspend the USSR, enhancing U.S. military **combat readiness** with innovative conventional technologies and strategies, and strengthening the U.S. negotiating posture on **arms control**; forcing the USSR to devote more economic resources to defense, including trying to scientifically match the ultra-expensive "Star Wars" Space Defense Initiative (SDI); and cutting Soviet access to high technology and resources, while depressing the value of Soviet commodities on world markets. Furthermore, at his speech to the British Parliament on 8 June 1982, Reagan stunned both **allies** and the USSR by arguing that Communism would soon collapse due to its deep economic crises, while U.S. economic expansion was driven by rapid computerization and high technology, where the Soviets lagged. To hasten the USSR's demise, Reagan ended East-West trade and technology transfers from the United States and allies.

Initially, Soviet economic decline was masked by high world prices for Soviet oil exports, but that advantage collapsed in the early 1980s, due to the world glut of oil. The increase in oil production was prompted by Saudi Arabia's fear that the USSR's invasion of **Afghanistan** and cooperation with Islamic Iran would threaten the Gulf oil fields and the Saudis' independence. Secret U.S.–Saudi proxy deals exchanged U.S. arms for drastic increases in Saudi oil production, from 2 million barrels per day in late 1984 to 9 million barrels per day by late 1985, under the cover of replacing the collapsing Iranian and Iraqi oil productions due to the Iran–Iraq War (1980–1988). World oil prices suddenly fell from \$30 per barrel in November 1985 to \$12 per barrel by March 1986, with billions in revenues lost for both the Soviet and Iranian economies, while Saudi and U.S. support helped the weakened Iraqi régime of Saddam Hussein survive Iran's attacks.

Around the world, the Reagan **Doctrine** applied the Vietnam War example, providing military aid from the United States and its allies, as well as financial and diplomatic support to all anticommunist **forces** or “freedom fighters” seeking to overthrow Communist régimes. This included funding/supporting Eastern European anti-communist groups such as **Poland**’s Solidarność (Solidarity) union; the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahideen* guerrillas fighting the Soviet invasion in the First Afghan War (1979–1989); the Contras’ fight against the Communist Sandinista régime in Nicaragua; democratic elections in El Salvador’s Civil War to oppose Communist rebels; and Jonas Savimbi’s rebel forces fighting the Soviet and Cuban-backed Marxist government in Angola, as well as opposing Vietnam-backed Communist Cambodia. The Reagan Doctrine was an evolution of President Eisenhower’s “Liberation/Roll-Back” doctrine of the 1950s. But the Reagan Doctrine focused on indirect subversion and military assistance against the **Soviet bloc**’s most vulnerable and controversial new régimes, whereas Eisenhower had advocated unattainable “régime changes” to eliminate Communism, which had led to stunning fiascos. The Reagan Doctrine also neatly separated “brush wars” against Communism in the Third World from the Cold War’s East–West security balance, avoiding “out-of-area” U.S.–NATO involvements outside Euro–Atlantic defenses.

However, Reagan’s military buildup and fierce anti-Soviet rhetoric (like his infamous off-the-cuff microphone-check joke in 1984, which was accidentally broadcast: “My fellow Americans . . . I’ve signed legislation that will outlaw **Russia** forever. We begin bombing in five minutes!”), deeply worried both the European allies and the Kremlin. This tension even sparked a Soviet near-panic nuclear alert reaction to a routine NATO exercise, Able Archer-83 (November 1983), coming as it did after the 1977–1983 **Euromissile Crisis** had climaxed with the U.S.–NATO’s deployment in 1983 of theater nuclear Pershing I and cruise missiles in Europe to confront Soviet SS-20s deployed since 1977 in Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, Reagan could always rely on staunch international support among European allies against the USSR, from his close friend British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at NATO, the **United Nations (UN)**, the **G-7 Summits**, and the **European Community (EC)**, as well as **German** Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Reagan repaid Thatcher by siding with

NATO and the EC in supporting the British in the **Falklands War** (1982), despite opposition from the pro-U.S. **Organization of American States (OAS)**.

Because the USSR had stopped all East–West **arms control** talks during the Euromissile Crisis, Reagan publicly challenged the Kremlin to join America in creating a controversial antimissile Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI or “Star Wars”), a space-based network of armed **satellites** orbiting the earth to protect against any ballistic nuclear missiles attack. Critics condemned SDI as based on unproven futuristic weapons systems that could not make the United States invulnerable and violated the **Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty**. But Reagan’s strategy relied on the threat of SDI to **force** the USSR into unsustainable military spending to maintain parity, which severely damaged an already shaky Soviet economy and is seen as one of the major causes of the USSR’s fall. Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachëv was also forced to embrace radical arms reduction treaties to slow down the growing U.S. military-technological lead. Gorbachëv and Reagan agreed on restarting East–West détente and vital arms control treaties, such as the **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty** and Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I), and by 1988–1989 the USSR had also accepted Western demands to withdraw from Afghanistan. Gorbachëv’s opposition to SDI at the U.S.–Soviet **Summit** in Reykjavik, **Iceland** (October 1986), could not derail the U.S. program.

Reagan’s staunch anticommunist policies are unanimously praised in the West and Eastern Europe as central in fostering the end of the Cold War, with the twin collapse of the USSR and Communism, and the victory of Western democracy through 45 years of U.S.–NATO military containment and capitalist global economic dynamism, which exposed Communism’s dictatorial illegitimacy and economic stagnation. Moreover, the USSR’s collapse and the end of the Cold War’s ideological-military division of Germany and Europe after World War II was attained by Presidents Reagan and George H. W. Bush without an apocalyptic **World War III**.

Parallel to East–West crises and renewed détente, Reagan was also deeply involved in Middle Eastern/Gulf security, trying to play a mediating role between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) during the 1982 Lebanon War. During that war the United States, **France**, **Italy**, and Great Britain, through the **Multinational**

Forces I and II (1982–1984), evacuated the PLO from Beirut, but did not succeed in ending the parallel Lebanese Civil War (1975–1988) by consolidating the Christian government’s **control** or stopping the Iranian-backed rise of Islamic **terrorist** attacks by the Lebanese Hezbollah. The latter group also secretly piloted the suicide truck bombings of the Marine barracks (241 dead) on 23 October 1983, and of the U.S. Embassy (another 100 dead, including the ambassador) twice in 1983–1984. American forces left Lebanon in 1984, but Reagan did not suffer a domestic backlash because at the same time the U.S. successfully seized the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada, overthrowing a local pro-Cuban/Soviet Communist coup. Reagan also attempted to broker a peace agreement among Israel, Jordan, and Syria and to give Palestinians a homeland, which later led to the Arab–Israeli and Israeli–Palestinian peace process under Presidents George H. W. Bush and Bill **Clinton** in the 1990s.

In the Gulf region, where the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979–1989) had been contained by the Reagan Doctrine, it was now the Iran–Iraq War (1980–1988) that threatened the region’s stability and the security of world oil exports. Reagan’s initial neutrality between the equally anti-U.S. Baghdad and Tehran changed once Iraq’s earlier victories were reversed by Islamic Iran in 1982. The United States then secretly played one nation against the other in a pre-dual containment policy, but Iraq benefited most because Saddam Hussein was seen as the lesser of two evils, given U.S. fears that Iran’s leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, might conquer Iraq and then finance Islamic fundamentalists to overthrow pro-Western Arab governments in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Lebanon, Kuwait, and the Gulf, while also threatening Israel through pro-Iranian Syria. U.S. Operation Staunch sought to cut off Iran’s access to weapons on the world market while helping Iraq with Arab–U.S. funds, U.S. satellite intelligence of Iranian forces, and shipments of “dual-use” agricultural materials that could be used for **chemical weapons**, which were massively employed by Iraq to stop Iranian assaults. At the same time, the United States also engaged in secret arms sales to Iran to both secure the release of American hostages in Lebanon and fund anticommunist Contra rebels in Nicaragua. Once unveiled, the Iran–Contra scandal threatened to result in Reagan being impeached (his survival gained him the sobriquet “Teflon President”). Ten members of his adminis-

tration were convicted, including Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and both National Security Advisors Robert McFarlane (who attempted suicide) and Admiral John Poindexter. Thereafter, Reagan moved decisively against Iran in the Gulf, reflagging and escorting international oil tankers with a Western naval coalition “out-of-area” to protect international freedom of navigation through the Strait of Hormuz, stopping Iranian PT-boats attacking the oil tankers of Iraq’s Arab supporters. Eventually, UN mediation led Iran and Iraq to peace in 1988.

Reagan’s legacy was continued by the presidential victory of Vice President George H. W. Bush in 1988–1992, which witnessed collapse of the **Berlin** Wall and the Soviet bloc in 1989, as well as the implosion of the USSR in 1991. Suffering from Alzheimer’s disease, Reagan died at age 93 on 5 June 2004.

REALISM VERSUS IDEALISM. Two rival schools of international relations (IR) theory, which influenced most countries’ foreign policy to counter anarchy in the absence of international order through either a hegemonic empire or a supranational universal organization.

Realism (Realpolitik), such as under **Germany’s** Chancellor Otto von Bismarck or United States (U.S.) President **Richard Nixon** and Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger**, focused on national interests, power, and **alliances** against anarchy and international rivalries among states, relying on “self-help” and war when international law failed to solve **crises** peacefully. From the 1600s to **World War I** (1914–1918), realism and the **balance of power** system (1500s–1939) were the automatic regulators of world politics to contain both anarchy and its opposite, a world hegemonic empire, through limited wars among five to eight independent great powers.

Idealism/neoliberalism, as forged under U.S. Presidents Woodrow Wilson after World War I and Franklin D. Roosevelt after **World War II** (1939–1945), replaces anarchy with international law to abolish war through **collective security** and promote peaceful political-economic cooperation through universal international organizations, such as the **League of Nations** in 1919–1939 and **United Nations (UN)** since 1945. Since World War II, realism has dominated world affairs because of the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations, the ravages of World War II, and the marginalization of the United States

during the Cold War (1946–1990) due to the superpowers' **veto**s. **Post–Cold War arms control** and **peacekeeping** reflects realist, not UN, concepts of alliance and **force**, albeit on behalf of UN idealism.

REAY GROUP (or REGIONAL MINE ACTION GROUP). *See* STABILITY PACT.

RECAMP. *See* RENFORCEMENT DES CAPACITÉS AFRICAINES DE MAINTIEN DE LA PAIX.

RED ARMY, USSR. Official name of the ground **forces** of the Soviet Union (USSR).

“RED LINE.” *See* ARMS CONTROL; KENNEDY, JOHN F.

“RED LINES.” Political-diplomatic term for how far state policies can go in an international **crisis** before reaching the point of extreme rejection by another state. Originally the “red line” indicated the Litani River in southern Lebanon, where Israel tolerated an Arab Deterrent Force (ADF) along the boundary area patrolled by both the pro-Israeli Christian militia and **United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)**. In the **post–Cold War** period, “red lines” during the 1990s indicated **Russia**’s opposition to enlarging the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to former Communist Eastern European states after their **1989 Revolutions** against the Soviet Union (USSR). The Eastern European **partners** sought to join NATO for protection from Russia, while the **allies** feared Moscow would put up red lines over **Poland** and the former Soviet Baltic states. Russia also opposes entry in NATO of members of the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**, including the Caucasus states, **Moldova**, or **Ukraine**. NATO rejected Russian red lines, stressing that the “**open door**” allows all partners and even CIS ones to join if they qualify, although unofficially it limited its first enlargement to three members (the **Czech Republic**, **Hungary**, and Poland). NATO ignored Russia during the second **enlargement**, once the **United States** agreed to the Baltic states’ entry.

REFORGER (RETURN OF FORCES TO GERMANY), NATO. The most important annual military maneuvers by the **United States**

and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, to integrate and enhance training and **combat readiness** of multinational allied **forces** through parallel national and NATO exercises. REFORGER's (Return of Forces to **Germany**) core mission was annual tests of rapid U.S.–Canadian air- and sea-lifts of reinforcements to NATO's **Central Front** in Germany and Northern Europe, to counter an invasion by the Soviet Union (USSR) and **Warsaw Pact**. REFORGER's sea-lifts reenacted both **world wars'** convoy combat, organizing multiple fast convoys of troops and matériel from U.S.–Canadian ports to Western Europe under heavy escorts, constantly alternating routes to offset Soviet submarine attacks should they breach NATO's North Atlantic antisubmarine warfare (ASW) defense line, the **UK–Ice-land–Greenland Gap**. REFORGER was organized by NATO's **Supreme Allied Command–Atlantic (SACLANT)** and **U.S. Atlantic Command (ACOM)**, with simulated convoy combat charting just 20 percent of forecast merchant shipping for wartime convoys, as well as conducting **joint** civil-military training with naval escorts and air patrols for constant ASW drills. REFORGER would also resupply NATO's **Southern Flank** and **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AF-SOUTH)** in the Mediterranean. REFORGER's most important annual subexercise was "Autumn Forge," introduced in 1975 by **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** U.S. General **Alexander M. Haig Jr.** (1974–1979).

REGIONAL IMPLEMENTATION PLAN, STABILITY PACT. *See* STABILITY PACT.

REGIONAL MINE ACTION GROUP (or REAY GROUP). *See* STABILITY PACT.

RELEX COUNSELLORS, EU. In the **European Union (EU)**, Relex Counsellors and the **European Commission** examine institutional, legal, and financial proposals related to the **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)**. They prepare the work of the **Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER)** on **joint** actions in foreign and security issues to ensure inter-pillar consistency. *See also* CFSP WORKING GROUPS.

RENDEZVOUS POINTS (RVs). *See* ASSEMBLY POINT.

RENFORCEMENT DES CAPACITÉS AFRICAINES DE MAINTIEN DE LA PAIX/REINFORCING WEST AFRICAN PEACEKEEPING CAPABILITIES (RECAMP). In November 1995, **United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali** called for a greater international emphasis on solving **crises** prior to UN involvement, while the **West** searched for regional alternatives to sending their peacekeepers into explosive situations such as Somalia and Rwanda. The **United States** developed the **African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI)** to train African military units for regional **peacekeeping**. **France** proposed the “RECAMP” program (Renforcement des Capacités Africaines de Maintien de la Paix), to train both Francophone and Anglophone African officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) in Côte d’Ivoire/Ivory Coast and Benin, coordinating them in subregional peacekeeping exercises with the **Communauté des États d’Afrique de l’Ouest (CEDAO)** of West African Francophone states tied to France in a joint security assistance since their independence. RECAMP also stockpiles large quantities of equipment at French overseas **bases** for use by African peacekeepers, as well as reaching out to international organizations and 40 African states’ politicians, military, diplomats, and non-government organizations (NGOs) to solve local crises by relying on CEDAO and **French peacekeeping**.

REPUBLIKA SRPSKA. *See* CROATIA; IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA (IFOR); INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER-YUGOSLAVIA.

RIDGWAY, GENERAL MATTHEW B., U.S. ARMY (1895–1993). From 1952 to 1953 he was both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) second Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and **Commander-in-Chief (CINC)** of the **U.S. European Command (EUCOM)**. At NATO’s **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)**, he was the shortest-serving SACEUR, leading Allied Command Europe (ACE) to preserve transatlantic peace, security, and territorial integrity, while as CINC–EUCOM he commanded U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe; U.S. Air Forces in Europe, and U.S. Marines Forces–Europe for NATO and U.S. missions in Europe.

Matthew Ridgway was born on 3 March 1895 in Fort Monroe, Virginia, and after graduation in 1917 fought in Europe in **World War I** (1914–1918), becoming an acting captain. In 1937, as a major, he was among élite officers quickly advanced to top leadership, and under Army Chief of Staff Brigadier General George C. Marshall he joined in 1939 the much-coveted Pentagon War-Plans Division during **World War II** (1939–1945), from where senior officers received higher **commands**. By August 1942, as a brigadier general, he was with the **Allies** landing in North Africa in spring 1943. He planned the U.S. Army's first major night airborne assault during the invasion of Sicily (10 July 1943). He also led a paratrooper night assault at Normandy on D-Day (6 June 1944); fought in the **Netherlands**, **Ardennes**, and the “Ruhr Pocket,” surrounding German **forces**, and on 2 May was the first Allied commander to complete the historic link-up with Soviet troops invading **Germany**.

During the Cold War (1946–1990), he was a valued soldier-diplomat, serving on several international commissions and as military advisor for Supreme Allied Commander–Europe U.S. General **Dwight D. Eisenhower** to the **United Nations (UN)** General Assembly, where he helped draft plans for a UN military **force** to curb aggression, which he then commanded during the **Korean War** (1950–1953). In Korea, General Ridgway helped shore up the morale of retreating UN forces, whose 1950 counteroffensive under U.S. General **Douglas MacArthur** had liberated both Koreas from invading North Korean Communist forces, only to be later repulsed by a massive invasion of Communist Chinese troops deep in winter. Despite heavy UN losses, Ridgway stopped and repulsed the second North Korean and Chinese invasion in a series of hard-fought counteroffensives (“meat grinder”) that decimated the Communists, pushing them out of South Korea and north of the 38th parallel. On 11 April 1951, after President **Harry Truman** removed national hero General MacArthur as commander of UN forces for political reasons, unleashing a public uproar, General Ridgway became UN commander in 1951–1952 and was also in charge of Allied occupation forces in Japan, where he concluded the San Francisco Peace Treaty (8 September 1951) with Japan. Ridgway also succeeded SACEUR Eisenhower (1950–1952), who had resigned to run for president in 1952.

As SACEUR, Ridgway worked with NATO **Secretary-General Lord Ismay** (1952–1957) to enlarge the **alliance** to 14 members. Fears of a “**World War III**” spreading from Korea to Europe finally receded after the death of Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** in 1953 and the end of the Korean War. Ridgway upset European military leaders by surrounding himself only with U.S. staff, compared to the international command under Eisenhower. In 1953, President Eisenhower recalled Ridgway to become his new U.S. Army Chief of Staff. Ridgway was succeeded as SACEUR by U.S. Army General **Alfred Gruenther** (1953–1956).

Ridgway’s long, distinguished military career ended in bitter frustration because he clashed constantly with Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Arthur Radford, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, and even Eisenhower, in futile efforts to stop the president’s downsizing of the U.S. Army in favor of expanding, as the chief line of defense for the United States and NATO, the strategy of “massive retaliation” through **Strategic Air Command (SAC)** global **nuclear** strikes and ground-based short-range nuclear forces. In 1954, Eisenhower also sought ways to intervene in the First Vietnam War to rescue the collapsing French effort against Viet Minh Communist guerrillas, while rejecting any nuclear strike. But Ridgway, who believed that the only alternative was a massive U.S. combat commitment, dissuaded Eisenhower, delaying U.S. military intervention in Vietnam for 10 years. Eventually, Ridgway’s controversial tenure severed his long-standing relationship with Eisenhower, forcing him into early retirement by June 1955. He was replaced by General Maxwell D. Taylor. In 1979, Ridgway protested President Jimmy **Carter**’s adoption of a volunteer military that included service women, which he condemned as detrimental to combat effectiveness. Ridgway died on 26 July 1993.

RIO PACT/INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE (IATRA, 1948). During the Cold War (1946–1990), the threat of the Soviet Union (USSR) for Europe and abroad through Communist subversion convinced United States (U.S.) President **Harry Truman** and Republican Senate leader Arthur Vandenberg to join **forces** on national security against the USSR and an impending **World War III**. Thus, on 11 June 1948 the U.S. Senate adopted the

Vandenberg Resolution, allowing the president to enter into any permanent peacetime military **alliance** vital for U.S. national security. The Vandenberg Resolution was openly publicized as a legislative tool to extend the Monroe Doctrine (1823) and protect Latin America through the Rio Pact. In reality, it was also a political screen to secure the more important Senate approval of a U.S.-led **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to protect Europe from the USSR.

The Rio Pact, ratified in 1948, was a **collective security** agreement signed at the 1947 Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Within the **Organization of American States (OAS)**, the Rio Pact assures regional defense of the United States and Western Hemisphere against communist attacks or subversion, such as against Communist Cuba during the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis**. All members participate jointly, but none is forced to intervene against its will. The Rio Pact was always mostly an extension during the Cold War of the U.S. global network of alliances, but it lacked the permanent structures and integrated military **commands** of NATO or the **U.S. Southern Command (SOUTHCOM)**. Several attempts by Peru and the United States to amend the pact to add economic cooperation and development never secured enough votes. In the **post-Cold War** period (1990–present), Mexico left the Rio Pact (in 2002), calling it outmoded.

ROBERTSON, LORD GEORGE (1949–). Born on 12 April 1946 at Port Ellen, Isle of Islay in Scotland, **Great Britain**, Robertson was the 10th **Secretary-General** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, from October 1999 to December 2003, and chair of its **North Atlantic Council**, succeeding **Spain's Javier Solana** (1995–1999).

George Robertson received an M.A. (Honours) in economics in 1968 and has honorary doctorates from several universities. He served in Parliament as a member of the Labour Party (1978–1999); was Opposition spokesman (1982–1997); was chosen Joint Parliamentary of the Year (1993) for ratifying the **European Union (EU)** Maastricht Treaty; was vice chair of the British Council; was chair of Scotland's Labour Party; was a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council (1997–1999); served as secretary of defense (1997–1999); and was made a lord in 1999.

As NATO Secretary-General, Lord Robertson collaborated closely with **Supreme Allied Commanders–Europe (SACEURs) United States Generals Joseph W. Ralston** (2000–2003) and **James L. Jones** (2003–2006) on the delicate diplomatic 2002–2004 **NATO second enlargement** of the **alliance** to include 10 Eastern European partners “left out” of the **first enlargement** of 1997–1999. He also repaired **Partnership for Peace** relations with **Russia** after a temporary breach in 1999–2000 in protest of NATO’s **Kosovo War** (1999). He continued NATO’s **peacekeeping** missions: the **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)**, the **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)**, regional stabilization in **Albania** and **Macedonia**, and the **International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF)**. Lord Robertson led NATO’s involvement in the Second Afghan War (2001–2002), but could not overcome sharp opposition from **France** and **Germany**, which prevented NATO from joining the U.S.-led coalition during the **Second Gulf War** in 2003–2004 (although most **allies** and partners joined individually, with NATO training troops in Iraq since 2003). The most colorful NATO Secretary-General, Robertson referred to himself as “skilled in diplomatic thuggery.” Lord Robertson was succeeded by **Jaap de Hoop Scheffer** (2003–present) of the **Netherlands**.

Lord Robertson is **Joint** President of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA).

ROGERS, GENERAL BERNARD W., U.S. ARMY (1921–). From 1979 to 1987, he was both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) eighth Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and **Commander-in-Chief (CINC) of U.S. European Command (EUCOM)**. From NATO’s **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)**, he led **Allied Command Europe (ACE)** to preserve transatlantic peace, security, and territorial integrity, while as **CINC–EUCOM** he commanded **U.S. Army–Europe**, **U.S. Navy–Europe**, **U.S. Air Forces in Europe**, **U.S. Marines Forces–Europe**, and **U.S. Special Operations Command–Europe** for NATO–U.S. missions in Europe.

Bernard Rogers was born on 16 July 1921 in Fairview, Kansas, and graduated from the United States (U.S.) Military Academy at West Point in 1943 as a first captain. The Army reassigned him to

West Point as a professor in 1944. A junior officer with extraordinary talent and intellectual capacity, Rogers served in sensitive assignments in the United States and Europe between 1945 and 1947, and he was the first postwar Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University (1947). He fought in the **Korean War** (1950–1953), and as a brigadier general also fought in the Second Vietnam War, as Assistant Division Commander 1st Infantry Division, winning several medals. In 1967, he returned to West Point as commandant. In 1969, as a general, Rogers held **command** of the demoralized, not combat-ready 5th Mechanized Infantry Division, where his successful, innovative programs soon restored the morale and **combat-readiness** of his unit; these programs were quickly adopted armywide as a model for the new U.S. Volunteer Army Program. After holding key Pentagon posts, General Rogers assumed command of the U.S. Army **Forces** Command, where he stressed unit readiness, modernization, sustainability, and quality of life for personnel.

In 1976–1979, General Rogers was U.S. Army Chief of Staff, enhancing U.S. capability to reinforce NATO as an improved and credible deterrent to the Soviet threat to Europe. Rogers replaced U.S. Army General **Alexander M. Haig Jr.** (1974–1979) as SACEUR and worked with both NATO **Secretaries-General Joseph M. A. H. Luns** (1971–1984) and **Lord Carrington** (1984–1988) to implement Haig's controversial but vital modernization of NATO's theater nuclear forces in Western Europe against the Soviet buildup in the 1970s of conventional **forces** and SS-20s INFs in Eastern Europe. NATO's "dual-track policy" (December 1979) modernized its own INF with ground-based U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles, to be based in Europe by 1983, while actively negotiating an **arms control** deal with the USSR to eliminate both the 300 deployed Soviet SS-20s and NATO INFs prior to that 1983 deployment. Rogers repeatedly pointed out that East–West **détente** had collapsed after the Soviet invasion of **Afghanistan** and that only an INF theater **nuclear** shield could supplement NATO's inadequate conventional **forces**, because NATO could resist a Soviet/**Warsaw Pact** attack only for "days, not weeks" without nuclear arms. Rogers opposed popular pressure in the United States and Europe for a "nuclear freeze" on Western forces, stressing that the USSR would not negotiate arms reduction with a weakened America. He and Secretary of Defense Caspar W.

Weinberger also called for raising allied military spending in NATO to 3 percent to close the conventional forces gap with the **Warsaw Pact**, but they met stiff resistance from allied governments strapped by recession and high unemployment.

During the **Euromissile Crisis** (1977–1983), the USSR rejected NATO's "dual-track policy" and terminated all NATO–Warsaw Pact arms control talks (1980), while covertly supporting massive Western antinuclear demonstrations in key NATO countries (**Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Italy**, and the United States). The demonstrations ended abruptly after NATO INFs were finally deployed in 1983. At the same time, Rogers had NATO adopt the revolutionary "follow-on forces attack" (FOFA) concept to improve conventional defenses against a Warsaw Pact invasion by launching NATO conventional attacks deep inside Eastern Europe to destroy Soviet/Warsaw Pact second- and third-echelon forces before they could reinforce the **Red Army's** initial offensive on NATO's fronts. The fear of war was exacerbated by the **Polish Coup** (1981), which pitted the prodemocratic **Solidarność** Labour Movement against a Polish military coup d'état, while NATO readied its own military should **Poland** collapse into civil war and the USSR intervene.

Rogers also skillfully negotiated Greece's military reintegration into Allied Command Europe in 1980 with tactful changes to NATO's **Southern Flank** command to balance Greek and Turkish concerns, and in 1981–1982 formally brought newly democratic Spain into NATO. Other major SHAPE initiatives on Rogers's watch were the first rapid reinforcement concept; the SACEUR's Conceptual Military Framework to assist national defense planning; ACE's Long-Term Infrastructure Plan; the 1983 **Montebello Decision** to withdraw 1,400 nuclear warheads from Europe; and recommending NATO theater nuclear requirements in the wake of renewed East–West arms control talks on **intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)** after Soviet Premier **Mikhail Gorbachëv's** rise to power in 1985 brought a new détente between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Rogers's eight-year tenure left NATO stronger than at any time in its history and ensured the West's victory in the Cold War by 1989–1990. When Gorbachëv and U.S. President **Ronald Reagan** agreed on a sweeping "zero solution," eliminating all INF missiles worldwide under the 1987 INF Treaty, SACEUR Rogers strongly op-

posed it as the “denuclearization” of NATO, which would make it more vulnerable to blackmail or attack from the Warsaw Pact. Rogers’s open opposition forced him to retire in 1987; he was succeeded as SACEUR by U.S. Army General **John Galvin** (1987–1992).

In retirement, Rogers became an honorary fellow of Queen’s College at Oxford University and honorary director of the Atlantic Council of the United States.

“**ROGUE STATES.**” *See* **TERRORISM.**

ROMANIA, NATO-EU. Democratic republic in Europe’s **Balkans** with an area of 237,500 square kilometers, bordering **Bulgaria, Hungary, Moldova, Serbia,** and **Ukraine** and facing the Black Sea. The capital is Bucharest. It is a Latin-Slavic Christian Orthodox country (87 percent Orthodox, 6.8 percent Protestant, 5.6 percent Catholic, 0.2 percent Muslim, and 0.4 percent other) of 22,360,000 (89.5 percent Romanian, 6.6 percent Hungarian, 2.5 percent Gypsy, 0.3 percent German, 0.3 percent Ukrainian, 0.2 percent Russian, 0.2 percent Turkish, and 0.4 percent other), who speak Romanian and Hungarian.

Romania was colonized by ancient Rome as part of the Dacia Province. After the collapse of the Roman Empire, its Latin populations mixed with invading German and Slavic tribes. In the Middle Ages, the area became the Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. Between the 1350s and 1500s the Ottoman Turks conquered this region. In 1812, Russia annexed its northernmost part, Moldova (then called Bessarabia). Wallachia and Moldavia rebelled and joined the invading Russian **forces** during the Crimean War (1853–1856), securing autonomy in 1856, unification in 1859 as Romania, and full independence on 9 May 1877 as a pro-Russian Christian state after the 1877 Russo–Turkish War. Russia influenced the kingdom of Romania, deflecting its ethnic claims to Bessarabia/Moldova by supporting parallel claims on **Austria–Hungary’s** Transylvania, which had a mixed Romanian Hungarian populations. During **World War I** (1914–1918), Romania joined the **Allies** in 1916, but it was conquered, along with Bessarabia and Ukraine, by **Germany** and Austria–Hungary. The Allies’ victory in 1918 and Russia’s collapse led to Romania doubling in size by annexing Bessarabia,

northern Buchovina, and Transylvania. During **World War II** (1939–1945), Romania's **Axis** alliance with Nazi Germany did not spare it major border changes. Berlin insisted that Hungarian northern Transylvania rejoin Hungary, while northern Buchovina and Bessarabia went to the Soviet Union (USSR) under the terms of the secret 1939 Nazi–Soviet Pact. When Nazi Germany invaded the USSR in June 1941, Romania reannexed Bessarabia and northern Buchovina, plus Ukraine's Prut area.

In 1944, the USSR defeated the Axis and invaded Romania, making it a Communist **satellite** (1945–1948), while reannexing northern Buchovina to Ukraine and making Bessarabia the Soviet republic of Moldova. In the **Warsaw Pact** since 1955, Romania provided logistical and force support against the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** for any Soviet/Warsaw Pact invasion of "**neutral**" **Yugoslavia** in the West to support the main thrust against **Italy**, and in the south supported Bulgaria to conquer the geostrategic **Turkish Straits** and **Greece**. Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu ruled Romania oppressively between 1965 and 1989, becoming increasingly independent from the USSR. The collapse of Soviet rule during the **1989 Eastern European Revolutions** was peaceful in all satellites, except in Romania, where a brief, bloody anticommunist civil war left Ceausescu dead. Under a former Communist government in 1990–1996, Romania suffered rampant corruption and lagging economic and democratic reforms, which prevented it from being included in NATO's **first enlargement** (1997–1999). Romania joined the **United Nations (UN)** in 1955, the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** in 1976, NATO's **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** in 1990, and NATO's **Partnership for Peace** in 1994. It helped NATO militarily against Serbia in 1995 and 1998 during the civil wars in **Bosnia** and **Kosovo**. Thus, under NATO's **membership action plans (MAPs)**, its **second enlargement** included Romania and six Eastern European **aspirants** in 2002–2004. Romania was scheduled to join the **European Union (EU)** in 2007, but talks on ethnically merging with Moldova put that on hold.

"ROSE-ROTH INITIATIVE." *See* NATO PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY.

RULES OF ENGAGEMENT (ROE). Military term for the rules determining when peacekeepers can use **force** during their missions, primarily in defense of lives and property, like the **United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** mission in **Yugoslavia**. “**Peace enforcement**” ROEs allow peacekeepers to use force against belligerents violating cease-fires or to fight for one belligerent against others, as in the **Korean War** (1950–1953) and First **Gulf War** (1990–1991) in **Operations Desert Storm/Shield**.

RUSSIA (ROSSIJA, ex-SOVIET UNION, USSR), CIS, NATO-EU PARTNER. Federal republic and successor state of the Soviet Union (USSR). It is the largest country in the world, stretching from Europe to northern Asia (Siberia), with an area of 17,075,200 square kilometers (with the **Kaliningrad enclave**), bordering **Azerbaijan, Belarus, China, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, North Korea, Norway, Poland, Ukraine**, the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea, the Arctic Ocean, and the Pacific Ocean and facing Japan, the **United States**, and **Canada**. The capital is Moscow. It is a Slavic Christian Orthodox state (5 percent Muslim) with a population of 143,785,000 (82 percent Russian, 3.8 percent Tatar, 3 percent Ukrainian, 0.8 percent Belorussian, 0.7 percent Moldovan, and 10 percent other).

Russia’s first state, Kievan Rus, was founded by Swedish Vikings and became the largest empire in Europe in the 10th and 11th centuries, but it was devastated by internecine struggles and genocidal Mongol invasions. Between 1200 and 1500 the Grand Duchy of Moscow expanded, becoming Russia; unified European Russia; colonized Siberia between the 1500s and 1800s; and conquered the Baltic states and Ukraine in the 1600s and 1700s. As a new European great power under Czar Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, Russia participated in most European wars in the **balance of power** in the 1700s, even briefly conquering Berlin in the late 1700s. Russia, Prussia, and **Austria** partitioned Poland in the 1760s–1790s. During the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1790s–1815), Russian armies were defeated by France, forcing Czar Alexander I into an uneasy Franco–Russian **alliance** to split the world into rival spheres of influence (Peace of Tilsit). After Napoleon’s disastrous invasion of Russia in 1812, the allies and Russia defeated him by 1814–1815 and

created a reactionary order in Europe at the Congress of Vienna (1815). Russia's dominance of Europe between 1815 and 1854 was curtailed by Austrian diplomacy in the **Congress/Concert of Europe** (1815–1900s) and **Great Britain's** policy of containment in the Mediterranean and Middle East. Russia's attempt to annex the declining Ottoman Empire was defeated during the Crimean War (1854–1856), and in the late 1800s Russia could expand only in Central Asia. Thus, Russia joined **Germany** and Austria–Hungary in the Dreikaiserbund alliances (1873–1878, 1882–1888), but rivalry with Austria–Hungary over the **Balkans** ended with the Russo–Turkish War (1877) and again in 1888, while only the Reinsurance Treaty with Germany kept Russia briefly contained.

In the 1890s, Russia switched allegiance, joining France and Great Britain in the **Entente/Allies** (1907), fighting against Germany, Austria–Hungary, and Turkey during **World War I** (1914–1918). Devastating defeats led to widespread riots and revolution, and the Czar was toppled in 1917. The Communist/Bolshevik Revolution under Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924) seized power in fall 1917 and formed the Soviet Union (USSR) as a federation of Russia and other nationalities. Between 1917 and 1920, Germany conquered and made independent Poland, the Baltic states, Finland, Belarus, and Ukraine, making peace with the Communist government of Russia in March 1918 (Treaty of Brest-Litovsk). During the Russian Civil War, Lenin's government slowly recaptured all parts of the former empire, including Belarus, Ukraine, TransCaucasus, and Central Asian republics in 1920–1921, at a cost of millions of dead, also seizing control of Mongolia. The brutal rule (1924–1953) of Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** strengthened Russian dominance of the USSR at a cost of 25 million dead from the 1920s to 1953 under state repression, secret trials, two artificial famines (1921–1922 and 1932–1933) in Ukraine and Russia to eliminate local popular opposition in which eight million died, two massive purges in the 1930s of all “disloyal” members of the Communist Party and **Red Army**, and finally alterations of the USSR's ethnic map through massive deportations of 1.5 million people to Siberia and Central Asia to crush all residual local opposition.

Stalin's policies of collectivization and forced industrialization converted a still agrarian Russia into an industrial great power by

1938, while Stalin's fear of Nazi Germany led him to abandon Soviet isolationism in the 1930s and move toward the **West**, joining the **League of Nations**, to contain Nazism and Fascism. But in 1938 Stalin broke with Great Britain and France over intervention in **Spain's** Civil War (1936–1939) against local Fascists supported by **Italy** and Germany, also fearing that the West's "appeasement" would sacrifice the USSR to Nazi Germany after the 1938 Munich Treaty ceded Czechoslovakia's German-populated Sudetenland to Germany. While negotiating a Franco–British–Soviet defense pact against Germany, Stalin also secretly initiated the 1939 Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact with Nazi Germany to keep the USSR **neutral** in the coming war, partition Poland, and annex ethnic Ukrainians and Belorussian lands, plus Bessarabia and the Baltic states. However, when Nazi Germany invaded the USSR in 1941–1944, wiping out Soviet defenses, the USSR joined Great Britain and the United States in the "**Grand Alliance**" or **Allies**. With massive supplies from the **Allies**, the USSR slowly reconquered its lost territories and Eastern Europe, then defeated Germany in 1945 and established with the Allies the **United Nations (UN)**.

Stalin quickly consolidated Soviet power at home and achieved rapid economic recovery by using the resources of occupied Germany and Eastern Europe (**Albania**, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and **Yugoslavia**), turning Eastern Europe into a **buffer zone** of Communist **satellite** states to protect the USSR against the West. The West responded with the **Truman Doctrine** of **containment** against Soviet and Communist expansion, intervening in the Greek Civil War and even supporting Yugoslavia's split from the USSR in 1948, while Germany's division became permanent with the **Berlin Blockade** (1948–1949) and creation of a West Germany, aligned with the U.S.-led **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. During the 40-years long **Cold War**, under Soviet Premiers Stalin, **Nikita Khrushchëv**, and **Leonid Brezhnev**, Soviet **forces** in Eastern Europe were strengthened with theater **nuclear** arms and armor for a Soviet–**Warsaw Pact** invasion of Western Europe and the **Balkans** against NATO in a **World War III** scenario. Pro-Soviet Communist China came to power in 1949, and the Sino–Soviet alliance (1950) militarily supported Communist North Korea during its invasion of pro-U.S. South Korea in the **Korean War** (1950–1953),

heightening fears of a World War III against the West, until Stalin's death in 1953. Under Khrushchëv, the USSR and United States came close to nuclear war over the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis**, from which the USSR backed down, in the process losing control over China (1963 **Sino–Soviet split**). Eventually, Khrushchëv was deposed in 1964, Brezhnev. Thereafter, the USSR supported Communist North Vietnam's insurgency against the U.S.–led South Vietnam and also crushed moderate reforms in Communist Czechoslovakia. East–West **détente** and **arms control** agreements on strategic nuclear missiles were successful, but the United States and USSR still clashed over the Yom Kippur War (1972), when a U.S. nuclear alert stopped Soviet troops from landing to rescue its defeated Arab client states.

The Soviet economy and society stagnated under Brezhnev and his successors from the 1960s through the 1980s. Premier **Mikhail Gorbachëv** (1985–1991) made serious attempts at political and economic reforms (*glasnost*, *perestroika*), seeking to revamp Soviet Communism, while restarting East–West détente and arms control, including U.S.–Soviet disarmament under the **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF, 1987)**, the **Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE, 1990)**, the **Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START I 1991)**, and the **Short-range Nuclear Forces Treaty (SNF, 1991)**. But Gorbachëv's initiatives could not turn the economy around fast enough and instead released pent-up anti-Soviet nationalist forces, as well as discord between reformers and neo-Stalinists. The nationalists pushed for independence from the Soviet yoke, both in the **1989 Eastern European Revolutions** and in the ethnic Soviet republics—the Baltic states, transcaucasus, Ukraine—while Soviet neo-Stalinists briefly deposed Gorbachëv's in the 1991 August Coup. The reformers rallied around **Boris Yeltsin** and stopped the coup, while Yeltsin became president of Russia, pushed for the disintegration of the USSR and briefly abolished the Communist Party. By December 1991, after the secession of the three Baltic states, the USSR had collapsed into 12 independent nationalist republics (“**Near-Abroad**”), with close political-security and economic ties with Russia through the 2000s as members of its **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**, despite intermittent conflicts over Russian minorities, Russian imperial ambitions, Russian bases, and Russian-CIS peacekeepers. Russia and all CIS states collectively joined the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** in

1992 and as **partners** in NATO's **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)**, followed in 1994 by **Partnership for Peace** and **Russia-NATO Permanent Joint Council (PJC)**. Russia is also in a strategic partnership with the **European Union (EU)**.

Russia still controls most Soviet bases, defense industries, and test ranges, leaving severe pollution and radioactive and toxic chemical sites, as well as air and water pollution. Radiation contamination also still lingers from the 1986 accident at the civilian Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant in Ukraine. Russia is struggling to build a democratic political system and market economy to replace Soviet Communism's strict sociopolitical and economic controls. Progress in the economy and democratic institutions under President Yeltsin dwindled under the slow recentralization of government powers by his successor, **Vladimir Putin**. Both leaders fought a long, bloody guerrilla war in Chechnya against Islamic fundamentalists.

Russia remains ambiguously tied to the West, U.S. sole superpower status, and NATO. Moscow both opposed and then became resigned to the U.S.-led coalitions in the **First Gulf War** (1990–1991) and **Second Gulf War** (2003) against Iraq, despite vehement attempts to rally the UN Security Council against the United States in 2003; both opposed and then supported **NATO peace-keeping** in **Bosnia** and **Kosovo** especially, fearing in the latter case the intrusive precedent of a UN **humanitarian** intervention inside a country's own lands to stop human rights violations against ethnic minorities, such as in Russia's Chechnya or China's Tibet and Sinkiang. Both Yeltsin and Putin opposed with "**red lines**," and then accepted, NATO's three **enlargements** (1997–1999, 2002–2004, and 2008) and cooperated with U.S.–NATO military operations in **Afghanistan** (2001–2002) against the Taliban government and Al-Qaeda's Islamic fundamentalist **terrorism**. Putin also cooperated with China, **Kazakhstan**, **Kyrgyzstan**, **Tajikistan**, and **Uzbekistan** to create a regional counterweight to NATO in Central Asia, the **Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)**. However, strained ties with NATO led Russia to freeze all East–West arms control treaties since May 2007 to protest the U.S.–NATO **Missile Defense (MD)** radar system in Eastern Europe. Tensions rose again at the April 2008 NATO Bucharest Summit when U.S. President **George W. Bush's** surprise proposal to add Georgia and Ukraine to NATO

aspirants was rejected by Russia and most NATO allies, both dreading an open West–Russia clash and the potential collapse of Russia–NATO partnership ties over Russian “red-lines.” Last, in August 2008, Georgia’s attempt to reconquer secessionist South Ossetia killed Russian peacekeepers of the **South Ossetia Joint Force** and 2,000 civilians, with 10,000 refugees in Russia. Moscow swiftly rescued the Ossetians, intervened in Abkhazia and defeated Georgia at the price of an open crisis with NATO, the U.S., EU, and OSCE who supported Georgian territorial claims and sought mediations between their two hostile partners, while the UN remained stalled by Russia’s veto. *See also* RUSSIA–NATO RELATIONS; RUSSIAN PEACEKEEPING.

RUSSIA–NATO PERMANENT JOINT COUNCIL (PJC). The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and Soviet Union (USSR)/**Russia** overcame their old Cold War (1946–1990) hostility at the June 1990 NATO London **Summit**, establishing new, interlocking, permanent consultative and security structures, including the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)**, **Partnership for Peace (PfP)**, **Euro–Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**, and NATO–Russia Founding Act (May 1997), which created the Russia–NATO Permanent Joint Council (PJC). The PJC established close NATO–Russian military cooperation, bilateral political–military **nuclear** safety, defense conversion, **antiterrorism**, environmental protection, and conventional and nuclear **arms control**. Russia temporarily suspended cooperation with NATO in March 1999, following the **alliance**’s military operations against **Yugoslavia** in spring 1999 during the **Kosovo** War. However, after NATO’s victory, Moscow provided peacekeepers to the NATO-led **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)**, under **United Nations (UN)** mandate. After NATO **Secretary-General Lord Robertson**’s visit to Moscow in February 2000, NATO–Russian ties were restored and widened to the “NATO + 1” level on a broad range of security issues, including **peacekeeping**, antiterrorism and protection of **Kosovo**’s minorities. Nevertheless, since May 2007 Russia froze all East–West arms control treaties to protest the U.S.–NATO **Missile Defense (MD)** radar system in Eastern Europe (the **Czech Republic**, **Poland**, and **Romania**). Worse, the PJC’s “NATO + 1” structure was unable to weather the sudden August 2008 5-days mini-war between its **partners Geor-**

gia and Russia once Tbilisi sought to reconquer pro-Russian secessionist South Ossetia, only to be defeated by Russia at the cost of a near-break of U.S.–Russian relations. See also NATO–UKRAINE COMMISSION; RUSSIA–NATO RELATIONS; SOUTH OSSETIA JOINT FORCE.

RUSSIA–NATO RELATIONS. The **West** and **Russia** have a long history of bitter distrust and suspicion during the Soviet Union’s (USSR) Communist dictatorship (1917–1991). During the Cold War (1946–1990), the political-military, ideological, and economic confrontation between the U.S.-led **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) and the USSR-led **Warsaw Pact** entailed the risk of a conventional and/or **nuclear World War III** over the divided European continent. The end of the Cold War and collapse of the USSR (1989–1991) prompted the London **NATO Summit** in June 1990 to declare that the USSR/Russia was no longer the enemy. Thereafter, NATO increased cooperation between the NATO-led democratic **West** and semi-democratic Russia. All NATO **allies** and the **European Union** (EU) believe that security in Europe required semi-integrating both Russia and the former Communist and Eastern European countries.

NATO efforts to establish mutual respect and a solid partnership with Russia and the former Communist Eastern European states led to the creation of a new interlocking, permanent Euro–Atlantic security architecture. In 1991, the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council** (NAC-C) provided a **joint** regional forum for allies, “**neutrals**,” Eastern European states, Russia, and the former Soviet states. In 1994, NATO developed the **Partnership for Peace** (PfP), bilateral technical-military cooperation among all NAC-C **partners**. However, in 1996 Moscow’s reticence prompted the **alliance** to offer Russia and **Ukraine** superior and separate partnership charters through the NATO–Russia Founding Act (May 1997), **Russia–NATO Permanent Joint Council** (PJC), and **NATO–Ukraine Commission** (NUC). The PJC regulates NATO–Russian bilateral military consultations on political and security issues, such as **peacekeeping**, **nuclear** safety, defense conversion, **arms control**, and the environment.

NATO–Russian relations weakened over Moscow’s strenuous but futile opposition to **NATO’s** three **enlargements** (1997–1999, 2002–2004, and 2008) that ran counter to its “**red lines**” (no

membership for former Eastern European, Baltic, or CIS states). Russia's support of **Yugoslavia** ultimately led Moscow to suspend cooperation with NATO to protest the alliance's **Kosovo** air campaign in spring 1999 against Yugoslav-instigated ethnic cleansing of the **Kosovar** Albanian minority. When the air campaign ended, Russia contributed large **forces** to the NATO-led **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)** for **peacekeeping** under the **United Nations (UN)** to prevent further inter-ethnic clashes and protect local Serb minorities. NATO Secretary-General **Lord Robertson** visited Moscow in February 2000 to restore and widen bilateral relations in the PJC regarding **terrorism**, the former Yugoslavia, **Bosnia**, Kosovo, and international security. Russia fully supported U.S.–NATO military efforts in **Afghanistan** (2001–2002) following the Islamic fundamentalist terrorist strikes of 11 September 2001 (9/11) against the United States and also muted its displeasure over the U.S. decision to withdraw from the 1972 **Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty**. However, Russia renewed friction with the United States and NATO since 2002–2003 over the U.S.-led coalition war against Iraq (**Second Gulf War**) to disarm its alleged **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**, and in May 2007 Moscow has frozen arms control treaties compliance to protest deployment in Eastern European **allies** (the **Czech Republic**, **Poland**, and **Romania**) of a U.S.–NATO Missile Defense (MD) against surprise nuclear strikes by “rogue states.” At the same time, NATO and the EU openly criticized Russia's increasing human rights violations. Finally, a severe 5-day NATO–Russia crisis was precipitated by **Georgia's** use of world distraction over the August 2008 Olympics in China to attack secessionist South Ossetia, killing 10 Russian–CIS peacekeepers and 2,000 civilians, with 10,000 refugees in Russia. Russian forces swiftly rescued South Ossetia, bombed Georgian oil infrastructure, intervened also in secessionist Abkhazia, and defeated Georgia with 30,000 more refugees. Tbilisi appealed for U.S., NATO, EU, and **United Nations (UN)** protection, who support Georgia's full territorial “integrity” and condemn Moscow's reactions as excessive, but Moscow called its intervention “legitimate” support to be the mandate of its CIS peacekeepers to prevent anti-Ossetian ethnic cleansing by Georgia, and equivalent to NATO's own 1999 Kosovo War against Yugoslav ethnic cleansing of Kosovar Albanians. Russia's **veto** stalled the UN Security Council and NATO-EU mediations among rival **partners**, while using its hu-

miliation of Georgia's pro-Western government to reassert full control over CIS members who are also NATO partners—even at the cost of U.S. threats to break bilateral relations.

RUSSIAN PEACEKEEPING. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the Soviet Union (USSR) had only minimal participation in **United Nations (UN) peacekeeping** operations, as did the other four permanent members of the UN Security Council (China, **France**, **Great Britain**, and the **United States**), to avoid factionalism on the ground between rival Cold War powers and local belligerents. After the collapse of the Soviet Union during the **post-Cold War** period (1990–present), **Russia** focuses its peacekeeping within the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** (“**Near-Abroad**”), such as the CIS Collective Peacekeeping Force and CIS Peacekeeping Forces in Georgia (to protect secessionist pro-Russian South Ossetia until the August 2008 conflict) and **UN peacekeeping** missions conducted by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in **Bosnia** and **Kosovo**. Russia uses two terms for peacekeeping: *voiska po podderzhaniyu mira* (“**forces** for the maintenance of peace”) for traditional peacekeeping and *mirotvorcheskie voiska* (“peacemaking forces”) for “**peace enforcement**” against belligerents.

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SAFE, SECURE, AND DISARMED (SSD). *See* GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM.

SANCTIONS. Political-economic term for a type of international economic warfare aimed at temporarily undermining the economy of a “targeted country,” either to **force** it to comply with international policies that were initially rejected as contrary to that country’s national interests, or to punish it for its actions. Sanctions are always collective, “peaceful” coercive actions short of war, undertaken by several states against a “targeted country,” for example by international organizations such as the **League of Nations** and **United Nations (UN)** or regional organizations such as the **European Union (EU)** and **Organization of American States (OAS)**. Sanctions can also precede a war and are most successful only in the context of

warfare. A common journalistic and propaganda error is to label **embargoes**, boycotts, or other punitive economic retaliatory measures “collective sanctions,” but those measures involve one country against one other country, not a group against one. The greater the number of countries and international organizations involved in imposing sanctions on a highly vulnerable “targeted country,” the more effective the sanctions will be in forcing it to change its policies, without military repercussions on the states imposing the sanctions. Borders must be constantly monitored or militarily blockaded against contraband and smuggling, such as the UN-mandated, U.S.-led coalition blockade of Iraq after the First **Gulf War/Desert Storm** in 1990, or the UN-mandated, NATO-WEU naval blockades of the former **Yugoslavia** (1991–1995 and 1998–2000).

However, the more multilateral the sanctions are, the more difficult it is to maintain a common **front** against the “targeted country,” which may engage in secret “sanction-busting” policies to subvert sanctions, by convincing several countries to secretly circumvent them, as happened with the UN sanctions against Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) between 1965 and 1980, violated by most countries worldwide, and the UN sanctions against Iraq between 1990 and 2003, violated by China, **France**, **Russia**, and others. The “targeted country” will seek to develop viable economic self-sufficiency through import-substitution domestic industries, while relying on third parties to replace traditional markets lost to sanctions, as Rhodesia did with South Africa’s support, or as Cuba did (albeit less successfully) with Soviet aid from 1959 through the 2000s. Ruthless dictators can still ride global UN sanctions through state repression against internal revolts, while controlling domestic black markets, as Islamic Iran has done since 1979, Iraq did in 1990–2003, Haiti did in 1994, Taliban **Afghanistan** did between the 1990s and 2002, and North Korea has done since the 1990s.

Sanctions were created as an international economic warfare policy by the **League of Nations** (Article 16), although it did not distinguish between “peaceful” economic and “violent” military sanctions, but saw one as the political continuation of the other if the “targeted country” still refused to comply. The League of Nations failed to impose economic sanctions against imperial Japan for its annexation of Manchuria (1931–1933), and when it sanctioned Fascist **Italy** during the Italian–Ethiopian War (1935–1936), the results were marginal.

Italy's naval strength and war readiness prevented the domestically split **Great Britain** and **France** from engaging in any military clash or even closing the Suez Canal to Italian shipping, while economic sanctions were limited because the **West** excluded strategic items, such as petroleum and iron, vital to crippling Italy's war effort. Non-League of Nations states such as **Germany** and the **United States** also refused to stop oil supplies. The failure of the League's sanctions undermined the organization's credibility and sanctions as a viable policy.

The UN differentiated in its Charter between "peaceful" economic sanctions (**UN Charter, Article 41**) and "violent" military sanctions (**UN Charter, Article 42**) as "**peace enforcement**" by the UN or UN-mandated coalition armies. The Cold War (1946–1990) sharply limited the UN's ability to rely on sanctions, except when the entire UN Security Council cooperated in imposing compulsory ones against Rhodesia (1965–1980) and limited voluntary ones against South Africa (1970s). The substantial political-economic failure of both proved even to the most stubborn supporters of sanctions how difficult their enforcement can be without parallel UN peacekeepers enforcement. Soviet **veto**s prevented the United States and West from securing UN support for international sanctions against Islamic Iran over the Tehran hostage **crisis** (1979–1980)—the invasion of the U.S. embassy and abduction of its diplomatic personnel—or against the USSR itself for its invasion of **Afghanistan** (1979–1989). Likewise, economic rivalries within the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** undermined U.S. attempts to retaliate against the USSR with non-UN international grain and economic sanctions. In 1980, Canada, Australia, and Argentina, the world's largest grain exporters, temporarily replaced the United States as supplier to the USSR, and in the early 1980s most European **allies** refused to stop the Soviet–European Gasduct project bringing Siberian gas to **France, Germany, and Italy**. Even OAS and European sanctions against Cuba, imposed during the 1960s, had fizzled by the 1980s, leaving in place only the devastating U.S. embargo.

The end of the Cold War ushered in an era of UN Security Council consensus and global intervention in the 1990s, with sanctions and military force against Iraq (1990–2003), the former Yugoslavia (1991–2000), Haiti (1994), Taliban Afghanistan (1995–2002), and North Korea (since the 1990s). In the First Gulf War (1990–1991) es-

pecially, comprehensive UN sanctions were used before resorting to military combat and enforced by a naval blockade of Iraq, which continued after the war to implement the cease-fire and UN disarmament of Iraq's **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. NATO also applied UN sanctions against the former Yugoslavia (1991–1995, 1998–2000).

SARAJEVO EXCLUSION ZONE (1994–1995), UN. From 1993 to 1995, the **United Nations (UN)** sought to stop attacks, bombing, and atrocities against Bosnian Muslims by Bosnian Serbs, declaring key towns and areas UN **“safe areas”** and **“safe zones.”** Bosnia's capital was made the **“Sarajevo Exclusion Zone,”** in which no Bosnian Serb heavy weapons were allowed within 20 kilometers of the city center, under threat that the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** would launch retaliatory air strikes on Serb artillery positions.

SATELLIZATION. *See* BUFFER STATES/ZONES OR SATELLITES.

SCANDINAVIA. Geopolitical and historical term for the five countries of Northern Europe of Scandinavian and Finnish ethnicity: **Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden.** Their common cultural, historical, and ethnic bonds fostered a slow political alignment during the 20th century. They all remained **“neutral”** during **World War I** (1914–1918), except Finland, which was part of Czarist **Russia**, and Danish Iceland, which **Great Britain** occupied to prevent a possible attack from **Germany**. In **World War II** (1939–1945), Iceland was again occupied by Great Britain and the **United States**, which made it independent; both Denmark and Norway were invaded in 1940 by Nazi Germany; and Finland joined the German **Axis** in its war against the Soviet Union (USSR), barely surviving as an independent pro-Western state after 1945. During the Cold War (1946–1990), all Scandinavian states were openly pro-Western, but only Denmark, Iceland, and Norway (the Nordic **allies** or **“Nordics”**) joined as founding members of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** on 4 April 1949; Finland and Sweden remained officially **“neutral.”** Sweden's neutrality was influenced by the head of the Bank of Sweden and advisor to the Foreign Affairs Ministry, **Dag Hammarskjöld** (later **Secretary-General** of the **United Nations**), but Stockholm threatened to join NATO if the USSR satellitized and occupied Finland, while a secret defense accord with NATO assured its membership in case of a **World War III**.

All Scandinavian countries cooperated on regional Nordic issues after World War II through the informal Nordic Council and British-led European Free-Trade Association (EFTA), but they split again over political-economic integration in the **European Community/European Union (EC/EU)**. In 1973 and again in 1995, Norway was accepted, but narrow nationalist minorities kept it out through negative referenda; Finland and Sweden joined in 1995, but Iceland remained aloof after the 1975 “Cod War” with Great Britain and **Spain** over the unilateral Icelandic monopoly on fishing rights in international waters (this unsolved issue keeps it out of the EU, because membership would allow Anglo–Spanish rivals to intensively fish in Icelandic waters). *See also* “OPT OUTS.”

SCHENGEN ACCORDS, EU. *See* EUROPEAN UNION.

SCHENGEN AGREEMENT, EU. *See* EUROPEAN UNION.

SCHENGEN INFORMATION SYSTEM, EU. *See* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

SCHUMAN PLAN. *See* ADENAUER, KONRAD.

SCIENCE FOR PEACE (SfP) PROGRAMME, NATO. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) program of international funding for research facilities in **partner** states by NATO’s Science for Peace Steering Group (SfPSG), which inspects them annually.

SEA LANES OF COMMUNICATION (SLOCs). *See* FRONT(S).

SECOND GENERATION PEACEKEEPING, UN. Political-diplomatic term applied to **United Nations (UN) peacekeeping** operations after 1989 that include use of **force**, state building, elections, and **humanitarian** aid, compared to earlier traditional peacekeeping, which simply separated two belligerents as an **interposition force**.

SECOND GULF WAR (2003), U.S. COALITION. **Rapid-deployment** operation against Iraq by the **United States** and 40-plus coalition **forces**, including many members from the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, but without clear unanimous political support

of the **United Nations (UN)**. UN mandates since the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991) were contested in 2002–2003 in the UN Security Council by three of the five **veto** powers (**France**, **Russia**, and **China**) and by **Germany** as its rotating president, as well as by Franco–German minority opposition within the mostly pro-U.S. NATO and **European Union (EU)**. Even Saudi Arabia guardedly refused to allow U.S. use of its **bases**. Nevertheless, U.S. President **George W. Bush** capitalized on U.S. insecurity and world divisiveness over the “immediacy” of Iraq’s **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)** threat to the **West**, following his successful undermining of UN **sanctions** and the UN “Oil-for-Food Program.” Especially contentious was Saddam Hussein’s universally condemned attempts to proliferate WMDs and ballistic missiles, despite UN inspectors’ dual seizure and destruction (in 1991–1994 and 1995–1998) of most Iraqi WMDs and production components for nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. Although all intelligence communities worldwide, including the French, German, and Russian, agreed about Iraq’s likely rapid WMD proliferation, which the United States used as a pretext for war, opponents of a Second Gulf War stressed that U.S. assertions of possible ties between Saddam and Al-Qaeda were tenuous and ideologically dubious, undermining the U.S. claim that Iraq, in collusion with Al-Qaeda, could mount a second, more devastating 9/11-type strike on America and its NATO **allies**, using Saddam’s WMDs.

Despite an ambiguously hostile UN and vociferous international public opposition, 160,000 British and American forces launched out of Kuwait and the Gulf states starting the controversial Second Gulf War (2003), with full air cover, and U.S.–coalition naval patrols of the Gulf. After a few days of massive air strikes, ground forces seized Basra and mobile armored and mechanized forces fought their way north along the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers to Baghdad, which was soon captured, despite the last-minute refusal of **Turkey** to join the war or allow U.S.–coalition forces to penetrate from the north to link up with Iraq’s anti-Saddam Kurdish forces. The end of the war did not stop the violence in Iraq, nor was Saddam’s reputedly hidden WMD arsenal discovered, and the victorious coalition was embarrassed by unending disputes about the “morality” of any preventive war against future, not “immediate,” threats, such as in Iraq. After destroying Saddam’s totalitarian state and the Baath party, the unwise disbanding of the Iraqi Army opened the door to a long, violent in-

surgency and suicide bombings by a mix of Baath loyalists, anti-Western Shia extremists, and Islamic fundamentalist terrorists against the coalition's occupation until 2009. *See also* "NO-FLY ZONES."

SECOND-STRIKE NUCLEAR FORCES. *See* ASSURED DESTRUCTION.

SECOND U.S.–SOVIET NUCLEAR CRISIS/YOM KIPPUR WAR (1973). *See* KISSINGER, HENRY; NIXON, RICHARD; UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE II (UNEF II).

SECRETARY-GENERAL. In all international organizations—such as the **United Nations (UN)** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**—the Secretary-General is the key civil servant/diplomat dealing with international politics, bureaucracy, and administration.

SECRETARY-GENERAL/HIGH REPRESENTATIVE ON COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY (SG/HR), EU. The **European Union's (EU)** Amsterdam Treaty (1999) created the **joint** positions of High Representative and EU Council's Secretary-General, with five-year terms. The EU Secretary-General/High Representative assists the EU Presidency and EU Council in implementing **EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)** decisions among members on all international issues, trade, conflicts, human rights, and values. In 1999, **Javier Solana**, former **Secretary-General** (1995–1999) of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, was the first EU Secretary-General/High Representative. He immediately established coordination with NATO, also absorbing the post of Secretary-General of the **Western European Union (WEU)** prior to the WEU's merger with the EU in December 2000. *See* EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE IDENTITY/POLICY.

SECRETARY-GENERAL OF NAC. *See* NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL.

SECRETARY-GENERAL OF NATO. The principal political representative, chief executive officer, and spokesman in international and public affairs (external relations, communications, and contacts with

member governments and the media) of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Originally a senior international statesman, the Secretary-General is nominated unanimously by **allied** governments as chairman of the **North Atlantic Council, Defence Planning Committee, Nuclear Planning Group, Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, and Mediterranean Dialogue**; as **joint** chairman of the **Russia-NATO Permanent Joint Council (PJC)** and **NATO-Ukraine Commission**; and as titular chairman of all other senior NATO committees. The Secretary-General directs NATO's intergovernmental consensus decision making, and his authority and good offices are also used to solve disputes between allies and **partners**. He has direct authority over a Private Office and Office of the Secretary-General, and is assisted by the **International Staff**, of which he is director. He is also assisted by the **Deputy Secretary-General**, who chairs several other committees and ad hoc working groups.

The Secretary-General office was created in 1952 and elected by unanimous vote for one or more terms only from non-U.S. European allies. The holders of this office have been **Lord Hastings L. Ismay** (Great Britain, 1952–1957), **Paul-Henri Spaak** (Belgium, 1957–1961), **Dirk U. Stikker** (Netherlands, 1961–1964), **Manlio Brosio** (Italy, 1964–1971), **Joseph M. Luns** (Netherlands, 1971–1984), **Lord Carrington** (Great Britain, 1984–1988), **Manfred Wörner** (Germany, 1988–1994), **Willy Claes** (Belgium, 1994–1995), **Javier Solana** (Spain, 1995–1999), **Lord George Robertson** (Great Britain, 1999–2003), and **Jaap de Hoop Scheffer** (the **Netherlands**, 2003–present). Luns was the longest-serving Secretary-General (13 years), Claes the shortest (less than a year due to an indictment over domestic political corruption), and Wörner the only one to die at his post. Great Britain and the Netherlands have had the most Secretaries-General (three each).

SECRETARY-GENERAL OF OSCE (FORMERLY SECRETARY-GENERAL OF CSCE). The **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, previously the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)**, established its first Secretariat in Prague in 1990, but created a CSCE/OSCE Secretary-General at the CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Stockholm (14 December 1992). The OSCE Secretary-General moved to Vienna, **Austria**, together with a new General Secretariat

since 1993. The Secretary-General controls the OSCE Conflict-Prevention Centre in Vienna, the OSCE Forum for Security Cooperation (FSC) in Vienna, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in Warsaw (formerly Office for Free Elections), the **OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities**, and the OSCE Operations Centre. The OSCE Secretary-General cooperates with members through the OSCE Council of Foreign Ministers and its Senior Council, maintaining close relations with the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, **European Union (EU)**, and **United Nations (UN)** to jointly contain regional conflicts.

SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS (UN). *See* UNITED NATIONS.

SENDING NATIONS. Technical term used by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** for contributing nations (**allies, partners**, or other states) involved in **NATO peacekeeping** operations and the **civil-military cooperation concept (NATO CIMIC)** during the **post-Cold War** period (1990–present). NATO-led peacekeeping missions rely both on integrated, rapidly deployed NATO **forces** and rotating national forces assigned to NATO by sending nations, operating under NATO **command** in the **area of operations (AOO)**.

SENIOR COUNCIL OF OSCE (FORMERLY CSCE COMMITTEE OF SENIOR OFFICIALS). The **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, previously the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)**, has a Senior Council, meeting twice a year before its Ministerial Council Meetings, and act as an Economic Forum. The Senior Council works on current issues for the **Council of Foreign Ministers of OSCE**.

SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE (SPC/SPC(R)), NATO. At the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, the **North Atlantic Council's (NAC)** work is prepared by the Senior Political Committee (SPC), consisting of deputy permanent representatives, at times reinforced by national experts on special issues (SPC(R)). The Senior Political Committee prepares NATO communiqués issued by the NAC and draft texts for ministerial meetings.

SERBIA-MONTENEGRO (SRBIJA i CRNA GORA, FORMER YUGOSLAVIA). Mountainous, semi-democratic federation, composed of two republics (Serbia and Montenegro) and two provinces (**Kosovo** and Vojvodina), in Europe's **Balkans**, with an area of 102,350 square kilometers, bordering **Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Macedonia, and Romania**. The capital is Belgrade. It has a Slavic Orthodox population (70 percent Orthodox, 14 percent Muslim, 4 percent Catholic, and 12 percent other) of 11,210,000 (75 percent Serb, 14 percent Albanian, 6 percent Montenegrin, 4 percent Hungarian, and 1 percent other).

Ruled by Slav tribes since the 7th century, the Kingdom of Serbia was formed in the southern Balkans. It was overrun in the 1350s by the Ottoman Turks, who dominated the region until the mid-1800s. The separate kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro became autonomous during the Crimean War (1853–1856), and became fully independent as two Christian states after the Russo–Turkish War (1877). In the late 1800s, both states came under the influence of **Austria–Hungary**, but in 1900 they sided with Slavic **Russia**, whose pan-Slavist policy sponsored the secret Balkan League (Bulgaria, **Greece**, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia) against both **Turkey** and Austria–Hungary. During the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), Slavic northern Macedonia was liberated by Serbia, which kept it despite promising to turn it over to Bulgaria when Serbia was unable to annex Albania after Italy and Austria–Hungary made it independent also. Greece got southern Macedonia, and Bulgaria most of Thrace. The dispute over Macedonia between Serbia and Bulgaria continued during **World War I** (1914–1918); Serbia and Montenegro merged and joined the **Entente/Allies** along with Greece and Romania, whereas Bulgaria joined the Central Powers (**Germany**, Austria–Hungary, Turkey), which conquered Macedonia and Serbia in 1915, then were defeated by the Allies in 1918.

The **Allies** helped Serbia create the **joint** kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918, renamed **Yugoslavia** in 1929. It became a member of the Little Entente (with Czechoslovakia and **Romania**). Serb domination sparked secessionist **terrorism** by the Croat *Ustasas* under Fascist Italy's protection, who in 1935 killed King Alexander of Yugoslavia and French Foreign Minister Eduard Barthelemy in France. During **World War II** (1939–1945), Yugoslavia was pressured by both Nazi Germany and **Great Britain** to join their

side; a pro-British coup reversed Yugoslavia's alliance with the **Axis** in 1941. The **Axis** (Germany, Italy, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and **Slovakia**) then invaded and partitioned Yugoslavia in spring 1941, creating an independent Axis Croatia under the *Ustashes* and Bosnia as an Axis state; annexing Hungarian-populated Vojvodina to Hungary; keeping Serbia under German occupation; annexing Macedonia to Bulgaria, without its western Albanian lands, which were annexed with Kosovo to Italy's **Greater Albania**; and annexing to Italy also **Slovenia**, Dalmatia, and Montenegro as an Italian principality.

Occupation by Nazi Germany in 1941 was resisted by both pro-British monarchist Chetnic paramilitary bands and Communist Yugoslav partisans under Marshal Broz Tito, who fought each other as well as the Axis. In late 1944, Tito reunited Yugoslavia as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, tied to the Soviet Union (USSR), executed the *Ustashes*, and ethnically cleansed the Italian population of Istria and Dalmatia annexed to Croatia. Tito and Soviet Premier **Josef Stalin** clashed in 1948 (the Yugo–Soviet split), and Tito survived on Western military-economic support, repressing both secessionist Croats and pro-Soviet Stalinist Serbs. Tito briefly returned to the Soviet fold in 1955–1956, attracted by **Nikita Khrushchëv**'s reforms, but turned against the USSR after its bloody repression of the Hungarian Revolution (1956). Thereafter, Tito became a leader of the Third World's **nonaligned** states. During the Cold War (1946–1990), Slovenia and Croatia were the likely routes for a Soviet/**Warsaw Pact** invasion of both Yugoslavia and Italy to strike against the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, so Yugoslavia prepared for guerrilla war against the Warsaw Pact, while NATO planned to fight on the Gorizia Gap and inside Slovenia.

After Tito's death in 1980 and the end of the Cold War in 1990, with the collapse of the Soviet/Warsaw Pact control of Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia disintegrated along ethnic lines: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia seceded in 1991–1992, dissatisfied with power monopolized by the majority Serbs led by Slobodan Milošević. Serbia and Montenegro became the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY or rump Yugoslavia) on 27 April 1992. A series of civil wars broke out, with the FRY supporting Serb minorities in an effort to create a "**Greater Serbia**" and annex Croatia's Krajina and half of Bosnia (1991–1995). Widespread **ethnic cleansing** ensued, with hundreds of thousands of deaths, systematic rapes of all women, and

refugees fleeing to other parts of Europe. Serb violence doomed all mediations by the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, **European Union (EU)**, and **United Nations (UN)**. **Peacekeeping** by the **UN Protection Force–Bosnia (UNPROFOR)** in 1992–1995 was supported by NATO’s “no-fly-zone” over Croatia and Bosnia, as well as **sanctions** and arms **embargoes**. In the summer of 1995, NATO conducted a short air campaign in Bosnia in parallel with Croatia’s reentry into the war, defeating Serb **forces** of the Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Krajina and forcing them to sign with their enemies of the Bosnian Federation (the rival Muslim Bosnians and Bosnian Croats) the Dayton Peace Accords (November 1995), which were enforced by NATO’s **Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR)** and **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** until 2004. Milošević secured international forgiveness by abandoning to its fate the Republika Srpska and letting the last Serb-held **enclave** in Eastern Slavonia be returned to Croatia in 1998.

However, in 1998–1999 Milošević used Yugoslav troops and Serb paramilitary forces to expel secessionist ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia’s province of Kosovo, where they constituted 90 percent of the population. Despite Russia’s and China’s support of Yugoslavia and threats to **veto** any UN punitive action, the international response included new sanctions and NATO bombing of Serbia and Kosovo, while Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, and Slovenia provided logistical support for NATO during the Kosovo War (1999). The Serbs withdrew in June 1999, and Kosovo has been under **joint** NATO–UN administration since then. NATO and Russian peacekeepers of the **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)**, operating also in Albania and Macedonia, have prevented Albanian insurgency in Serbia’s Presevo Valley (2001) and Macedonia (2000–2002). Repercussions in Yugoslavia led to Milošević’s defeat in the fall 2000 elections, his ouster from power in 2001, and his secret transfer as prisoner to the **International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia** in The Hague, **Netherlands**, for trial as a war criminals, where he died of a self-administered overdose in 2005. UN–NATO sanctions against Yugoslavia were lifted, and the EU sought to stabilize Yugoslavia by slowly integrating it economically in its **Stability Pact** and Western Balkans Group. Controversies over Kosovo’s “**final status**” remain; Yugoslavia and Serbia have both laid claim to it, while the ruling **UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)**,

backed by NATO and the EU, granted it independence in spring 2008, provided that the Kosovar Albanians stop attacking the minority Serbs and renounce any dream of creating a “**Greater Albania**” by merging with Albania and Macedonia’s Albanian minority.

In 2002–2003, domestic conflicts over Serb ethnic-nationalism (in Bosnia and Kosovo) and the NATO–EU suspension of aid to punish Belgrade for refusing to hand over Bosnian Serb war criminals led to the collapse of rump Yugoslavia in February 2003. It became a loose confederation, Serbia–Montenegro, then in 2006 Montenegro seceded, joining the EU–NATO as a **partner** in 2007–2008. Serbia still struggles with democratic political-economic reforms, economic stagnation, ethnic-nationalist anger over the loss of Kosovo, corruption, crime, and the hope for a future dual EU–NATO partnership. To this end, in July 2008, Belgrade secretly tipped NATO on the whereabouts of former Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadžić, who was arrested and extradited to the International Criminal Tribunal on the former Yugoslavia, although former Bosnian Serb military leader Ratko Mladić remains in hiding.

SFOR COORDINATION CENTRE, NATO. Located in Mons, **Belgium**, at the Headquarters of the **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SHAPE)** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. At the SFOR Centre all **allies**, **partners**, and non-NATO partners of the **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (NATO)** work on **joint NATO peacekeeping** through their liaison officers at SHAPE and **NAC + N meetings**. *See also* IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA; KOSOVO IMPLEMENTATION FORCE.

SHALIKASHVILI, GENERAL JOHN M., U.S. ARMY (1936–).

From 1992 to 1993, he was both the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) 10th Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and **Commander-in-Chief (CINC) of United States European Command (EUCOM)**. From NATO’s **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** and Allied Command Europe (ACE), he preserved transatlantic peace, security, and territorial integrity, while as CINC–EUCOM he commanded U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe; U.S. Air Forces–Europe, U.S. Marines–Europe, U.S. Special Operations Command–Europe for NATO, and U.S. **humanitarian** relief in 93 countries in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.

John Shalikashvili was born on 27 June 1936 in Warsaw, **Poland**, and is the only foreign-born “stateless” refugee and immigrant in U.S. history to become a five-star U.S. general. He was the son of a former czarist Russian Georgian officer, Dmitri Shalikashvili, who fled the Soviet Union (USSR) to join the Polish army (1920s–1930s) and during **World War II** (1939–1945) joined Nazi **Germany** in 1941 to fight the USSR in the ethnic Georgische Legion/SS-Waffen-gruppe Georgien. After being transferred to Normandy, he was captured by the **Allies** during the D-Day invasion (June 1944). John Shalikashvili and his family fled Warsaw for Germany in 1945, ahead of the **Red Army**. After the war, he rejoined his father and emigrated to Peoria, Illinois, in 1952, becoming a U.S. citizen in 1958. He entered the U.S. Army as a private in 1958; became a second lieutenant in 1959; fought in the Second Vietnam War (1964–1975) as a senior district advisor; served in the U.S. Military Assistance Command Vietnam (MACV) in 1968–1969; and graduated from the U.S. Army War College in 1977. He was a general by the 1980s.

Shalikashvili succeeded U.S. General **John R. Galvin** (1987–1992) as SACEUR and worked with NATO **Secretary-General Manfred Wörner** (1988–1994) to oversee the reform of the **alliance** for **post-Cold War** contingencies. ACE’s Rapid-Reaction Corps (ARRC) was established in October 1992, with a Reaction **Forces** Planning Staff at SHAPE and a Reaction Forces Air Staff in Germany by 1993. ACE implemented Europe’s greater voice in NATO, with German General Peter Carstens as the first European Chief of Staff at SHAPE and the new regional command Allied Forces–Northwest Europe (AFNORTH: **Great Britain** and **Norway**). Planning for a **Combined Joint Task Force** ensured alliance command and control of forces deployed outside NATO (“out-of-area”). The early 1990s also saw contentious efforts to provide the **European Union (EU)** with a military component. France initially pushed for the French-led multinational **Eurocorps**, but Shalikashvili negotiated an accord with **France** and **Germany** in 1993 on joint Eurocorps–NATO missions, while SHAPE enhanced relations with the Russian military and developed close cooperation with former Communist Central and Eastern European states, leading to the **Partnership for Peace** (1994).

Shalikashvili faced both U.S. and allied divisiveness in the 1990s over the bloody civil wars in the former **Yugoslavia**. NATO became

involved in the Bosnian Civil War and humanitarian catastrophe: In June 1992, SHAPE established a **crisis**-response cell, and elements of NATO's Northern Army Group Headquarters became the headquarters for **United Nations (UN) peacekeeping** in Bosnia. SHAPE and **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** planned NATO's first support of the **United Nations (UN)** in the **Balkans** through **Operations Maritime Monitor/Guard**, which patrolled the Adriatic Sea (July–October 1992) and enforced a UN naval embargo of weapons to the former Yugoslavia (November 1992–June 1996). In June 1993, NATO and **Western European Union (WEU)** warships were combined under NATO command in **Operation Sharp Guard**.

NATO began **Operation Sky Monitor** (October 1992–April 1993) to monitor the UN's "no-fly-zone," followed in April 1993 by **Operation Deny Flight** to enforce the "no-fly-zone" through air strikes. SHAPE and AFSOUTH detailed a contingency plan that was supported by the UN, including protecting humanitarian convoys, monitoring heavy weapons, and humanitarian air drops. In 1993, AFSOUTH and SHAPE terminated **Operation Plan Disciplined Guard**, which had collapsed due to Bosnian Serb duplicity. SHAPE and AFSOUTH also planned NATO close air support of UN peacekeepers in Bosnia if they were attacked by Bosnian Serbs, while preparing a future large-scale **NATO peacekeeping** if a peace were brokered. With these plans in motion, Shalikashvili turned over SACEUR to U.S. Army General **George A. Joulwan** (1993–1997).

General Shalikashvili was appointed chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1993–1997) by President Bill **Clinton**, a post he held until retirement. He then became an advisor to Senator John Kerry's 2004 presidential campaign. He suffered a severe stroke in August 2004. *See also* GEORGIA.

SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION (SCO or SHANGHAI-5/6). **Post–Cold War** (1990–present) Eurasian regional economic and security organization, born at the regional **Summits** of Shanghai (1996) and Moscow (1997) as a venue to strengthen Sino-**Russian** political-economic preeminence in the former Soviet Central Asian states' oil-rich geostrategic area, and resist inroads made by the U.S.-led **West and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. The Shanghai-5 included China, **Russia**, **Kazakhstan**, **Kyrgyzstan**, and **Tajikistan**, with **Uzbekistan** joining as an observer in 2000 and

becoming a member on 15 June 2001. The organization became the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in 2001, with a charter (St. Petersburg 2002 and Moscow 2003).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1991, Moscow had sought to **control** most of the former Soviet states (“**near-abroad**”) through the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**, trying to prevent them from falling under the political-security and economic spell of the West and NATO’s **Partnership for Peace** (1994), with mixed results. Most important, the quest to develop, exploit, and export Central Asia’s mostly untapped oil and gas wealth pits Russia against the United States and the West, followed by China, and also Iran and India. But Russia’s rhetorical obsession with NATO’s bilateral security ties with Central Asian partners since the mid-1990s has been undermined by Russia’s military-economic weakness and increasing **joint** Russian–NATO **antiterrorist** efforts against regional Islamic fundamentalist **terrorism**: Chechen insurgents, the Uzbekistan Islamic Movement, Al-Qaeda, and Afghanistan’s Taliban régime. At the same time, China’s economic growth is an even greater long-term threat to Russia’s influence in Central Asia. Yet Moscow politically downplays it by rerouting Chinese regional economic penetration into bilateral political cooperation to contain the U.S. global superpower and NATO’s growing “out-of-area” regional influence.

The Russian–Chinese **strategic** partnership in the SCO covers regional stability against separatism, terrorism, and extremism; border control; and active bilateral security and military-technical cooperation, with China as the main world buyer of Russian **arms**. China’s concerns in the SCO are Islamic or nationalist separatist movements in its Turkish-inhabited autonomous provinces of Xinjiang (Eastern Turkestan or Sinkiang) and Uighur, as well as in Tibet; preferential access to new oil and gas supplies in Central Asia to feed its growing energy needs for economic growth, by building an expensive, uneconomical regional gasduct; regional and national trade with Central Asia and underdeveloped Xinjiang; and SCO support of Beijing’s anti-Taiwan diplomacy, declaring it an integral part of China. Russia uses the SCO to reinstate its dominant trade and political ties with former Soviet Central Asian CIS states; improve bilateral economic relations with China to relaunch Russia’s economy; and influence regional oil markets. The SCO has a nonrenewable, three-year rotating executive secretary (the first one was Chinese); a tiny Secretariat in

Beijing for administrative and organizational support; rotating annual summits of the SCO Council of Heads of State on long-term issues; yearly meetings of the SCO Council of Prime Ministers on budgets and major issues; SCO Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers meetings on current issues; regular meetings of heads of ministries and SCO agencies; meetings of the SCO Council of National Coordinators three times a year, to coordinate daily activities; and SCO Regional Anti-Terrorism Structure (RATS), planned in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, but moved in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. SCO languages are Russian and Chinese. SCO members can withdraw with a year's notice.

The SCO has three groupings of economic, political, and security cooperation:

1. Regional economic cooperation; free trade; energy finances; regional development; scientific-technological cooperation; education; sociocultural growth; communications; environmental protection; natural and human disaster prevention and relief; regional water management; international economic integration in the (Western-dominated) global economy; future economic ties with the **Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)** and Asia-Pacific Economic Council (APEC); and a new economic global order
2. The “Shanghai Spirit” of mutual trust, friendship, benefits, equality, and common development; regional political cooperation; noninterference in domestic affairs; **nonalignment**; a more democratic global post-Cold War balance of power; mutual consultations; political cooperation with the UN; democracy; the UN Charter principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, nonuse of **force**, peaceful settlement of disputes, and human rights; and expansion of the SCO to Mongolia, Pakistan, and India
3. Regional peace and security; mutual military reductions in border areas; confidence-building measures; antiseparatism; anti-extremism (a catchall concept for everything from anti-revolutions to anti-democratic oppositions); nonproliferation of **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**; antiterrorism cooperation and the SCO Anti-Terrorism Structure; preventing trafficking of narcotics and drugs from Afghanistan; anti-trafficking and transnational crime efforts; joint law enforcement; preventing

illegal migrations; **nonaggression** against other states or organizations; no regional military supremacy or in “adjacent areas” (a veiled reference to the U.S. and NATO); security cooperation with the UN and regional organizations (CIS, NATO); world stability; and the Shanghai Convention on Fighting Terrorism, Separatism, and Extremism

The SCO remains the only regional forum for continued Sino–Russian cooperation in Central Asia, with Russia and China also seeking to make it a counterpart and alternative to U.S. “unilateralism” and an implicit counterweight to NATO. This SCO policy was the second step in a failed joint effort between the 1990s and 2003 to craft a multilateral, global power balance, resting first on the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council **veto** powers (U.S., Russia, **Great Britain, France**, and China). The third step was calls between 1998 and 2003, with France (under President Jacques Chirac) and Germany (under Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder), for a global, multilateral consensus among “equal” powers. Yet these countries have been unable, either as a group or in the UN, to prevent the U.S.-led **Second Gulf War** against Iraq (2003), while the Russian–Chinese global strategy has been nullified by the political victory of conservative pro-U.S. governments in both Germany (Chancellor Angela Merkel in 2006) and France (President Nicolas Sarkozy in 2007). Those countries have withdrawn from the Sino–Russian globalist crusade, and with the **European Union (EU)** are now vocally critical of Sino–Russian human rights violations and veiled international economic coercion of neighbors (such as Ukraine and Georgia).

Moreover, since 2001 the SCO has become just an ineffective regional rival to NATO’s slowly growing security presence in the Eurasian regions and globally. On the one hand, NATO’s **International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF)** peacekeeping fights Taliban and Al-Qaeda terrorists, while CIS Caucasus states (**Armenia, Georgia**, and **Azerbaijan**) and Central Asian ones (Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan) strengthen their NATO partnership. India’s initial leaning toward joining the SCO dissipated as U.S., NATO, and EU strategic partnerships with India strengthened in 1998–2008. NATO also developed close strategic ties with Australia, New Zealand, Japan, ASEAN, Israel, and South Korea between 2000 and 2008.

SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION REGIONAL ANTI-TERRORISM STRUCTURE (RATS). *See* SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION.

SHAPE COMMANDERS' CONFERENCE (ALLIED COMMAND EUROPE COMMANDERS' CONFERENCE), NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** annually hosts the Allied Command Europe Commander's Conference in early June, at **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** in Casteau-Mons, organized by the **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)**, with 100 NATO generals attending.

SHAPE COORDINATION CENTRE, NATO. *See* NAC + N MEETINGS.

SHORT-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES UNILATERAL U.S.–SOVIET ACCORDS (SNF). *See* ARMS CONTROL; DISARMAMENT.

SINO–SOVIET SPLIT (1963). At an international Communist Party Convention in 1963, Communist China accused the Soviet Union (USSR) of both indecisiveness against the capitalist **United States** and **West** and ideological weakness. Yet China was unable to either replace the USSR as leader of the Communist bloc or take under its wing any Eastern European **satellites**, except **Albania**. The conference marked the Sino–Soviet split and the defection of China, which by 1964 exploded its own **A-bomb**. Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, China rivaled the USSR in trying to influence Third World Communist revolutionary groups, but with almost no success, while building up **forces** on the border with the USSR, where Soviet forces were being deployed. This led to the 1969 Amur-Ussuri incidents, cross-border conflicts to **control** the frozen islands in the Amur and Ussuri Rivers separating the Soviet Maritime Province from China's Manchuria. The two nations continued to collaborate on North Vietnam, supporting the local Communist guerrillas against South Vietnam and the **United States** throughout the Second Vietnam War (1964–1975). The Amur-Ussuri incidents convinced U.S. President **Richard Nixon** and National Security Advisor **Henry Kissinger** to recognize Communist China (1971) and play the “China Card” against the USSR and North Vietnam (1971–1973).

SITUATION CENTRE OF NATO. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** 24-hour daily **crisis management** and communications center for both **allies** and **partners**. *See also* EURO-ATLANTIC DISASTER RESPONSE COORDINATION CENTRE.

SKOPJE PEACE ACCORD (2001). Sponsored by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, **European Union (EU)**, and **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, the Skopje Peace Accord in **Macedonia** was the culmination of difficult negotiations in June–August 2001 to end five months of Albanian insurgency and avert an ethnic civil war, while ensuring internal reforms and the political participation of the excluded Albanian minority. NATO disarmed ethnic Albanian insurgents through **Operation Essential Harvest** (17 August–26 September 2001), Task Force/**Operation Amber Fox** (26 September 2001–16 December 2002), and **Operation Allied Harmony** (16 December 2002–30 March 2003), followed by the **European Force–Macedonia (EURFOR)**.

SLOVAKIA (FORMERLY PART OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA), NATO–EU. Landlocked republic in Central Europe with an area of 48,845 square kilometers, bordering **Austria**, **Czech Republic**, **Hungary**, **Poland**, and **Ukraine**. The capital is Bratislava. Once part of the multi-ethnic state of Czechoslovakia (1919–1939, 1945–1992), it became Slovakia (1939–1945, 1 January 1993), with a multi-ethnic Slav Christian population of 5,500,500 (85.7 percent Slovak, 10.6 percent Hungarian, 1.8 percent Gypsy, 1 percent Czech, 0.6 percent Ukrainian, 0.2 percent German, and 0.1 percent Pole) split religiously (60.3 percent Catholic, 17.5 percent other, 9.7 percent atheist, 8.4 percent Protestant, and 4.1 percent Orthodox).

Ruled by Slav tribes in the 6th century, it was ruled by the Austrian Habsburg Empire as part of Hungary. Austria–Hungary's collapse in **World War I** (1914–1918) made Czechoslovakia independent with **Allied** support, merging under closely related Czech rule both Slovaks and hostile minorities (Hungarians, Ruthenian Ukrainians, and Poles). Czechoslovakia was unwilling to form a federal state, and in 1939, under the protection of Nazi **Germany**, Slovakia seceded from Czechoslovakia, becoming an **Axis** state during **World War II** (1939–1945), but forced to let its southern Magyar lands rejoin Hungary. Germany seized Bohemia in March 1939. After the war, Slovak

Communist revolts against Germany facilitated the country's conquest by the Soviet Union (USSR) and remerger with Czechoslovakia as a Communist **satellite** state within the **Warsaw Pact**. In August 1968, the Warsaw Pact invaded to stop the country's leader, Alexander Dubček (a Slovak), from liberalizing the Communist Party through "socialism with a human face." Anti-Soviet demonstrations in 1969 led to harsh Soviet repression and the jailing of Dubček. Although Czech troops became the second-best trained Warsaw Pact **forces** after East Germany to support the USSR in a **World War III** invasion against the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, Slovaks were considered inferior and untrustworthy.

Czechoslovakia regained its democratic freedom in late 1989 through a peaceful "Velvet Revolution" under Vaclav Havel and Dubček, hastening the collapse of Soviet authority in Eastern Europe and dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in the **1989 Eastern European Revolutions**. Czechoslovakia joined Poland and Hungary in creating the Visegrad-3 Group, seeking entry into NATO in 1990, only to be rebuffed. Internal disagreements led Slovaks and Czechs to separate peacefully on 1 January 1993. Slovakia has integrated into the **West**, joining the **United Nations (UN)** in 1993; the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** in 1993, and NATO's **Partnership for Peace** and **peacekeeping** in 1995. Slovakia was rejected during NATO's **first enlargement** in 1997–1999 because it failed to develop NATO-integrated forces and supported semi-authoritarian Communist politics. Slovakia adopted NATO's **membership action plan (MAP)** civil-military reforms and was able to join NATO during the **second enlargement**, as well as the **European Union (EU)** in 2002–2004.

SLOVENIA (SLOVENIJA), NATO-EU. Democratic republic and former Yugoslav state in Europe's **Balkans**, with an area of 20,273 square kilometers, bordering **Austria, Croatia, Hungary, Italy**, and the Adriatic Sea. The capital is Ljubljana. Despite its small size, it controls the eastern Alpine major transit routes of Europe. It has a Slavic Catholic population (70.8 percent Catholic, 4.2 percent atheist, 1 percent Lutheran, 1 percent Muslim, and 23 percent other) of 2,012,000 (92 percent Slovene, 5 percent Italian, and 3 percent other).

Ruled by Slav tribes in the 7th century, it was annexed by Austria in the Middle Ages. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire

after **World War I** (1914–1918) led to **Allied** support to merge the Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes in a **joint** kingdom under Serbia, renamed **Yugoslavia** in 1929, allied with **France** and a member of the Little Entente (with Czechoslovakia and **Romania**). However, Serb supremacy since 1919 prompted Croat secessionism, while Slovenia remained dependent on Yugoslavia to reclaim its ethnic Slovene brethren, annexed by Italy in Istria. During **World War II** (1939–1945), Yugoslavia was pressured by both Nazi **Germany** and **Great Britain** to join their side; a pro-British coup reversed its **alliance** with the **Axis** in 1941. The Axis invaded and destroyed Yugoslavia in spring 1941, with Italy annexing Slovenia, Montenegro, and Kosovo and creating an independent Axis Croatia. At the end of the war, Communist Yugoslav partisans under Marshal Broz Tito reunited the country as the federal Communist Yugoslavia, tied to the Soviet Union (USSR), and ethnically cleansed the Italian population of Istria and Dalmatia, annexing these regions to Slovenia and Croatia. Tito's attempt to annex also Trieste was repulsed by the city's occupation by Great Britain and the **United States**. Tito and Soviet Leader **Josef Stalin** clashed in 1948 (the Yugo–Soviet split), and Tito survived on Western support and by repressing both the secessionist Croats and pro-Soviet Serbs.

During the Cold War (1946–1990), Slovenia and Croatia were considered the likely route for a Soviet/**Warsaw Pact** invasion of Yugoslavia and against the Gorizia Gap defended by Italy and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** while NATO planned to rescue Austria and Slovenia in such eventuality. After the end of the Cold War in 1990 and collapse of the Soviet/Warsaw Pact **control** of Eastern Europe, Slovenia, dissatisfied with power being monopolized by the Serb-dominated Yugoslavia, seceded and became independent on 25 June 1991, after a 10-day war against the Yugoslav Army, which retreated when its supply lines were threatened by the impending secession of also Croatia (1991) and **Bosnia** (1992). Serb minorities committed widespread ethnic cleansing, with hundreds of thousands of deaths, rapes, and refugees in the region, until the enforcement of the Dayton Peace Accords (November 1995) reversed Serb expansion. Slovenia has since integrated into the **West** by joining the **United Nations (UN)** in 1993, the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** in 1993, and NATO's **Partnership for Peace** in 1995, and it cooperates in **peacekeeping**.

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Madrid Complutense University; a parliamentarian of the Spanish Socialist Party (1977–1995); government spokesman (1985–1988); minister of culture (1982–1988); minister of education/science (1988–1992); and foreign affairs minister (1992–1995).

During his tenure as NATO Secretary-General, Solana collaborated closely with NATO **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe** U.S. Army General **George Joulwan** (1993–1998) in leading the **alliance’s** multinational **Implementation Force (IFOR)** in **Bosnia** (1995–1996). In May 1997, NATO unveiled at Sintra, **Portugal**, the **Euro–Atlantic Partnership Council** between NATO’s **allies** and 28 **partner** countries, as the political umbrella for consultations and co-operation among 44 members on all security issues and **Partnership for Peace** activities. Also in 1997, Solana negotiated NATO’s Founding Act with **Russia** (Paris, May 1997) and the **NATO–Ukraine Commission** (July 1997). He presided over the 1997 Madrid **NATO Summit**, which invited the **Czech Republic**, **Hungary**, and **Poland** to join as new allies during the 1999 Washington NATO Summit’s 50th Anniversary.

At the EU, Solana supervised the 2002–2004 **enlargement** and coordinated with NATO the EU’s **European Security and Defence Identity/Policy**, Capabilities, and Headline Goals to give EU peacekeeping effectiveness prior to taking over **NATO peacekeeping** in **Macedonia** (2002) and **Bosnia** (late 2004). He also oversaw the approval of the European Constitution (rejected by French voters in 2005) security and foreign policy provisions, while trying to deal with **France’s** and **Germany’s**, refusal to support the U.S.-led coalition in the **Second Gulf War** (2003–2004).

SOUTH-EAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION (SEATO). Defunct Western military **alliance** in Southeast Asia, created during the Cold War (1946–1990) by Australia, **France**, **Great Britain**, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, South Vietnam, Thailand, and the **United States** as a counterweight to the threat of Communist China’s intervention or subversion, while militarily supporting besieged pro-Western South Vietnam. Since the 1949 Chinese Communist Revolution and its military involvement in the **Korean War** (1950–1953), the United States had confronted China as an ideological-military enemy and extension of the Soviet Union (USSR). Both enemies threatened U.S.–Western interests through interventions or subversion

throughout Asia on behalf of local Communist insurgents, including Ho Chi Minh's Communist Viet-Minh guerrillas, who had slowly gained control over 50 percent of **France's** Indochinese colonies during the First Vietnam War (1946–1954), despite U.S. intervention since 1950 with matériel and funds, totaling 75 percent of the French war effort by 1954. U.S. President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** globally extended President **Harry S Truman's** policy of anticommunist **Containment** and Western **alliance** building, to prevent Communist victories in even remote regions bringing down in a mounting cascade important pro-Western regimes (**Domino Theory**).

In 1954, Eisenhower secured Communist China's cooperation to stop the Korean War by threatening to use **nuclear** weapons to destroy North Korea and promote the Chinese Nationalist (Formosa/Taiwan) reconquest of China. He then sought to further bolster the collapsing French in Indochina by insisting that they grant independence to Vietnam as a prelude to internationalizing the First Vietnam War into an anticommunist crusade involving U.S. combat **forces** (April 1954 proposals). The U.S. Congress was aghast that so soon after the Korean War the United States should undertake this policy without a clear commitment from other **allies**, so it agreed to become involved only if at least Great Britain would join to help France in Indochina, while calling for a wider Euro–Asiatic coalition, including also Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Thailand. But none of these countries would become involved because the United States offered only matériel and funds, not troops, to help its allies fight alongside the French, and they were all also displeased by America's termination of the Korean War short of victory.

France's political-military collapse in Indochina led to the 1954 Geneva Accords, which created a Communist North Vietnam and promised reunification with South Vietnam. The United States intervened to sabotage the accord, by supporting anticommunist forces in South Vietnam, which declared independence and secured U.S. aid and military training against Communist insurgents (the Viet Cong). SEATO was formed in September 1954 by Australia, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States as a counterweight to the threat of Communist China's intervention, while militarily supporting besieged pro-Western South Vietnam. SEATO established multilateral consultations if any member's security were threatened and **joint** military action through

unanimous vote. A separate protocol attached to the SEATO Treaty extended protection to Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam if they were attacked “from outside” (Chinese invasion), while Eisenhower pledged to Congress that neither NATO nor SEATO would become involved in civil wars. Dissent over the nature of communist “internal” subversion as a threat paralyzed SEATO, and only a few members followed the United States in militarily supporting South Vietnam. Moreover, SEATO was seen as an ineffective alliance, rather than a regional version of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, and its reputation as a “white” alliance aimed at covering for U.S. and Western intervention in the area was strengthened by the fact that there were only a few Asian member states, as well as the embarrassing absence of anti-Western Burma, India, Indonesia, and Malaysia. After a North Vietnamese attack on U.S. warships, in August 1964 Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, giving President **Lyndon B. Johnson** free rein to help South Vietnam and SEATO with U.S. combat troops. This unleashed the Second Vietnam War (1964–1975) until the U.S. disengagement under a pall of humiliation, which also led to SEATO’s disbanding in the mid-1970s. See also ACHESON, DEAN; ANZUS; RIDGWAY, MATTHEW.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE (SEE). Artificial geostrategic term used since 2000 by the **European Union (EU)** and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to describe the Western **Balkan** countries of **Albania**, **Croatia**, and the least-developed states of the former **Yugoslavia** (**Bosnia**, **Macedonia**, **Montenegro**, and **Serbia**), plus the autonomous province of **Kosovo**, jointly administered by the **United Nations (UN)** and NATO. The SEE subregion is grouped together in the **EU Stability Pact**. The Stability Pact promotes long-term economic development, democratization, human rights, and nondiscrimination as preconditions for security, while developing SEE Euro-regions by 2004 (Niš–Sofia–Skopje, South Adriatic, and Ohrid–Prespa).

In 2002–2008, NATO–EU **enlargements** integrated **Albania**, **Bulgaria**, **Croatia**, **Romania**, and **Slovenia**. The same reward of dual EU–NATO membership is promised to all of Southeastern European through the **Zagreb Process** and regional association in both the **EU Stabilisation and Association Area** and NATO Partnership: Bosnia (SAA 2007, Partnership 2007), Macedonia (SAA 2001, Partnership

1994), and Montenegro after 2007. Serbia is held back by ethnic-nationalist resentment at NATO's intervention against Belgrade in the Bosnian Civil War in 1995 and the Kosovo War in 1999, as well as Kosovo's 2008 independence under UN protection. But to fight self-isolation, corruption, and crime, and seek a future dual EU–NATO partnership, the new democratic government of Serbia secretly tipped NATO in July 2008 for the arrest of former Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadžić, who was extradited for war crimes to the International Criminal Tribunal on the former Yugoslavia, although former Bosnian Serb military leader Ratko Mladić is still in hiding. *See also* EUROPEAN FORCE–BOSNIA; IMPLEMENTATION FORCE–BOSNIA; STABILISATION FORCE–BOSNIA.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE COOPERATION PROCESS (SEECP), EU. The main regional cooperation focal point in the **European Union's (EU) Stability Pact** in the Western **Balkans (SEE)**. At the Bucharest **Summit** (February 2000), the SEECP adopted the *Charter on Good Neighbourliness, Stability, Security and Cooperation in South-East Europe*, followed by a June 2001 memorandum of understanding (MOU) on regional trade liberalization and the October 2001 *Joint Declaration to Fight Terrorism*. In November 2002, SEECP signed an agreement to create an integrated energy market along EU lines by 2005. Regional initiatives to fight organized crime, collect light arms, and promote investments were also begun in 2000.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE COOPERATION PROCESS JOINT DECLARATION TO FIGHT TERRORISM. *See* SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE COOPERATION PROCESS.

SOUTH OSSETIA. *See* GEORGIA; OSCE MISSION TO GEORGIA; RUSSIA; SOUTH OSSETIA JOINT FORCE.

SOUTH OSSETIA JOINT FORCE, CIS. Ethnic Ossets are a Caucasus Christian people, part of the Soviet Union (USSR) but split by Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** between **Russia's** Socialist Federative Republic (North Ossetia) and the Soviet Republic of **Georgia** (South Ossetia) to keep both sides occupied by restless minorities and dependent on Moscow for final arbitration. The collapse of the USSR in December 1991 left the two groups split between the separate

states of Russia and Georgia. South Ossetia seceded in 1992, while seeking to merge with North Ossetia under Russia (1992 independence referendum), but Georgia economically blockade the area and the ensuing violence left 1,000 dead and thousands more displaced. Russia intervened, signing an accord with Georgia on 24 June 1992 that created a South Ossetia Joint Force from the Russian-led **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**, with 1,385 CIS peacekeepers from Russia, Georgia, North Ossetia, and South Ossetia. Russia unofficially secured South Ossetia's merger with North Ossetia through a 2006 independence referendum, which was condemned by Georgia and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. In August 2008, Georgia precipitated a major NATO–Russia crisis when it sought to reconquer South Ossetia and killed Russian peacekeepers and 2,000 civilians, with 30,000 displaced to Russia, unleashing Moscow's swift military rescue of South Ossetia and defeat of Georgia. *See also* OSCE MISSION TO GEORGIA.

SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM (SPF). Pacific Ocean regional group of **Commonwealth** countries (1971–1987) organized by **New Zealand** to create a “South Pacific **Nuclear-Free Zone**” against **France's nuclear** testing in the Pacific. The South Pacific Forum (SPF) has been assisted since 1995 by legal support from the **Joint Office for Commonwealth Permanent Missions to the UN** in their case at the International Court of Justice against France's five underground ground nuclear explosions in the Pacific during the mid-1990s. Thereafter, Paris has joined the international moratorium on nuclear testing.

“SOUTH PACIFIC NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE.” *See* “NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES”; SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM.

SOUTHERN FLANK, NATO. *See* FRONT(S).

“SOUTHERN NO-FLY ZONE.” *See* “NO-FLY ZONES.”

SOVIET BLACK SEA FLEET. *See* UKRAINE.

SOVIET BLOC (COMMUNIST BLOC or EAST). The Communist states under the political-military **control** of the Soviet Union

(USSR) during the Cold War (1946–1990). The Soviet **bloc** or “East” comprised the USSR, Eastern European **satellites** (**Bulgaria**, Czechoslovakia, East **Germany**, **Hungary**, **Poland**, **Romania**), Mongolia, North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Soviet client states in the Middle East and Africa, as well as briefly **Yugoslavia** (1945–1948, 1954–1956), **Albania** (1945–1963), and Communist China (1949–1963). Yugoslavia defected twice from the Soviet bloc, first in 1948 (the Yugo–Soviet split) and again after Soviet repression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956. Communist China and Albania defected during the Sino–Soviet split (1963).

The Soviet bloc was grouped as the “East” in the **United Nations** (UN), comprising Eastern Europe and Mongolia, with separate permanent **veto** seats for the USSR and China in the Security Council until the end of the Cold War and collapse of the USSR (1990–1991). In the post–Cold War period (1990–present), the former Communist Eastern European satellites joined the West by integrating into NATO, the **European Union** (EU), and the UN West Group, thus completing the demise of the “East.”

The less common and wrong regional term “North” was used during **détente** by economic development advocates and the *Brandt Report* (1980), arbitrarily lumping together the ideological-economic enemies of the West (“First World”) and Soviet bloc–East (“Second World”) as industrialized states of the Northern Hemisphere, compared to the poor, underdeveloped Third World or “South.”

SOVIET UNION (or UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS), USSR. See RUSSIA

SPAAK, PAUL-HENRI (1899–1972). Spaak was born on 25 January 1899 in Schaarbeek-Brussels, **Belgium**. From May 1957 to March 1961, he was **Secretary-General** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO) and chairman of the **North Atlantic Council**, succeeding **Lord Ismay** (1952–1957) of **Great Britain**.

Spaak had a law degree from the University of Brussels. He was a parliamentarian in the Belgian Socialist Party (1932–1953), minister of transport (mid-1930s), and minister of post and telecommunications (mid-1930s). During **World War II** (1939–1945), he served with the Belgian **government in exile** in London. He was minister of

foreign affairs three times (1930s, 1947, and early 1960s), prime minister twice (1938–1939 and 1947–1949), president of the **United Nations’ (UN)** General Assembly session (1949), chairman of the **Council of Europe’s** first Consultative Assembly session (1949), and president of the General Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC, 1952–1953).

As NATO Secretary-General (1957–1961), Spaak worked closely with NATO **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** U.S. General Lauris Norstad (1956–1962). In 1957, the **alliance** adopted the United States (U.S.) doctrine of “massive retaliation,” anchoring Europe’s defense predominantly on America’s strategic **nuclear** arsenal in case of attack by the Soviet Union’s (USSR) superior conventional **forces**. Spaak also shepherded NATO through the brief, tense second **Berlin crisis** (1958). Spaak was succeeded at NATO by **Dirk U. Stikker** (1961–1964) of the **Netherlands**. He resigned to become foreign minister and president of the Royal Belgian Academy of French Literature (1960). He died on 31 July 1972.

SPAIN (ESPAÑA), NATO-EU. Democratic monarchy in Western Europe with an area of 504,782 square kilometers (including the Canary Islands and the enclaves of Ceuta-Melilla), bordering Andorra, **France, Portugal, Great Britain’s enclave of Gibraltar**, the Bay of Biscay, the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, and Morocco. The capital is Madrid. It is a Latin Christian country (94 percent Catholic and 6 percent other) with a population of 40,285,000 (73 percent Spanish, 17 percent Catalán, 7 percent Galician, 2 percent Basque, and 1 percent other).

The Iberian Peninsula’s tribes were intermixed in the north with Celtic tribes, then in 200 BC were unified under Carthage and later Ancient Rome. The collapse of the Roman Empire under the Germanic invasions of the 400s–600s left the Iberian Peninsula under the Visigoths and Vandals, Germanic kingdoms. The Moslem invasion from North Africa conquered the Iberian Peninsula in AD 750, leaving only small Christian feudal redoubts in the north, which over seven centuries slowly liberated the region (*Reconquista*). In 1492 Portugal became independent and Castilla-Leon and Aragona (Cataluña) were unified as Spain. Portugal and Spain inaugurated the era of great discoveries and Europe’s global colonial expansion in the 1490s. Spain was ruled for centuries by the Habsburg emperors, who

controlled most of Europe in the 1500s through the fusion of the Holy Roman Empire with **Austria** under Charles V, the largest world empire, with Spanish–Portuguese colonies in the Western Hemisphere. Charles V was unable to truly unify Europe against France and its allied secessionist Northern German Protestant princes and the Ottoman–Turkish Empire. Austria and Spain lost their European hegemony after the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648). Spain’s powerful world empire of the 1500s–1700s yielded command of the seas to Great Britain after the defeat of its Armada in 1588. After the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713), the country’s new Bourbon dynasty and French-dominated politics could not prevent its slow decline during France’s efforts to win Europe’s hegemony against British-led coalitions. The French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815) unified most of Europe under France, including Spain and Portugal. It was liberated by a **joint** Anglo–Spanish–Portuguese effort (1813). After Napoleon’s fall, the Congress of Vienna (1815) restored Spain, only to invade it and destroy its local revolution (1821). In the 1820s Madrid lost nearly all its Latin American colonies to independence and British economic supremacy.

Spain’s decline continued during the 19th and early 20th centuries, with periods of violent internal unrest, and its failure to embrace the mercantile and Industrial Revolutions left Madrid far behind Great Britain, France, and **Germany** in economic and political-military power. Spain lost Cuba to insurgency and war with the **United States** (1898). Its **neutrality** in **World War I** (1914–1918) led to violent turmoil under a weak leftist republic, soon undermined in the devastating Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). General Francisco Franco’s Fascist coup d’état was backed by Fascist **Italy** and Nazi Germany, while the government was supported by the Soviet Union (USSR) and (indirectly) France and Great Britain. Franco’s victory aligned Spain with the **Axis**, but in **World War II** (1939–1945) Madrid remained neutral, hoping to either benefit by an Axis victory or shield the country from vengeful **Allies** if they won. After the war, the Allies isolated Spain by refusing to let it join the **United Nations (UN)** and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Although spurned by NATO, Spain formed a bilateral **alliance** with the United States in 1952, which provided for its support of NATO in case of **World War III** against the USSR. Franco’s dictatorship was challenged at home by Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) **terrorism**.

After his death in 1975, Spain was transformed into a democratic monarchy under King Juan Carlos of Bourbon. Spain joined the UN in 1955, the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** in 1976, NATO in 1981–1982, and the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)** in 1986. A member of the **Eurocorps**, Spain has peacekeepers in NATO, the EU, and the UN. It faces occasional terrorism by ETA and Islamic groups, such as the attack by Al-Qaeda in Madrid in 2002. Spain joined the U.S.-led coalitions against Iraq in the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991) and **Second Gulf War** (2003), but left Iraq in 2006, while participating in **NATO peacekeeping** in **Bosnia, Kosovo** and **Afghanistan**. See also SOLANA, JAVIER.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, UN. On 18 February 1965, the **United Nations (UN)** General Assembly established a 100-member Special Committee on **Peacekeeping** Operations to review missions and report to the General Assembly through the Special Political and Decolonization Committee.

SPECIAL COORDINATOR, EU. *See* STABILITY PACT.

“SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP,” UK–U.S. *See* CHURCHILL, WINSTON L. S.; FALKLANDS WAR.

ŠREBRENICA. One of six **United Nations (UN)** “safe areas” created in **Bosnia–Herzegovina** in April 1993 as **enclaves**, protected from hostile Bosnian Serb **forces** by a 150-man Dutch detachment of the lightly armed **UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR)**. But in 1994–1995 a Serb offensive conquered most of the safe areas, brushing aside UN peacekeepers. Abandoned by the UN, which denied the hapless Dutch peacekeepers’ requests for air support to defend the “safe area,” Šrebrenica was conquered in July 1995 by an armored Serb **force**. Bosnian Serb Supreme Commander General Ratko Mladić violated safe-conduct pledges made to the UN peacekeepers and had 6,000 Muslim men killed, also expelling civilians. This massacre finally prompted massive air strikes by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **Croatia**, which defeated the Serbs and forced them to accept the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords and **NATO peacekeeping**. Mladić, Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadžić, and Yugoslav President Slobodan Milošević were indicted

by the **UN International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** and hunted by NATO with Milošević seized and tried in 2001, and Karadžić in 2008.

STABILISATION AND ASSOCIATION AREA (SAA), EU. To support the **European Union (EU) Stability Pact** as an interim step toward EU **enlargement** by 2010, in 2000 the EU created Stabilisation and Association Area (SAA) Agreements for five **South-Eastern Europe** states without ties to the EU: **Albania** (SAA 2003), **Bosnia–Herzegovina**, **Croatia** (SAA 2001), **Macedonia** (SAA 2001), **Montenegro**, and Serbia after 2008. The SAA increases economic, political, and social cooperation between the EU and these states through the Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Democratisation and Stabilisation (CARDS) programs of financial and technical aid (4.65 billion euros in 2002–2006), as well as through the SAA memorandum of understanding (MOU).

STABILISATION FORCE-BOSNIA (SFOR, 1996–2004), NATO.

After years of civil war and **ethnic cleansing** in **Bosnia**, perpetrated mostly by dominant Bosnian Serbs against minority Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** finally imposed an armed peace through air strikes and the military clauses of the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords. NATO engaged in its eighth “out-of-area” **peacekeeping** mission, the 1995–1996 **Implementation Force (IFOR)**, in Operation Joint Endeavour under a **United Nations (UN)** combat mandate (**Chapter VII peace enforcement**). The success of NATO’s first deployment of 64,000 IFOR peacekeepers in war-torn Bosnia did not end political conflict in Bosnia or a safe NATO withdrawal. NATO’s defense ministers meeting (in Bergen, **Norway**, September 1996), recommended indefinite allied peacekeeping in Bosnia; the Bosnian Peace Implementation Conferences (November–December 1996, Paris–London) agreed on for a two-year mandate to replace IFOR with a smaller 32,000-troop Stabilisation Force (SFOR, 20 December 1996) of **allies** and 18 non-NATO **partners** in Operations Joint Guard/Joint Forge, NATO’s 9th and 10th “out-of-area” operations.

On 12 December 1996, the **UN Security Council** gave SFOR the same combat **rule of engagement** against hostile **forces** that IFOR had: to maintain peace and security in Bosnia; deter resumption of

hostilities; support civilian organizations implementing the Dayton Peace Accords' nation-building clauses; and help the **International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia** at The Hague by seizing indicted war criminals of all three ethnic groups. SFOR's mandate was repeatedly extended until late 2004, when the NATO Istanbul Summit turned it over to the **European Force-Bosnia (EUFOR)**. SFOR was reviewed every six months, with gradual "drawdowns" of U.S. and allied forces, from 20,000 (of which 17,500 were in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 500 in Croatia, and 2,000 in National Support Elements) to 18,000 troops by 2002. By 2004, SFOR had decreased to 7,500 troops through its **NAC + N Meetings** with the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)**, the **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers-Europe (SHAPE)**, and non-NATO partners. SFOR/IFOR shared a unified NATO-led command in Sarajevo, which moved to Camp Butmir, Bosnia, in 2000, operating under NAC political direction and the military authority of NATO's **Supreme Allied Commander-Europe (SACEUR)**. By early 2001, both SFOR and KFOR were under **Allied Forces-Southern Europe's (AFSOUTH)** Joint Force Command (JFC).

Between 2000 and 2004, SFOR was reorganized into three multinational divisions (MNDs) with headquarters in Sarajevo, 400 men in reserves, **Croatia**, and 2,000 troops in national support elements at AFSOUTH. The MND-North in Tuzla had 4,800 men in four battle groups from **Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Turkey**, and the **United States** (under U.S. command); the MND-South-East in Mostar, had 4,600 men in four battle groups from **Albania, France, Germany, Italy**, Morocco, and **Spain** (under French command); the MND-South-West in Banja-Luka, had 4,000 men in three battle groups from **Canada, Czech Republic, Great Britain, Netherlands**, and command of theater operational reserves (under British command) with 1,800 men from **Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Romania**, and **Slovenia**, plus a U.S. helicopter unit.

All NATO allies deployed troops in IFOR, SFOR, and KFOR: **Belgium**, Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, **Norway**, Poland, Spain, Turkey, the United States, and even **Iceland**, the only NATO ally without troops, which provided some medical personnel. SFOR also had 18 non-NATO contributing countries, mostly NATO partners, such as Albania, **Austria, Bulgaria**, Estonia, Finland, Ireland,

Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Russia, **Slovakia**, Slovenia, and Sweden, as well as some former UN forces deployed in Bosnia in 1991–1995, including Argentina, Australia, Morocco, New Zealand, and the United Arab Emirates (by 2002 they had left SFOR).

All SFOR non-NATO contributing forces are fully integrated in NATO's SFOR command, while their liaison officers at SHAPE plan operations at the SFOR Coordination Centre and are consulted on related NAC decisions at NAC + N meetings. All SFOR non-NATO states are vital because they supplement major peacekeeping forces after the allies' "drawdowns" (Bosnia, **Kosovo**, **Macedonia**, and **Afghanistan**); receive as partners valuable "hands-on" training with NATO peacekeeping operations; and enhance regional security in all of Europe and geostrategic areas beyond. In January 1996, Russian forces joined IFOR/SFOR, as well as, reluctantly, KFOR, under special NATO–Russian accords, cementing NATO–Russian relations. In SFOR's theater reserves, Russia's Separate Airborne Brigade was under tactical control of the U.S.-led MND-North.

IFOR/SFOR's role has been vital in promoting lasting peace and security in Bosnia, protecting the Dayton Peace Accords' provisions for full political-civil reconstruction under international organizations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) coordinated by the High Representative. Priority assistance is given to the High Representative, **UN International Police Task Force (UNIPT)**, **UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)**, **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, and **UN International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)**. Thus, SFOR assists the OSCE's Confidence- and Security-Building Agreement and Sub-Regional **Arms Control** Agreement limiting heavy weapons among the three ethnic parties. The Brčko Arbitration Agreement (5 March 1999) demilitarized this strategic Serb-controlled district under SFOR military protection with the Brčko supervisor, UNIPTF, and UNHCR. OSCE-controlled elections in Bosnia were protected by IFOR in 1996 and SFOR in 1997, 1998, and 2000. SFOR protects returning refugees from the hostility of local Serbs and Croats, and also helped UNIPTF reestablish local order.

In December 2005, SFOR duties were turned over to the **European Force–Bosnia (EUFOR)** and **Stability Pact**, with NATO's external logistical support. EUFOR also followed six-month force reduction reviews and by 2006 was reduced to 3,000 troops, which

SFOR considered the optimal residual force level needed to continue stabilizing Bosnia. NATO kept its SFOR headquarters in Bosnia to train the country to join the **Partnership for Peace** in 2007. *See also* ŠREBRENICA.

STABILITY PACT, EU. First serious attempt by the **European Union** (EU) and international community to replace reactive crisis-intervention **peacekeeping** in the **South-Eastern Europe** (SEE) subregion with a long-term, comprehensive, conflict prevention **strategy**. The Stability Pact is not a new international organization but a framework agreement on international cooperation among all EU SEE **partners** for stability and growth in the **Balkans**. The idea for the pact arose in late 1998, with the Kosovo War (1999) and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's** (NATO) military intervention as catalyst for international preventive action in the region. The Stability Pact was crafted from the international **crisis management** lessons of post-**World War II** reconstruction programs and the **Helsinki Process** (**Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe**), based on two-way cooperation: To receive international financial aid for reconstruction, all recipient states must implement economic reforms, dismantle trade and investment barriers, and fight corruption and crime.

The Stability Pact was adopted at the EU Cologne and Sarajevo **Summits** (10 June and 30 July 1999) with the support of 44 members and organizations to strengthen SEE states' commitment to peace, democracy, human rights, market economies, and regional stability. As a reward, dual Euro–Atlantic integration was promised to all regional partners should they pursue full European integration and the **Copenhagen Criteria** on democratic, economic, and institutional reforms. Conflict prevention, peace building, and democracy are successful only if they are implemented in three key sectors: stability, democratic systems, and socioeconomic growth. At Regional and Working Tables, SEE partners meet with international organizations and financial institutions, which advise them.

The 44 Stability Pact partners are the 9 SEE states (**Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, and Yugoslavia/Serbia**); 32 EU–NATO members (**Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Den-**

mark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, and the United States); other states (Japan, **Russia, Switzerland**); international organizations (**United Nations**, Council of Europe, UN High Commission for Refugees, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development); international financial institutions (World Bank, International Monetary Fund, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, European Investment Bank, Council of Europe Development Bank); and regional fora (Black Sea Economic Cooperation, Central European Initiative, South-East European Cooperative Initiative, and South-East Europe Cooperation Process).

The Stability Pact relies on the EU Special Coordinator's staff in Brussel to coordinate political strategies and regional initiatives with working methods modeled on the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)**. The Special Coordinator chairs three regional working tables: Working Table I on Democratization and Human Rights; Working Table II on Economic Reconstruction, Cooperation and Development; and Working Table III on internal and external security against organized crime, corruption, and migration (through two subtables). The Sub-Table on Security and Defence deals with

- developing partnerships with NATO, regional defense conversion, reducing military **forces**, and civil reconversion of former military **bases**;
- the Ohrid Process with NATO, OSCE, and EU to promote secure borders in the Western **Balkans**;
- destruction of **small arms and light weapons** through the Stability Pact's Regional Implementation Plan and Regional Clearinghouse in Belgrade;
- regional **arms control** and **confidence-building measures (CSBMs)** through the Stability Pact's RACVIAC Centre in Zagreb; and
- the Regional Mine Action Group (or Reay Group), a forum in the Ottawa Process on demining **antipersonnel mines** worldwide.

The Sub-Table on Justice and Home Affairs deals with regional cooperation on police training against drugs, illicit weapons, and crime. It fosters regional implementation of the UN Palermo Convention on fighting organized crime and corruption through the Anti-Corruption Initiative (SPAI), Stability Pact Fight against Organised Crime Initiative (SPOC), and Task Force against Trafficking in Human Beings. Finally, the **Disaster Preparedness and Prevention Initiative (DPPI)** promotes regional relief and rehabilitation.

The EU and its members are the key region donors. The **European Commission** and World Bank cochair a high-level steering group, in which the **G-8** powers and EU work with international financial organizations and the Special Coordinator on international economic assistance for the SEE region. The Stability Pact complements the EU **enlargement** process for the Western Balkans Group of EU candidates and Moldova with Stabilisation and Association Areas (SAA) Agreements for these seven SEE states without EU ties: Albania (SAA 2003), Bosnia (SAA 2006), Croatia (SAA 2001), Macedonia (SAA 2001), Moldova, Montenegro, and Serbia. The goal is to increase EU economic, political, and social cooperation with these states through Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Democratisation and Stabilisation (CARDS) programs for financial and technical aid (4.65 billion euros in 2002–2006).

The Stability Pact has six platforms, endorsed by the Tirana Regional Table:

1. “Local Democracy and Cross-Border Cooperation” among local governments, civic actors, and business, building on the Szeged Process to promote long-term economic development, democratization, human rights, and nondiscrimination as preconditions for internal and external security, while developing SEE Euro-regions (Niš-Sofia-Skopje, Southern Adriatic, and Ohrid-Prespa). To overcome past ethnic-nationalist hatreds, at the Regional Table in Cavtat in May 2003, the Stability Pact developed an advisory panel and six working groups on reconciliation: **Kosovo**, Gypsies, Ombudsmen, Youth, Culture, and Apologies.
2. “Media,” to sponsor international standards for democratic broadcasts, journalists’ independence, professionalism, and ac-

cess through the Stability Pact Media Task Force and nine media working groups in nine SEE states.

3. "Parliamentary Cooperation Initiative," to strengthen parliamentary structures and staff in SEE states working on domestic reform legislation and international integration, using "lessons learned" from new EU members from Eastern Europe and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as links between parliaments and civil society.
4. "Energy and Regional Infrastructure," to develop regional roads, rail and air transport infrastructures, telecommunications, and energy through an SAA memorandum of understanding (MOU).
5. "Inter-regional Trade and Investment Compact," to develop market economies, investments, gradual reduction of nontariff barriers, and 27 free-trade accords (2001–2004), to create a regional market of 55 million people, also integrating Kosovo and Moldova. To promote regional economic development and integration in the EU, while preventing renewed ethnic-nationalist civil wars, the Stability Pact raises bilateral and multilateral donor investments through "quick start packages" (QSPs) for 244 multinational SEE projects (30 billion euros in 1999–2007) from all three Stability Pact working tables in nine SEE states.
6. "Organized Crime," to implement the UN convention against transnational crime, pursue cooperation with the Bucharest Transborder Crime-Fighting Centre, and expand law enforcement agencies policies against national and regional trafficking and corruption policies. The **Migration, Asylum and Refugees Regional Initiative (MARRI)** on political asylum, and legal and illegal migrations provides a regional forum. The "Initiative for Social Cohesion" addresses local socioeconomic reforms.

STALIN (DZHUGASHVILI), JOSEF VISSARIONOVICH (1878–1953). Stalin ("man of steel" in Russian) was the second premier of the Soviet Union (1924–1953), replacing Vladimir I. Lenin. He was general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (1922–1953) and leader of the **Soviet bloc** (USSR, Eastern

Europe, and Communist China), and transformed the USSR into one of two world superpowers during the Cold War (1945–1990). However, he is primarily remembered for his wholesale crimes against humanity; he was the second most feared dictator of the 20th century (after Nazi **Germany**'s Adolf Hitler).

Josef Stalin was born Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili on 18 December 1878 in Gori, **Georgia**, in Czarist **Russia**, into a poor family. He was often severely beaten by his drunken father, until he became “as hard and heartless as his father.” He earned a scholarship to the Russian Orthodox Tiflis Theological Seminary in 1894, but soon joined the Communist movement and was expelled from the seminary in 1899. He worked for a decade in the political underground, was repeatedly arrested, and was exiled to Siberia in 1902 and 1917.

Stalin supported Lenin's doctrine of a strong centralist party of professional revolutionaries and was at his side at the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in London in 1907, which consolidated the leadership of Lenin's Bolshevik Party and a **strategy** for Communist revolution. After the 1905 Russian Revolution Stalin led “fighting squads” in bank robberies to raise funds for the Bolshevik Party, gaining a place on its Central Committee in January 1912.

In **World War I** (1914–1918), Russia joined the **Entente/Allies** fighting Germany, **Austria–Hungary**, and **Turkey**. Lenin and most Bolshevik leaders were in exile in the **West**, but Stalin was still in Russia, where he became in the editor of *Pravda*, the official Communist newspaper, in 1917. After the February Revolution, he was elected to both the Central Committee and the Politburo of the Central Committee (1917–1953). During the Bolshevik Revolution (7 November 1917), Leon Trotsky (Lev Davidovich Bronstein) led the party's Military Revolutionary Council to victory; Stalin was a minor figure at that time. He was a political commissar in the **Red Army** at various fronts during the Russian Civil War and Polish–Soviet War, then People's Commissar (Minister) of Nationality Affairs in the Soviet government (1917–1923) and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Congress of Soviets (1917–1953). As general secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (1922–1953), Stalin built it up as a power **base** and the most powerful body in the USSR. He was also very popular in the Bolshevik

party. The dying Lenin called for Stalin's removal, but he was unanimously reconfirmed by the Party.

In the power struggles for leadership after Lenin's death in January 1924, Stalin formed a "troika" with Grigory Zinoviev and Lev Kamenev, then played his opponents against each other. Trotsky was ideologically isolated, forcing him into exile (he was assassinated in Mexico in 1940); then in turn Stalin demoted Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Nikolai Bukharin, becoming sole leader by 1928.

Stalin ruled on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, but he abandoned Lenin's and Trotsky's idea of a world Bolshevik revolution for a totalitarian strategy of isolation and forced industrialization, called "building Socialism in One Country," replacing the New Economic Policy (NEP) with Five-Year Plans starting in 1928. He collectivized agriculture and transformed the USSR from a peasant society into a world industrial power by 1939. Peasants who resisted collectivization and grain confiscation were repressed, and Stalin engineered the famines in **Ukraine, Kazakhstan**, Russia, and the Caucasus in the 1920s and 1932–1934 to eradicate local opposition, resulting in 8 to 10 million deaths. In the 1930s, Stalin consolidated his absolute power through two purges, involving widescale repression, mass expulsions from the Communist Party, show trials, and the executions of purportedly "disloyal" party leaders and high-ranking Red Army officers, whom he feared as potential rivals.

Stalin's developed a cult of personality, and his rule relied on state terror, mass deportations to Siberian labor/concentration camps (gulags), mass executions, and political repression. Recent revised estimates show that 25 million died between the 1920s and 1953: 1.5 million were executed, 5 million died in the gulags, 1.7 million died as a result of deportation (7.5 million were deported), 1 million POWs and German civilians were killed after **World War II**, and 8 to 10 million starved during the famines. Stalin repeatedly altered the country's ethnic map through massive deportations to Siberia and Central Asia to crush opposition and separatism, and during World War II to punish collaboration with the invading Germans. The deportations involved Volga Germans, Jews, Poles, Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Finns, Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, Crimean Tatars, Chechens, Turks, Koreans, and other groups. These ethnic deportations were reversed by Nikita Khrushchëv after Stalin's death, but they inflamed separatism in 1990.

The looming threat of **World War II** (1939–1945) led Stalin to abandon Soviet isolation in the 1930s, seeking the help of the West through the **League of Nations** to contain Nazism/Fascism, but in 1938 he broke with Great Britain and **France** over intervention in **Spain's** Civil War (1936–1939) and his fear after the 1938 Munich Treaty (which ceded Czechoslovakia's German-populated Sudetenland to Germany) that the West's appeasement would also sacrifice the USSR to Nazi Germany. Therefore, while negotiating a Franco–British–Soviet defense pact against Germany, Stalin also secretly initiated the 1939 Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact with Nazi Germany, seeking to keep the USSR **neutral** during World War II and then exploit the collapse of both the West and Nazi Germany to “Sovietize” a destroyed Europe. The Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact secretly divided Europe into German and Soviet spheres of influence, giving the USSR half of **Poland**, with its large Ukrainian and Belorussian populations, **Lithuania**, **Latvia**, **Estonia**, **Finland**, and Bessarabia, as well as control of **Bulgaria** and Romania.

After the **Axis** conquered Western Europe and the **Balkans**, Germany occupied Finland, Bulgaria, and Romania, then invaded the USSR (June 1941), taking Stalin, who had expected war but ignored all intelligence warnings while still rebuilding the Red Army, by surprise. Germany's better-prepared **forces** conquered the Baltic states, **Belarus**, Ukraine, and western Russia as far as Moscow, killing millions of Soviet troops and capturing millions more, while treating the Slavic populations as “subhuman” and annihilating them in wholesale killings. Hitler even initially rejected hundreds of thousands of local volunteers who wanted to fight the USSR. Stalin galvanized the Red Army through terror and patriotic appeals, declaring anyone who surrendered to the Nazis a traitor, and laid to waste entire areas to deny resources to the Axis, regardless of the starvation and suffering this policy wrought among civilians. The USSR joined Great Britain and later the **United States** in the “**Grand Alliance**” (**Allies**). Germany was halted in December 1941 outside Moscow, but in 1942 new German offensives in southern Russia reached Stalingrad by December 1942. With massive supplies from the Anglo–American **Allies**, the USSR turned the tide between 1943 and 1945, slowly reconquering its lost territories, taking Eastern Europe away from the Nazis, and reaching Berlin before the other **Allies** at the end of April 1945.

A **Realist** and tough negotiator, Stalin met British Prime Minister **Winston Churchill** and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Allied Summits in Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam (President **Harry S Truman** replaced the deceased Roosevelt in Potsdam) to plan Allied military strategy and the creation of a postwar security organization, the **United Nations (UN)**. He sought concessions based on the fact that the USSR had borne the brunt of military and civilian losses in the war, with 8,668,400 Red Army troops and 20 million civilians dead, resulting in a huge deficit of men in the USSR.

At the end of the war, the Red Army occupied all of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The United States and Great Britain did not have enough conventional troop strength to force the Soviets back to their prewar borders, and Stalin judged correctly that Truman would not use the **A-bomb** in any attempt to liberate Eastern Europe. Stalin viewed Soviet consolidation of power at home and in occupied Eastern Europe as vital to protecting the USSR by surrounding it with a **buffer zone** of “friendly” Communist states. He hoped that U.S. withdrawal and demobilization would leave Europe vulnerable to Soviet influence through local Communist parties in **Greece**, Italy, and France. He began transferring to the USSR the technology and raw materials of Eastern Europe and East Germany, embarking on a rapid economic recovery of the USSR and achieving a 40 percent increase over 1939 levels. To maintain this impressive output, Stalin revamped “political terror” and the gulags, including sending four million Axis POWs to the gulags as forced labor, where 580,000 died. The Soviet occupation zones in Germany and Austria, followed by **satellization** of Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, **Poland**, Czechoslovakia, and Communist dictatorships in **Yugoslavia** and **Albania**) between 1946 and 1948, destroyed all ties with the Allies and initiated the Cold War (1946–1990) between the Soviet bloc (or East) and the **West**.

The West responded with the **Truman Doctrine of Containment** against Soviet and Communist expansion, intervening in the Greek Civil War and supporting Yugoslavia’s split from the USSR in 1948. Both superpowers also struggled to control Germany’s future. The USSR made Germany’s division permanent, and the West responded by economically unifying the U.S.–British occupation zones, then the French one (Bizonia and Trizonia), in 1947–1948. The USSR retaliated with the Berlin Blockade of the three Western Allied zones

(West Berlin) to force them out of the divided city and annex it to the Soviet zone. However, the blockade failed because a massive Western airlift resupplied West Berlin. A permanent alliance against the USSR was created in 1949 as the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, and an independent West Germany was formed. This left Stalin ended with an East German Communist state.

Stalin also sought to expand communism in the Middle East by recognizing Israel in 1948, but then turned against it once Israel joined the West. In North Korea and China, pro-Soviet Communist influence prevailed after Mao Tse-tung's victory in the Chinese Civil War and the formation of the Sino-Soviet alliance in 1950. Both countries supported Communist North Korea militarily during its invasion of pro-U.S. South Korea in the **Korean War** (1950–1953). As U.S.–UN forces battled Chinese and North Korean troops, fear that the war would escalate into a **World War III** forced Stalin to defuse the situation; he issued the Stalin Note in 1952, advocating Germany's reunification as a disarmed, neutralized state with both superpowers withdrawing from it. The allies and West German Chancellor **Konrad Adenauer** rejected this proposal because they sought to rearm West Germany alongside NATO.

In 1953, Stalin launched another bloody purge of the government, under the pretext of an anti-Zionist, anti-Jewish campaign, targeting his own Jewish doctors first. But then he died mysteriously on 5 March 1953 at age 74, probably assassinated by his own henchman, KGB Director Lavrenti Beria—most likely using poison—who feared that he would be eliminated in this latest purge. The Politburo and “second Troika” (Premier Grigori Malenkov, Khrushchëv, and Molotov) arrested and executed Beria, the second-most hated man in the Soviet Union, and Khrushchëv soon took over (1953–1964).

STALIN NOTE (1952). *See* STALIN (DZHUGASHVILI), JOSEF VISSARIONOVICH.

STANDARDIZATION. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** constantly faces the military challenge of interoperability among its member states' armed **forces**, weapons, equipment, and munitions. Since the 1960s, standardization has been a vital but politically difficult security goal for NATO compared to its rival the

Warsaw Pact, which in the 1950s was totally standardized by adopting almost exclusively Soviet weapons, ammunition, equipment, organization, and even the Russian language for **command** and **control**. In the 1950s–1960s NATO achieved a certain degree of standardization by default through the widespread sale and grant from the **United States** of its weapons and matériel, but as Western European defense industries rebounded after **World War II** (1939–1945), so did transatlantic competition and rivalry for both national and NATO defense procurements. The three areas of most intense and difficult standardization negotiations were air power, ammunition, and contract reciprocity. The United States dominated air power technologically and numerically, but in the 1970s its lead narrowed to revolutionary electronics and technology, while jets stabilized numerically because of the close competition between U.S. and European aerospace industries. NATO standardization has been achieved primarily through European industries’ **joint** construction of the Eurofighter in the 1980s–1990s and later the Eurocopter, with assured contracts among the European **allies** and foreign arms sales, which never involved the United States because of its refusal to buy anything not American. In the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), all NATO members have suffered from defense budget cuts (“**peace dividend**”), with cycles of bitter consolidation and cuts in both U.S. and European defense industries, especially aerospace, which suffered from the successful integration of European industries into the European Airspace Defense Industries (EADS) behind the commercial Airbus. By the 1970s, NATO had succeeded in standardizing most ammunition and contract reciprocity: **Belgium’s FAL light-automatic rifle**, adopted by NATO in 1953; a standardized NATO cartridge in the 1960s, under U.S. pressure; contracts from the U.S. military to adopt the FAL in the 1960s (discarded in the 1970s for U.S.-made M-16s); and **Italy’s Beretta** pistol in 1980. *See also* LUNS, JOSEPH.

STANDBY FORCE, UN. Political-military concept of building a **standing army** for the **United Nations (UN)** as an alternative to its dependence on its members to raise **peacekeeping** units for regional **crises**. A UN standby force would consist of military personnel and equipment based in their home states, but permanently earmarked for

service with the UN or other international organizations, upon receiving authorization from their governments following UN requests. The force would only serve in “traditional peacekeeping” operations, with short deployment times. In 1993, **UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali** asked UN members to pledge military personnel and equipment for a standby, but by April 1994 only 15 states had pledged a total of 54,000 personnel, disappointing Boutros-Ghali’s hopes of building more than a single **UN Standby Forces High-Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG)**.

STANDBY FORCES HIGH-READINESS BRIGADE (SHIRBRIG), UN. In 1997, **United Nations (UN)** plans for a **UN standby force** led to the creation of SHIRBRIG), made up of forces from **Austria, Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden**, with the **Czech Republic, Finland, and Ireland** as observers. SHIRBRIG is a **rapid-reaction** brigade created from high-readiness units already earmarked by members for use by the UN for immediate **crises**. Each country retains **command** of its contingents and **standing army** (the term used for assigning national military units directly to the UN Command), which in theory could be deployed without consulting the respective governments. Several members, including the **United States**, have opposed a permanent **UN standby force** for fear of losing national control of their units. The UN therefore earmarked the standby force for international service.

STANDING ARMY. *See* STANDBY FORCES HIGH-READINESS BRIGADE.

STANDING NAVAL FORCE MEDITERRANEAN (STANAVFORMED), NATO. *See* OPERATION ACTIVE ENDEAVOUR.

STATUS-OF-FORCES ACCORD (SOFA). Treaty between the **United States** and member states within the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** or between any mandating international organization and the host state of a **peacekeeping** operation, regarding the basing privileges and responsibilities of the sender states’ troops or of the international organization’s peacekeepers while on the territory of the host state. SOFAs cover legal jurisdiction of based

forces/peacekeepers, freedom of movement, distinctive markings for troops and their vehicles, settlement of disputes, and evacuation of deceased troops/peacekeepers. U.S. and NATO SOFAs were developed in the early 1950s to replace the original post-**World War II Allied** occupation forces (**France**, **Great Britain**, and the United States) in Western Europe. The **United Nations Emergency Force I (UNEF I)** was the first UN peacekeeping operation to use a SOFA, which became the model for future missions. *See also* EXTRATERRITORIALITY.

STIKKER, DIRK U. (1887–1979). **Secretary-General** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and chairman of the **North Atlantic Council** (April 1961–May 1964), succeeding **Paul-Henri Spaak** (1957–1961) of **Belgium**.

Stikker was born on 5 February 1887 at Winschoten, **Netherlands**. He had a law degree from the University of Groningen. He held appointments in industry between 1922 and 1935; was director of Heineken (1935–1948) and a member of the board of the Dutch Central Bank; was president of the Netherlands Foundation of Labour (1945); was founder and chair of the Dutch Party for Freedom and Democracy (1946–1961); was a Dutch senator (1945–1961); was the Dutch representative at Indonesia's independence negotiations (1949); was foreign affairs minister (1948–1952); was chair of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) (1950–1952); was an ambassador to both **Great Britain** and **Iceland** (1952–1958); and was an ambassador to both NATO and OEEC (1958–1961).

As NATO Secretary-General, Stikker worked closely with NATO **Supreme Allied Commanders–Europe (SACEURs)** U.S. Generals **Lauris B. Norstad** (1956–1962) and **Lyman L. Lemnitzer** (1963–1969), leading the **alliance** during key **crises**: the Berlin Wall (August 1961); NATO's new **strategy** of replacing exclusive reliance on U.S. **nuclear** weapons to defend Europe ("massive retaliation") with a "flexible response" through **forward-deployed** forces; the **Cuban Missile Crisis** (1962), which almost ignited a U.S.–Soviet nuclear war; and French President **Charles de Gaulle's** failed attempts to expand his influence by turning NATO into a U.S.–Anglo–French "**triumvirate**." Stikker had to resign early for health

reasons and was succeeded at NATO by **Manlio Brosio** of **Italy** (1964–1971). He died on 24 December 1979.

STOCKHOLM DOCUMENT (1986), CSCE. Declaration of the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)** in September 1986 on East–West **confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs)** and bilateral **on-site inspections** of military exercises of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and **Warsaw Pact**.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATY I and II (SALT I and II). *See* ARMS CONTROL.

STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY I and II (START I and II). *See* ARMS CONTROL.

STRATEGIC BOMBERS. *See* ASSURED DESTRUCTION.

STRATEGIC CONCEPTS OF NATO (1991, 1997–1999). The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** strategic and defense policy evolved during the Cold War (1946–1990) to face the threat of war with the Soviet Union (USSR) and its **Warsaw Pact satellites** of Eastern Europe. All NATO strategic concepts are the highest political-military statement of **alliance** security tasks and are openly debated among allied governments, security experts, parliaments, and the public. The end of the Cold War in 1990 and the collapse of both the **Soviet bloc** and the USSR in 1989–1991 improved and radically transformed Euro–Atlantic security to face new challenges in the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present).

The post–Cold War strategic concept was adopted by consensus at the Rome **NATO Summit** (November 1991) with a Declaration on Peace and Cooperation concerning Europe's future security and evolving partnership and cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe. It supported the democratization of Central and Eastern European states through practical assistance programs that extended alliance experience and expertise in the political, military, economic, and scientific spheres. This strategic concept merged all political-military elements of NATO's traditional security policy in a coherent

new architecture to expand security for all of Europe and adapt NATO's **strategy** to the "new threats" of the 21st century. Discarding older concepts of combat readiness for **World War III**, the strategic concept retained traditional allied regional security through **collective defense** and the transatlantic link as a vital, indivisible security bond between Europe and North America, while emphasizing East–West cooperation with both "**neutrals**" and former enemies, **arms control**, and regional collective defense. New East European **partners** were included in alliance strategy through the 1994 **Partnership for Peace** and promised future membership in NATO and the EU, advocated in the 1995 *Study on NATO Enlargement*. The 1997 Madrid NATO Summit issued revisions to the strategic concept, which were adopted at the 1999 Washington NATO Summit. Both of NATO's strategic concepts reaffirm **Atlantic common values** of democracy, human rights, rule of law, and peaceful stability in the wider Euro–Atlantic area, from "Vancouver to Vladivostok." They serve as a roadmap for future tasks, **force** structures, and budgetary-military means and missions. The goals are to reduce **nuclear** weapons; modernize NATO's **forces** by cutting them into mobile multinational brigades; streamline military **commands**; combat; engage in new **crisis management**; and take part in international **peacekeeping** alongside the **United Nations**.

NATO's strategic concepts assess the new strategic environment and future security risks in the post–Cold War period while maintaining effective military capabilities to reflect the full range of foreseeable security challenges, from **deterrence** to collective defense or crisis-response operations. On the one hand, the end of the Cold War has consistently improved regional security and strengthened Euro–Atlantic security by eliminating the threat of World War III in Europe; on the other, new risks and conflicts affect both the alliance and other partners and states in the wider Euro–Atlantic region, including ethnic conflicts, human rights violations, political instability, economic fragility, and proliferation of **weapons of mass destruction** (nuclear, **biological**, and **chemical weapons**, and ballistic missiles). NATO's strategic concepts also launched a **Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI)** to better engage enemy forces and improve mobility; survivability of forces and infrastructure; sustainability; and interoperability including partners, arms control, and NATO

defenses at the lowest possible level of forces to fulfill the full range of its missions. Parallel to this, the European **Security and Defence Identity (ESDI)** established a new military structure (at the NATO Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers) through close cooperation between NATO, the **Western European Union (WEU)**, and the **European Union (EU)**.

ESDI enables European allies to make effective contributions to NATO missions and take over some European-led peacekeeping operations whenever “the alliance as a whole chooses not to be involved.” It actively promotes inclusive policies of partnership and regional cooperation with all democratic Euro–Atlantic states to jointly preserve peace, security, and democracy, through the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)**, **Partnership for Peace**, **Euro–Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**, charters with **Russia** and **Ukraine**, and the **Mediterranean Dialogue**. Finally, NATO’s **triple enlargements** in 1997–1999 (three **aspirants**), 2002–2004 (seven aspirants), and 2008 (two aspirants) reflect its Article X and “**open door**” policy to integrate the better-qualified aspirants in security, modernization, democratization, economic stability, and an effective partnership with the West.

STRATEGIC TRIAD. *See* ARMS CONTROL.

STRATEGY or STRATEGIC LEVEL OF WAR. Technical military term for overall war policies of a state or **alliance** aiming to attain national/multinational security objectives and deployed military **forces**. Grand **strategy** is subordinated to political leadership and decisions about goals. *See also* OPERATIONAL LEVEL OF WAR; TACTICAL LEVEL OF WAR.

STUDY ON NATO ENLARGEMENT (1995). Fundamental policy program of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** that made admission of **aspirants** as full members in the **alliance** contingent on five “political criteria”: democracy; joining the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** and the **Partnership for Peace**; contributing to NATO defenses with integrated mobile **forces**; taking part in **NATO peacekeeping** missions; and improving civil–military relations. These criteria helped the **Czech Republic**, **Hungary**, and **Poland** join NATO in 1997–1999 as

“best-prepared” aspirants, while three other favored aspirants were rejected because they had either become unstable semidemocracies (**Romania** and **Slovakia**) or were unwilling to shoulder military responsibilities (**Slovenia**). To these five vital “political criteria” a sixth was added at the 1999 Washington **NATO Summit**: the “military criteria” of the **membership action plans (MAPs)**, requiring improvement in aspirants’ military capabilities in six-month cycles. Between 2002 and 2008, nine aspirants joined NATO: **Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia**. Only **Macedonia** is still left out because of **Greece’s veto** at the 2008 NATO Bucharest Summit.

STUTTGART DECLARATION (1983), EC. *See* EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION.

SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES (SLBMs). *See* ASSURED DESTRUCTION.

SUEZ CANAL WAR (1956). International crises arose in Third World countries when Western properties were punitively expropriated without compensation, leading to violent reactions. Egypt’s expropriation of Western properties in 1954–1955, followed by the nationalization of the Anglo–French Suez Canal in 1956 by Egypt’s leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser, unleashed the Suez Canal War. Israel, backed by **France** and **Great Britain**, defeated Egypt and conquered both the Sinai peninsula and Suez Canal, but all three powers were forced to withdraw under political and financial pressure from a hostile **United States**. This convinced the **allies** that U.S. leadership of NATO focused exclusively on superpower rivalries and would cavalierly overrule even vital European colonial or national security interests, including Anglo–French influence in the Arab world and Suez Canal. The situation boomeranged into a major U.S.–European **crisis** within the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and resulted in diplomatic victory for the USSR, which became the new patron of Egypt. The demise of the Anglo–French colonial empires ensued, eventually forcing the anticolonial United States to intervene directly in the Middle East power vacuum against Egyptian–Soviet influence, through the **Eisenhower Doctrine** (1957) and Anglo–U.S. combat in Jordan and Lebanon (1958). To counteract U.S. influence,

NATO provided external support for the 1955–1958 Middle East Treaty Organization (METO or Baghdad Pact), formed by Great Britain, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, and **Turkey**.

SUPPORT. Technical military term for actions of a **force**, unit, organization, or component, which under original **control** aid, protect, or sustain other forces.

SUPPORT OF CIVIL ENVIRONMENT (SCE), EU. Within the context of the **European Union's (EU) civil–military cooperation (EU CIMIC)** to coordinate support for EU missions between military components of **crisis-management** operations (**CMO**) and non-EU external civil actors, support of civil environment (SCE) covers military arrangements, resources, or activities to supply the basic **humanitarian** needs of civil populations, or to support a civil authority, or organization to execute its task. SCE is one of three core EU CIMIC functions, which include the **civil–military liaison (CML)** and **support of military forces (STF)**. SCE can cover EU CIMIC activities, such as exchange of information, major national infrastructure repairs, reconstruction, and military resources to provide information, personnel, matériel, equipment, communication facilities, experts, and training. In humanitarian crises, it will provide direct support to civilian aid agencies, while military components of the EU-led CMO may deliver and defend humanitarian aid, either when mandated or, in exceptional circumstances, when aid agencies request EU military intervention when they are unable to carry out specific tasks. SCE may include operations to support public services and the environment, the economy and trade, aid projects, and activities to support international organizations, national agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), local authorities, and civil populations. Decisions about the duration and extent of SCE come from the EU's political-strategic level, based on political, civil, and military factors. *See also* NATO CIVIL–MILITARY COOPERATION.

SUPPORT OF MILITARY FORCES (STF), EU. Within the context of the **European Union's (EU) civil–military cooperation (EU CIMIC)** to coordinate support for EU missions between military components of EU-led **crisis-management** operations (**CMO**) and

non-EU external civil actors, the support of military **forces** (STF) covers military arrangements, resources, or activities to supply the basic **humanitarian** needs of civil populations, or to support a civil authority, or organization to execute its task. SCE is one of three core EU CIMIC functions, together with **civil–military liaison (CML)** and **support of civil environment (SCE)**. Military commanders of EU-led CMO might require full civilian support within their area of responsibility in supporting the mission of EU military forces in **crisis** situations, or EU military forces may even be partially dependent on the civil society for resources and information and on civil authorities for security in certain areas. Regardless of the physical support required, military authorities for EU-led CMO will also seek general civil support by encouraging the population to see the legitimacy of the EU-led CMO and its action on behalf of the population. EU CIMIC facilitates support of military **forces** in EU-led CMO other than logistics and **host nation support**. *See also* NATO CIVIL–MILITARY COOPERATION.

SUPREME ALLIED COMMAND–ATLANTIC (SACLANT), NATO. Second most-important **command** in the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** integrated military, based in Norfolk, Virginia. During the Cold War (1946–1990), (USSR) SACLANT coordinated air and sea supremacy in the North Atlantic Ocean against Soviet submarines penetrating allied patrols along the **UK–Iceland–Greenland Gap**, while resupplying NATO forces in Europe under **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** in case of **World War III**. SACLANT’s most important exercise was the annual military **REFORGER (Return of Forces to Germany)** maneuvers, which tested rapid U.S.–Canadian and British air- and sea-lifts of reinforcements to NATO’s Central Front in **Germany** and Northern Europe to counter an invasion by the USSR and **Warsaw Pact**. REFORGER would also resupply NATO’s Southern Flank and **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** in the Mediterranean. In the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), SACLANT is focused on the future transformation of NATO through the new Allied Command Transformation (ACT).

SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER–EUROPE, NATO (SACEUR). Highest commanding officer in the **North Atlantic Treaty**

Organization's (NATO) integrated military of allied states. The SACEUR is also **Commander-in-Chief (CINC)** of the **U.S. European Command (EUCOM)**, during the Cold War (1946–1990) leading Allied Command Europe (ACE, 1950–2003) and its subordinate headquarters: Allied Forces–Northern Europe (AFNORTH) over **Great Britain** and **Scandinavia**; **Allied Forces–Central Europe (AFCENT)** over the **Central Front** of West European members near **Germany**; and **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** over Southern **allies** and the Mediterranean region. In the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), ACE was renamed Allied Command Operations (ACO) in 2003, and its subordinate command, AFCENT, was merged into AFNORTH. AFSOUTH was expanded due to “out-of-area” **peacekeeping** in the **Balkans**. From NATO’s **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)**, the SACEUR directs ACE/ACO to preserve transatlantic peace, security, and territorial integrity, relying on CINC–EUCOM’s five components—U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe, U.S. Air Forces–Europe, U.S. Marine Forces–Europe, and U.S. Special Operations Command–Europe—to provide combat forces for NATO and U.S. missions or **humanitarian** relief to 93 countries in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.

The SACEUR has peacetime command only of allied forces earmarked for NATO, a fraction of all national **forces**, except for Germany, which has all its forces under it at all times since its 1955 re-militarization and entry into NATO. In wartime, theoretically, all allied militaries fall under NATO’s unified command, handled by the SACEUR.

The post has traditionally been held by a four-star U.S. general, due to its largest military commitment and political-military leadership of the **alliance**. SACEUR was the original military title of U.S. General **Dwight D. Eisenhower**’s overall command of Allied forces in Western Europe in 1943–1945 during **World War II**. He resumed the position in 1950–1952 as NATO’s first SACEUR, the only five-star general to hold that position. He organized allied defenses during the Cold War against the USSR. NATO’s integrated military command (**SHAPE**) was first headquartered in Paris (1950–1951), then in nearby Rocquencourt (1951–1967). In 1966, **French** President **Charles de Gaulle** sought to implement his “**Grand Design**” of forc-

ing the United States and USSR to leave Europe under French influence. He withdrew France from NATO's integrated command, but not from its political body, the **North Atlantic Council (NAC)**, and expelled NATO forces. NATO Headquarters moved to Brussels, **Belgium**, in April 1967, and SHAPE moved to nearby Mons/Casteau.

The SACEUR came under strong criticism by the U.S. Pentagon during the Kosovo War (1999), because the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff secretly resented being subordinated with NATO forces to the unified alliance command of SACEUR General **Wesley K. Clark**, as well as his political-military compromise with the allied heads of state and government on bombing targets.

NATO has had 15 SACEURs: U.S. Army General Eisenhower (1950–1952), U.S. Army General **Matthew B. Ridgway** (1952–1953), U.S. Army General **Alfred M. Gruenther** (1953–1956), U.S. Air Force General **Lauris B. Norstad** (1956–1963), U.S. Army General **Lyman L. Lemnitzer** (1963–1969), U.S. Army General **Andrew J. Goodpaster** (1969–1974), U.S. Army General **Alexander M. Haig Jr.** (1974–1979), U.S. Army General **Bernard W. Rogers** (1979–1987), U.S. Army General **John R. Galvin** (1987–1992), U.S. Army General **John M. Shalikashvili** (1992–1993), U.S. Army General **George A. Joulwan** (1993–1997), U.S. Army General **Clark** (1997–1999), U.S. Air Force General **Joseph W. Ralston** (2000–2002), U.S. Marines General **James L. Jones** (2003–2006), and U.S. Army General **B. John Craddock** (since December 2006). *See also* DEPUTY SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER–EUROPE.

SUPREME HEADQUARTERS ALLIED POWERS–EUROPE (SHAPE), NATO. Headquarters of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO)** integrated military command structure since the Cold War (1946–1990), through the Allied Command Europe (ACE, 1950–2003), renamed in the **post–Cold War** period Allied Command Operations (ACO, 2003–present). From SHAPE, NATO's **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** and **Commander-in-Chief (CINC)** of the **U.S. European Command (EUCOM)** leads ACE/ACO to maintain transatlantic security and integrity, relying also on CINC–EUCOM's five components—U.S. Army–Europe, U.S. Navy–Europe, U.S. Air Forces–Europe, U.S. Marines Forces–Europe, and U.S. Special Operations Command–Europe—to

provide **forces** for NATO and U.S. missions or **humanitarian** relief in 93 countries in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. From the Cold War to the mid-1990s, the **area of operations (AOO)** was restricted to Western Europe and the Mediterranean; it was expanded as a result of post–Cold War “out-of-area” **peacekeeping** and **Partnership for Peace** with former Communist and **neutral** countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (USSR). SHAPE is traditionally led by U.S. four-star generals as SACEURs.

During the Cold War, the threat of conflict with the USSR forced the United States and 11 other nations to sign the **North Atlantic Treaty** (Washington, D.C., 4 April 1949), stating that “an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all.” However, NATO was initially only an intergovernmental defense **alliance**, too weak to protect its territory because of severe shortages of men and equipment and the lack of a peacetime integrated **command**. The creation of SHAPE as NATO’s integrated command structure with an expanding allied defense was decided on after the **Korean War** (1950–1953) raised fears of Europe being engulfed in a **World War III**. SHAPE’s two early headquarters in Paris (1950–1951) started in SACEUR Eisenhower’s hotel and then took over the headquarters of the **Western Union Defence Organisation (WUDO)**, the military arm of the Brussels Pact. On 2 April 1951, Eisenhower activated SHAPE, ACE, Allied Forces–Northern Europe (AFNORTH), and **Allied Forces–Central Europe (AFCENT)**, with **Allied Forces–Southern Europe (AFSOUTH)** in the Mediterranean activated in June. SHAPE moved to Rocquencourt near Paris (July 1951–March 1967); after French President **Charles de Gaulle** ejected the integrated **command** in 1966, it relocated to Mons/Casteau, **Belgium**, in April 1967.

SUSTAINABILITY. Technical military term for the ability of a military **force** to maintain the required level of combat power needed to achieve its **objectives**.

SWEDEN (SWERIGE), EU, NATO PARTNER. Democratic monarchy in Europe’s **Scandinavian** region with an area of 449,964 square kilometers, bordering **Norway**, **Finland**, Baltic Sea, Gulf of Bothnia,

and Kattegat and Skagerrak Straits, facing **Denmark**. The capital is Stockholm. It is a Christian Protestant country (95 percent Lutheran, 5 percent other), with a population of 9 million (93 percent Swedish, with Finnish and Lapp-Sami minorities).

A Viking kingdom, Sweden was first part of Denmark, then expanded its influence through the Baltic Sea and Russia, helping found the first Russian kingdom, Kievan Rus. After becoming independent from Denmark in June 1523, it became a Lutheran state and annexed the Baltic states and Finland, losing both to Czarist **Russia**, in the early 1700s and 1812, respectively. Sweden became a great power by fighting in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) to save the German Protestant princes from **Austria's** expanding Holy Roman Empire. King Gustavus Adolphus IV rewrote modern combat tactics, giving Sweden and **France** victory, although he died in battle. In the early 1700s, King Charles XII fought against Russia's Czar Peter the Great to control the Baltic states and **Poland**, but was ultimately defeated after reaching Poltava in **Ukraine**. Sweden and Denmark were **allies** of Napoleon during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815). French General Jean Baptiste Bernadotte became king and joined the conservative powers in defeating Napoleon in 1813–1815. Sweden was repaid for its help in 1814 by being given Norway, but it had to crush local revolts and accept a Swedish–Norwegian monarchical union, which lasted until Norway's independence in 1905.

Sweden's maintained armed **neutrality** during both **World War I** (1914–1918) and **World War II** (1939–1945), although the country was pro-German. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the country's overt Western orientation was tempered by its Western "**neutrality**," supporting equally "neutral" Finland to deter **satellization** by the Soviet Union (USSR) by threatening to join the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Sweden participated in secret plans for NATO protection against a Soviet invasion, to the extent that Sweden was called NATO's "17th member" before the fall of the USSR in 1991. Sweden was a founding member of the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945 and joined the **Nordic** bloc in the 1940s, the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** in 1976, and the **Partnership for Peace** in 1994. It cooperated in **Balkans peacekeeping** and was a potential **aspirant** for NATO **enlargement** in the distant future.

Sweden's successful economic formula, combining capitalism and a welfare system, first implemented by **Dag Hammarskjöld**, faltered in the 1990s. Indecision about neutrality versus political-economic integration with Europe delayed Sweden's entry into the **European Union (EU)** until 1995. It "**opted out**" of the euro currency and European passport.

SWITZERLAND (SCHWEIZ/SUISSE), NATO–EU PARTNER.

Federal republic, landlocked in Central Europe, with an area of 41,290 square kilometers, bordering **Austria**, **France**, **Germany**, **Italy**, and **Liechtenstein**. The capital is Bern. It is Europe's main crossroads of northern and southern trade routes through the highest elevations of the Alps. It has a multi-ethnic Christian population (46 percent Catholic, 40 percent Protestant, 9 percent atheist, and 5 percent other) of 7,450,867 (65 percent Swiss German, 18 percent Swiss French, 10 percent Italian, and 7 percent other) split religiously.

In antiquity, the Swiss Alpine area was settled by Celts, then Romans, then Germanic tribes after the collapse of the Roman Empire. During the Middle Ages, Austria ruled it under the Habsburg Electors, who by the 1500s controlled most of Europe through the fusion of its Holy Roman Empire with **Spain** under Charles V. Switzerland rebelled early against Austria, becoming independent on 1 August 1291 with the founding of a Swiss Confederation, which today has 26 autonomous cantons. Controlling the Alpine trade routes, Switzerland was known in the 1400s–1540 for its invincible, fast-moving troops, which expanded its area sixfold from the original Swiss German cantons to French and Italian ones, while the élite Swiss mercenaries served under all European powers for 300 years. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Switzerland's independence and **neutrality** were respected by all European powers. Although it was neutral during **World War I** (1914–1918), it was in danger of Germany swinging through its Basel border area to attack the southern French **front**. In **World War II** (1939–1945), Italy and Nazi Germany planned to partition Switzerland but were defeated before implementing their plan.

The **League of Nations** had its headquarters in Switzerland between 1919 and 1945, but in 1945 Switzerland refused to join the **United Nations (UN)**, although it was always active in UN and in-

ternational organizations. It joined the UN in 2002. Switzerland never sent troops on **UN peacekeeping** operations, but it has provided funds, medical aid, and aircraft. Switzerland also routinely lent the former League of Nations headquarters for international **summits**, peace negotiations (Vietnam, Middle East) and East–West **arms control** talks during the Cold War (1946–1990), while seeking to avoid a **World War III** invasion by the Soviet Union (USSR) by refusing to join the **European Community/Union (EC/EU)** and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** (although secret plans provided for NATO protection against a Soviet invasion). Since the end of the Cold War and USSR's collapse, Switzerland has sought to join the political-economic integration of Europe and has slowly reversed its neutralism, but its efforts to join the EU were scuttled by a domestic nationalist referendum, so it remained only an EU **partner**. Switzerland joined the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** in 1975 and the **Partnership for Peace** and its **peacekeeping** in the **Balkans** in 1995. It is a potential **aspirant** for NATO–EU **enlargements** in the future.

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TACIS PROGRAMME, EU. *See* EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY.

TACTICAL COMMAND. Technical military term for the authority delegated to a commander to **assign** tasks to his **forces** to accomplish missions assigned by higher authorities.

TACTICAL CONTROL. Technical military term for detailed, local **control** of movements of **forces** to achieve **assigned** missions or tasks. *See also* OPERATIONAL COMMAND.

TACTICAL LEVEL OF WAR (or TACTICS). Technical military term for the level at which battles are planned and executed to attain military objectives **assigned** to tactical units. *See also* STRATEGIC LEVEL OF WAR; TACTICAL LEVEL OF WAR.

TAJIKISTAN, CIS, NATO PARTNER. Landlocked mountainous Central Asian republic and former state of the Soviet Union (USSR), with an area of 143,100 square kilometers, bordering **Afghanistan**, China, **Kyrgyzstan**, and **Uzbekistan**. The capital is Dushanbe. It has a Turkish multi-ethnic population of 7,012,000 (64.9 percent Tajiki, 25 percent Uzbeki, 3.5 percent Russian, and 6.6 percent other) with a mix of religions (85 percent Sunni Muslim, 5 percent Shia Muslim, 10 percent Russian Orthodox and other), speaking Russian and Tajik/Farsi.

In the wake of Gengis Khan's Mongol Empire, mixed Turkish/Mongol nomadic tribes migrated into and settled Central Asia (Western Turkestan) in the 13th century. They later became Muslim but were rarely united. Tajikistan was settled and controlled by Persia. Western Turkestan was conquered by Czarist **Russia** in the 1700s–1800s, but localized wars against Persia detached Tajikistan by the 1860s. Russian settlers and deported nationalities arrived in the 1800s–1900s, with larger influxes in the 1950s–1970s. Under the USSR in 1936 it was split into five related Turkish Central Asian Soviet Republics. During the Cold War (1946–1990), Tajikistan and neighboring Soviet Central Asian states were the vital logistical rear for the **Red Army** on the long Sino–Russian **front** and for Soviet troops in the First Afghan War (1979–1989). Tajikistan's independence on 9 September 1991 and the sudden collapse of the USSR in December 1991 forced many Russian Slavs to emigrate. In the early 1990s the **United States** forced Tajiki compliance with the U.S.–Soviet **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty** (1987) to prevent any future **nuclear** proliferation. Tajikistan had a few Soviet defense industries, with accompanying severe industrial pollution.

With little energy (petroleum and brown coal), uranium, and natural resources, Tajikistan is the poorest former Soviet state in the region. Its domestic and foreign goals are economic development, integration in world markets, combating Islamic **terrorism** in the multi-ethnic fertile Fergana Valley, and political-military and economic relations with neighboring states and global powers. Tajikistan suffered a civil war between 1992 and 1997 between the Russian-backed former Communist dictatorship and Islamic insurgents, but under **Russian peacekeeping**, tensions abated. The country maintains close political-military and economic ties with Russia, joining

its **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** in 1992, as well as the **United Nations (UN)** and **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**. It has also been a **partner** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** since 1992 in its **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** and since 2000 in the **Partnership for Peace**. It was a major NATO **base** for U.S. and NATO forces during the Second Afghan War (2001–2002). It became a member of the Russo–Chinese **Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO/Shanghai-56)** in 2001, along with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. After the Second Afghan War and **NATO peacekeeping**, the United States, **West**, and UN increased economic development aid to help stabilize Tajikistan. *See also* COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES COLLECTIVE PEACEKEEPING FORCE; UNITED NATIONS MISSION OF OBSERVERS IN TAJIKISTAN.

TASK FORCE 160, U.S.–UN. Operational code for United States special **forces** operating in Somalia under the **United Nations (UN)** to capture warlord Mohammed Farah Aidid in Mogadishu. Aidid had ambushed and killed 24 Pakistani UN peacekeepers of the **UN Operation in Somalia II (UNISOM II)**. Task Force 160, composed of 100 troops, raided Aidid's stronghold in daylight, capturing several lieutenants, but were then trapped for hours in vicious urban guerrilla fights, in which 19 U.S. soldiers and 1,000 Somalis died. Public and congressional calls to scale down the U.S. role in Somalia persuaded U.S. President Bill **Clinton** to cut U.S. **forces** and then withdraw them. *See also* JOINT TASK FORCE SOMALIA.

TASK FORCE 212, U.S.–UN. Operational code for U.S. Task Force 212 with the 212th Mobile Army Surgical Hospital, which initially supported the **United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)**. When the United States contingent extended its **area of operations (AOO)** to include **Macedonia**, the name was changed to Joint Task Force Provide Promise.

TASK FORCE AGAINST TRAFFICKING IN HUMAN BEINGS, EU. *See* STABILITY PACT.

TASK FORCE AMBER FOX, NATO. *See* OPERATION AMBER FOX.

TASK FORCE ON WIDER EUROPE, EU. *See* EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY.

TERRORISM. Political-military term for the use of targeted or indiscriminate violence by small groups of political or religious national/transnational extremists, or for state-sponsored groups creating widespread terror among affected populations (either targeted groups or indiscriminately, against the population at large) to politically undermine the government by destroying the population's confidence in law and order, and thus bring it to collapse or provoke a revolution. State-sponsored terrorism is a destabilizing **strategy** to undermine another state or groups. Terrorism can also be used as a combat **tactic** by guerrilla groups or partisans in wartime. During the Cold War (1946–1990), terrorist groups were mostly Western and Third World leftist ultracommunists secretly supported by the Soviet Union (USSR) against the **West, United States, and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, as well as being trained and armed by “rogue states” (**Afghanistan**, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, and Syria). NATO has been directly targeted by European terrorists in the 1970s–1980s: the German Rote Armee Facktion tried to kill **Supreme Allied Commander-Europe (SACEUR) Alexander Haig Jr.**, and later put bombs at NATO installations; the Italian Red Brigades were more successful in 1981 when they kidnapped for a few months NATO's U.S. General John Dozier, later liberated by Italy's Carabinieri Police. Finally, on 11 September 2001, Al-Qaeda Islamic Fundamentalist terrorists attacked the U.S. Defense Department (Pentagon) and World Trade Center, provoking U.S.–NATO military operations in the Second Afghan War (2001–2002) and post-war antiterrorist peacekeeping, but Al-Qaeda still infrequently bombs NATO **allies'** cities (Madrid; London twice; Istanbul twice), with scores of terrorists arrested.

THEATERS OF MILITARY OPERATIONS (TVDs), USSR. *See* FRONT(S).

“THIRD FORCE.” Political-diplomatic term used during the early Cold War (1946–1968) for the desire of a Western country to exercise

international influence outside its current alignment with the **United States** and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, as well as any confrontation with the Soviet Union (USSR). "Third force" orientation was a domestic-oriented policy that sought abroad an impossible refusal to accept as unchangeable the Cold War division of Europe between the superpowers ("Iron Curtain") or the immutability of the **West's** security ties to the U.S.-led NATO. Only two NATO countries tried at any time to pursue a "third force" orientation, under various domestic and diplomatic imperatives; international **forces** dashed the diplomatic experiments and brought the countries back within NATO's alignment.

The first country was **Italy**, which in 1947–1949 and again in the late 1950s first sought to chart a fuzzy "independentist neutralism" yet pro-Western course, by siding politically and economically with the United States but refusing to engage diplomatically and militarily on the Western side against the much-feared USSR, whose domestic "minions" of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) were the second largest political and governmental **force** and had fought well in World War II as partisans during Italy's Partisan/Civil War (1943–1945). Domestic political peace was achieved through the diplomatic expedient of pretending that a country that had lost everything in a war meant to give it an empire could be content with a fuzzy "independent neutralism" that aligned it with America without alienating the USSR. In mid-1948, Italian Premier Alcide De Gasperi could no longer resist U.S. pressures to force the PCI out of the government or lose U.S. economic aid and protection.

With its political alignment clearly established diplomatically, during the talks about joining NATO as a founding member (December 1948–January 1949), Italy lost any semblance of being independently neutral in any war between NATO and the USSR. Yet membership had its rewards, even at the risk of renewed war, including once and for all establishing Italy under the United States as "equal" to all other **allies**, which still strove to keep Italy from forgetting its role in the war. Italy chose NATO and America, while De Gasperi cleverly muzzled the Christian "neutralists" of his party (the Christian Democrats, Italy's largest party) by enrolling the enthusiastic support of Pope Pius XIII. Then from the late 1950s to mid-1960s, De Gasperi's Christian Democrat successors actively challenged U.S. oil interests in the Middle East/Gulf and sought (unsuccessfully) to portray Italy

as an indispensable international mediator in the Second Vietnam War and Middle East. Their successors quietly reverted to complete conformity with **Atlantic common values** and American views. In both instances, Italy's "third force" posturing was not taken seriously by the United States and other allies.

The second country was **France**, which under President **Charles de Gaulle** posed a much stronger threat and clearer political vision for its "third force" path. Since 1957–1958, de Gaulle had become increasingly dissatisfied with U.S. leadership of NATO, **alliance nuclear** policy, and integrated **command** structure. On 9 September 1965, de Gaulle declared an end to France's military integration in NATO, and in 1969 appealed under Article XIII of NATO's 1949 Washington Treaty, which allows members to withdraw after 20 years. Gaulle's grandiose "Europe of Nations" scheme was to replace U.S. influence in Europe with France's own. He forced the 1967 **crisis**, hoping that NATO would disintegrate once France withdrew from the allied integrated military command and applied the **Fouchet Plans** against the United States, to promote the demise of both NATO and the **Warsaw Pact**. Thereafter, both superpowers would have to accept a nonhostile "third force" France at the helm of a marginalized Europe sympathetic to both. However, in 1968 de Gaulle saw the final collapse of his unrealistic diplomatic-security plans when, facing a ravaged NATO in full disarray, the USSR refused to withdraw from Eastern Europe and instead repressed local dissent and political reform in Czechoslovakia (1968, Prague Spring). NATO succeeded in rebuilding its command, **control**, and logistical networks between 1967 and 1998.

THREE CIRCLES DOCTRINE (1945). *See* CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON L. S.

"THREE WISE MEN REPORT" (1956), NATO. In May–December 1956, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** established the Committee of Three on Non-Military Cooperation ("Three Wise Men"), made up of the foreign ministers of **Canada** (Lester Pearson), **Italy** (Gaetano Martino), and **Norway** (Halvard Lange), to reform the **North Atlantic Council's (NAC)** role as forum for interallied consultation. The "Three Wise Men Report," adopted by NATO on 13 December, stressed that all allied governments must inform the NAC of any national political-military decision that significantly affected

NATO, and that effective, deeper consultations among all **allies** would be integral to their national decision-making policies. The “Three Wise Men Report” sought to prevent a repeat of the NATO **crisis** that occurred after the collapse of interallied consultations during the July–October **Suez Canal War** (1956).

TINDEMANS REPORT (1975), EC. *See* EUROPEAN UNION (EU).

TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** is the only international security organization linking the **United States, Canada, Turkey**, Western Europe, and Eastern Europe. Twice the struggle for political-military supremacy in Europe had precipitated world wars, and ultimately U.S. economic-military intervention helped the **allies** win. After World War II, the Soviet Union’s (USSR) military-ideological threat and division of Europe (“Iron Curtain”) during the Cold War (1946–1990) threatened a future **World War III**, which would be even more destructive because of both superpowers’ **nuclear** arsenals. The economic and democratic rebuilding of Western Europe under the U.S.-sponsored Marshall Plan (1947–1953) and European economic integration (1949–present) were made possible by the formation of NATO in 1949 and the U.S. transatlantic pledge to militarily protect weak allies. The **North Atlantic Treaty**’s guarantee that any threat to its members would be an immediate threat to all means that the U.S. military and nuclear umbrella protects all allies.

At the same time, the high degree of transatlantic political solidarity among all member states depends on their willingness to apply the same reciprocal commitment to the security of all allies indefinitely. This transatlantic political-military reciprocity, combined with the American security umbrella, requires all allies to build up sufficient military capabilities and logistics for **joint** action within the **alliance**’s framework. For many years, the European allies, **Canada**, and **Turkey** provided most of the military **forces** and bore the heaviest logistical burden in Europe, while the U.S. shouldered much of the economic, technological, and political-military leadership. Since the end of the Cold War in 1990, North America and Europe have striven to play more equal roles, strengthening NATO’s identity not only as a transatlantic community of shared **values**, but as an alliance of shared responsibilities, although the defense burden sharing

balance still has not been fully readjusted, even by Europe integrating Eastern European and former Soviet **partners** in the **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)**.

The transatlantic gap in global military and technological power since the end of the Cold War has shifted massively in favor of the United States and **Great Britain**, while European capabilities within NATO have steadily eroded. Limited improvements in European capabilities have been made by consolidating Euro-Atlantic regional **collective defenses** and logistics while erasing Europe's military-ideological Cold War division through NATO's **collective security** and triple enlargements to 12 East European **partners** (1999, 2002–2004, 2008).

TRANSDNIESTER/TRANSNISTRIA. *See* JOINT-CONTROL COMMISSION PEACEKEEPING FORCE.

TRANSFORMATION OF NATO IN THE POST-COLD WAR PERIOD. In the **post-Cold War** period (1990–present), an essential part of modernizing the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** has been the internal restructuring of its military **forces** and **commands**. The military forces of most NATO member countries have been significantly reduced and reorganized. New concepts have been introduced to give them greater mobility and flexibility and to facilitate the participation of non-NATO **partner** countries in NATO operations and **peacekeeping**. A significant innovation has been the **Combined Joint-Task Forces (CJTFs)**, which adapt **force** structures to meet different military scenarios short of **World War III**, while allowing NATO to more effectively carry out both its **collective defense** role and new regional **collective security** missions. Reforms of the integrated command structure have reduced the number of NATO military headquarters by two-thirds, from 65 to 20. NATO's cooperative approach to security has established multilateral and bilateral links to enable all allies and partners to satisfy their own security together and that of the Euro-Atlantic area as a whole. NATO has forged close institutional relations with non-NATO partners through the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council**, **Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council**, **Partnership for Peace**, **Russia-NATO Permanent Joint Council**, **NATO-Ukraine Commission**, and **Mediterranean Dialogue**. Since its 1949 birth in 1949, the **alliance** has been open to new members

able to meet its requirements, and is now part of a wider Euro-Atlantic security architecture, leading European integration through the **membership action plans (MAPs)** for Eastern European **aspirants** and parallel entry into the **European Union (EU)**.

TREATY OF TLATELOLCO. *See* “NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES.”

TRIAD (or STRATEGIC NUCLEAR TRIAD). *See* ASSURED DESTRUCTION.

TRIPARTITE DECLARATION ON GERMANY AND BERLIN (1964). Fundamental restatement of Western policies during the Cold War (1946–1990), it stressed that any accord on Germany and Berlin between the Soviet Union (USSR) and East Germany (DDR) or any Soviet unilateral initiative to block the quadripartite administration of Berlin would not eliminate Soviet legal responsibilities under previous allied accords. The Tripartite Declaration also restated the allied accord of 23 October 1954, authorizing close ties between Berlin and West Germany to ensure nonvoting representation of Berlin, while West Germany renounced force to achieve national reunification or modify post-**World War II** borders, and would wait for a peace settlement for all of Germany to determine the final frontiers of a reunified Germany. *See also* BERLIN CRISES.

TRIPARTITE PACT (1940), AXIS. Collective self-defense treaty among Nazi **Germany**, Fascist **Italy**, and imperial Japan during **World War II** (1939–1940), consolidating at the military level their preexisting political-ideological alignment (**Axis**, 1936, and Anti-Comintern Pact, 1937) against the **Allies**. However, as a defensive military **alliance** it did not automatically obligate any Axis power to enter war on the side of the others if any of them had attacked a third party, but rather only if one of the signatories was attacked first. Thus, when Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy attacked the Soviet Union (USSR) without provocation on 21 June 1941, Japan did not join the combat because the others had attacked first; in addition, Japan and the USSR had already signed a **Non-Aggression Pact** in 1940. Likewise, when Japan attacked the **United States** without provocation at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, neither Nazi Germany nor Fascist Italy was under obligation to help Japan. However,

on 11 December 1941, both Axis powers unilaterally declared war on the United States to show their ideological support for Japan against a “weak” America. This fateful decision finally freed U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt to focus all U.S.–Allied military and resupply war efforts, first against the Axis in Europe to rescue the USSR and **Great Britain** from defeat, then to destroy Japan in a parallel war. Had the Italian and German Axis powers not helped Japan, the United States and Allies would have been forced to fight a parallel World War II: a Pacific war by the United States and Great Britain against Japan, with the near certainty of defeating Japan by 1946, and a European war by Great Britain and the USSR, with unofficial U.S. help, against Germany and Italy, with the likelihood of an Axis victory over the USSR by 1944 and a standoff with Great Britain.

TRUMAN, HARRY S (1884–1972). Vice president (1945) and 33rd president of the **United States** (1945–1953), replacing President Franklin D. Roosevelt after his death. He was the catalyst for the **West’s** rally against the Soviet Union (USSR) during the Cold War (1946–1990).

Harry S Truman was born on 8 May 1884 in Lamar, Missouri, and grew up working in both farming and clerical jobs. In **World War I** (1914–1918), he joined the Missouri National Guard, and as a captain commanded a regimental battery in **France** fighting against **Germany**, later rising to lieutenant colonel. Although Truman was the only president after 1870 not to have a college degree, in 1922 Boss Tom Pendergast’s Kansas City Democratic political “machine” helped him be elected as a judge (1922–1924, 1926–1934). He later won acclaim for several popular public works projects. He served as a U.S. senator from Missouri, and as a New Deal Democrat supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Truman’s office was criticized for New Deal political patronage under Boss Pendergast’s political “machine,” but Truman resisted his political patron’s pressures. Pendergast was indicted in 1939 for fraud.

During **World War II** (1939–1945), Truman slowly distanced himself from America’s traditional isolationist **neutralism**, and on 23 June 1941, immediately after Nazi Germany’s attack on the USSR, he declared to the *New York Times*: “If we see that Germany is winning we ought to help **Russia** and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany, and that way let them kill as many as possible, al-

though I don't want to see Hitler victorious under any circumstances." However, he quickly backtracked under domestic anti-Nazi pressure. Truman became famous nationally for his nonpartisan work on the Senate committee on military preparedness (the "Truman Committee"), investigating military waste and fraud and advocating commonsense cost-saving measures that saved the government \$11 billion. As senior Southern Democratic Senator, he became Roosevelt's new vice president in 1944 because his candidacy appealed to the Democratic Party's center. The Roosevelt–Truman team won a moderate victory in the 1944 U.S. Presidential election. But Vice President Truman was left out of the loop on U.S. diplomatic and security goals for the end of World War II and the secret Manhattan Project, which created the first **atomic bomb**.

Truman succeeded Roosevelt upon the latter's death on 12 April 1945. Truman's folksy, unassuming presidential style contrasted sharply with that of highly regarded patrician Roosevelt, but Truman's honesty, integrity, political courage, and firm stand for Western democracy during the Cold War earned him high praise. As a Wilsonian internationalist, Truman strongly supported the **United Nations (UN)** to meet the public desire for peace after World War II. But Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** abandoned the Potsdam Conference commitments; the USSR turned occupied Eastern Europe into **satellites** and supported Communist subversion in **Greece** and **Turkey**, which sparked fears of Soviet world domination replacing Nazi Germany's; and Soviet **veto**s at the UN undermined the universal organization. All this pushed the Truman administration to pursue an increasingly hard line against the Soviets, gaining bipartisan support for the **Truman Doctrine** (1947) of anti-Soviet and anticommunist **Containment** and for the Marshall Plan to rebuild postwar Europe. Truman argued that Communism flourishes in economically deprived areas, to "scare the hell out of Congress" so it would approve spending vast sums to restart Europe's economy. He also strengthened U.S. security by signing the National Security Act (1947), which reorganized military **forces** under a **joint** Defense Department, creating a U.S. Air Force separate from the U.S. Army Air Forces, a Central Intelligence Agency for espionage (CIA), and a National Security Council. These related policies ended America's tradition of isolationism from European politics and committed the United States to contain Communism and the USSR, first in Europe, then globally.

On 24 June 1948, the USSR blockaded the three Western sectors of **Berlin** inside the Soviet occupation zone of East **Germany**, trying to **force** the West out of the divided city. General Lucius D. Clay, commander of the U.S. occupation zone, wanted to force the Berlin Blockade with a large armored column driving from West Germany to West Berlin, shooting its way through if stopped or attacked, but Truman saw this as an unacceptable risk of starting World War III. Instead, for a year (25 June 1948–11 May 1949), the **allies** airlifted supplies to the divided city. In addition, in 1948–1949 the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** was formed as a permanent U.S.-led military **alliance** against the USSR. The lifting of the Berlin Blockade, together with the creation of NATO and West Germany are among Truman's major foreign policy successes, along with recognition of Israel, all of which aided his 1948 reelection. Truman had supported Zionism as early as 1939, as well as the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in 1946, which recommended the gradual creation of two states in Palestine, without Jews or Arabs dominating. But with **Great Britain's** empire collapsing after the war and the United States unwilling to shore it up militarily, London left Palestine to the UN, which partitioned it in 1948, endorsed by many U.S. and European citizens as a tacit compensation for the Nazi genocide of six million Jews. The idea of a Jewish state was very popular among Truman's key U.S. constituencies during the 1948 presidential elections, but it was opposed by the Pentagon, State Department, and Secretary of State George C. Marshall. Truman feared that the talented Marshall might resign and publicly condemn Truman's recognition of Israel. Marshall did not oppose Truman, but the **Arab League** attacked Israel, which won, thanks to U.S.–Soviet aid.

Truman's final major challenge was the **Korean War** (1950–1953). Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson responded to the Communist invasion of U.S.-supported South Korea by committing the UN into its first international military intervention (**UN Charter, Article 42**), under U.S. General **Douglas MacArthur**, using U.S. occupation forces in Japan and from many NATO allies individually, because the alliance was still being organized as an integrated military pact by **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** U.S. General **Dwight D. Eisenhower**. Truman also sought (unsuccessfully) to rearm West Germany in 1950–1952

through the **Pleven Plan** and **European Defence Community (EDC)**. Initially, U.S.–UN involvement in the Korean War appeared to be successful, with MacArthur liberating both Koreas from the Communist forces, and Truman's standing rose internationally and at home. However, after a massive winter invasion by Communist Chinese troops defeated U.S.–UN forces, which experienced heavy losses, the Republican Party and general public attacked Truman, especially after he fired national hero MacArthur for insubordination after MacArthur had publicly criticized Truman for not letting him use **nuclear weapons** against the USSR and China for their support of North Korea. In 1951–1952, Truman shifted command to U.S. General **Matthew B. Ridgway**, MacArthur's deputy, who halted the Chinese–North Korean advance and forced them out of South Korea. During the same period, Truman concluded the Allied occupation of Japan, making Japan an ally under the San Francisco Peace Treaty (8 September 1951). Once Ridgway had stabilized the situation in Korea, Truman appointed him to replace Eisenhower as SACEUR (1952–1953), after Eisenhower refused to run as Truman's vice president and ran against Truman as Republican challenger. At NATO, Ridgway and Truman enlarged the alliance to 14 members (adding **Greece** and **Turkey** in 1952). Fears of a **World War III** tied to the Korean War receded after the death of Stalin in 1953.

Truman also faced domestic challenges, including a tumultuous re-conversion of the economy marked by severe shortages and strikes and violence and persecution against many black veterans during and after World War II, which infuriated Truman into backing civil rights and desegregating the U.S. military, a considerable political risk. Yet Truman confounded all predictions by winning reelection in 1948. The Republican-controlled Congress, however, prevented him from implementing his Fair Deal program. Republicans' charges that Soviet agents had infiltrated the government forced Truman to set up anti-espionage loyalty boards in 1947–1952. Some 20,000 federal employees were investigated, 2,500 were forced to resign for being Communist sympathizers, and 400 were fired. Republican accusations that Truman and Acheson were "soft on Communism" and had "lost" China to Mao Tse-tung's pro-Soviet régime were key issues in Eisenhower's 1952 presidential campaign denouncing Truman's failures

on “Korea, Communism, and Corruption.” As a result of extremely low approval ratings over the Korean quagmire and the resignation of hundreds of his political appointees over financial corruption scandals, Truman was defeated in 1952, bringing to an end 20 years of Democratic control of the presidency. He died in Missouri on 20 January 1972.

TRUMAN DOCTRINE/CONTAINMENT (1947). After the end of **World War II** (1939–1945), **Great Britain** and the **United States** were locked in a Cold War (1946–1990) with the Soviet Union (USSR) over its **satellization** of Eastern Europe. The **West** supported **Greece’s** pro-Western monarchical government in the 1944–1949 civil war with the National Liberation Front (EAM/ELAS), Communist partisans with veiled Yugoslav and Soviet support. Neighboring **Turkey** was also under Soviet pressure to share **control** of the geostrategic **Turkish Straits** with a Soviet **base** there and allow free access to the Mediterranean. In February 1947, London’s economic woes and plans to reduce its global presence forced it to grant by 1948 independence to India and withdraw from the Palestinian **Man-date** in 1948, while secretly informing the United States that Great Britain would also stop aid to Greece and Turkey and hoped that the United States would take over. Undersecretary of State **Dean Acheson** met with key members of Congress and government officials, positing the idea of the **Domino Theory**, which stated that if Greece and Turkey fell to Communism, it would likely spread to Iran and even India because of Soviet control of Iranian **Azerbaijan**. Having secured bipartisan support, President **Harry S Truman** addressed a public **joint** session of Congress and the nation on April 1947, stressing the severity of this East–West **crisis** and asking for \$400 million in military and economic aid for Greece and Turkey. He also reoriented U.S. diplomacy from its old policy of isolationism to a new global leadership through the Truman Doctrine of anticommunist Containment in Europe and Mediterranean: “to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.” Containment would later become global through the **Korean War** (1950–1953), which also prompted the United States to add Greece and Turkey to the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1952.

TRUST TERRITORIES, UN. *See* ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES/MANDATES.

TURKEY (TURKIYE), NATO, EU PARTNER. Democratic republic in Asia Minor with an area of 780,580 square kilometers, bordering **Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece**, Syria, the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea, and the Mediterranean Sea, controlling the geostrategic **Turkish Straits** (Bosphorus and Dardanelles). The capital is Ankara. It is a Sunni Muslim country (0.2 percent Christian and Jewish) with a population of 69.9 million (80 percent Turkish, 19.8 percent Kurdish, and 0.2 percent Greek and Armenian minorities), which speaks Turkish.

In the wake of Gengis Khan's Mongol Empire, mixed Turkish/Mongol nomadic tribes migrated into and settled Central Asia (Western Turkestan) and Azerbaijan, penetrating Asia Minor in the 13th century. They became Muslim but were rarely united. The Seljuik Turks and then the Ottoman Turks conquered both the declining Christian Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor and Greece and the **Balkans** and Muslim Arab Middle East, from Iraq to Algeria and Sudan, between the 1300s and 1680s. As a great power, Ottoman Turkey threatened Europe in the **balance of power** system (1500s–1940s) in **alliance** with **France** against the hegemonic **Austrian–Spanish** empire. In 1572, the empire defeated the Turkish navy at Lepanto and regained **control** of the Mediterranean, and in the 1680s two Turkish invasions of Austria were repulsed. Austrian and other European **forces** liberated the Christians in the northern Balkans and annexed them to the empire in between the 1690s and 1740s. From the 1790s through 1913, the declining Ottoman Turkish Empire became the “Sick Man of Europe,” racked by Christian revolts and secessions (Greece, Montenegro, Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria), as well as foreign invasions (France in Egypt, 1798–1800; **Russia** in the Caucasus, the Crimean War and south Balkans, 1820s, 1850s, 1877–1878; France in Algeria and Tunisia, 1840s and 1881; **Great Britain** in Egypt and Sudan, 1888–1950s; **Italy** in Libya, 1911–1912; and the Balkan Wars, 1912–1913). Only the rivalries between the European empires saved the Ottoman Turks from partition, and they relied on Anglo–French protection against Russia and Austria in the 1800s. Turkey's **Entente** (1904–1917) with Russia forced Constantinople to

join **Germany**, Austria–Hungary, and Bulgaria in **World War I** (1914–1918) against the Entente/**Allies**.

After defeating Greece in 1921 and forcing Allied Occupation **forces** out of Constantinople and the Turkish Straits, Turkey became a democratic republic under President Kemal Atatürk, who inaugurated Westernizing secularism and modernization. **Neutral** but pro-German in **World War II** (1939–1945), after the war Turkey sought Anglo–American protection against encroachments by the Soviet Union (USSR) by joining the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945. During the Cold War (1946–1990) Turkey and Greece received direct military aid from the **United States** under the **Truman Doctrine** (1947) and from the **U.S. Sixth Fleet**. During the **Korean War** (1950–1953), Turkey joined the U.S.–UN coalition, and in 1952 entered the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** along with Greece, to seal off the USSR from the Mediterranean. As a member of the 1954 Baghdad Pact’s Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), Turkey sealed the Soviet Transcaucasus and Central Asian borders by cooperating with the United States, pro-Western Iran, and Pakistan until CENTO’s collapse in 1979. In any **World War III** scenario, economically weak Turkey remained an essential geostrategic member of NATO, despite its obsolescent military forces: If defense with Greece and the U.S. Sixth Fleet of the Turkish Straits could not prevent a Soviet/**Warsaw Pact** conquest of the area and Greece, Turkish forces could stop a parallel thrust by the USSR through the Transcaucasus and even link with Iran to prevent the **Red Army** from reaching the Gulf’s “warm waters.”

However, Turkey soon had problems with NATO. Twice it clashed with Greece against the alliance’s will, intervening militarily on **Cyprus** in the mid-1960s and in 1974 to protect local Turkish Cypriots from a Greek annexation of the island. In the mid-1960s, interethnic violence in Cyprus and Turkish military strikes were defused by U.S.–NATO pressures and **British peacekeeping** under the **UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)**. Then in 1974, Athens sponsored a pro-annexation (*Enosis*) coup by Greek Cypriot extremists, provoking a military invasion by Turkey, which seized 37 percent of northern Cyprus, establishing a pariah Turkish Cypriot government. British peacekeepers were limited as a weak **buffer** on the split island. Ankara’s seizure of Cyprus’s north and the Turkish

military's past coups against domestic leftist and Islamic extremist parties became major thorns in the side of NATO and the **European Union (EU)**, while Greek relations with both Turkey and NATO were frozen by Athens because NATO did not intervene in the crisis. Turkish–Greek relations have improved greatly since the 1990s, and Turkey's hopes to join the EU by 2015 forced the Turkish Cypriots to accept a UN–EU federative plan.

Turkey is also member of the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)**; provides NATO and UN peacekeepers in the Balkans and **Afghanistan**; and during the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present) is the leading NATO ally collaborating with the United States to Westernize former Soviet Central Asian Turkish states as **partners (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan)** against the rival influence of Russia and Islamic Iran. Intermittently since 1984, Ankara has also fought the **terrorist** insurgency of the Marxist–Leninist secessionist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in southeast Turkey, using military and human rights repression, or occasional raids in Iraq's Kurdistan province. The PKK largely ceased violent attacks after its unilateral cease-fire in September 1999, when its leader was captured. But ill will over Kurdish autonomy and a neutral, moderate Islamist government, in power since 2002, kept Turkey from joining the U.S.-led coalition's **Second Gulf War** (2003) against Iraq or even allowing U.S. combat forces to cross Turkey into Iraq.

TURKISH STRAITS. The geostrategic Bosphorus and Dardanelles (or Turkish) Straits connect the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas to the Black Sea. This vital trade route has sparked wars over its tolls ever since the Trojan War in 1200 BC. Annexed in turn by the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman empires, the straits' geostrategic role increased when Emperor Constantine moved the capital there from Rome. For several centuries Constantinople (formerly Byzantium) dominated the straits' trade wealth after the collapse of the Roman Empire, until it also collapsed under the Ottoman Turks' invasion. In 1458, the Turks made Constantinople (Istanbul) the capital of their Islamic empire and further fortified the straits. By the 1800s, however, the decline of the Ottoman Empire left the straits vulnerable to

Czarist **Russia**, which was seeking to liberate the **Balkans'** oppressed Christians and annex the straits to reach the Mediterranean, already under **Great Britain's** naval and trade hegemony.

From the 1790s onward, the British Mediterranean Fleet battled **France** and contained Russia, while protecting the Ottoman Turks from partition during a series of **crises**. During the Crimean War (1853–1866), the Anglo–French navies secured the Turkish Straits and defeated Russia, blocking its future access to the straits. Russia's victory in the Russian–Turkish War (1877) led the Mediterranean Fleet into the straits to defend Constantinople and then diplomatically recontain Russia at the 1878 Berlin Congress. In the 1911–1912 Italian–Turkish War, **Italy** conquered Libya and part of the Aegean, while raiding the straits, causing panic among the great powers. The **Entente** (France, Russia, and Great Britain) threatened **Turkey's** exclusive **control** of the straits and its survival, pushing it to join **Germany** and **Austria–Hungary** in **World War I** (1914–1918). In 1915, the **Allies** launched the year-long amphibious Gallipoli Campaign to conquer the Turkish Straits and Constantinople so that they could resupply Russia in the Black Sea, but on the high ground the Turkish Army boxed in the Allies, defeating them. Turkey's defeat in 1918 put the Turkish Straits and Constantinople under Allied occupation, and the straits were internationalized under the Treaty of Sèvres (1919). In 1921, Kemal Atatürk's victory over **Greece** forced also the allies to withdraw, restoring Turkish control over the straits. The Treaty of Montreaux (1936) reconfirmed Turkey's exclusive control of the straits and tolls, also limiting the Soviet Union's access, requiring 30 days' prior notice and excluding aircraft carriers and submarines. During **World War II** (1939–1945), the USSR secured permission from Great Britain and the **United States** at the Yalta Summit (1945) for a **base** in the Turkish Straits. The Cold War (1946–1990) split the allies, pitting Anglo–American support of Greece and Turkey against Soviet **satellization** of Eastern Europe and pressures to put a Soviet base in the geostrategic **Turkish Straits** with free access to the Mediterranean. U.S. President **Harry S Truman** created the **U.S. Sixth Fleet** to help the Mediterranean Fleet block the USSR in the straits under the **Truman Doctrine** (1947) of anticommunist **Containment**. In 1952, Greece and Turkey joined the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, sealing off the USSR

from the Mediterranean, but all **World War III** scenarios still predicted that an armored invasion by the USSR/**Warsaw Pact** from **Bulgaria** would conquer the straits and Istanbul. During the Six-Day War (1967) and Yom Kippur War (1973) between Israel and pro-Soviet Arab coalitions, the USSR sidestepped the Montreaux limitations by daily parceling beforehand through the Turkish Straits 90 warships of the USSR Black Sea Fleet, which as the Fifth Eskadra challenged NATO's navies and threatened to sink the U.S. Sixth Fleet's two air carriers in wartime. After the end of the Cold War in 1990, the last Soviet submarine left the Mediterranean, and after the collapse of the USSR Russia was allowed free transit through the straits.

TURKMENISTAN, CIS, NATO PARTNER. Landlocked, mountainous Central Asian republic and former state of the Soviet Union (USSR) with an area of 488,100 square kilometers, bordering **Afghanistan**, Iran, **Kazakhstan**, **Uzbekistan**, and the Caspian Sea. The capital is Ashgabat. It has a mixed Turkish multi-ethnic population of 4,865,000 (85 percent Turkmeni, 5 percent Uzbeki, 4 percent Russian, and 6 percent other) of mixed religions (89 percent Muslim, 9 percent Russian Orthodox, and 2 percent other), speaking Turkmen and Russian.

In the wake of Gengis Khan's Mongol Empire, mixed Turkish/Mongol nomadic tribes migrated into and settled Central Asia (Western Turkestan) in the 13th century. They later became Muslim but were rarely united. Western Turkestan was conquered by Czarist **Russia** in the 1700s–1800s and by Turkmenistan in 1865–1885. Russian settlers and deported nationalities came to the area in the 19th and early 20th centuries, with larger influxes in the 1950s–1970s. During the 1920s and 1930s under the USSR, it was split into five related Turkish Central Asian Soviet Republics. During the Cold War (1946–1990), Turkmenistan and neighboring Soviet Central Asian states were the vital logistical rear for the **Red Army** on the long Sino–Russian **front** (1960s–1990), the border with pro-Western Iran (1946–1979), and during the First Afghan War (1979–1989). Turkmenistan's independence on 27 October 1991 and the sudden collapse of the USSR in December 1991 forced many Russians to leave. In the early 1990s the **United States** enforced Turkmen compliance with the U.S.–Soviet 1987 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty** to prevent future **nuclear** proliferation.

An underdeveloped country, 80 percent covered by the Kara-Kum Desert, Turkmenistan has extensive major deposits of petrol, gas, and coal. Soviet defense industries left behind severe pollution, and its main river flowing into the Aral Sea has been diverted for wasteful irrigation, producing a drying lake leached by chemical pesticides. In addition, pollution in the Caspian Sea is rising as a by-product of massive new offshore oil drilling. Turkmenistan's domestic and foreign goals are to develop its vast energy resources and exports to world markets; reduce dependence on Russian oil and gas pipelines; diversify economic growth; combat Islamic **terrorism**; and improve political-military and economic relations with neighboring states and global powers. Turkmenistan's nationalist dictatorship had political-military and economic ties with Russia, joining its **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** in 1992, but also the **United Nations (UN)** and **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**. It is also a **partner** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** through the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** and the **Partnership for Peace**, providing logistical support for the U.S.–NATO Second Afghan War (2001–2002).

“TWO GERMAN STATES WITHIN ONE GERMAN NATION.”
See GERMANY.

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UK–ICELAND–GREENLAND GAP, NATO. *See* REFORGER, NATO.

UKRAINE (UKRAYNA), NATO–EU PARTNER. Republic and former state of the Soviet Union (USSR), the second-largest one in Europe, an area of 603,700 square kilometers, bordering **Belarus**, **Hungary**, **Moldova**, **Poland**, **Romania**, **Russia**, **Slovakia**, and the Black Sea. The capital is Kiev. It has a Slavic, Christian Orthodox population of 47,735,000 (77.8 percent Ukrainian, 17.3 percent Russian, 0.8 percent Moldovan Romanian, 0.6 percent Belorussian, 0.5 percent Crimean Tatar, 0.4 percent Bulgarian, 0.3 percent Polish, 0.3 percent Hungarian, and 2 percent other), speaking Ukrainian and Russian.

Ukraine was the center of the first Russian state, Kievan Rus, which during the 10th and 11th centuries was the largest state in Europe. It was devastated by internecine struggles and genocidal Mongol invasions, and later annexed by more powerful neighbors: Poland–Lithuania until the 1600s and Czarist Russia until 1917. The cultural and religious legacy of Kievan Rus laid the foundation for Ukrainian nationalism, but Ukraine was only briefly independent in 1917–1920, after the end **World War I** (1914–1918), under the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk (1918). The Soviet Union (USSR) reconquered Ukraine in 1920, subjecting it to brutal Soviet rule that engineered two artificial famines (1921–1922 and 1932–1933), in which more than eight million independent, antigovernment farmers were starved. In 1939, Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** signed the Nazi–Soviet Pact with Nazi Germany, agreeing to partition Poland and annex ethnic Ukrainians and lands conquered by Poland in 1921. During **World War II** (1939–1945), Nazi Germany conquered Ukraine during its invasion of Russia in 1941–1944. The USSR took it back in 1944. Between the two occupations, seven to eight million people died. Stalin used Ukraine as a diplomatic pawn to extract from the **Allies** an extra seat at the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945.

During the Cold War (1946–1990), Ukraine was a vital logistical rear for Soviet **forces** occupying Eastern European Communist **satellite** states, supplementing both theater **nuclear forces** and combat troops for a Soviet–**Warsaw Pact** invasion of Western Europe and the **Balkans** against the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Ukraine also hosted the Soviet Black Sea Fleet, poised to attack the **Turkish Straits** and penetrate the Mediterranean to challenge the **U.S. Sixth Fleet**’s regional supremacy. Ukraine was also involved in the first successful NATO–Soviet **disarmament** of **Euromissiles**, under the 1987 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty**. Ukraine became independent on 24 August 1991. In the early 1990s, the **United States** enforced Ukrainian compliance with the INF Treaty and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (1991), which required elimination of all former Soviet strategic nuclear forces left behind after the collapse of the USSR in December 1991.

Ukraine had many Soviet defense industries and test ranges, which left behind severe pollution, radioactive, and toxic **chemical** sites, as well as air and water pollution. Radiation contamination still lingers

in the northeast from the 1986 accident at the civilian Chernobyl nuclear power plant. Since gaining independence, a nationalist Ukraine maintains political-military and economic ties with Russia, although there are intermittent conflicts over dividing the former Soviet Black Sea Fleet and Russian-inhabited Crimea. In 1992, Kiev joined the Russian-led **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**, as well as the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** and NATO's **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)**, and in 1994 it also became a partner of both NATO and the **European Union (EU)**, occasionally seeking to join NATO despite opposition from Russia and the **West**. Ukraine's democratization wilted under the weight of state controls, weak authoritarianism, corruption, and slow political-economic reforms. In 2005, the pro-Russian government was overturned by a pro-Western democratic "Orange" Revolution, but Ukraine remains divided, and political turmoil encouraged by Moscow led to new elections in late 2007, strengthening the reformers. At the April 2008 Bucharest **NATO Summit**, both Russia and most NATO allies openly rejected U.S. President George W. Bush's surprise proposal to make Ukraine and Georgia NATO aspirants, because they dread a Russia–NATO clash and loss of Russia's partnership ties).

UN ANTI-TALIBAN/AL-QAEDA SANCTIONS COMMITTEE.
See EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

UN BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION (BWC, 1972). *See* BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS.

UN CHAPTER VI PEACEKEEPING. *See* UN PEACEKEEPING.

"UN CHAPTER VI-AND-A-HALF PEACEKEEPING." The **United Nations (UN)** Charter does not openly address **UN peacekeeping** missions, which are under UN Chapter VI mandates by either the **UN Secretary-General** or UN Security Council. At times the UN also uses the political-military term "Chapter VI-and-a-Half Peacekeeping" for operations that go beyond traditional **interposition** by lightly armed **neutral UN forces** to separate belligerents after a cease-fire. Only if these fail may the UN engage in major combat peacekeeping, mandated by the Security Council under **UN Chapter VII peace enforcement**.

UN CHAPTER VII PEACE ENFORCEMENT. The **United Nations (UN)** Charter does not specifically address **UN peacekeeping** operations, which are instead mandated either as UN Chapter VI or UN “**Chapter VI-and-a-Half Peacekeeping**” by either the **UN Secretary-General** or UN Security Council. Chapter VII peace enforcement allows all types of UN and UN-sponsored **collective security** military operations or UN peacekeeping, such as the **UN Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)**, or UN-mandated regional coalitions, such as the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in the **Balkans** and **Afghanistan**. UN coalitions fought under **UN Charter, Article 42** in the **Korean War (1950–1953)**, the First Congo Civil War (1961–1964), and the First Gulf War (1990–1991), while large-scale **humanitarian** peacekeeping in hostile areas requires Chapter VII mandates to allow UN peacekeepers to defend themselves.

UN CHARTER, ARTICLE 41. Article 41 authorizes global or limited economic **sanctions** against aggressors or to impose the United Nations’ will on hostile states. Sanctions are voted by a majority of the UN Security Council without a **veto** possible by any of the five permanent powers (the **United States, USSR/Russia, Great Britain, France, and China**).

UN CHARTER, ARTICLE 42. The United Nations’ Article 42 authorizes the international use of **collective security** through UN-mandated military **force** against aggressors. UN Security Council and General Assembly members provide most military **forces** for Article 42 combat, as in the **Korean War (1950–1953)** and First **Gulf War (1990–1991)**. Moreover, during the Cold War (1946–1990), the Security Council’s five permanent **veto** powers (the **United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and China**) were excluded from UN **peacekeeping** missions until the late 1980s, for fear they would aid local belligerents, escalating their confrontations into East–West ones. France’s role in the **UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)** and British **control** of the **UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)** were exceptions. In the 1990s, U.S.–Russian peacekeepers were involved in **Bosnia** (since 1995) and **Kosovo** (since 1998) under the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

UN CONVENTION ON SUPPRESSION OF ACTS OF NUCLEAR TERRORISM. *See* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

UN CONVENTIONS ON TERRORISM. *See* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

UN COUNTER-TERRORISM COMMITTEE. *See* EU COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY.

UN INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL ON THE EX-YUGOSLAVIA (ICTY). *See* ŠREBRENICA; STABILISATION FORCE–BOSNIA (SFOR).

UN “OIL-FOR-FOOD PROGRAM.” *See* OPERATIONS DESERT SHIELD/STORM.

UN PEACEKEEPING. The **United Nations (UN)** Charter of 1945 does not directly address **peacekeeping** operations, which are mandated instead either by the **UN Secretary-General** and/or UN Security Council as Chapter VI peacekeeping under the UN Charter, providing for the “**pacific settlement of disputes**” and separating belligerents after cease-fires. UN peacekeepers maintain among all parties a **neutral** posture during local or UN-sponsored conflict-resolution negotiations. UN **forces** can be used in a limited way through UN “**Chapter VI-and-a-Half Peacekeeping**” or even in major UN combat missions (**Article 42**) through **Chapter VII Peace Enforcement**, such as in the **Korean War** (1950–1953), First Congo Civil War (1961–1964), First **Gulf War** (1990–1991), and Second Afghan War (2001–2002). In the 1960s, Cold War (1946–1990) bipolar rivalry and **veto**s in the Security Council forced the UN to adopt the unwritten rule that neither the superpowers nor their **alliances**, could engage in UN peacekeeping; they could only finance UN operations.

The end of the Cold War in 1990 eliminated the need for this policy, and several Article 42 combat operations were allowed by the superpowers, regional alliances, and individual NATO **allies**, against Iraq in the First Gulf War; in Bosnia in 1995, where U.S.-led NATO **forces** enforced the Dayton Peace Accords with the support of a **Russian peacekeeping** unit; and again in the 1999 Kosovo War, in which U.S.–NATO forces were shadowed by Russian peacekeepers, all un-

der UN mandates. However, all these activities have been by NATO and coalitions working for the UN, not by official UN peacekeepers. The UN has been strongly criticized for its peacekeeping, with reforms implemented only after two key reports were issued: *Panel on United Nations Peace Operations* and *Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda*. See also UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS; UN PROTECTED AREAS; UN "SAFE AREAS"; UN "SAFE HAVENS."

UN "PINK ZONES." See UN PROTECTED AREAS.

UN PROTECTED AREAS (UNPA). After the collapse of **Yugoslavia** in 1991, the **United Nations (UN)** created "protected areas" (UNPA) in **Croatia** for Serb minority **enclaves** in Western Slavonia, Krajina, and Eastern Slavonia, with UN "pink zones" for local mixed populations. However, before the **UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** arrived, local Serbs conquered Krajina's "protected areas" and "pink zones" and **ethnically cleansed** its mixed populations (UN "pink zones"), seceding from **Croatia** to join Bosnian Serb **forces** to create a contiguous ethnic **Greater Serbia**. The Bosnian Serb attacks against also UN "safe areas" and the massacre of Bosnian Muslims in the overrun UN "safe area" of **Šrebrenica** led to air strikes by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and Croatia in 1995, which reconquered Krajina and forced the defeated Serbs to accept the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords and **NATO peacekeeping**.

UN "SAFE AREAS." During the 1992–1995 Bosnian Civil War following the collapse of **Yugoslavia**, the **United Nations (UN)** identified in April 1993 in **Bosnia–Herzegovina** six geographical **enclaves** with Bosnian Muslim majorities as UN "safe areas" to protect them from the surrounding hostile Bosnian Serb **forces**, which used bloody **ethnic cleansing** and systematic rape to eliminate mixed-population areas (UN "pink zones") and create a contiguous ethnic **Greater Serbia**. The six UN "safe areas" were the capital, Sarajevo, Bihać on the northwestern border with **Croatia**, Gorazde, **Šrebrenica**, Tuzla, and Zepa, all in Eastern Bosnia except Bihać. All UN "safe areas" were protected by the lightly armed **UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR)**, and they were constantly shelled by Bosnian Serbs targeting both Bosnian Muslim inhabitants and **UN peacekeepers**. In

1994–1995, a major local Serb offensive conquered some UN “safe areas,” brushing aside UN peacekeepers. The massacre of Šrebrenica’s 6,000 men by victorious Serbs finally prompted massive retaliatory air strikes by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and Croatia, which defeated the Serbs and forced them to accept the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords and **NATO peacekeeping**.

UN “SAFE HAVENS.” In mid-1991, in northern Iraq, the **United Nations (UN)** established “safe havens” from Iraq’s northern border to the 36th parallel to protect local Kurds from repression following their failed revolt against Saddam Hussein’s régime after it was defeated by the U.S.-led UN coalition in the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991). The UN “safe havens” were protected by the **United Nations Guards Contingent in Iraq**, and UN **Humanitarian Centers** provided aid to the hundred of thousands of Kurdish refugees. Saddam’s Iraq was prohibited from using aircraft or helicopters in the **northern “no-fly-zone”** north of the 36th parallel covering the UN “safe havens,” which later became Northern Iraqi Kurdistan. The UN wished to symbolically preserve Iraq’s territorial integrity, so it used the diplomatic term “safe havens” to avoid of the term **enclaves**, which would encourage Kurdish secessionism and upset U.S.-backed neighboring **Turkey** as well as Iran and Syria, who all have significant Kurdish minorities.

UN SECRETARY-GENERAL. *See* UNITED NATIONS.

UN SECURITY COUNCIL (UNSC). *See* UNITED NATIONS.

UN TERRORISM PREVENTION BRANCH. *See* EU COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICY.

UNIFIED AFRICAN ACTION, OAU–AU. The mini-**Summit** of 7 December 1993 in Cairo, Egypt, of 11 members of the **Organization of African Unity (OAU)** forged the OAU Mechanism for Prevention, Management and Settlement of African Disputes. It also issued a declaration of Unified African Action envisaging new OAU regional **peacekeeping** under the **United Nations (UN)** to reverse years of neglect after the **OAU Peacekeeping Force in Chad II** failed in 1982. In 2005, OAU peacekeepers were trained and airlifted

by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to Chad and Darfur in Sudan to stop local **ethnic cleansing**. *See also* AFRICAN UNION; AFRICAN UNION MISSION IN SUDAN.

UNIFIED TASK FORCE (UNITAF), U.S.–COALITION. In December 1992, the **United States** deployed to Somalia the 14-nation U.S.-led Unified Task **Force** (UNITAF) under the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council to assist the follow up **UN Mission in Somalia I (UNOSOM I)**. UNITAF had 37,000 men, made up of 21,000 U.S. soldiers and smaller units from **France, Italy, Morocco, Canada, Saudi Arabia, Belgium, Turkey, Botswana, Egypt, Great Britain, Germany, Kuwait, and New Zealand**. UNITAF was another U.S.-led coalition for rapid intervention in a **crisis** to buttress **UN peacekeeping**, but with independent U.S. **command** from UNOSOM I. UNITAF had to stop Somalia's civil war, protect **humanitarian** food convoys against bandits, seize arms, and secure strategic points.

After local warlord Mohammed Farah Aidid in Mogadishu attacked UNOSOM I, killing 24 Pakistani peacekeepers, UNITAF hunted the Somali leader and captured several of his commanders on 3 October 1993. But the raid degenerated into large-scale urban guerrilla fighting, and the lightly armed UNITAF commandos were pinned down for hours, leaving 18 U.S. soldiers and 1,000 Somali guerrillas dead. Firefights and domestic criticism of casualties led the United States and other coalition states to withdraw their **forces** in early 1994, and UNOSOM I became the **UN Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)**. Somalia confirmed the U.S. military's intention not to be subordinated to a UN command during peacekeeping missions, as well as the need for total U.S. **control** through U.S.-led coalitions or the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, always with heavy weaponry. These lessons influenced the timing and style of U.S. military intervention with NATO in **Bosnia** and **Kosovo** after 1995.

“UNILATERALISM”, U.S. *See* CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS; “QUAD.”

UNITED KINGDOM (UK). *See* GREAT BRITAIN.

UNITED NATIONS (UN). A universal international organization of more than 190 sovereign states, with global objectives. Its main goals

are to support international peace and security, equality, and self-determination/decolonization; friendly relations among states; and international cooperation on economic, social, cultural, and **humanitarian** issues, including human rights. The UN was established at the San Francisco Conference in May 1945 by the 50 countries that had officially sided with the **United States** and **Great Britain** during **World War II**. The **Atlantic Charter** (1941) had proclaimed a democratic **front** against the **Axis** and new international rules of conduct based on international law, peaceful cooperation, the Four Freedoms (from fear, from want, of religion, and of expression), national sovereignty, and self-determination. These declarations were strengthened in 1942 by new principles and the **alliance** against the Axis to pool Allied resources on common security. Both the Atlantic Charter and alliance against the Axis were institutionalized in the postwar as the UN international organization, to replace the defunct **League of Nations** and seek **collective security**. The UN has six main bodies: Secretariat, Security Council, General Assembly, International Court of Justice, Trusteeship Council, and Economic and Social Council. It has also set up a network of international specialized agencies. The **UN Secretary-General** heads the Secretariat and is the UN's administrative organ. The Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly, at the recommendation of the Security Council, to one or two five-year terms (the Secretary-General since 2007 is Ban-Ki moon). The Secretariat has a staff of 8,900 persons under the regular UN budget, drawn from 170 countries, with headquarters in New York and subsidiary offices in Geneva, Nairobi, and Vienna. The Secretariat's duties are varied and include administering UN programs, **peacekeeping**, mediating international disputes, monitoring economic and social trends, protecting human rights, holding international conferences, engaging in public diplomacy, and promoting Third World economic development.

The UN Security Council is the main UN body, with primary responsibility under the UN Charter to preserve international peace and security through the collective support of all UN members. When a complaint is brought to the Security Council, its first action is to recommend that the parties reach agreement by peaceful means. Sometimes the Security Council itself provides mediation, always seeking to end conflicts immediately by negotiations, or it may send UN peacekeepers to reduce tensions and separate opposing **forces**. The

Security Council may even impose **UN Chapter VII peace enforcement** measures, economic **sanctions (UN Charter, Article 41)**, or collective military action (**UN Charter, Article 42**).

The Security Council has 15 members: 5 permanent members (**China, France**, Great Britain, **Russia**, and the United States) and 10 elected biannually by the General Assembly on the basis of geographic regions, each with one vote. Decisions on procedural matters require majority voting by at least 9 members; decisions on substantive and security issues also require 9 votes, including from all 5 permanent members. If a permanent member casts a **veto**, that alone can block any majority vote, and all five permanent members have exercised this right in the past. Abstention from voting does not constitute a veto, even if that permanent member disagrees with Security Council decisions. The UN Security Council mandates peacekeeping operations, and the controversial “**Uniting for Peace Resolution**,” first applied in the **Korean War** (1950–1953), allows peacekeeping operations to be shifted to the UN General Assembly if the Security Council is deadlocked by a veto. The General Assembly funds peacekeeping on a percentage basis from members based on their economy, with extra budgets from peacekeeping states.

The UN General Assembly is the second principal UN body, in which all 190 UN member states are represented, with one vote each. Decisions on such key issues as international peace and security, **nuclear disarmament**, decolonization, new members, and budget are decided by a two-thirds majority. Other matters are decided by a simple majority, although over the years most decisions have been reached through consensus, rather than by a formal vote. The General Assembly cannot impose actions on any state, but its recommendations are an important indication of world opinion. The General Assembly holds an annual session from September to December, and when necessary special or emergency sessions are called by the Security Council or a majority of members. Regular sessions debate international issues through six committees: Disarmament and International Security Committee; Economic and Financial Committee; Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee; Special Political and Decolonization Committee; Administrative and Budget Committee; and Legal Committee. Various other committees also report to the UN General Assembly on implementation of UN-sponsored international accords, including Committee on Elimination of Racial

Discrimination, Human Rights Committee, Committee on Economic, Social-Cultural Rights, Committee on Elimination of Discrimination on Women, and Committee on Torture.

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is the third main organ of the UN, located at The Hague, **Netherlands**, where it applies international law to legal disputes and issues legal advisory opinions. It has 15 judges, elected for nine years by the UN General Assembly and Security Council.

The UN Trusteeship Council supervised trust territories (former League of Nations **mandates**) and promoted their self-government and independence, until the decolonization and independence of all former colonies marginalized the Trusteeship Council, which now handles **Kosovo** and East Timor as modern **administered**.

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) coordinates the work of 14 UN specialized agencies, 10 functional commissions, and 5 regional commissions. ECOSOC promotes development; employment; socioeconomic, social, and health issues; international cultural and educational cooperation; universal human rights; and since 1998 humanitarian issues. ECOSOC's five regional commissions promote economic development in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Europe, Latin America, and Western Asia. ECOSOC also consults nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Its 54 members are elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms. Functional commissions include Commission on Human Rights, Commission on Women, Commission on Narcotics Drugs, Commission on Crime-Prevention and Criminal Justice, and Commission on Sustainable Development. The UN also coordinates specialized agencies, as independent international organizations with near-universal membership, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) in Geneva.

UNITED NATIONS ALLIANCE AGAINST THE AXIS (1942). *See* ATLANTIC COMMON VALUES.

UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION IN SIERRA LEONE (UNAMSIL). On 22 October 1999, the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council mandated the UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) to help the Economic Community of West African

States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) disarm combatants and retrain Sierra Leone's military. When ECOMOG peacekeepers left Sierra Leone, a follow-up international military **peacekeeping force** was mandated by the UN in late 1999 as UNAMSIL, with 6,000 troops from 31 countries, including a rare appearance of China, to disarm and demobilize guerrillas, monitor the cease-fire, deliver **humanitarian** aid, support elections, and assist the police. By April 2003, there were 14,804 military personnel and 306 civilians assigned to UNAMSIL, which suffered 108 fatalities. However, UNAMISIL could not stop the violence, and in 2000, 500 UN Indian peacekeepers were captured by the guerrillas, which prompted the deployment of a small military **force** from **Great Britain**, the former colonial power in Sierra Leone, as **nation-cadre/leader** outside UNAMSIL. British forces soon stopped the fighting. This rapid combat operation by a member of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** marginalized UN "traditional peacekeeping" and launched smaller U.S.–British–coalition peacekeeping outside UN controls, such as in the Second Afghan War (2001–2002) and **Second Gulf War** (2003).

UNITED NATIONS CONFIDENCE RESTORATION MISSION IN CROATIA (UNCRO). In the 1980s, **Yugoslavia's** various ethnic groups splintered over the failing federal economy and the rise of rival ethnic-nationalist aspirations for a Greater Serbia and the June 1991 independence of **Croatia** and **Slovenia** from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia. Local Serb minorities seceded and fighting erupted. The **European Community/Union (EU)** could not halt the civil war, which forced the **United Nations (UN)** to intervene in September 1991, followed by the **UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** in February 1992, which was deployed with the support by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. However, hostilities continued to spread. **Bosnia** and **Macedonia** became independent, and ethnic repression increased in **Kosovo**. The UN Security Council replaced UNPROFOR in Croatia with UNCRO on 31 March 1995, involving 6,775 military personnel, 296 police, and an international and local staff. UNCRO was to be deployed in Serb-controlled Western Slavonia, Krajina, and Eastern Slavonia, but the Serbs kept it out of Western Slavonia and Krajina until Croatia reconquered them in summer 1995, after NATO's air strikes forced the Serbs to accept the 1995

Dayton Peace Accords. Sixteen UNCRO members died in 1995. The area was reintegrated into Croatia and UNCRO was replaced by the **UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Sirmium (UNTAES)**.

UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE I (UNEF I). The 1954 military coup in Egypt by Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser and his nationalist revolutionary pan-Arab rhetoric sparked increasing tensions with the **West** and Israel, especially after he nationalized Western properties in 1954 and the Suez Canal in 1956. He also supported guerrilla raids by the Palestinians against Israel and by Algerian insurgents against French Algeria. In 1956, **Great Britain, France,** and Israel attacked Egypt (the **Suez Canal War**). Israel conquered the **Sinai** and the Anglo–French **forces** reoccupied the Suez Canal. The **United Nations (UN)** Security Council was blocked by Anglo–French **veto**s, so the General Assembly intervened under the 1950 “**Uniting for Peace Resolution**,” and the **United States** also put immense pressure on its **allies**, forcing them to withdraw from Egypt. Lester Pearson of **Canada** promoted creating a new **neutral UN peacekeeping** “**interposition** force” or “traditional”/first generation peacekeeping, which would oversee the cease-fire and military withdrawals from the Suez Canal and Sinai. UNEF I absorbed the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) and deployed to the Sinai based on a status-of-forces agreement (SOFA) with Egypt. Great Britain and France were denied membership in UNEF I, formed by units from small, “neutral,” and Third World states—Brazil, Canada, Colombia, **Denmark, Finland,** India, Indonesia, **Norway, Sweden,** and **Yugoslavia**—although the UN and **Nordic** states overcame Egypt’s opposition to including Western allies of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**.

UNEF I had 6,073 military peacekeepers and international and civilian staff, including a company stationed in the town of Sharm el-Sheikh to ensure Israeli passage through the Strait of Tiran, performing daily static observation duties along the armistice line and patrols at night. British and French forces evacuated by late 1956, and Israeli forces withdrew in stages from the Sinai and Gaza Strip by March 1957. UNEF I moved into the Gaza Strip and along the 1949 **armistice demarcation line** as an interposition force, only on the

Egyptian side of the frontier, because Israel refused to let in any UN peacekeepers. UNEF I peacekeeping was deemed successful despite 92 UNEF members dying between November 1956 and May 1967, when President Nasser forced it to leave and remilitarized the Sinai. Nasser increased tensions with Israel by threatening attacks through a pan-Arab coalition with Jordan and Syria. The Six-Day War (June 1967) erupted during the departure of UNEF peacekeepers, 15 of whom were killed. Israel's preemptive surprise attack conquered Gaza, Sinai, the Straits of Tiran, and the Suez Canal, which Israel held until 1980, plus the Golan Heights, West Bank, and East Jerusalem. The pro-Egyptian Soviet Union (USSR) refused to help finance UNEF and later UN operations.

UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE II (UNEF II). After the **Suez Canal War** (1956), the Soviet Union developed stronger ties with Egypt and Syria, turning them into client states and helping them with **arms sales** and 20,000 “advisors.” During the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur in October 1973, Egypt and Syria launched a **joint** surprise attack on Israel, conquering the Suez Canal, only to be again defeated by Israel. The threat of Soviet military intervention led **United Nations (UN) Secretary-General** Kurt Waldheim to establish UNEF II to supervise the cease-fire between the Egyptians and Israelis, oversee from the front lines the redeployment of Egyptian and Israeli military forces, and man the **neutral buffer zone** between the two states as Israel returned territory in the **Sinai** to Egypt by 1980. UNEF II immediately received core personnel from UNTSO, plus units from the **UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)**, to separate the Egyptians and Israelis. The UN deployed 7,000 soldiers under UNEF II and sent more troops from Ghana, Indonesia, Nepal, Panama, Perù, **Canada, Ireland**, and Senegal. The USSR opposed Canada, as member of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, but relented when **Poland**, a **Warsaw Pact** state, was included. UNEF II units became the core of the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in June 1974. It manned the moving buffer zone between belligerents, suffering 55 dead between 1973 and 1979. The Camp David Peace Accord, negotiated by the **United States**, was signed in March 1979, but the USSR, Palestinians, and Arab states opposed UNEF II extending its duties to the Sinai, which was

instead supervised by the new U.S.-led Western peacekeeping organization **Multinational Force and Observers (MFO)** outside the UN. UNEF II was concluded in 1979.

UNITED NATIONS GOOD OFFICES IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN (UNGOMAP). When the Soviet Union (USSR) invaded **Afghanistan** on 27 December 1979, the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council was blocked from taking action by a Soviet **veto**, forcing the UN General Assembly, under the 1950 “**Uniting for Peace Resolution**,” to uselessly condemn the invasion and demand a withdrawal. On 14 April 1988, a peace accord was signed that led to the withdrawal of Soviet **forces** by 1989 and the return of millions of refugees, while 50 UN peacekeepers from 10 states, under UNGOMAP, patrolled the Afghani–Pakistani border until its mandate expired.

UNITED NATIONS GUARDS CONTINGENT IN IRAQ (UNGCI). After the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991), the **United States** and coalition **forces** reluctantly protected the Kurds of North Iraq from Saddam Hussein’s repression after their 1991 revolt collapsed. The **United Nations (UN)** replaced the coalition in May–July 1991 with the 500-man, UNGCI in Iraq, drawn from 35 states, to protect UN **Humanitarian** Centers aiding the Kurds. *See also* OPERATION POISED HAMMER; OPERATION PROVIDE COMFORT.

UNITED NATIONS INTERIM ADMINISTRATION IN KOSOVO (UNMIK). The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** deployed its **Kosovo Implementation Forcer (KFOR)** in 1999, implementing earlier **United Nations (UN)** Security Council Resolutions to protect ethnic Albanians from Serb repression within **Yugoslavia**, while defeating their army. The UN overcame internal differences when both China and **Russia** threatened to exercise their **veto** to prevent UN intervention in civil wars. Under KFOR’s protection, UNMIK promotes self-government, **humanitarian** relief, law and order, human rights, and safe return of all refugees. Twenty UNMIK personnel died between 1999 and 2007.

UNITED NATIONS INTERIM FORCE IN LEBANON (UNIFIL). Traditional multi-ethnic and multi-religious (Christian Maronites,

Christian Orthodox, Catholics, Muslim Sunnis, Muslim Shia, Muslim Druze) coexistence in southern Lebanon was shattered by rivalries to control state powers and the growth of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as a “state within a state.” These conflicts precipitated Lebanon’s Civil War (1975–1989), which was aggravated by Syria’s attempts through 2004 to subjugate Lebanon and militarily occupy half of it. Despite the **Arab League’s** Arab Deterrent Force, the civil war continued, until Israel invaded Lebanon in March 1978 in retaliation for PLO attacks on civilians. The Israeli **forces** quickly occupied all of Lebanon south of the Litani River, except for the city of Tyre.

A U.S.-led **United Nations (UN)** Security Council Resolution called for withdrawing Israeli forces and establishing UNIFIL as a temporary mission to restore peace and help the Lebanese government assert its authority. Peacekeepers of the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) initially assisted UNIFIL. UNIFIL forces reached 7,000 peacekeepers, declining to 2,000 by the early 2000s, while peacekeeper units rotated frequently after 1978, involving troops from Fiji, **Finland**, **France**, Ghana, Iran, **Ireland**, **Italy**, Nepal, the **Netherlands**, Nigeria, **Norway**, Senegal, and **Sweden**. But UNIFIL was the longest and most ineffectual **UN peacekeeping** mission, because **UN rules of engagement** prevented it from firing back when attacked by guerrillas. Between March 1978 and April 2003, 256 UNIFIL troops were killed in the crossfire between Israel, PLO, Hezbollah, and Christian militias, primarily in Muslim guerrilla ambushes, forcing UNIFIL to deploy a rapid-response combat **force mobile reserve (FMR)**.

Renewed hostilities in Lebanon between 1980 and 1986 followed PLO attacks. Israel rapidly invaded and conquered half of the country, destroying all PLO **bases** and supporting local Christian Falangists in the Lebanese Civil War (1975–1988) against PLO–Syrian–Sunni combined forces. By then UNIFIL was seen as irrelevant, just like the Arab Defense Force, so between August 1982 and 1984 the United States, **France**, **Italy**, and **Great Britain** fielded the **Multinational Forces I and II (MNF I and II)** ad hoc Western land and naval peacekeeping coalitions to evacuate the encircled PLO and try to stabilize the country. In 1984, the MNF left Lebanon after suffering a series of suicide truck attacks, probably launched by the

Iranian-supported Shia Hezbollah guerrillas. Israel also evacuated most of the country, retrenching in southern Lebanon to a 20-mile-deep Israeli-Christian militia **buffer zone** north of Israel's border until Israel's unilateral withdrawal in the early 2000s, only to find the Hezbollah militias filtering in and striking at Israel. In July–August 2006, after Hezbollah attacks across the border, Israel started a one-month air war, destroying Lebanese infrastructure, while its soldiers destroyed Hezbollah **bases** in southern Lebanon. Hezbollah launched 700 missiles against Israel. An international **summit** in Rome, Italy, proposed a **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** or **European Union (EU)** peacekeeper **force** to replace Israel and Hezbollah in South Lebanon. But the **United States**, **Great Britain**, and **Germany** refused to send their troops, undermining any EU or **NATO peacekeeping**, despite Italy's and France's offers of 3,000 and 2,000 men each. The UN Security Council then boosted UNIFIL from 2,000 to 15,000 peacekeepers by September.

UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL POLICE TASK FORCE (IPTF). The **United Nations (UN)** created the IPTF in 1996, under the **UN Mission in Bosnia–Herzegovina (UNMIBH)**, with 1,500 officers serving between 1996 and 2007 to help with police reforms. In January 2003, IPTF was replaced by the **European Union Police Mission (EUPM)**.

UNITED NATIONS IRAN–IRAQ MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP (UNIIMOG). The **United Nations (UN)** was unable to stop the Iran–Iraq War (1980–1988) and its “War on Cities,” in which both nations launched **intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs)** with **chemical weapons of mass destruction (WMD)** against each other's urban areas. In 1984, the UN sent six military observers from the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) to oversee in both states an end to WMD attacks on urban centers. This became another “traditional **peacekeeping**” mission, UNIIMOG, with 400 military observers and international and local civilian staff to supervise the cease-fire of July 1988 and exchange prisoners. By the end of 1990, the cease-fire line had developed into a one-kilometer **neutral** zone. During the First **Gulf War** (1990–1991), all UNIIMOG personnel in Baghdad were moved to Iran, where they were harassed by Tehran, and UNIIMOG left in February 1991.

UNITED NATIONS IRAQ–KUWAIT OBSERVATION MISSION (UNIKOM). After the end of the First **Gulf War** in 1991, the **United Nations (UN)** deployed UNIKOM to monitor the Iraqi–Kuwaiti border and deter violations along its **demilitarized zone (DMZ)**, which extended 10 kilometers into Iraq and 5 kilometers into Kuwait. The two states, not the UN, patrolled their own part of the DMZ and were responsible for **humanitarian** relief there. The UN briefly **attached** six infantry companies from the **UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)** and **UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)** to establish the DMZ in April 1991, divided into three sectors, each with headquarters and six observation posts. The five UN Security Council permanent powers (China, **France**, **Great Britain**, **Russia**, and the **United States**) provided 20 unarmed military observers each for the operation, but replaced them with 750 **peacekeepers** after Iraqi incursions along the border with Kuwait. In July 2002, UNIKOM had 1,103 military personnel (905 soldiers and 198 military observers) and 222 international and local staff members from 32 states. Seventeen peacekeepers died between 1991 and 2003. On 17 March 2003, the UN withdrew UNIKOM because of the U.S.-led coalition attack on Iraq in the **Second Gulf War**.

UNITED NATIONS MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE. Created in 1946 under Article 47 of the **United Nations (UN) Charter**, the **UN Military Staff Committee** consists of the Chiefs of Staff of the UN Security Council’s five permanent members (**France**, **Great Britain**, China, **USSR/Russia**, and the **United States**), who advise the UN Security Council on **UN peacekeeping** missions. During the Cold War, the UN Military Staff Committee was paralyzed and is still ineffective in the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present).

UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN BOSNIA–HERZEGOVINA (UNMIBH). On 21 December 1995, the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council created the UNMIBH to support the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR)**, deployed to enforce the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords. UNMIBH worked closely with IFOR and its successor, the **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)**, to coordinate **humanitarian** relief, perform demining operations, protect human rights, oversee elections,

rehabilitate infrastructures, and monitor law enforcement and training through the **United Nations International Police Task Force (IPTF)**, which was also part of UNMIBH. In July 2002, UNMIBH had 1,550 police, 3 military liaison officers, and 1,800 international and local civilian personnel from 43 countries. Eleven UNMIBH members died between December 1995 and December 2002.

UNMIBH was financed by special assessment, but on July 2002 the **United States** temporarily vetoed UNMIBH's extension, to punish the UN for the refusal by the **International Criminal Court (ICC)** to exempt U.S. peacekeepers from potential wrongful prosecutions on political grounds. UNMIBH's mandate was extended one last time when a UN compromise on 12 July 2002 allowed a one-year ICC moratorium for all peacekeepers. The **European Union Police Mission (EUPM)** replaced UNMIBH and IPTF on 1 January 2003.

UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN CONGO (MONUC, 1 September 2003–present). Between the mid-1990s and early 2000s, Zaire changed its name back to Democratic Republic of Congo during its Second and Third Congo Civil Wars (1990s). The first war deposed dictator Sese Sek. Mobutu and destroyed ex-Rwandan Hutu *Inter-awane* militias, displaced by Hutu refugees in Eastern Congo after the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Once Rwanda, Uganda, and Congolese rebels won, their local **allies** in power turned against them, unleashing a longer, broader conflict involving military **forces** from 10 African states, with Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe aiding the Congo against internal groups allied with Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi.

The Lusaka Agreement of 10 July 1999 was backed by the **United Nations in Congo (MONUC)** peacekeepers of MONUC on August 1999, whose **force** expanded from 90 to 500, then to 5,500/4,300 men **UN peacekeepers** (with 13 fatalities). However, renewed carnage and **ethnic cleansing** in northeast Congo forced the UN to appeal directly to **France** to organize a second international force to restore order, prevent a “second Rwanda,” and assist MONUC in clearing land mines and administering **humanitarian** aid. France, as **nation-cadre/leader**, launched Operation Mamba (June 2003) to secure the ground and deployed a French-led second small **European Union (EU)** peacekeeping force under **Operation Artémis** (12 June–8 September 2003), before turning **control** over to MONUC in 2006.

UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE/IVORY COAST (ONUCI, 2003–present). In September 2002, governmental authority in the once-prosperous Francophone West African country of Côte d'Ivoire/Ivory Coast collapsed, and Muslim soldiers in the north mutinied, seizing the Muslim northern half of the country. **France**, as **nation-cadre/leader**, sent a 4,500-strong **peacekeeping force** under **Operation Licorne** (September 2002–March 2003) to its former colony to impose a cease-fire. The Ivorian rebel **forces** had seized upon the Muslim population's long-standing grievances against the Catholic-controlled government of the south to unleash local **ethnic cleansing**. **French peacekeepers** and the **United Nations (UN)** stopped the rebels from seizing the capital. French forces, with troops from **Great Britain**, Nigeria, and the **United States**, evacuated Western foreigners and locals from rebel areas, then departed.

French peacekeepers were joined in January–February 2003 by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Peacekeeping Force in Côte d'Ivoire (ECOFORCE/MICECI), with 1,200–1,550 men (half from Senegal, plus Benin, Ghana, Niger, and Togo) armed by the **West**. But because the ECOFORCE/MICECI peacekeepers balked at fielding troops without a cease-fire, they were deployed to the central **neutral buffer zone** with French soldiers. In April 2003 ONUCI sent a UN force of 6,240 men from 34 countries (2,550 men from Bangladesh, plus Ghana, Morocco, Niger, and Pakistan). ONUCI's total of 10,740 peacekeepers include the autonomous 4,500 French former "Licorne" forces, remaining as an autonomous **rapid-reaction force** to separate the government and rebels, train government troops, disarm combatants, prepare elections, and implement the fragile Linas–Marcoussis Accord on national reconciliation.

ONUCI is deployed along the central east–west neutral buffer zone, with headquarters in the capital, Abidjan, and two peacekeeping sectors: a Western Sector (2,550 Bangladeshi troops at Daloa) and an Eastern Sector (ECOFORCE/MICECI's 1,550 men at Bouaké), plus 200 additional French troops in ONUCI. France's Operation Licorne also developed the new nation-cadre/leader role for future **European Union (EU) peacekeeping** missions in Africa (Côte d'Ivoire, Congo) as training for more dangerous missions to replace the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in the

Balkans with the **European Force–Macedonia (EURFOR)** in 2003 and **European Force–Bosnia (EUFOR)** in December 2004.

UNITED NATIONS MISSION OF OBSERVERS IN PREVLAKA-CROATIA (UNMOP). Between 31 March 1995 and 15 January 1996, the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council sent the **UN Confidence Restoration Mission in Croatia (UNCRO)** to replace the **UN Protection Force in Croatia (UNPROFOR)**, and continued with UNMOP on 1 February 1996, with 27 military observers and 12 international/local civilians from 22 states, including **Switzerland**, to demilitarize Croatia's Prevlaka peninsula and neighboring areas. UNMOP closely coordinated security with the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** and was funded by the **UN Mission in Bosnia–Herzegovina (UNMIBH)**. UNMOP was terminated on 15 December 2002 and UNMIBH on 31 December 2002, when the **European Union Police Mission** replaced it.

UNITED NATIONS MISSION OF OBSERVERS IN TAJIKISTAN (UNMOT). On 24 September 1993, the **Russian-led Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** mandated the CIS Collective Peacekeeping Force to support the **United Nations (UN)** cease-fire agreement of September 1994 among belligerents in **Tajikistan**. On 14 December 1994, UNMOT arrived to monitor the cease-fire on **Afghanistan's** border; liaise with CIS peacekeepers and the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Mission to Tajikistan**; and disarm opposition fighters, whose renewed offensive in July 1996 ended in a December 1996 cease-fire and peace accord on 27 June 1997. UNMOT peacekeepers increased from 45 to 81 military observers from 15 countries; seven died between 1994 and 2000. Although Tajikistan's elections in spring 2000 were criticized by the UN–OSCE Joint Electoral Observation Mission as not meeting standards, UNMOT operations ended on 15 May 2000.

UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN GEORGIA (UNOMIG). The **United Nations (UN)** Security Council created UNOMIG on 24 August 1993, with 116 military observers and 96 international civilians to monitor the 27 July 1993 truce between **Georgia** and its secessionist province of **Abkhazia**. After fighting resumed on

16 September, UNOMIG also had to maintain contacts with the belligerents and **Russian-led Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** Peacekeeping Forces in Georgia. Fighting continued on and off between 1993 and 2006, including against UNOMIG patrols. A UNOMIG helicopter was shot down, seven peacekeepers were killed, and others were abducted. *See also* EURO-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP COUNCIL; PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE.

UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN CONGO (ONUC, 1960). The former Belgian Congo (Zaire between the 1970s and 1995, currently Democratic Republic of Congo) became independent in 1960, but with only six months of preparation, and with **Belgium** maintaining a major economic and military presence in Congo. On 5 July 1960, Congolese soldiers mutinied, sparking attacks on European civilians, and both Belgium and the **United Nations (UN)** pressed Premier Patrice Lumumba to request their military assistance. Lumumba refused and attempted to Africanize the military, until the Belgians intervened unilaterally, followed by the UN to assist the Congolese government with a temporary **peacekeeping** force, the UN Force in Congo, later known as ONUC. **UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld** (1953–1961) organized ONUC as a mixed international peacekeeping force with 4,000 peacekeepers from African states (Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Morocco, and Tunisia) and the same number from non-African contingents (**Ireland, Italy, Great Britain**, India, and a Latin American state), as well as a **Swedish** battalion from the **UN Emergency Force I (UNEF I)**, to replace the Belgian military throughout Congo, except in secessionist Katanga province. The Congolese government collapsed, and pro-Soviet Lumumba was assassinated by political rivals in January 1961. In protest, several states withdrew their contingents from ONUC, while the Soviet Union (USSR) demanded Hammarskjöld's resignation. Congo plunged into civil war. Having suffered casualties in the civil war, the UN peacekeepers launched a limited offensive in Katanga in April 1961. Further attacks on ONUC occurred at Port Francqui, Kindu, Niemb, and Elisabethville, but Katanga's secession from Congo was defeated by January 1963. The UN reduced ONUC to 6,535 peacekeepers in December 1963, and ONUC had only 3,297 men when it ended on 30 June 1964.

UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN SOMALIA I and II (UNOSOM I and II). Somalia, a country divided into many clans, erupted in civil war and anarchy when President Siad Barre was removed in January 1991. The consequent spiraling starvation and malnourishment in Somalia were compounded by the inability of **humanitarian** nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to curb the death rate because 40 percent of all food aid was hijacked by Somali factions. On 21 April 1992, the **United Nations (UN)** organized UNOSOM I, and **UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali** (1992–1996) criticized the **West** for ignoring Africa, compared to transatlantic concern for European **crises**, such as the end of the Cold War and the civil war in **Yugoslavia**. UNOSOM I was created in August–September 1992, with 3,000 peacekeepers established in four zones in the country to stop hostilities, promote political reconciliation, and protect humanitarian aid, with visible patrols in the capital, Mogadishu, and peacekeepers escorting humanitarian aid convoys to distribution points. However, UNOSOM never had more than 715 men, due to harassment by Somali factions and the inability to deploy more peacekeepers, forcing the deployment of the U.S.-led **Unified Task Force (UNITAF)** to Somalia in December 1992.

Following a temporary political stabilization in Somalia by UNITAF, on 24 April 1992 the UN mandated UNOSOM II, with up to 28,000 peacekeepers from 33 states to replace UNOSOM I on 4 May 1993, monitor the cease-fire, escort humanitarian aid deliveries, and gradually replace UNITAF. UNOSOM II marks the debut of armed peacekeepers from **Germany** and South Korea, and also had a quick-reaction force (QRF) of 1,167 U.S. soldiers, although this unit was never officially part of UNOSOM II. Indeed, the United States refused to merge the **commands** of its UNITAF and QRF to serve under a **force commander** from an African, Asian, or Latin American Third World state lacking **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** experience. UNOSOM II and UNITAF suffered 143 deaths between March 1993 and March 1995 in several clashes with the forces of Mohammed Farah Aidid within Mogadishu: 24 Pakistani peacekeepers died in an ambush on 5 June 1993; 18 U.S. soldiers died in battle while attempting to capture Aidid and wiped out almost a thousand of his militia on 3 October 1993; and there were 69 UNOSOM II deaths and 200 wounded in May–October 1993. The

controversy over casualties led most Western states to withdraw from UNOSOM II in late 1993 and early 1994, cutting UNOSOM II to 20,000 personnel, mostly from Egypt, India, and Pakistan (15,000 men), with other contingents from Bangladesh, Botswana, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe. The Somalis' continued ambushes of UN peacekeeper convoys and another 130 UN deaths in 1994 prompted the Security Council to withdraw UNOSOM II on 31 March 1995, leaving the country in anarchy.

UNITED NATIONS PEACE FORCES (UNPF). The **United Nations (UN)** Security Council disbanded its **United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** peacekeeping operation in the former Yugoslavia on 31 March 1995, replacing it with the independent **UN Confidence Restoration Mission in Croatia (UNCRO)**, **United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** in **Bosnia**, and **UN Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP)**. These 57,370 UN peacekeepers, plus international and local civilian staff, were now supervised by UNPF in Zagreb, Croatia, which was primarily a headquarters element and not a separate peacekeeping mission. UNPF and most UN peacekeepers were withdrawn on 31 January 1996, and replaced by **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** peacekeepers in Bosnia to implement the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords. Nine UNPF staff died between 1995 and 1996.

UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN CYPRUS (UNFICYP). One of the three longest lasting **United Nations (UN)** peacekeeping operations, deployed to stop a civil war in Cyprus, a former colony of **Great Britain**, independent since 16 August 1960. Cyprus's population was 80 percent Greek and 18 percent Turkish, and it had close relations with both **Greece** and **Turkey**. In late 1963, President Archbishop Makarios sought to amend the Constitution to reduce the influence of the Turkish Cypriots, but violent civil disturbances ensued, drawing out Turkish forces stationed in Cyprus under the Treaty of Guarantee, who joined the Turkish Cypriot protesters on 24 December 1963. Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey imposed a cease-fire and a Cyprus peacekeeping mission, with soldiers of all three states patrolling a neutral zone (the Green Line being manned almost exclusively by British troops) between Turkish and Greek

Cypriots in the capital, Nicosia. As the situation in Cyprus deteriorated, the UN Security Council established UNFICYP on 4 March 1964, to function on a three-month rotating basis with contingents from Australia, **Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland**, Great Britain, **Ireland**, New Zealand, and **Sweden**.

UNFICYP is the first **UN peacekeeping** mission to which a permanent UN Security Council **veto** member, Great Britain, contributed a large military **force**, compared to the practice during the **Cold War** of routinely excluding permanent members due to the political rivalries between the U.S.-led **West** and the Soviet bloc. The belligerents did not trust the British contingent of UNFICYP, and anti-British feelings extended to the other contingents of the operation. As a result, British peacekeepers were reduced on Cyprus. UNFICYP personnel were deployed to match the administrative divisions of the island between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, and in districts where ethnic conflict seemed likely. The UN's UNFICYP Civilian Police (UNCIVPOL) conducted **joint** patrols with the Cyprus police. A UN agreement removed Greece's troops from Cyprus, and UNFICYP reached 6,411 peacekeepers in June 1964. Several peacekeepers were killed during ethnic conflicts through late December 1964. Fighting was renewed in November 1967.

On 15 July 1974, the Cyprus National Guard deposed the Makarios government and sought *Enosis* (unity) with Greece. Turkey responded with large-scale military operations in northern Cyprus and landed troops on the island on 20 July. In turn, the UN reinforced UNFICYP, and with Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey established a **neutral** security zone around the Northern Cyprus Turkish **enclave** (later a self-proclaimed state), with UNFICYP peacekeepers the only personnel authorized to enter. UNFICYP also provides security to mixed villages of both Greek and Turkish civilians. Since 1974, UNFICYP has observed the cease-fire and a seven-kilometer, east–west neutral **buffer zone**. It is the first UN peacekeeping mission to establish a rapid mobile **force** for **crisis** situations. In April 2003, UNFICYP had 1,373 military and 44 international civilian personnel from 14 countries. UNFICYP police are from Australia and Ireland. Because Cyprus is seen as a dispute between two **allies** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, **Warsaw Pact** states were always excluded. Between 2000 and 2006 Greek Cyprus made great

economic strides, whereas the Turkish side suffered economic demise. Cyprus sought to enter the **European Union (EU)** under Greece's sponsorship, and further negotiations were begun to create an island-wide federation, against the traditional opposition of the Turkish Cypriots to any normalization, in response to recent interest on the part of Turkey in joining the EU by 2015. However, the unity referendum was turned down by the Greek Cypriots, who joined the EU alone in 2002–2004.

UNITED NATIONS POLICE SUPPORT GROUP (UNPSG). The **United Nations (UN)** Security Council authorized the UNPSG on 19 December 1997, with 114/180 policemen from 19 states under the **UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Sirmium (UNTAES)**, to monitor **Croatia's** police in the Danube region concerning returning displaced Serbs. UNPSG fielded three mobile patrols and observed the Croatian police at 14 stations, while struggling to increase the number of ethnic Serb police officers in the area. Once it was assured that Croatia was following international standards, the UN phased out UNPSG on 15 October 1998, turning over police monitoring to the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** Mission to Croatia.

UNITED NATIONS PREVENTIVE DEPLOYMENT FORCE (UNPREDEP). In 1992, the **United Nations (UN)** created the **UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** to provide security and monitor the **Yugoslav** civil wars. On 4 October 1993 it was reorganized into a **force commander** and headquarters in Zagreb, **Croatia**, with three subordinate operations under it: **UNPROFOR–Croatia**, **UNPROFOR–Bosnia**, and **UNRPOFOR–Macedonia**. UNPROFOR–Macedonia had 700 personnel, 35 military observers, and 26 police from **Finland**, **Norway**, the **United States**, and **Sweden**. On 31 March 1995, the new UNPREDEP replaced UNPROFOR–Macedonia. Both UN missions in Macedonia were a unique type of **peace-keeping**, a **deterrent force** in areas still at peace to prevent violence, while monitoring the 420-kilometer border between Macedonia, **Yugoslavia**, and **Albania**, which also provided **humanitarian** aid. The **UN Peace Force (UNPF)** headquarters in Zagreb, Croatia, is the administrative logistics center for UNPREDEP, **UNPROFOR–Bosnia**,

and **UN Confidence Restoration Mission in Croatia (UNCRO)**. In 1998 UNPREDEP grew to 1,050 military observers and 26 police from 27 states for the impending **Kosovo War**, but on 28 February 1999 it was canceled due to Russian and Chinese **veto**s to protest **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** operations against Yugoslavia-Serbia. UNPREDEP coordinated with the **OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje**, **European Union (EU) Monitoring Mission-Macedonia**, and NATO's Kosovo Verification Coordination Centre (KVCC).

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR). UNPROFOR operated in the former **Yugoslavia** between 1991 and 1995 to carry out the impossible tasks of trying to stop the civil war between the Bosnian Serbs and Croats and Muslim Bosnian **forces**, with no authorization from the **United Nations (UN)** to use **force**, even to defend itself against Bosnian Serb attacks or prevent the taking of UN peacekeepers delivering **humanitarian** aid to trapped Bosnian civilians as hostages.

The federation of Yugoslavia broke up a decade after the death of Marshal Josip Broz Tito in 1980. The June 1991 secession of **Slovenia** and **Croatia** was followed by **Bosnia-Herzegovina** and **Macedonia**, while rump Yugoslavia/Serbia pursued its **Greater Serbia** ethnic-nationalist vision by setting off civil wars in Croatia and Bosnia. It supported the counter-secession of local Serb minorities, hoping to annex them and most of the land they controlled through **ethnic cleansing** of Croats and Bosnians. The belligerents accepted a cease-fire on 23 November 1991 in Geneva, but although it brought in the UN Protection Force-Croatia (UNPROFOR), it soon collapsed. As the civil war expanded to Bosnia and threatened Macedonia, UNPROFOR developed two subsidiary separate **UN peacekeeping** missions, **UNPROFOR-Bosnia** and **UNPROFOR-Macedonia**. Prior to October 1993, UNPROFOR-Croatia had more than 14,000 peacekeepers, 530 police, and 100 civilian personnel from Argentina, **Belgium**, **Canada**, **Czech Republic**, **Denmark**, **France**, Jordan, Kenya, Nepal, **Poland**, and **Russia**, with 18 other countries providing support staff. UNPROFOR also established **UN Protected Areas (UNPA)** around Serb minority enclaves in Croatia (Western Slavonia, Krajina, and Baranja, and Western Srem in East Slavonia) until

these **enclaves** merged and ethnically cleansed mixed areas (“pink zones”) in the Serb secessionist Krajina province.

UNPROFOR was hamstrung by the political-diplomatic gap between UN Security Council resolutions and its unwillingness to execute the resolutions with the necessary means and force needed by commanders on the ground to carry out their mission. UNPROFOR’s Anglo–French peacekeepers were hampered by **UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali**’s ineffectiveness and exclusive support of failed diplomatic tools to contain the Bosnian Serbs, while the Security Council and **West** were split until 1995 over the refusal of U.S. Presidents **George H. W. Bush** and Bill **Clinton** to deploy U.S. ground troops alongside NATO to impose peace in Bosnia. Atrocities, “concentration” camps, and cease-fire failures continued to plague the UN peacekeepers. Boutros-Ghali also aggravated tensions by firing UNPROFOR’s Belgian commander, Lieutenant General Francis Briquemont, for his open criticism of the UN as a body that “needed more action in Bosnia and fewer resolutions.” On 4 October 1993, the UN reorganized UNPROFOR into a **force commander** and headquarters in Zagreb, Croatia, with three subordinate operations under it: **UNPROFOR–Croatia**, **UNPROFOR–Bosnia**, and **UNRPOFOR–Macedonia**. UNPROFOR–Croatia carried out the mission of UNPROFOR forces prior to 4 October 1993 and then transitioned into the **UN Confidence Restoration Mission in Croatia (UNCRO)** on 31 March 1995. The **UN Peace Forces (UNPF)** then became headquarters for UNCRO, UNPROFOR–Bosnia, and **UN Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP)**, which replaced UNPROFOR–Macedonia. Until 1995, all three UN peacekeeping forces in UNPROFOR totaled 38,600 military, 803 police, and 4,632 international/local civilian staff. There were 167 deaths of UNPROFOR personnel.

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE–BOSNIA (UNPROFOR–BOSNIA). On 4 October 1993, the **United Nations (UN)** reorganized the **UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** into a **force commander** and headquarters in Zagreb, **Croatia**, with three subordinate operations under it: **UNPROFOR–Croatia**, **UNPROFOR–Bosnia**, and **UNRPOFOR–Macedonia**. UNPROFOR–Bosnia was more heavily manhandled by the Bosnian Serbs than any other UN

peacekeeping operation in the former **Yugoslavia**. In February 1994, **UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali** secured approval for air strikes by the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to support UNPROFOR–Bosnia peacekeepers. The air strikes did limited damages to the Serbs and embarrassed NATO and the UN, but both continued with occasional NATO air strikes throughout 1994 as Serb **forces** renewed their offensives. In November 1994, large NATO air strikes prompted the Bosnian Serbs to take hostages (on bridges and airfields) and trap inside their garrisons hundreds of UN peacekeepers (from **Canada, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Russia, and Ukraine**) to force NATO to stop its air raids. UN peacekeepers were gradually released, but on 30 November 1994 UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali announced the possible withdrawal of the UN unless a permanent cease-fire was implemented, while NATO stressed that it would need 50,000 troops to enter Bosnia to evacuate the 23,000 UN peacekeepers there.

UN peacekeepers were also unable to stop Bosnian Serbs' attempts to conquer Bosnian Muslims in Bihač and their massacre in **Šre-brenica** after the Serbs conquered this UN “**safe area**.” This last atrocity convinced the **United States** and NATO not to withdraw and instead to take the offensive together with Croatia. In summer 1995 massive NATO air strikes and Croatia's intervention defeated the Bosnian Serbs, freed Sarajevo, and unblocked the **humanitarian** supply routes, finally allowing NATO to impose on both Serbs (Republika Srpska) and the Bosnian Federation (the rival Bosnian Muslims plus Bosnian Croats) the Dayton Peace Accords (November 1995) and General Framework Agreement for Peace (Paris, December 1995). Based on UN Security Council Resolution 1031 (**Chapter VII peace enforcement**), Dayton allowed NATO peacekeepers to impose peace and redraw ethnic-nationalist borders in its largest “out-of-area” mission, **Operation Joint Endeavour**, which involved 65,000 troops of NATO's multinational **Implementation Force–Bosnia (IFOR, 1995–1996)**, which integrated under NATO command all UNPROFOR peacekeepers. UNPROFOR–Bosnia then became the UN Mission in Bosnia–Herzegovina (UNMIBH) on 20 December 1995, until the **Kosovo War** (1999), while IFOR was replaced by NATO's multinational **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** (1996–2004) and since December 2004 by the **European Force (EUFOR)**.

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE–CROATIA (UNPROFOR–CROATIA). *See* UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR).

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE–MACEDONIA (UNPROFOR–MACEDONIA). *See* UNITED NATIONS PREVENTIVE DEPLOYMENT FORCE.

UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. **United Nations (UN)** General Assembly committee since 1965 that reviews **UN peacekeeping**.

UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMISSION (UNSCOM). *See* CLINTON WILLIAM J.; BUSH, GEORGE H.W.; BUSH, GEORGE W.; SECOND GULF WAR.

UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE BALKANS (UNSCOB). In 1941, during **World War II**, Greece was conquered by Nazi **Germany** and Fascist **Italy**. During its liberation from the evacuating Germans in 1944, it plunged into a civil war between pro-Soviet Communist partisans and pro-**Allied** Monarchist **forces**. Communist guerrillas seized Athens, only to be defeated by the monarchist government and forces from **Great Britain**. As the civil war continued during the Cold War, the **United States** and **United Nations (UN)** took over regional security from Great Britain under the **Truman Doctrine of containment** (1947) and UNSCOB to stop Greece's Communist neighbors (**Albania**, **Bulgaria**, **Yugoslavia**, and **USSR**) from aiding the rebels. UNSCOB's 40 observers were from Australia, Brazil, China, **France**, Great Britain, Mexico, the **Netherlands**, Pakistan, and the United States; the **USSR** and **Poland** refused to join. UNSCOB left Greece in 1954 after the government won the civil war.

UNITED NATIONS STANDBY ARRANGEMENTS SYSTEM (UNSAS). UNSAS sought to create a **rapid-reaction force** for **peacekeeping** operations, with UN members listing and earmarking available military capabilities for short-notice release for UN peacekeeping missions. However, by 2002, of 39 pledges only 24 states

had listed military capabilities for the UN, 12 states had earmarked **forces**, and only two actually gave forces for the UNSAS.

UNITED NATIONS TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN EASTERN SLAVONIA, BARANJA, AND WESTERN SIRMUM (UNTAES). After the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords were agreed upon, the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council established UNTAES (on 15 January 1996) to implement the accord on reintegrating these regions from **Serbia** back into **Croatia**. UNTAES deployed 2,346 soldiers, 97 military observers, and 404 civilian police from 30 countries to demilitarize, monitor safe refugee returns, create a police **force**, and hold elections. UNTAES finished its mission in January 1998. *See also* UNITED NATIONS CONFIDENCE RESTORATION MISSION IN CROATIA (UNCRO).

UNITED STATES, NATO, OAS. Federal republic in North America with 50 states and few territories, the world's third-largest country (after **Russia** and **Canada**) and sole superpower since 1992, with an area of 9,631,418 square kilometers, bordering Canada (the world's longest unfortified border), Mexico, and the Arctic, Atlantic, and Pacific Oceans. The capital is Washington, D.C. It has the third-largest population (after China and India), 300 million people (77 percent white, 12.9 percent black, 4.3 percent Asian, 1.5 percent Amerindian, 0.3 percent Pacific Islander, and 4 percent other), of various religions (56 percent Protestant, 28 percent Catholic, 2 percent Jewish, and 14 percent other), speaking English.

America was colonized in the 1600s–1700s, mostly by **Great Britain**, which created several self-governing dominions, of which 13 seceded from the British Empire during the American Revolution (1774–1783), creating the United States as a federal republic. Between the 1790s and early 1900s, the United States settled 37 additional states across the North American continent, while surviving the devastating Civil War (1861–1865) and the Great Depression (1930s). Despite its size and population, until the 20th century it was not a strong world power and rejected international **alliances**, pursuing a three-tiered isolationist policy to preserve democracy at home: isolation from Europe's warmongering great powers; no permanent peacetime alliances—lest its European **allies** if defeated also bring down the weaker United States; and no permanent peacetime armed

forces—geographic seclusion between two oceans, scattered Native American tribes, and two weak neighbors made any invasion prohibitive for all powers, except the British Empire, which ruled the seas. The only exceptions to this policy were the Monroe Doctrine (1823), which provided symbolic U.S. protection from European colonialism to the republics of Latin America, seen as America’s “backyard”; and the concept of Manifest Destiny, which asserted that only the United States could expand over North America, without colonial competition from European powers.

For a century, U.S. isolationism systematically rejected any realistic assessment of national interests and global power-projection at a time of rival colonial empires and alliance building. The Spanish–American War (1898) turned the United States into a world power, forcing America to try to reconcile the widening gap between isolationism’s paralysis with the pressure of its national interests in world trade and a collapsing **balance of power** (1500s–1940s) in Europe. Under the opposing pressures of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt (a **Realist**) and Woodrow Wilson (an **Idealist**), the United States abandoned its “**neutrality**,” becoming an economic powerhouse supplying the Allies in **World War I** (1914–1918), and even joining them by 1917.

Yet even as America briefly became a major power between 1918 and 1921, it dramatically rejected the global commitments of Wilson’s Idealism and postwar advocacy of the **League of Nations** (1919–1940s) as a universal organization for world peace, **disarmament**, **collective security**, and supremacy of international law. Abandoning the Treaty of Versailles (1919), which Wilson had coauthored, and a related permanent peacetime alliance with Great Britain and France, in the 1920s–1930s the United States robbed the League of Nations of moral and political strength against the rising tide of Nazi–Fascist imperialism. Again “neutral” at the beginning of **World War II** (1939–1945), the United States, under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, slowly returned to interventionism as the Allies’ “Arsenal for Democracy” against **Germany**, **Italy**, and **Japan**. Roosevelt combined Idealism and Realism by promoting, on the one hand, democratic internationalist principles through the **Atlantic Charter** and **United Nations (UN)** alliance against the **Axis**; and on the other forging a “**Grand Alliance**” with Great Britain and the Soviet Union (USSR) to enter war, defeat the Axis, and reshape the postwar world,

with the UN as a new universal organization for peace and collective security.

The limits of Roosevelt's vision of the UN and postwar Allied solidarity were immediately exposed by the Cold War (1946–1990) between the USSR and the Western allies. With Great Britain collapsing as a superpower (due to anemic economic reconstruction, decolonization, and military retrenchment), the United States, under President **Harry S Truman**, stepped in as world leader, rejecting both isolationism and ad hoc interventionism in favor of the **Truman Doctrine's** (1947) permanent **Containment** of the Soviet/Communist threat, assisted by massive economic aid through the Marshall Plan (1947); global alliance-building centered on the **Organization of American States** (1948) and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (1949); and permanent, mobile, massive military **nuclear** and conventional forces, capable of fighting either an apocalyptic **World War III** or conventional wars worldwide against localized threats (the **Korean War**, 1950–1953; **Second Vietnam War**, 1964–1975).

During the Cold War the United States was the largest contributor to NATO's military and civil budgets, permanently deploying combat troops in West Germany and Western Europe for more than 50 years under NATO's integrated military **command** and **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)**, as a cornerstone of U.S. political-diplomatic ties with Europe, and maintaining military interoperability with 16 allies and the vital “U.S. nuclear umbrella” for transatlantic defense. Between 1969 and 1979 and 1985 and 1991, the United States also embraced East–West **détente** and nuclear and conventional **arms control** with the USSR/**Warsaw Pact**, through the the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty I and II (SALT I and II), **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty**, Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) agreement, Short-Range Nuclear Forces accord (SNF), and Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I and II (START I and II). It also joined the **Conference/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)** in 1976.

With the collapse of the USSR and Communism in 1991, the United States has emerged as the world's sole superpower, politically, economically, militarily, and technologically, albeit dogged by challenges and the limits of U.S. unilateralism abroad and fleeting domestic consensus. The United States first supported UN global intervention in the early 1990s, then promoted NATO's three **enlargements**

(1997–1999, 2002–2004, 2008); tied all European and former Soviet states (including Russia) to NATO as **partners** for shared Euro–Atlantic security; and led NATO peacekeepers (in **Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan**) and multinational “coalitions of the willing,” with or without UN–NATO support (in the First **Gulf War**, 1990–1991, and **Second Gulf War**, 2003) against Iraq. *See also* U.S.–EUROPEAN UNION SUMMITS; U.S. PEACEKEEPING; U.S. CENTRAL COMMAND; U.S. EUROPEAN COMMAND.

“UNITING FOR PEACE RESOLUTION” (or ACHESON PLAN, 1950), UN. The “Uniting for Peace Resolution” (3 November 1950) was sponsored by the **United States** to allow the **United Nations’** General Assembly to bypass the UN Security Council when it was deadlocked by **veto**es over international **crises**. Also known as the Acheson Plan (for U.S. Secretary of State **Dean Acheson**), the UN resolution was applied during the **Korean War** (1950–1953). In 1956 **Great Britain** and **France** seized the Suez Canal, which had been nationalized by Egypt, in a **joint** attack with Israel across the **Sinai**. The United States and Soviet Union (USSR) proposed separate withdrawal plans for the three invading **forces**, which were vetoed by Great Britain and France. UN **Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld** and the General Assembly used the “Uniting for Peace Resolution” to impose a cease-fire, order all forces to leave, and reopen the Suez Canal through the **UN Emergency Force I (UNEF I) peacekeepers**. The strong disquiet of the UN Security Council in seeing its prerogatives and vetoes overturned has resulted in limited use of the “Uniting for Peace Resolution”; the last time was on 14 January 1980, against Soviet vetoes against the invasion of **Afghanistan**, when a Soviet withdrawal was ordered but ignored. After 10 years an unstable peace was reached, monitored by the 1988 **UN Good Offices in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP)**.

U.S. ATLANTIC COMMAND (USACOM, NOW U.S. JOINT FORCES COMMAND [JFCOM]). Created in the 1940s at Norfolk, Virginia, to support the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, USACOM was among the first **joint services commands**. During the Cold War (1946–1990), USACOM worked under the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) Supreme Allied Command–Atlantic (SACLANT)** to staff a multinational network of air and naval **bases**

and radar and sonar listening posts along the **UK–Iceland–Greenland Gap** and to train U.S.–NATO warships in antisubmarine warfare (ASW), to protect NATO sea lanes of communication (SLOCs) between North America and Europe against Soviet submarines, warships, and airplanes attempting to sink NATO resupply convoys in **World War III**, through Operation **REFORGER (Return of Forces to Europe)**. In the 1970s, the rapid growth of the Soviet Navy's submarines, missile-combatants, and cruiser-carriers with VSTOL (vertical/short take-off and landing) jets, threatened the North Atlantic and **Norway** with invasion at the onset of a World War III, forcing USACOM to concentrate on constant ASW and combat maneuvers in the frigid Arctic Ocean between Iceland and Norway to deter the USSR. USACOM was also extensively taxed by intervening without prior notice in major international crises: in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, with Marine amphibious forces also ready to land; in the 1962 **Cuban Missile Crisis**, to secure the 500-mile "quarantine" and have Marine amphibious forces ready to land; in the Second Vietnam War (1964–1975), loaning warships to the **U.S. Pacific Command**; in the 1993 U.S.–Caribbean coalition invasion of Grenada; and in the 1990–1991 First **Gulf War** and 2003 **Second Gulf War** against Iraq, loaning air carriers to the **U.S. Central Command**. In the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), USACOM was renamed **U.S. Joint Forces Command (JFCOM)**, with the assignment of experimenting with future warfare, training, and **doctrines**, paralleling the same changes in NATO.

U.S. CENTRAL COMMAND (CENTCOM OR USCENTCOM).

Originally created in 1980 as the expeditionary **Rapid-Deployment Joint Task Force (RDF)** by U.S. President Jimmy **Carter** to defend the free flow of oil in the Middle East/Gulf (Carter **Doctrine**) after Iran's 1979 Islamic Revolution and the Soviet invasion of **Afghanistan** in December 1979. In the early 1980s, it became the ninth U.S. military **command**, the Central Command (CENTCOM) at MacDill Air Force **Base** in Tampa, Florida. It has 1,000 staff members, plus 500 others at component headquarters in Doha, Bahrain, the **United States**, and Diego Garcia island. CENTCOM has authority over 140,000 deployed U.S. **forces** (in Afghanistan, Bahrain, Iraq, and Kuwait) within a broad region of 25 states from the Middle

East/Gulf (with Egypt and Sudan, but excluding Israel and Lebanon under the **U.S. European Command–EUCOM**), Pakistan, former Soviet Central Asia, the Horn of Africa, and Kenya. CENTCOM has no permanent U.S. combat forces **assigned**, but it assumes command over any forces needed from North America and EUCOM for extended military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. CENTCOM's annual budget rose to \$36.7 million in 1990 and after the First **Gulf War** reached \$55.2 million in 2000, before soaring with the Second Afghan War in 2001–2002 and **Second Gulf War** in 2003–2005.

U.S. EUROPEAN COMMAND (EUCOM or USEUCOM). One of 10 **United States** military **commands**, EUCOM, located at Stuttgart, **Germany**, is under the authority of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)**, with both positions **jointly** held by the same U.S. four-star general operating out of NATO's **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** in Mons, **Belgium**. EUCOM has a headquarters staff of more than 1,200, located primarily at Patch Barracks in Stuttgart-Vaihingen and Mons, and 3,000 at component headquarters in **Bosnia**, Germany, **Great Britain**, **Italy**, **Kosovo**, and **Spain**, overseeing 116,000 U.S. **forces** in a broad region of 89 states of Western Europe, Eastern Europe, **Turkey**, the Caucasus, the Mediterranean, **Ukraine**, the Atlantic, Israel, Lebanon, and Africa (except Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, the Horn of Africa, and Middle East/Gulf, which are under the **U.S. Central Command**). EUCOM forces are routinely loaned to CENTCOM for extended military operations. In **Afghanistan** and Iraq, two-thirds of cargo and 80 percent of combat forces either came from or transited via Europe. EUCOM's annual budget rose to \$70.7 million in 1990, and with the addition of **NATO peacekeeping** in Bosnia (**Implementation Force [IFOR]**, and **Stabilisation Force [SFOR]**) and Kosovo (**Kosovo Implementation Forcer [KFOR]**), it reached \$105 million in 2000.

In mid-2004, after years of planning, the United States announced massive restructuring of its forces by 2006–2016, pulling out 70,000–100,000 troops and 100,000 dependents from Europe and Asia. Two-thirds of the troops repatriated to America come from EUCOM, where in 2004 the United States officially had 116,000 troops,

most in Germany, where 70,000 men are deployed (50 percent would leave, including two armored divisions). Several thousand U.S. troops will be transferred to new **bases** in Eastern Europe (**Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Romania**). Of the 300,000 U.S. troops in the Asia/Pacific theaters in 2004 under the **U.S. Pacific Command (PAC-COM)**, 25,000 will leave from South Korea and **Japan**, but the 150,000 U.S. troops in **Afghanistan** and **Iraq** will remain there under the **U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM)**.

U.S.–EUROPEAN UNION SUMMITS, U.S.–EU. The **United States** and **European Union (EU)** signed a “Declaration on U.S.–EU Relations” (20 November 1990, Washington, D.C.) under U.S. President **George H. W. Bush**, President of the EU Council of Ministers Giulio Andreotti, and President of the EU Commission Jacques Delors. The declaration enhanced transatlantic relations with rotating, biannual U.S.–EU **Summits** in odd years, to harmonize U.S.–EU relations on trade, security, and foreign policy.

U.S. HOMELAND COMMAND (HOMECOM or USHOME-COM). One of 10 U.S. military **commands**, HOMECOM was created in 2003. It took over from the Pentagon’s Joint Chiefs of Staff and **U.S. Joint Forces Command (JFCOM)** domestic security in the United States, plus **counterterrorism** in the **United States, Canada**, and Mexico.

U.S. JOINT FORCES COMMAND (JFCOM, formerly U.S. ATLANTIC COMMAND [ACOM]). One of 10 **United States** military **Commands**, JFCOM is under the Pentagon’s Joint Chiefs of Staff/J-5, but is **based** at Norfolk, Virginia, in the Cold War headquarters of the **U.S. Atlantic Command (USACOM)**. JFCOM oversees the North Atlantic and Arctic Oceans, while military security of the continental **United States, Canada, Mexico, and Russia** is assigned directly to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon. Unlike regional U.S. commands, JFCOM’s main tasks are training U.S. **forces**, loaning combat units to the **Central Command (CENTCOM)** and **Southern Command (SOUTHCOM)**, and developing “interservices” and **doctrines**.

U.S. NORTHERN COMMAND (NORTHCOM or USNORTHCOM, formerly SPACECOM). One of 10 **United States** military **commands**, NORTHCOM replaces both the North American Aerospace Defense Command and U.S. Northern Command, the former **U.S. Space Command** at Peterson Air Force **Base**, Colorado.

U.S. PACIFIC COMMAND (PACOM or USPACOM). One of 10 U.S. military **commands**, PACOM is located at Camp Smith **Base**, Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, with a staff of 3,600 military personnel and 2,500 civilians. PACOM's 300,000 U.S. **forces** are deployed in Alaska, Hawaii, Japan, and South Korea, over a broad region of 43 states and 30 territories in the Pacific Ocean, Australia, New Zealand, Indochina, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, the Indian Ocean, the Indian subcontinent, Madagascar, Mongolia, Taiwan, and Communist China. PACOM's annual budget rose from \$57.2 million in 1990 to \$108.5 million in 2000.

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U.S. PEACEKEEPING. During the Cold War (1946–1990), the **United States** and all five permanent **veto** powers of the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council did not participate in **UN peacekeeping**, to keep Cold War politics from undermining the **neutrality** of the peacekeepers. The only exceptions prior to 1990 were for the United States, in the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) and 1983 operation in Grenada, **Great Britain's** participation in the **UN**

Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), and **France's** participation in the **UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)**. Throughout the Cold War, the United States provided significant transportation and logistical support to UN peacekeeping operations and paid for 25 percent of most missions, but this developed into a decades-long U.S.–UN feud because the United States wanted the logistical cost of transporting UN peacekeepers from other countries to be deducted from the total U.S. assessment, while UN peacekeeping funding formulas did not reflect the growing economic strength of many unreported Third World states. The United States contributed troops to non-UN Western coalitions during the Cold War, including **Multinational Forces I and II (MNF I and II)** in Lebanon (1982–1984) and **Multinational Force and Observers (MFO)** between Egypt and Israel in Sinai (since 1980).

In the **post–Cold War** period, the United States became a leader in UN peacekeeping, deploying large forces in the First Gulf War (1990–1991); the intervention in Somalia (1992–1994); air and naval operations with the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** to blockade the former **Yugoslavia** and support UN peacekeepers there; the military intervention in Haiti in 1994; **NATO peacekeeping** operations in **Bosnia–Herzegovina**; the **Kosovo Implementation Force** (1999–present); with NATO in **Macedonia (Operation Amber Fox, 2000–2001)**; and in **Afghanistan** with NATO's Implementation and Assistance Force (ISAF). However, the failure of UN peacekeeping in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia, and Rwanda in 1992–1995 persuaded many U.S. politicians and military leaders to discourage large-scale participation in UN peacekeeping missions. Since 1995, the United States has provided large numbers of troops either to UN-mandated but NATO-led peacekeeping missions (IFOR, SFOR, KFOR, Amber Fox, ISAF) or to U.S.-led coalitions (Afghanistan, **Second Gulf War**) in which it has total operational **control**.

U.S.–RUSSIAN STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY (2001). *See* ARMS CONTROL.

U.S. SIXTH FLEET. *See* TURKISH STRAITS.

U.S. SOUTHERN COMMAND (SOUTHCOM or USSOUTH-COM). One of 10 **United States** military **commands**, SOUTHCOM

was traditionally located in the Panama Canal Zone, but the closing of **bases** there in 1999 relocated it to Homestead Air Force **Base** and Miami, Florida, with a staff of 1,200, plus 1,900 in Puerto Rico, Arizona, and Honduras. SOUTHCOM is responsible for a region of 32 states in Central America (excluding Mexico), the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbeans/Bahamas, South America, the South Pole, and coastal areas of the south Atlantic and south Pacific Oceans. Since 1999, SOUTHCOM no longer has permanent U.S. combat **forces assigned**, but it assumes command over any forces needed from North America for military operations. SOUTHCOM's annual budget rose from \$26.2 million in 1990 to \$112.8 million in 2000, of which \$27 million is spent on counter-narcotics trafficking actions.

U.S. SPACE COMMAND (SPACECOM OR USSPACECOM, NOW NORTHCOM). *See* U.S. NORTHERN COMMAND.

U.S. SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND (SOCOM OR USSOCOM). One of 10 **United States** military **commands**, SOCOM is at MacDill Air Force **Base** in Tampa, Florida, with 1,000 staff to coordinate globally special **forces** of the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines. SOCOM does not have permanent forces assigned to it, but assumes **operational** command over all needed units from other regional U.S. Commands.

U.S. STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND (SAC). *See* U.S. STRATEGIC COMMAND.

U.S. STRATEGIC COMMAND (STRATCOM OR USSTRATCOM, ex-SAC). One of 10 **United States** military **commands**, the Strategic Command (STRATCOM) is based at Offutt Air Force **Base**, Nebraska, and has replaced the older, bomber-heavy U.S. Strategic Air Command (SAC) of the Cold War (1946–1990). It is in charge of all U.S. strategic **nuclear forces**: intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and strategic bombers, which are the backbone of U.S. nuclear **deterrence**. *See also* WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

U.S. TRANSPORTATION/AIR-MOBILITY COMMAND (US-TRANSCOM). One of 10 **United States** military **commands**, TRANSCOM, located at Scott Air Force **Base**, Illinois, **controls** global

land logistics and air lift of troops and matériel for all other regional U.S. commands and global military operations.

USSR. *See* RUSSIA.

UZBEKISTAN, CIS, NATO PARTNER. Landlocked Central Asian republic and former state of the Soviet Union (USSR), with an area of 447,400 square kilometers, bordering **Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan**, and the Aral Sea. The capital is Tashkent. It has a Turkish multi-ethnic population of 26,411,000 (80 percent Uzbeki, 5.5 percent Russian, 5 percent Tajiki, 3 percent Kazakhi, 2.5 percent Karakalpak, 1.5 percent Tatar, and 2.5 percent other), of mixed religions (88 percent Sunni Muslim, 9 percent Russian Orthodox, and 3 percent other), speaking Uzbek and Russian.

In the wake of Gengis Khan's Mongol Empire, mixed Turkish/Mongol nomadic tribes migrated into and settled Central Asia (Western Turkestan) in the 13th century. They later became Muslim but were rarely united. Western Turkestan was conquered by Czarist **Russia** in the 1700s–1800s, along with Uzbekistan in the late 1800s. Russian settlers and deported nationalities arrived in the 1800s–1900s, with larger influxes in the 1950s–1970s. Stiff resistance to the USSR's **Red Army** after **World War I** was eventually suppressed by the USSR, which in the 1920s–1930s split the region into five related Turkish Central Asian Soviet Republics. During the Cold War (1946–1990), Kyrgyzstan and neighboring Soviet Central Asian states were the vital logistical rear for the Red Army on the long Russian **front** with China (1960s–1990), the border with pro-Western Iran (1946–1979), and for the First Afghan War (1979–1989). Uzbekistan's independence on 1 September 1991 and the sudden collapse of the USSR in December 1991 forced many Russian Slavs to emigrate. In the early 1990s, the **United States** enforced Uzbeki compliance with the U.S.–Soviet 1987 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty**, to prevent future **nuclear** proliferation.

Uzbekistan had some Soviet defense industries, with severe pollution and contamination from buried nuclear processing, while Soviet intensive production of cotton and grain diverted for wasteful

irrigation its two main rivers flowing into the Aral Sea, leaving a drying lake leached by pesticides, increasing soil salinity, and desertification.

Uzbekistan's domestic and foreign goals are developing its reserves of natural gas, petrol, coal, gold, and uranium; a gradual reduction of dependence on agriculture; integration into world markets; combating Islamic **terrorism** in the multi-ethnic fertile Fergana Valley; and improving political-military and economic relations with neighboring states and global powers. Like other former Soviet states, Uzbekistan's nationalist dictatorship has close political-military and economic ties with Russia, joining its **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** in 1992. In 1992, it also joined the **United Nations (UN)** and **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** and has been a **partner** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** and since 1994 in the **Partnership for Peace**, providing a logistical NATO **base** for the Second Afghan War (2001–2002). It joined the Russo–Chinese **Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO/Shanghai-5/6)** along with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan in 2001. There is a SCO Regional Anti-Terrorism Structure (RATS) in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, where in 2006 the government repressed a prodemocratic “Orange” Revolution and closed its NATO base, although it still provides logistical support.

– V –

VALUES. *See* ATLANTIC COMMON VALUES.

“VANCOUVER TO VLADIVISTOK.” *See* ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

VANDENBERG RESOLUTION (1948). The U.S. Senate bipartisan “Vandenberg Resolution” (11 June 1948) united moderate Republicans under Senate leader Arthur Vandenberg and Democrats under President **Harry S Truman** in global intervention against the Soviet Union (USSR), authorizing peacetime **alliances** with regional or collective organizations for the national security of the **United States**,

thus enabling creation of the **Rio Pact** in 1948 and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1948–1949.

VETO. Legal term for the power to block any majority vote by a single dissenting voice, or threat thereof, when the institution's charter requires unanimity in its decision making. The **United Nations (UN)** has operated since 1945 on the principle that international security is to be controlled by the UN Security Council and its five veto powers—the **United States**, Soviet Union (USSR)/**Russia**, **Great Britain**, **France**, and China—whose cooperation ensures UN effectiveness in maintaining world peace. However, the Cold War (1946–1990) was dominated by superpower rivalry and a **bipolar** division of the world, condemning the UN to irrelevance through reciprocal vetoes, because it takes just one veto to block the entire remaining 14 UN Security Council members. The U.S. traditionally used its veto to defend **allies** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and Israel, while the USSR used its veto to bolster its hegemonic repression of Eastern Europe and against Western interests worldwide. Great Britain and France also used the veto, although less frequently, on behalf of NATO, Western interests, and their own national-colonial interests. China rarely used its veto.

The end of the Cold War and of Communism in 1990 has prompted closer cooperation on international security and peacekeeping among the UN Security Council veto powers, although their vetoes remain an emergency national option. Thus, during the **Kosovo War** (1999), as NATO prepared to attack **Serbia-Yugoslavia** for its **ethnic cleansing** of Muslim Kosovar Albanians, the **alliance** applied the previous eight years of UN resolutions warning Belgrade, but acted without a formal new UN mandate because both Russia and China would have vetoed any **UN peacekeeping** operation violating a sovereign country's "domestic jurisdiction." Both Moscow and Beijing feared the precedent of such far-reaching **humanitarian** action, given their own bad human rights record in Chechnya, Tibet, and Sinkiang. The UN Security Council was not officially convened until NATO's victory transferred civilian control of Kosovo directly to the **United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)**, while NATO's **Kosovo Implementation Force (KFOR)** ensured peacekeeping security. The even more controversial run up to the **Second Gulf War** (2003) deeply split the UN. The United States and Great Britain sought to use a pre-

ventive coalition strike by applying the previous 13 years of UN resolutions and mandates against Iraq, accused of being an international threat because of its renewed proliferation of **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. **Germany**, as rotating UN Security Council President, openly supported France, Russia, and China in their threat to use vetoes to block any final UN mandate. In the end, the Anglo-Americans bypassed the UN and led a 40-member coalition to defeat Iraq, later forcing UN acquiescence. And in August 2008, when **Georgia** attacked secessionist South Ossetia, killing 2,000 civilians and forcing 10,000 refugees into Russia, Moscow quickly rescued South Ossetia and also secessionist Abkhazia by defeating Georgia, while using Russia's **veto** to stall both the pro-Georgian UN Security Council and NATO-EU mediations for Georgia's territorial "integrity."

For NATO, the need for unanimous decision making also enhanced the risk of vetoes in contentious decisions, although this rarely happened. On the one hand, NATO as an institution fosters consensus decisions and debates to avoid any veto on controversial decisions, while favoring individual abstentions if specific allies still object to new common policies. Areas subject to veto have been reduced, but unanimity remains mandatory for **enlargements** (such as Greece's veto at the April 2008 NATO Bucharest **Summit** against **Macedonia**), combat, or **NATO peacekeeping**. On the other hand, the dominant security role of the United States during the Cold War ensured that the allies would only rarely recur to a veto, mostly over vital national interests or as single-group opposition to expanding the alliance mission ("out-of-area"). In 1949–1950 the allies twice "vetoed" West **Germany's** entry into NATO; during the Suez Canal War (1956) Anglo-French military involvement prevented the United States from using NATO to stop them; in the **Korean War** (1950–1953) and Second Vietnam War (1964–1975) the allies collectively rejected U.S. requests that NATO as a whole also join it in combat; and Germany's veto, with the implicit support of a few other allies, prevented NATO's involvement in peacekeeping and Sinai demilitarization undertaken by the **Multilateral Force and Observers (MFO)** since 1980) and four "out-of-area" combat missions. The **European Community/Union (EC/EU)** was also held hostage by four vetoes during the 1960s by France's **Charles de Gaulle**, who three times vetoed Great Britain's entry into the EC and in 1965 vetoed the EC's move from unanimous to majority voting (the "Empty-Chair

Crisis"). The EC/EU twice curtailed vetoes by restricting unanimous voting, in 1986 and 2007.

VIETNAM SYNDROME. During the Second Vietnam War (1965–1975), the **United States** backed South Vietnam against Communist North Vietnam's directed guerrilla warfare. This policy continued the earlier support of **France** against Communism in the First Vietnam War (1946–1954), when that country had been split politically between leftists backing the Soviet Union (USSR) and a Communist Vietnam against conservative anticommunists. In both wars, tentative plans to involve the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** were rebuffed by the **allies**, who opposed "out-of-area" missions. After losing 55,000 soldiers, the United States left Vietnam, and public opposition to any more guerrilla combat in Third World countries led Congress to severely cut U.S. **forces** and commitments abroad during the 1970s. The "Vietnam Syndrome" was considered to have passed by the time of President **Ronald Reagan**'s reflagging and patrolling of the Gulf against Iran in 1986, with the "Weinberger–Powell **Doctrine**" (1988) advocating future U.S. wars only under clear mandates, with full congressional and public support and rapid, full-intensity combat followed by early withdrawal from the defeated regions, to avoid being bogged down by occupation.

VIETNAM WARS (1946–1954, 1964–1975). *See* BREZHNEV, LEONID; EISENHOWER, DWIGHT D.; KENNEDY, JOHN F.; JOHNSON, LYNDON B.; NIXON, RICHARD M.; VIETNAM SYNDROME.

VILNIUS-10. *See* ASPIRANTS OF NATO.

VIRTUAL SILK HIGHWAY, NATO. A **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** Science Committee project (October 2001–October 2002) to provide fast Internet by satellite and computers for academic institutes of Transcaucasus and Central Asian **partners**.

VISA INFORMATION SYSTEM (VIS), EU. *See* EU COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICY.

VISEGRAD-3/12. *See* ASPIRANTS OF NATO.

– W –

WARS OF MOVEMENT. *See* ATTRITION/ANNIHILATION WARS.

WARSAW PACT (or WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION [WTO]). During the Cold War (1946–1990), the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** was confronted militarily by the threat of possible invasion of Western Europe by the Soviet Union (USSR) and its Communist **satellite** states of Eastern Europe and Mongolia, which were already under complete Soviet political-military **control** and **occupation** through 1945–1946 bilateral **alliances**. This network of anti-Western alliances was rationalized by Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchëv**, who created the Warsaw Pact (Warsaw Treaty, May 1955) as an international propaganda ploy against NATO's acceptance of West **Germany** (1955) as a new member. The Warsaw Pact did not significantly increase the existing Soviet military threat against NATO, because since the late 1940s the USSR already had total military control over all satellized Eastern European national militaries, each individually integrated within the Soviet **Red Army**. In time, the USSR copied NATO, turning the Warsaw Pact into a truly integrated alliance **command**, with **joint** training, military exercises, and full weapons standardization by exclusively using Soviet matériel. This was accomplished by further rationalizing its members' original total individual military integration within the Red Army, rather than as independent, equal national components of a true alliance system. As a Soviet hegemonic alliance, the Warsaw Pact never had or fostered a true partnership among members, whereas NATO always cultivated both equal membership and an integrated military command structure.

Warsaw Pact members were **Albania** (left in 1963), **Bulgaria**, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, **Hungary**, Mongolia (beginning in the 1970s), **Poland**, **Romania** (left in 1968), Vietnam (beginning in the 1980s), **Yugoslavia** (left in 1956), and the USSR. Cuba never joined. Principally as a tool of Soviet foreign and military policies, the Warsaw Pact was used as political-ideological cover to justify continued Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe, back-up combat **forces** and logistics for a possible Soviet offensive against NATO in a hypothetical **World War III**, and as a continued veiled threat of

repression against satellites that rebelled (**Brezhnev Doctrine**). However, unlike Soviet forces, which were present in all Warsaw Pact member countries, Warsaw Pact forces were not deployed outside their home countries, except temporarily during joint military maneuvers, and it was primarily the USSR that used its alliance network of **bases** and logistics to repress its satellites, such as during the East German revolt (1953), Hungarian Revolution (1956), and threats of invading Poland in both 1956 and 1981. The 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia to destroy its “Prague Spring” reforms is the only instance of a Warsaw Pact-wide military operation against its members.

Warsaw Pact cohesion was badly shaken in 1956 when first Poland threatened to leave, then Hungary revolted and briefly left, followed by Yugoslavia in protest against the repression of the Hungarian Revolution, fearing a similar intervention against itself. Yugoslavia later left again, becoming a leader of the Third World **nonaligned** movement. The principle of “socialist solidarity” was officially established with the repression of the Hungarian Revolution and reconfirmed with the Brezhnev Doctrine during the 1968 Czechoslovak invasion. Romania left only the organization’s military command in 1968 to protest the repression of Czechoslovakia, remaining both Communist and pro-Soviet despite its quirky independentism.

As an organization, the Warsaw Pact only once openly opposed the USSR, rejecting in 1980 the Kremlin’s pressures to involve the military organization in the Soviet invasion of **Afghanistan** (1979–1989). Individual Warsaw Pact members, such as East Germany, participated in the First Afghan War alongside Soviet units in technical-logistic roles. Despite public and propaganda declarations of mutual political-ideological loyalty, the Kremlin had limited confidence in the combat reliability of most Warsaw Pact members and only trusted East German and Czech forces (not Slovaks or other East Europeans), which had been closely trained to supplement Soviet forces. In any World War III combat scenario, the bulk of anti-NATO fighting on the Central Front and **Austria** would be undertaken by Soviet, East German and Czech units, while most other Warsaw Pact forces would be assigned by the Soviet command to reserve, logistics, occupation, and support duties in Western Europe, as well as diversionary combat operations on secondary fronts, such as the southwestern front against northern Yugoslavia and Italy through the Gorizia Gap or the Southern Front against **Greece, Turkey, the Turkish Straits, and the Aegean Sea.**

Between 1985 and 1991, tensions between NATO and the Warsaw Pact abated following radical **arms control** accords on **nuclear** and conventional weapons. The **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty** (1987) eliminated all **Euromissiles**; the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE) halved NATO–Warsaw Pact forces; the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) halved strategic nuclear weapons; and the 1991 Short-range Nuclear Forces (SNF) Accords halved SNFs and repositioned them in “central storages” within the United States and USSR. Together with the democratic **1989 Revolutions** in Eastern European, which destroyed the Soviet-controlled Communist dictatorships in all satellites, the end of the Cold War in 1990 pushed NATO to open up and cooperate with its Warsaw Pact former enemies. The June 1990 “**Message from Turnberry**” from the NATO’s Foreign Ministers Meeting in Scotland took the exceptional step of extending an offer of friendship and cooperation to the USSR, Warsaw Pact, and “**neutral**” European states. NATO’s June 1990 London Summit then declared the USSR and Warsaw Pact no longer “enemies” and invited them to establish diplomatic ties with NATO and build cooperative relations.

Consequently, the **North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)** comprised NATO **allies**, USSR, the Warsaw Pact, and “neutral” states, including the three former Soviet Baltic states and Albania (since June 1992). The November 1990 NATO/NAC-C Paris Meeting joint declaration stated that they no longer viewed each other as enemies, and they signed a **nonaggression** accord on the basis of territorial integrity and political independence based on the principles of the **United Nations (UN) Charter** and **Helsinki Final Act** of the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)**. The Warsaw Pact was finally disbanded in late 1990 at the request of Hungary and Poland, with the USSR agreeing to pull out its forces from most former Warsaw Pact states by 1991, followed by residual units being withdrawn in 1995 from Poland and the former East Germany after its 1990 reunification with West Germany. All former Warsaw Pact countries succeeded in joining both NATO and the **European Union (EU)** between 1990 and 2004.

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (WMD). All **nuclear**, **biological**, and **chemical** weapons (NBCs), with their mated ballistic missiles, are weapons of mass destruction (WMD), because of their

indiscriminate offensive nature and the vast number of civilian casualties their use would cause in targeted areas. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Nuclear Planning Group** decides on nuclear policy, **strategy**, and responses to WMDs. NATO's 1999 Washington **Summit** pledged to "prevent proliferation from occurring or to reverse it through diplomatic means," creating a **Weapons of Mass Destruction Centre (WMD Centre)** to integrate political-military policies against WMD proliferation by North Korea, Iraq, Iran, and Libya. After the defeat of Iraq in the **Second Gulf War** (2003), difficult international negotiations disarmed Libya and North Korea (2004–2007), but failed to stop Iran.

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION CENTRE (WMD CENTRE), NATO. On 22 May 2000 the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** created the WMD Centre within the **International Staff** at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, **Belgium**. It coordinates **allies'** and **partners'** intelligence sharing and policies on **nonproliferation** of **nuclear**, **biological**, and **chemical** weapons, plus their ballistic missiles. It also integrates political-military approaches to the security threat and regional instability posed by WMDs, **arms control**, defense preparedness, military readiness in WMD environments, and civil protection. After an initial lull, the WMD Centre received strong political and financial support after the 11 September 2001 **terrorist** attacks on the **United States** and fears of WMD proliferation in North Korea, Iran, Libya, and Iraq—which caused the **Second Gulf War** against Iraq (2003), followed by international multiparty talks between 2004 and 2007, leading to the disarming of Libya (2004) and North Korea (2007), but not Iran.

WEHRKUNDE CONFERENCE (or INTERNATIONAL SECURITY POLICY CONFERENCE). Since the early Cold War, "Wehrkunde" has been held in early February in Munich (München), **Germany**. It is the most important annual interallied meeting on transatlantic security and **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** issues, with sharp debates on defense attended by NATO and **partners'** defense ministers, chiefs of staff, ambassadors, and key national politicians.

“WEINBERGER–POWELL DOCTRINE.” *See also* VIETNAM SYNDROME.

WEST. Regional term for all advanced industrial democratic countries, politically, militarily, and economically aligned with the **United States** since the Cold War (1946–1990) against the Soviet Union (USSR), and traditionally grouped in the **United Nations (UN)** as the Western bloc of North America, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, **Turkey**, Israel, and the separate permanent **veto** seat of the United States in the UN Security Council. During the Cold War the term was also incorrectly used as a synonym for its largest military **alliance**, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, or “**Western alliance**.” The term loosely included also Western “**neutral**” states (**Austria**, **Cyprus**, **Finland**, **Ireland**, **Malta**, **Sweden**, and **Switzerland**), but only at the democratic, political, and economic level, not as members of NATO or allied with the United States during the Cold War. In the **post–Cold War** period (1990–present), the former Communist Soviet **satellites** of Eastern Europe have joined the West, integrating politically, militarily, and economically in NATO, the **European Union (EU)**, and the UN West Group in the 1990s–2000s.

A less common and highly imprecise political-regional term for the West is “North,” used by economic development advocates and in the 1980 *Brandt Reports*, arbitrarily lumping together the West with its enemies of the **Soviet bloc** or East, to group all industrialized countries in the Northern Hemisphere apart from the poor underdeveloped Third World countries in the “South.” *See also* EURO–ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP COUNCIL.

WEST GERMANY. *See* GERMANY.

WESTERN ALLIANCE (or ATLANTIC ALLIANCE). Colloquial name of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Infrequently and incorrectly shortened to **West**.

WESTERN BALKANS GROUP, EU. *See* HELSINKI GROUP.

WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION (WEU, FORMERLY THE BRUSSELS PACT). After the creation of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in 1949 and the 1950 “**Bomb on the Plaza**” speech, the **United States** had strongly advocated the military integration of West **Germany** into NATO to strengthen Euro–Atlantic security in case of war with the Soviet Union (USSR). However, **France** and other Europeans were opposed, and proposed instead the **Pleven Plan** for a **European Defence Community (EDC)** (**Belgium**, France, **Italy**, **Luxembourg**, the **Netherlands**, and West Germany) to integrate German **forces** in a parallel European Army. Europeans reluctantly agreed to integrate a democratic West Germany in common regional economic and political-military organizations, only if its superior strength was constrained and its leadership drive thwarted by cooperation among all European states, including both major powers, France, and **Great Britain**. It was believed that any smaller combination of Europeans would be overturned by German domination of the **joint** institutions. But Great Britain’s refusal to join the EDC allowed France to scuttle the proposal in 1954, following domestic political opposition from both Left and Right, as well as government doubts after the death of Soviet leader **Josef Stalin** freed the **West** from the fear of an imminent conflict.

The EDC fiasco prompted the first transatlantic crisis, when an angry United States threatened to withdraw from NATO unless West Germany was rearmed once and for all, either in NATO or in a parallel European organization. London was stung that its refusal to join the EDC had not only contributed to the EDC’s collapse (which the British had hoped for), but also angered the United States and undermined the much-cherished NATO. British Prime Minister Anthony Eden quickly proposed that the 1948 Brussels Pact (Belgium, France, Great Britain, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) be opened to Italy and West Germany and renamed the Western European Union (WEU). U.S.–British support turned the WEU into NATO’s grouping of European members and the institutional linchpin allowing West German rearmament and membership in NATO by 1955, with an autonomous national military totally under the U.S.-controlled **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)**.

Although the WEU cooperated closely with NATO, it was a separate organization with its own agenda that lacked its own standing

forces and military **command** structure. Thus, with NATO as the core defense institution for transatlantic security against the Soviet threat, the WEU lay dormant for 30 years, and its Council of Ministers never even met between 1973 and 1984. Deteriorating East–West relations after the end of **détente** and the **Euromissile Crisis** (1977–1983) finally led France, West Germany, and some **European Community (EC)** members to seek regional security coordination outside NATO. However, as EC institutions did not yet cover common security and foreign policies, other members (**Denmark**, Great Britain, **Greece**, **Ireland**, and Italy) objected to the EC taking on traditional NATO tasks. Instead, with NATO's blessing the WEU was reactivated (its seven members now belonging to both NATO and EC) at the October 1984 NATO–WEU Rome Meeting of Foreign and Defense Ministers, as a parallel security institution linking the EC and NATO.

The WEU's Platform on European Security (1987) promoted regional defense integration in the context of the EC's Single European Act (SAE). **Spain** and **Portugal** joined in 1989. From the late 1980s to early 1990s, the WEU became involved in minor military operations outside the NATO defense area, including the 1987 minesweeping of the **Gulf**; the 1990–1991 **United Nations (UN) embargo** against Iraq during the First Gulf War; and the 1992–1995 UN embargo and patrolling of the Danube against rump **Yugoslavia**. The December 1991 EC Maastricht **Summit** expanded political-economic integration within the renamed **European Union (EU)**, while enhancing the WEU's role by making it an integral part of the EU's common security and defense. The WEU in turn extended membership invitations to the other three non-WEU EU states (Denmark, Greece, and Ireland), which preferred observer status for fear of weakening NATO's centrality in European security. The WEU then moved its headquarters to Brussels, Belgium, next to both the EU and NATO. The WEU's memorandum of understanding (MOU) with **Bulgaria**, **Hungary**, and **Romania** on 5 April 1993 enforced the UN-imposed embargo on **Serbia**, with 10 WEU patrol boats and 270 men operating along the Danube River.

The January 1994 NATO Summit agreed to strengthen European-led defense by working with the WEU as the defense component of the new EU, with NATO assets available. However, British **veto**es on

full-fledged WEU **peacekeeping** missions whenever NATO was not involved (such as the 1997 Albanian Crisis/Operation Alba) weakened the organization's autonomous role and relevance. As the EU enlarged to 15 members (adding **Austria**, **Finland**, and **Sweden**), its new "neutral" states refused to join the WEU. Bereft of political support and military relevance, the WEU disappeared as an organization when the 1998 expiration of the Brussels Treaty led to the 1999–2000 absorption of the WEU into the EU's **European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI)**, with only its technical military personnel rehired by the EU. The WEU's Institute for Security Studies survives as the EU's Institute for Security Studies in Paris. Finally, a joint WEU/EU–NATO exercise in February 2000 tested future EU-led missions with NATO assets, such as the **European Force (EUFOR)** replacing NATO's **Stabilisation Force–Bosnia (SFOR)** in December 2004. *See also* WESTERN UNION DEFENCE ORGANISATION.

WESTERN GROUP, UN. *See* WEST.

WESTERN UNION DEFENCE ORGANISATION (WUDO), BRUSSEL PACT (1948–1950). The military arm of the Brussels Pact, the defense **alliance** among **Belgium**, **France**, **Great Britain**, **Luxembourg**, and **Netherlands**, created by the Brussels Treaty of 1948, against the threat of **World War III** from the Soviet Union (USSR). WUDO had its headquarters in Paris until 1951 and a political arm in Brussels, Belgium, but from its inception the pact was always too small and weak for the task, because of its refusal to add **Italy** (the only other large Western European state), **Germany**, and U.S. unwillingness to formally enter the **alliance**, which it openly supported and pledged to join, but only on the first day of war.

The Berlin Blockade (1948–1949) precipitated the **West** and Brussels Pact into a panic that a clash with the USSR was imminent, but this same **crisis** also provoked the United States to form a new Western **alliance**, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, in April 1949, with the five Brussels Pact members, **Canada**, and five other European nations. When NATO's first **Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers–Europe (SHAPE)** and new military organization for Allied Command Europe (ACE) were set up in Paris by its first

Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR), General **Dwight D. “Ike” Eisenhower**, who incorporated the existing WUDO headquarters and multinational personnel as the basis of the alliance’s integrated military structure. Without a military arm, the Brussels Pact languished, its security guaranteed by both NATO and the **European Defence Community (EDC)** (1950–1954), but the sudden collapse of the EDC in 1954 due to France’s failure to ratify it forced the Brussels Pact to briefly revamp as the **Western European Union (WEU)**, incorporating Italy and West Germany, and again after 1984 as NATO’s “European Pillar,” until its merger with the **European Union (EU)** in 1999–2001 as its new military arm.

WEU SATELLITE CENTRE. *See* EU SATELLITE CENTRE.

WÖRNER, MANFRED (1934–1994). He was the first German to reach the highest transatlantic position. As the seventh **Secretary-General** of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** and chairman of the **North Atlantic Council** (July 1988 to August 1994), he succeeded **Lord Carrington** (1984–1988) of **Great Britain**.

Wörner was born in Stuttgart–Bad Cannstadt, **Germany**, and received a doctorate in international law in 1958. He was a parliamentarian for the Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU, 1965–1988); chairman of Working Group on Defense of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group (1965–1976); chairman of the Defense Committee of the German Parliament (1976–1980); a member of the CDU/CSU Federal Executive and deputy chairman of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (1980–1982); deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group for foreign policy/defense and **inter-German** relations (1980–1982); and minister of defense (1982–1988).

As Secretary-General, Wörner worked closely with three NATO **Supreme Allied Commanders–Europe (SACEURs)**, U.S. Generals **John R. Galvin** (1987–1992), **John M. Shalikashvili** (1992–1993), and **George A. Joulwan** (1993–1998), shepherding the **alliance** through revolutionary East–West changes that ended the **Cold War** in 1989–1990: radical **arms control** reductions in NATO–**Warsaw Pact** conventional **forces** (1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty) and U.S.–Soviet strategic **nuclear** arms (1991–1993 Strategic

Arms Reduction Treaties); the democratization of Eastern Europe; the 1989 fall of the **Berlin** Wall and 1990 reunification of Germany; the 1991 collapse of the Warsaw Pact; the end of Communism and breakup of the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1991–1992; and the creation of a fragmented **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** around **Russia**.

Wörner died of cancer at his post on 13 August 1994 and was briefly replaced by **Willy Claes** (1994–1995) of **Belgium**.

WORLD WAR I (1914–1918). The “Great War,” together with **World War II** (1939–1945) and the Cold War (1946–1989) tore Europe apart militarily, politically, economically, and socially. Both global conflicts heavily influenced NATO, by shaping its Western political-ideological democratic values and transatlantic defense bonds between America and Europe in a permanent **alliance** of equals (involving mostly the same **allies** from both world wars) under U.S. leadership, seeking to prevent future global conflicts.

The origins of World War I date back to the collapse of the Bismarckian **balance of power** system (1870s–1914). The unification of **Germany** under Prussia in 1870 through the defeat of **Austria** in 1866 and **France** in 1870 led Chancellor Prince Otto von Bismarck to consolidate Berlin’s hegemonic role over Europe through a series of alliances between 1873 and 1888, to isolate Paris and prevent any French-led alliance with **Russia** and Austria against Germany. Von Bismarck’s first alliances were the First and Second Dreikaiserbunds (1873–1878, 1882–1888) among Germany, Austria–Hungary, and Russia, but both collapsed because of the mortal rivalry between Austria–Hungary and Russia over control of the **Balkans**. Von Bismarck rebuilt his anti-French alliance systems with the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria–**Hungary**, and **Italy** (1881–1914). This was followed by the secret Austro–German alliance (1879–1918), the secret Russo–German Reinsurance Treaty (1889–1902), and Anglo–German friendship bonds. However, in the 1890s von Bismarck retired, and international tensions led Germany to end its treaty with Russia because it was in conflict with the Austro–German alliance. France and Russia immediately formed a military **front** (1894–1917) against the Triple Alliance, enlarging it in 1904–1907 to include Great Britain, becoming the **Entente**.

The Entente's opposition to the perceived growing hegemonic threat posed by the Triple Alliance led to a series of international tensions and conflicts of interest between the two alliances between 1908 and 1913 over the Ottoman Turkish Empire and Balkans. These bipolar alliances divided Europe into two rival camps, while economic and imperial competition in the colonies escalated **arms races** and fears of war. Austria–Hungary had seized Turkish **Bosnia–Herzegovina** in 1879 to thwart the pro-Russian **Serbia's** plans to create a **Greater Serbian** kingdom in the Balkans and stop its ethnic-nationalist secessionist claims on Vienna's Serb and Slav minorities. However, in 1912 the pro-Russian Balkan League (**Bulgaria**, **Greece**, Montenegro, **Romania**, and Serbia) defeated the Turks in the First Balkan War, liberating the rest of the Balkans, only to fall upon **Bulgaria** in the Second Balkan War, leaving Serbia–Montenegro as the most powerful state. In 1914, a member of the Serb “Black Hand” terrorist group assassinated the heir to Austria–Hungary's throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, in Sarajevo, Bosnia. Vienna saw this as an opportunity to destroy Serbia with the support of Germany, but Russia supported Serbia against both Austria–Hungary and Germany, seeking to reverse its earlier humiliation during the 1908 Bosnian crisis. The Russian army's premobilization on 29 July 1914 forced Germany to declared war on 1 August against Russia and France. Encircled militarily in a two-front war between France and Russia, Germany's Schlieffen Plan called for quickly defeating France with a huge wheel offensive through neutral **Belgium** and northern France against Paris and the French army on the German border, then concentrating against the Russian army in **Poland** and East Prussia. This provoked the entry into the war on the side of the Entente of **Great Britain** and Japan, while Italy left the Triple Alliance, renamed the Central Powers after **Turkey** and Bulgaria joined.

World War I was fought primarily in Europe, with all participants initially thinking it would last just a few weeks, but it quickly escalated into a global total war. Early rapid offensives slowed to a crawl as the German armies were stopped in front of Paris in a bloody, four-year-long trench war of slow, stationary battles in the Western **Front** trenches, running 500 miles from the English Channel to **Switzerland**, repeated on the Italian Front in the Alps between Italy and Austria–Hungary. On the Eastern Front, Russia was repeatedly defeated

and pushed back 300 miles, pushing the country into a revolution. Between 1915 and 1917, the Entente constantly enlarged the war by drawing in as new **Allies Portugal, Greece, Italy, and Romania**, but Germany seemed to be slowly winning with the collapse of Serbia, Romania, Russia, and (almost) Italy. The Turkish Ottoman Empire failed to remove Great Britain from Egypt, and by 1918 it was itself destroyed, while Japan expanded in the Pacific against Germany, and the Anglo–French did the same in Africa. The United States finally entered the war on 6 April 1917 to rescue the Allies from defeat. The catalysts for the supposedly “**neutral**” U.S. involvement were commercial support of the Allies, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson’s unsuccessful peace mediations (“peace without victory”), and German submarines in the Atlantic sinking Allied shipping in retaliation for the Allied blockade of the Triple Alliance since 1914. American entry into the war made Germany’s victory impossible.

World War I ended on 11 November 1918, and the 27 victorious Allied nations signed the five different peace treaties at Versailles, crafted primarily by the United States, France, and Great Britain, or “Big Three,” in 1919. The most important outcome of the peace settlement was the **League of Nations**, which President Wilson believed would prevent future wars by institutionalizing the Allies’ alliance into a permanent international organization for universal peace, although the United States itself withdrew into neo-isolation. The Treaty of Versailles imposed on Germany responsibility for the war and payment of huge reparations to the Allies, cut Germany’s army to 100,000 troops, and partitioned both Austria–Hungary and Turkey to form newly independent ethnic East European states and Allied colonial **mandates**. World War I had far-reaching political, economic, and psychological effects in the world. Many countries briefly adopted liberal governments, but the misuse of the self-determination principle against Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria, plus rivalries among victors over war spoils, followed by the hardships of the Great Depression (1930s), opened the door to the revanchist imperialist aims of Adolf Hitler’s Nazi Party in Germany, Mussolini in Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan, while demoting democracy in Europe and bankrupting the Versailles settlement.

WORLD WAR II (1939–1945). The most immediate political-ideological origins of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**

were the catastrophic events of **World War I** (1914–1918) and especially World War II, which devastated Europe and divided it into rival camps. World War II also cemented the Western democratic and political-military **alliance** under the leadership of the **United States**, helping them rally a third time in 50 years to withstand the similar hegemonic threat posed by the Soviet Union (USSR) during the Cold War (1946–1990). Both World Wars II heavily shaped NATO's Western political-ideological identity and the transatlantic alliance between America and Europe by turning the fleeting World War II experience into a permanent peacetime alliance of equals from both world wars under U.S. leadership, which guaranteed the security of all.

The origins of World War II lie in the revanchist aims of the **Axis**—Nazi Germany, Fascist **Italy**, and Imperial Japan—to reverse the unjust provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, imposed by the Western Allies after World War I. German resentment against the Allies exploded during the Great Depression (1930s), which demoted the fleeting democratic Weimar Germany and brought to power Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party in 1933. The totalitarian Nazi dictatorship espoused a mix of ultranationalist, anticommunist, and racist propaganda against the **West** and the Versailles Treaty, seeking German rearmament and annexation of ethnic German lands, prohibited by the self-determination principle of the Versailles Treaty, aimed at punishing the Great War's losers. In 1935, Nazi Germany faced a weakened Allied front. The United States had withdrawn into neo-isolationism after 1921, abandoning its own creation, the **League of Nations**. Great Britain was focused on domestic affairs and was open to compromise with Germany in a controversial policy of appeasement. France's *alliances de revèrs* (1920s–1935) boxed in Germany between **Belgium** and the Eastern European states (Czechoslovakia, **Poland**, **Romania**, and **Yugoslavia**), but by 1935 only Czechoslovakia remained in alliance with a defensive France, anchored on its fortified Maginot line. France's addition of the USSR to the League of Nations in 1935 also split the West between pro- and anticommunist factions.

In the face of this political-ideological disarray, Hitler was able to expand his army, try to annex **Austria** in 1934, then remilitarize Germany's Rhineland border area next to France in 1935. When no action was taken against Germany by the appeasing Anglo-French,

Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan formed the ideological-political Axis front against the West in October 1936, which was supplemented in 1937 by the Anti-Comintern Pact against the USSR. On 13 March 1938, Hitler annexed Austria (*Anschluss*), again without opposition. Only Hitler's threats to annex the German-speaking Sudetenland border area of Czechoslovakia precipitated a showdown. At the October 1938 Munich Conference, the USSR was excluded, while Great Britain, France, and Italy approved Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland and safeguard of ethnic Slav Czechoslovakia. However, Hitler's annexation of the Czech Republic in March 1939, after **Slovakia's** secession, followed by similar threats against Poland over its **control** of the German-speaking "corridor" from Germany to East Prussia, finally unleashed World War II.

To thwart an alliance between the Anglo-French and the USSR and avoid fighting a two-front war, on 23 August 1939 Hitler signed the Nazi-Soviet **Non-Aggression Pact**, in which Germany and the USSR secretly agreed to partition Eastern Europe. On 1 September 1939, Germany invaded Poland, followed by the USSR, and the Anglo-French declared war on Germany. In April 1940, Germany conquered **Denmark** and **Norway**, followed in May by lightning offensives in the **Netherlands**, Belgium, **Luxembourg**, and France, conquering them by June, leaving Great Britain alone. In spring 1941, Germany, together with Italy and other Axis allies—**Bulgaria**, **Croatia**, **Finland**, **Hungary**, Romania, and Slovakia—controlled Europe, the **Balkans**, and **Greece**, also influencing pro-German "**neutrals**," including Francoist **Spain**, **Sweden**, and **Turkey**. The Battle of Britain (1940), Italian-German campaigns in North Africa in 1940–1943, submarine warfare in the Atlantic, and Axis Japan's expansion in Asia divided British military forces four ways, despite increasing support in matériel and loans from the United States under the 1940 "Destroyers Deal," the 1940 "Cash and Carry Act," and the 1941 "Lend-Lease Act." Germany's failure to quickly defeat Great Britain led Hitler to turn instead to Eastern expansion against the USSR in June 1941, but initial German victories in 1941–1943 met dogged Soviet resistance and increasing reversals, aided by the entry into the war of the United States after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and Hitler declared war on the United States. America plunged into

combat in the Pacific, North African, and European theaters. Forging a “**Grand Alliance**” among the United States, Great Britain, and USSR, between 1943 and 1945 the Allies conquered North Africa, Europe, and the **Balkans**, defeating Fascist Italy in September 1943, Nazi Germany in May 1945, and Japan in September 1945, after two Japanese cities were destroyed by **atomic bombs** (A-bombs).

The Allied victory in World War II restored Western democracy in Europe, utterly destroyed Germany and the Nazi ideology, and crushed Japan in Asia. The moribund League of Nations was replaced with the Allies’ permanent alliance through the United Nations, providing **collective security** for more than 50 members. However, World War II also precipitated the Cold War (1946–1990) between the USSR and U.S.-led Western Allies, after **Josef Stalin** betrayed the wartime accords of Tehran in 1943 and Yalta and Potsdam in 1945, leading to the Soviet division of Germany and Europe, with the occupation and political-ideological “**satellization**” of Eastern Europe until 1989–1990. The United States and Allies were forced to band together once again through NATO to protect common security and Western democratic ideals against a new hegemonic dictatorship in Europe.

WORLD WAR III SCENARIOS (1947–1989). The Cold War (1946–1990) started immediately after **World War II** (1939–1945), as the Soviet Union (USSR) dominated Eastern Europe and from there threatened Western Europe and the **United States**. This 45-year-long, East–West clash prompted a series of war-plan scenarios to cope with a much-feared catastrophic **nuclear** and conventional World War III. The U.S. Pentagon forecasted in its 1947–1950s war scenarios a quick Soviet conventional conquest of West **Germany**, **Italy**, **Scandinavia**, Western Europe, and **Greece**, reducing NATO defenses to the Pyrenees (**Spain** and **Portugal**), North Atlantic (**Canada**, **Great Britain**, **Ireland**, and **Iceland**) and geostrategic Mediterranean islands (Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, **Malta**, Crete, and **Cyprus**). A more pessimistic scenario stressed that if the Pyrenees line was lost, the entire Iberian peninsula and **Gibraltar** would fall, with Soviet **forces** also conquering **Turkey**, the Middle East, and North Africa to create a veritable Communist version of the

German–**Axis** *Festung Europa* of World War II, but twice as powerful. In both cases, World War III would have lasted several years, and only after a U.S. massive rearmament and using the British Isles would a new invasion of Europe lead to the final destruction of the Soviet “Empire,” at the cost of widespread devastation of all of Europe.

These scenarios forced the United States to reluctantly assume the permanent, active leadership of the “**Free World**” and protect Europe through the 1949 **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, along with 11 other **allies**. But the Chinese Communist Revolution (1949) and **Korean War** (1950–1953) revealed that, against an ever-expanding Communist **bloc**, NATO was unable to fully ensure Europe’s defense if the Korean War sparked a World War III, while Communist China’s involvement meant that Asia would also be dragged into the conflict, just as had happened in World War II with Japan’s invasion. Thus, America’s post-1950 global military **Containment** against the Soviet threat and World War III pushed it to adopt the NSC-68 plan of peacetime military rearmament to the level of World War II, to fight a two-front total war in World War III against the USSR in Europe and China in Asia. The United States also twice sought (unsuccessfully), in 1949 (NATO) and 1950 (“**Bomb on the Plaza**”), to strengthen defenses by having West Germany be rearmed as an equal Ally in NATO.

Under U.S. leadership, NATO emerged in the 1950s as the only truly integrated Euro–Atlantic military **alliance** against the USSR, to defend Europe both at the conventional and tactical nuclear levels, while preserving each ally’s national control and dampening ethnic-nationalist tensions within Europe. The United States also secured West Germany’s 1955 rearmament and integration into NATO, while enlarging NATO in 1952 to Greece and Turkey, with the external support of Spain (1952). The price was enhanced European political-psychological dependency on the U.S. “nuclear umbrella” and the global alliance network, plus U.S. insistence that allied defense plans for Europe be enhanced with the 1952 NAC Lisbon **Summit**’s ambitious **force** goal of 90 NATO divisions, which, however, was never reached because fears of World War III waned after the death of Soviet dictator **Josef Stalin** in 1953.

U.S. President **Dwight D. “Ike” Eisenhower**, who as **Supreme Allied Commander–Europe (SACEUR)** had led NATO’s conventional preparation for World War III, then sought a less costly way to defend Europe, through the “**new approach**” of relying on tactical nuclear weapons to augment alliance conventional defenses against any massed Soviet armor attack (**massive retaliation**). From the mid-1950s, NATO’s conventional defense of the **Central Front** was based on the untenable **forward defense strategy**, vital to politically bolster a vulnerable West Germany, relying on post–World War II deployments of Allied **occupation** troops. This left the stronger U.S. and French forces in safer southern Germany, compared to the thinly spread, front-line German, U.S., and Anglo–Canadian forces along the inter-German border in the north. Pre-1988 Soviet military **doctrines** against the West relied on the USSR/Warsaw Pact’s traditional conventional superiority over NATO’s weaker, immediately deployable, combat-ready forces. World War III would be a fast, surprise, Soviet conventional offensive against NATO, with massive fire power and rapid armored breakthroughs in the Central Front to conquer West Germany’s industrial Rhine–Ruhr areas during a three-week window, before U.S. air-lifted forces could rescue NATO and Germany from collapse. However, in such a limited time frame, East–West conventional combat could also quickly escalate into nuclear warfare if a desperate United States gambled to prevent World War III and NATO’s defeat through limited nuclear strikes against Warsaw Pact conventional targets. This in turn would expose the North American continent to retaliatory Soviet nuclear strikes, ending in an apocalyptic global nuclear holocaust.

In any World War III scenario, NATO could benefit from the fact that even with its combat-ready reserves in western Russia, the USSR/Warsaw Pact lacked the classic 3:1 superiority in forces deemed vital for any quick successful offensive against well-entrenched enemy defenses, while Soviet power would also be sapped by the unreliability of both Eastern European and Soviet–Central Asian conscripts. Furthermore, 40 percent of the Soviet **Red Army** was deployed outside Europe, the majority along the extensive Sino–Soviet border against the lightly armed four million Chinese troops, as well as in the First Afghan War (1979–1989) and residual forces in Japan and South Korea. Moscow’s lead in tanks, artillery, and aviation (7,240 to 2,975 planes) was partially offset by several

Western advantages: 60 percent of Soviet air power was only short range, giving NATO the lead in a long-range ground attack; NATO had more modern tanks and high-tech anti-tank weaponry; NATO had command of the seas and air for resupply of Europe; in the 1980s NATO could rely on Franco-Spanish military coordination; and the United States had rapid airlift capability to move several combat-ready divisions equipped with predeployed matériel in Europe in only two weeks (**pre-positioning**).

During East-West **détente**, the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty I (SALT I, 1972) on nuclear weapons and the decade-long, unsuccessful **arms control** talks over NATO-Warsaw Pact conventional forces (**Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions**) came just as the Second **Vietnam War** (1964–1975) was ending and U.S. forces were weakened by their withdrawal from that country. These events combined to weaken NATO's overall combat effectiveness (especially U.S. troops) in Europe, while NATO resisted pressures from several allies (**Canada**, Great Britain, and the United States) to reduce its forces in Europe. NATO instead sought to balance East-West arms control with major improvements in allied conventional and nuclear forces, as well as improving integrated **command, control**, and flexibility of NATO forces in Europe during the 1970s–1980s (NATO Strategic Planning during the 1970s and *NATO Long-Term Defence Improvement Programme*). From 1975 the major annual NATO exercises called **REFORGER (Return of Forces to Germany)** integrated multinational allied units in parallel national and NATO-wide training and annual tests of the rapid U.S.–Canadian air- and sea-lift of reinforcements to NATO's Central Front in Germany and northern Europe in case of an invasion by the USSR and Warsaw Pact.

Following the USSR's modernization in the 1970s of its numerically superior Eastern European-based forces and the **Warsaw Pact** with "state-of-the-art" weaponry, which undercut NATO's traditional qualitative superiority in forces, NATO undertook a controversial, vital modernization of NATO's theater nuclear forces in Europe between 1977 and 1983. NATO's December 1979 "dual-track" policy modernized its INF with U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, to supplement NATO's inadequate conventional military forces, while negotiating arms control deals with the USSR to eliminate Soviet–NATO INFs.

But the USSR's invasion of **Afghanistan** (1979–1989) and rejection of NATO's "dual-track" policy precipitated the collapse of NATO–Warsaw Pact relations and East–West détente. The USSR supported massive Western antinuclear demonstrations in key NATO countries (Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, and the United States), which died out after INFs were deployed in 1983. At the same time, NATO adopted the revolutionary "follow-on-forces attack" (FOFA) plan to improve conventional defenses against a Warsaw Pact invasion by launching NATO conventional attacks deep inside Eastern Europe to destroy Soviet/Warsaw Pact **C³** and reserves well before they could reinforce the Red Army's initial offensive on NATO's fronts. The fear of World War III was ramped up by the **Polish** crisis in 1981, which pitted the prodemocratic Solidarność Labour Movement against the Polish military coup d'état, while NATO readied its own military should Poland collapse into civil war and the USSR intervene militarily.

By 1988, deep **arms control** cuts in Soviet forces finally left the NATO–Warsaw Pact conventional balance in Europe and America roughly equal, with 4,788,000 Warsaw Pact troops to 4,771,000 NATO and 493,000 French forces. Still, the Warsaw Pact retained a superiority of 1.5/2:1 in total armor-equivalent combat power, 2.5:1 in tanks, and 2.4:1 in artillery, plus a faster wartime mobilization capacity, with an immediate 20 percent combat-ratio boost to 2.3:1, tank ratio to 3.6:1, artillery ratio to 3.8:1, and 202 divisions compared to 121 NATO ones.

The 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE) halved NATO–Warsaw Pact forces in the **Atlantic-to-the-Urals (ATTU)** region and eliminated the risk of a surprise Soviet strike by cutting each alliance to 20,000 tanks (16,500 in active units), 30,000 armored combat vehicles (27,300 active), 20,000 artillery pieces (17,000 active), 6,800 aircraft, and 2,000 attack helicopters. For the first time, **on-site inspectors** verified the destruction of weapons, while U.S.–Soviet forces in Europe were further cut to 195,000 each. U.S. Presidents **George W. Bush** and Bill **Clinton** further cut U.S. forces in Western Europe, from 336,000 in 1989 to 192/175,000 by 1992, 154,700 in late 1993, and 100,000 in 1995, despite protests from NATO and European allies that such lower levels reduced NATO's war-fighting deterrence. At the same time, East–West nuclear arms

control accords eliminated fears of World War III. The 1987 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty** eliminated all **Euromissiles**; the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) halved strategic nuclear weapons; and the 1991 Short-range Nuclear Forces (SNF) Accords halved SNFs with the rest in U.S. and USSR “central storages.”

Finally, the Cold War ended with the peaceful anticommunist 1989 **Eastern European Revolutions** and fall of the **Berlin Wall** in 1989–1990, due to Soviet Premier **Mikhail Gorbachëv**’s vacillation between reform and repression. The USSR lost all of Eastern Europe, Mongolia, and the Warsaw Pact front-line defenses, followed by the reunification of Germany in 1990 and the Warsaw Pact’s disbanding in late 1990.

– X –

“X.” Pseudonym of U.S. diplomat George F. Kennan, used when he published “The Sources of Soviet Conduct” in *Foreign Affairs* (July 1947), in which he urged the **United States** to adopt a global **containment strategy** to stop the totalitarian expansion of the Soviet Union (USSR) and communism.

– Y –

“**YEAR OF EUROPE**” (1973). *See* KISSINGER, HENRY A.

YELTSIN (YEL’TSIN), BORIS NIKOLAYEVICH (1931–2007).

First president of **Russia** (1991–1999) and controversial former Communist leader of the Soviet Union (USSR), working at that time against Soviet Premier **Mikhail Gorbachëv** to implement sweeping political-economic reforms, which helped provoke the USSR’s collapse in 1991.

An ethnic Russian, Boris Yeltsin was born on 1 February 1931 in Butka, Sverdlovsk, Russia. He became an engineer before joining the Soviet Communist Party at age 30 during the period of Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchëv**’s anti-Stalinist reforms. Yeltsin soon became first secretary of a district central committee and was reputedly

an energetic reformer against corruption. In 1985, the reformist General Secretary of the Communist Party Gorbachëv brought Yeltsin to Moscow as secretary of the Central Committee for Construction. Six months later he became first secretary of Moscow's City Party Committee (more or less the mayor). Hard working, blunt, and incorruptible, Yeltsin was the admired spearhead of Gorbachëv's reforms: *glasnost* ("political opening") and *perestroika* (economic restructuring), which sought to eliminate corruption, streamline the bureaucracy, and modernize national production. Yeltsin attacked the old guard party machinery (*Nomenklatura*) for inaction, bureaucratism, privileges, and abuses. He talked to people, stressed self-sacrifice, arrested hundreds of corrupt officials, criticized state censorship, humiliated bureaucrats, and called for an end to *Nomenklatura* privileges. Yeltsin made many enemies, alienating the Soviet leadership, while Gorbachëv waffled between reforms and Stalinism. Under pressure, and reprimanded by Gorbachëv, on 21 October 1987 Yeltsin shocked the assembled Communist Party Central Committee by resigning because economic reforms were too slow and were being sabotaged by the old Communist *Nomenklatura*. Yet Yeltsin's public downfall and isolation also dealt a severe blow to Gorbachëv's position, when the public then questioned his own commitment to reforms and inability to revive the collapsing Soviet economy, forcing him to realign with antireformist Communists, while Yeltsin became the leader of a loose coalition of reformers in parliament who excoriated the government.

Gorbachëv's successful foreign policy of East–West *détente*, Soviet withdrawal from **Afghanistan**, **nuclear** and conventional **arms control**, and East–West trade brought to an end the Cold War (1946–1990) and fears of **World War III**, but he could not translate these military budget savings into economic revival. Instead, Soviet authority abroad rapidly collapsed when political reforms were introduced there as well. To prevent the impending secession of the Baltic and transcaucasus states, the Communist antireform faction sought to reimpose strict Communism, seizing power in the 18 August 1991 military coup and imprisoning Gorbachëv. Yeltsin escaped arrest, and at the Russian Parliament (Duma) rallied the reformers, parliamentarians, and public opinion against the military coup, which collapsed under public pressure. Although Gorbachëv returned to power,

Yeltsin became the new unofficial leader and quickly tore the USSR apart by declaring Russia's secession, followed by other Soviet states, until on 25 December 1991 the USSR fell.

Yeltsin replaced the centralized Soviet military with a smaller Russian one, tied to 12 other former Soviet states through a loose **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**, allowing Russian **bases** and CIS peacekeepers in most of the former USSR or "Near-Abroad," where all former Soviet states developed smaller national **forces**. All CIS states and Russia became also **partners** in the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NAC-C)**, which later became the **Partnership for Peace** and **Russia-NATO Permanent Joint Council (PJC)**, but Yeltsin publicly wavered in his futile opposition to NATO's **first enlargement** (1997–1999) to three ex-Communist Eastern European states. Russia's constraints were sharpest with **Ukraine** over dividing the Soviet Black Sea Fleet and over the Russian-inhabited Crimea, until they reached an accord in the mid-1990s, while pressures from the **United States** forced Ukraine, **Belarus**, and **Kazakhstan** to return nuclear missiles to Russia for dismantling under the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START I). Yeltsin cooperated closely with the **West** at the **G-8 Summits** and in the Yugoslav civil wars (1991–2000). In the "**Contact Group**" (**France, Germany, Great Britain**, the United States, and Russia) on the former **Yugoslavia** he agreed to joint NATO–Russian **peacekeeping** in **Bosnia** and **Kosovo**, while cooperating in the "Quartet" (the United States, **European Union**, the **United Nations**, and Russia) on the Middle East.

However, domestic confidence in Yeltsin plummeted because his radical market reforms were still opposed by Communists ("Reds") and ultranationalists ("Browns"), who won over the Duma and the vice president, trying to depose Yeltsin in the 3 October 1993 "Reds and Browns" Coup. Yeltsin outmaneuvered them with the military and had the Duma bombed until the coup plotters surrendered. However, antigovernment forces stalled Yeltsin's legislation until 1999, and opposed both the 1993 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty II (START II) and his pro-Western policies, while openly supporting the former Yugoslavia against NATO. Worse was the 1994 secession of Chechnya; Russian troops were mauled in three bloody civil wars against Chechen Islamic fundamentalist forces, until Yeltsin's last

prime minister, **Vladimir Putin**, conquered the rebel state in 1999. Yeltsin surprised his enemies by winning the 1996 presidential election against the Communists, but his term was curtailed by a heart attack and chronic alcoholism, while the Duma stalled his policies until Prime Minister Putin (1999) succeeded Yeltsin as president of Russia (2000–2008).

In retirement, Yeltsin only once spoke publicly against his successor, in 2006, with Gorbachëv they reconciled to jointly criticize Putin's gradual antidemocratic centralization of powers. Yeltsin died at 76 on 23 April 2007, and Putin manipulated his state funerals to depict himself as "inheriting" Yeltsin's mantle of national respect.

YOM KIPPUR WAR/U.S.–SOVIET NUCLEAR CRISIS (1973).

See KISSINGER, HENRY A.

YUGOSLAVIA. *See* CROATIA; BOSNIA; SERBIA-MONTENEGRO.

YUGO–SOVIET SPLIT (1948). *See* SLOVENIA; YUGOSLAVIA.

YOUTH ATLANTIC TREATY ASSOCIATION (YATA), NATO.

International nonprofit group of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, with chapters in all **allied** and **partner** states, promoting youth involvement and public knowledge of **Atlantic common values** and security issues.

– Z –

ZAGREB DECLARATION. **European Union's (EU)** declaration of regional **Balkan** cooperation, stability, and reforms with EU aid in the Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Democratisation and Stabilisation (CARDS). *See also* ZAGREB PROCESS.

ZAGREB PROCESS, EU. The **European Union (EU)** Zagreb I **Summit** (November 2000) and **Zagreb Declaration** created a new **Balkan** forum to strengthen political cooperation with the EU and **Stabilisation and Association Area (SAA)** states, plus **Croatia** and

Macedonia, while stressing that no state would be “left out” of **EU enlargements** after 12 new members joined the EU in 2002–2007. The Zagreb II Meeting (2003) gave aid to **SAA aspirants**.

ZANGGER COMMITTEE—NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY EXPORTERS' LIST. Named by its first chairman, Claude Zangger, it is the first **international nonproliferation control regime** by the **West** against **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)** in the Third World. Created in 1970 in Vienna, the Zangger Committee, or **Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Exporters' List**, created NPT export-control lists of military and “dual-use” (either civil or military) **nuclear** materials and technology to prevent material intended for civilian nuclear programs being misused in secret military ones. Zangger export-control lists bar plutonium, highly enriched uranium (HEU) reactors, fissionable materials and equipment, reprocessing and enrichment plants, and “especially designed or prepared” (EDP) nuclear proliferation equipment. Zangger “dual-use” control lists require export permits for all civil nuclear programs, plus **on-site inspections** by the **International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)**. Members meet twice yearly and provide the Committee Secretariat with a confidential report on control lists of exports to both non-NPT and NPT nonnuclear-weapons states. *See also* AUSTRALIA GROUP; NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS GROUP; MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME.

“ZERO OPTION.” On 18 November 1981, President **Ronald Reagan** announced new **arms control** talks between the **United States** and Soviet Union (USSR) on **intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF)** based on a “zero option” (originally labeled “zero-zero option”), in which the United States would forgo deploying Pershing II and cruise **nuclear** INF missiles if the USSR withdrew its SS-20 INFs. But “dual-track” arms control stalled because of Soviet intransigence, and it collapsed upon the 1983 deployment of NATO INFs. After the accident at the USSR’s Chernobyl civil nuclear plant on 26 April 1986, a new East–West **détente** and arms control led Soviet Premier **Mikhail Gorbachëv** to agree to the “zero option” on 23 July 1987. The U.S.–Soviet **INF Treaty (1987)** eliminated all Soviet–U.S. land-based **Euromissiles/INFs** and required **on-site inspections**.

Appendix I: NATO Secretaries-General

1952–1957	Lord Hastings Ismay (Great Britain)
1957–1961	Paul-Henri Spaak (Belgium)
1961–1964	Dirk U. Stikker (Netherlands)
1964–1971	Manlio Brosio (Italy)
1971–1984	Joseph M. A. H. Luns (Netherlands)
1984–1988	Lord Peter Carrington (Great Britain)
1988–1994	Manfred Wörner (Germany)
1994–1995	Willy Claes (Belgium)
1995–1999	Javier Solana (Spain)
1999–2003	Lord George Robertson (Great Britain)
2004–present	Jaap de Hoop Scheffer (Netherlands)

Appendix II: NATO Supreme Allied Commanders-Europe (SACEURs)

1951–1952	General Dwight D. Eisenhower, U.S. Army
1952–1953	General Matthew B. Ridgway, U.S. Army
1953–1956	General Alfred M. Gruenther, U.S. Army
1956–1962	General Lauris B. Norstad, U.S. Air Force
1963–1969	General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, U.S. Army
1969–1974	General Andrew J. Goodpaster, U.S. Army
1974–1979	General Alexander M. Haig Jr., U.S. Army
1979–1987	General Bernard W. Rogers, U.S. Army
1987–1992	General John R. Galvin, U.S. Army
1992–1993	General John M. Shalikashvili, U.S. Army
1993–1997	General George A. Joulwan, U.S. Army
1997–2000	General Wesley K. Clark, U.S. Army
2000–2003	General Joseph W. Ralston, U.S. Air Force
2003–2006	General James L. Jones, U.S. Marines
2006–present	General B. John Craddock, U.S. Army

Appendix III: NATO Committees

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL (NAC)

Members	All 26 NATO member-states.
Chairman	Secretary-General.
Role	NATO's main decision-making authority and only body established by the North Atlantic Treaty, able to create subsidiary bodies to implement the Treaty.
Levels	Ambassadorial (Permanent Representatives/Ambassadors), Ministerial (Foreign and/or Defense Ministers), and Summits levels (Heads of State and Governments).
Committees	North Atlantic Council is supported by many committees on all activities.
International Staff Support	All International Staff Divisions and Independent Offices support the work of the North Atlantic Council. The NAC also creates several specialized agencies as needed.

DEFENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE (DPC)

Members	All NATO member-states, except France.
Chairman	Secretary-General.
Role	Principal decision-making authority on NATO's integrated military structure.
Levels	Permanent Representatives/Ambassadors. Ministerial (Defense Ministers).
Committees	Defence Review Committee.
Staff Support	Division of Defence Planning and Operations; Executive Secretariat.

NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP (NPG)

Members	All NATO member-states, except France.
Chairman	Secretary-General.
Role	Principal decision-making authority on Alliance nuclear policies.
Levels	Defense Ministers, Permanent Representatives.
Committees	High-Level Group (HLG); NPG Staff Group.
Staff Support	Division of Defence Planning and Operations; Executive Secretariat.

MILITARY COMMITTEE (MC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Chairman of the Military Committee.
Role	Senior military authority of North Atlantic Council and Defence Planning Committee.
Levels	Chiefs of Staff/Chiefs of Defense, National Military Representatives.
Committees	Military Committee Working Groups. Several joint civil and military bodies report to the Military Committee, North Atlantic Council, and Defence Planning Committee.
Staff Support	International Military Staff.

EXECUTIVE WORKING GROUP (EWG)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Deputy-Secretary-General. Permanent Chair: Assistant-Secretary-General DPO.
Role	North Atlantic Committee's senior advisory body on defense and relations with the European Union and other international organizations.
Levels	Defense Counselors of national delegations. Staff
Support	Division of Defence Planning and Operations; Executive Secretariat.

**HIGH-LEVEL TASK FORCE ON
CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL**

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Vice-Secretary-General; Acting Chair: Assistant-Secretary-General Political Affairs.

Role	Consultative and advisory body to Foreign/Defense Ministers on arms control issues.
Levels	Experts from Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense at Political Directors level.
Committees	High-Level Task Force at Deputies level.
Staff Support	Division of Political Affairs (Conventional Arms Control and Coordination Section).

JOINT COMMITTEE ON PROLIFERATION (JCP)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Deputy-Secretary-General.
Role	Senior advisory body coordinating reports to the North Atlantic Council on politico-military aspects of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.
Levels	Members of the Senior Politico-Military Group on Proliferation (SGP) and Senior Defence Group on Proliferation (DGP) meeting in joint session.
Staff Support	Division of Political Affairs; Executive Secretariat.

POLITICO-MILITARY STEERING COMMITTEE/PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Deputy-Secretary-General. Permanent Chairmen: Assistant-Secretary-General for Political Affairs; Assistant-Secretary-General for Defence Planning and Operations/Director of Defence Partnership and Cooperation Directorate.
Role	Principal policy-making and advisory body to the North Atlantic Council on the Partnership for Peace, and PfP Planning and Review Process (PARP).
Levels	Representatives of national delegations (two members per delegation); membership frequently changes depending on the subjects being discussed.
Staff Support	Divisions: Political Affairs, Defence Planning and Operations; Executive Secretariat.

NATO AIR DEFENCE COMMITTEE (NADC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Deputy-Secretary-General.
Role	Advises the North Atlantic Council and EAPC on air defense and tactical missile defense; harmonizes national-international planning for air command and defense.
Levels	Senior national military or executive officers involved in the management and policy relating to air-defense or air-command and control systems.
Committees	Air Defence Representatives (ADREPS); Panel on Air Defence Weapons (PADW); Panel on Air Defence Philosophy (PADP); Early-Warning Inter-Staff Group (EWISG); Partner Air Defence Representatives (PADREPS).
Staff Support	Division of Defence Support (Air-Defence and Airspace Management Directorate).

POLITICAL COMMITTEE AT SENIOR LEVEL (SPC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Assistant-Secretary-General for Political Affairs.
Role	Senior advisory body of the North Atlantic Council on political and specific politico-military questions. Reinforced with experts as needed (SPC/R).
Levels	Deputy Permanent Representatives.
Staff Support	Division of Political Affairs; Executive Secretariat; other IS Divisions/Offices.

ATLANTIC POLICY ADVISORY GROUP (APAG)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Assistant-Secretary-General for Political Affairs.
Role	Advisory body to North Atlantic Council on long-term security policy projections.
Levels	National representatives at the level of Political Directors, acting as individual experts. The APAG meets annually with Partner countries participation.
Staff Support	Division of Political Affairs.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE (PC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Assistant-Secretary-General for Political Affairs.
Role	Advisory body to the North Atlantic Council on political questions.
Levels	Political Advisors to national delegations, reinforced as required by experts.
Staff Support	Division of Political Affairs; Executive Secretariat.

NATO CONSULTATION, COMMAND AND CONTROL BOARD (NC³B)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Deputy-Secretary-General.
Chairman & Co-Vice-Chair	Assistant-Secretary-General for Defence Support. Director, NATO Headquarters C ³ Staff and an elected Co-Vice-Chairman.
Role	Senior multinational body acting on behalf of and responsible to the North Atlantic Council and Defence Planning Committee on all matters relating to Consultation, Command and Control (C ³) throughout the Organization.
Levels	The C ³ Board brings two senior representatives from each nation involved in management and policy of Communication and Information Systems (CIS) in support of C ³ , to work on the wide range of functional responsibilities of the Board; one representative from the Military Committee; one representative from each Strategic Command; one representative from the following NATO Committees: CNAD, SCEPC/CCPC, COEC, NADC, NACMO BOD, NAPMO BOD, NSC, SRB, PMSC, NCS, and RTB; General Manager, NACOSA, NC ³ A, and the Controller.
Subordinate Committee	Group of National C ³ Representatives: Board in permanent session, working groups, sub-committees, ad hoc bodies, and sub-groups: Joint C ³ Requirements and Concepts (JRCSC-SC/1);

	Interoperability (ISC-SC/2); Frequency Management (FMSC-SC/3); INFOSEC (INFOSECSC-SC/4); Information Systems (ISSC-SC/5); Communications Network (CNSC-SC/6); Identification (IDENTSC-SC/7); Navigation (NAVSC-SC/8)
Staff Support	NATO Headquarters C ³ Staff (NHQC ³ S); Executive Secretariat.

**NATO AIR COMMAND AND CONTROL
SYSTEM (ACCS) MANAGEMENT ORGANISATION
(NACMO) BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

Members	24 NATO member-states, excluding Iceland and Luxembourg.
Chairman	Vice-Secretary-General. National Chair NATO Air Defence Committee (NADC).
Role	Planning and implementation of NATO's Air Command and Control System.
Levels	Senior national military/executive officers: air defense/command and control systems.
Committees	ACCS Advisory Committee.
Staff Support	Defence Support Division (Air Defence/Airspace Directorate); Executive Secretariat.

MEDITERRANEAN COOPERATION GROUP (MCG)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Assistant-Secretary-General for Political Affairs. Acting-Chairman: Deputy-Assistant Secretary-General and Director of Political Directorate.
Role	Advisory body to North Atlantic Council on Mediterranean Dialogue issues.
Levels	Political Advisors to NATO delegations and Mediterranean Dialogue states.
Staff Support	Division of Political Affairs; Executive Secretariat.

VERIFICATION COORDINATING COMMITTEE (VCC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Assistant-Secretary-General for Political Affairs. Acting-Chairman: Head of the Verification and Implementation Coordination Section.
Role	Principal body on conventional arms control implementation and verification.
Levels	Plenary sessions, Working Groups, Seminars/Workshops with experts from Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense, Verification Units' experts, Secretaries of Delegations.
Staff Support	Political Affairs Division (Arms Control Coordination Section); Executive Secretariat.

POLICY COORDINATION GROUP (PCG)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Assistant-Secretary-General for Defence Planning and Operations.
Role	Main advisory forum to the North Atlantic Council on politico-military issues, peacekeeping, Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) and NATO-EU ties to ESDI/P.
Levels	Deputy-Permanent Representatives and national Military Representatives.
Staff Support	Division of Defence Planning and Operations; Executive Secretariat.

DEFENCE REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)

Members	All NATO member-states except France.
Chairman	Assistant-Secretary-General, Defence Planning and Operations.
Role	Senior advisory committee to the Defence Planning Committee on force planning and integrated military structure.
Levels	Defence Counselors of national delegations.
Committees	Defence Review Committee Working Group.
Staff Support	Division of Defence Planning and Operations; Executive Secretariat.

CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL ARMAMENTS DIRECTORS (CNAD)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Secretary-General. Permanent Chair: Assistant-Secretary-General on Defence Support.
Role	Senior body under the North Atlantic Council dealing with production logistics. Promotes NATO armaments cooperation and considers political, economic, and technical aspects of the development and procurement of equipment for NATO forces.
Levels	National Armaments Directors.
Committees	National Armaments Directors' Representatives (NADREPS); NATO Army Armaments Group (NAAG); NATO Air Force Armaments Group (NAFAG); NATO Navy Armaments Group (NNAG); and NATO Industrial Advisory Group.
Staff Support	Defence Support Division (Armaments Planning, Programmes, and Policy Directorate).

NATO COMMITTEE FOR STANDARDISATION (NCS)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Secretary-General.
Cochairmen	Assistant-Secretary-General Defence Support; Director International Military Staff.
Role	Senior authority of the Alliance responsible for providing coordinated advice to the North Atlantic Council on overall standardization matters.
Levels	Senior officials from capitals coordinating national standardization views.
Committees	NCS Representatives/NCSREPs; NATO Standardisation Staff Group/NSSG.
Staff Support	Executive Secretariat; NATO Standardisation Agency (NSA).

INFRASTRUCTURE COMMITTEE

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Assistant-Secretary-General for Security Investment, Logistics, and Civil Emergency Planning.

Role	Permanent Chairman: Controller for Security Investment Programme. Responsible for implementing NATO Security Investment Programme, as endorsed by the Senior Resource Board and NAC or Defence Planning Committee.
Levels	Infrastructure advisors of national delegations; representatives of the Military Committee, NATO Strategic Commanders, and NATO Agencies.
Staff Support	Division of Security Investment, Logistics, and Civil Emergency Planning.

SENIOR CIVIL EMERGENCY PLANNING COMMITTEE (SCEPC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Secretary-General. Permanent Chair: Assistant-Secretary-General Security Investment, Logistics and Civil Emergency Planning/Director Civil Emergency Directorate.
Role	Senior policy-advisory body to the North Atlantic Council on civil emergency planning and disaster-relief, and coordination of Planning Boards and Committees.
Levels	Senior officials from capitals with responsibility for coordination of civil emergency activities/representatives from national delegations.
Committees	Planning Boards and Committees (Ocean Shipping, European Inland Surface Transport, Civil Aviation, Food and Agriculture, Industrial Preparedness, Civil Communications Planning, Civil Protection, Medical Planning).
Staff Support	Division of Security Investment, Logistics, and Civil Emergency Planning (Civil Emergency Planning Directorate); Executive Secretariat.

SENIOR NATO LOGISTICIANS' CONFERENCE (SNLC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Secretary-General. Chairs: Assistant-Secretary-General on Security Investment, Logistics, and

	Civil Emergency Planning; Deputy Chair Military Committee.
Role	Senior body advising North Atlantic Council, Defence Planning Committee, and Military Committee on Logistics. Joint civil-military body on logistics for NATO.
Levels	Senior national, civil and military officials on consumer logistics in Allied countries.
Committees	SNLC Logistics Staff Meeting; Movement and Transportation Advisory Group.
Staff Support	Division of Security Investment, Logistics, and Civil Emergency Planning, plus IMS.

SCIENCE COMMITTEE (SCOM)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Assistant-Secretary-General for Scientific and Environmental Affairs.
Role	Principal decision-making authority for the NATO Science Programme.
Levels	National Science experts from governments or independent bodies in member-states.
Committees	Science Committee appoints sub-committees, advisory panels, and steering groups.
Staff Support	Division of Scientific and Environmental Affairs.

COMMITTEE ON CHALLENGES OF MODERN SOCIETY (CCMS)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Assistant-Secretary-General for Scientific and Environmental Affairs.
Role	NATO's main decision-making body on the Challenges of Modern Society.
Levels	National representatives on environmental programmes in member countries.
Committees	Nations appoint representatives to the Sub-committee for CCMS Fellowships.
Staff Support	Division of Scientific and Environmental Affairs.

CIVIL AND MILITARY BUDGET COMMITTEES (CBC/MBC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	National Chairman appointed on rotational basis by the North Atlantic Council.
Role	Responsible to the North Atlantic Council for the assessment and recommendation of the annual budgets for the International Staff, International Military Staff, Major NATO Commands, and the NAEW&C Force; and for review of budgetary execution.
Levels	Financial Counsellors from national delegations.
Committees	Budget Committees establish working groups as required.
Staff Support	Chair of Budget Committees; Office Financial Controller; Office Management.

SENIOR RESOURCE BOARD (SRB)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	National Chairman selected on rotational basis.
Role	Senior advisory body to the North Atlantic Council on the management of military common-funded resources.
Levels	National representatives, representatives of the Military Committee, NATO Strategic Commanders, Chairmen of the Military Budget Committee, Infrastructure Committee, and NATO Defence Manpower Committee.
International Staff Support	Office of the Chairman of the SRB; Division of Security Investment, Logistics, and Civil Emergency Planning; Executive Secretariat.

SENIOR DEFENCE GROUP ON PROLIFERATION (DGP)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Cochairmen: one North American and one European representative.
Role	Senior advisory body on defense-related aspects of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and associated delivery systems.

Levels	Senior NATO officials concerned on defense matters.
Committees	DPG Steering Committee (made of working-level experts); other temporary ad hoc bodies as needed. Also meets with Senior Politico-Military Group on Proliferation (SGP), becoming the Joint Committee on Proliferation (JCP).
Staff Support	Division of Political Affairs; Executive Secretariat.

SENIOR DEFENCE GROUP ON PROLIFERATION (DGP)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Co-Chairmen: one North American and one European representative.
Role	Senior advisory body on defense-related aspects of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and associated delivery systems.
Levels	Senior NATO officials concerned on defense matters.
Committees	DPG Steering Committee (made of working-level experts); other temporary ad hoc bodies as needed. Also meets with Senior Politico-Military Group on Proliferation (SGP), becoming the Joint Committee on Proliferation (JCP).
Staff Support	Division of Political Affairs; Executive Secretariat.

HIGH LEVEL GROUP (HLG)

Members	All NATO member-states, except France.
Chairman	National Chairman (United States).
Role	Advisory body of Nuclear Planning Group. Meets several times per year on NATO's nuclear policy and planning, and nuclear weapons' safety, security, and survivability.
Levels	National experts from NATO capitals.
Committees	Division of Defence Planning and Operations (Nuclear Policy Directorate).
International Staff Support	All NATO member-states, except France.

ECONOMIC COMMITTEE (EC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Director of Economics Directorate.
Role	Advisory body to the North Atlantic Council on economic issues.
Levels	Representatives of NATO delegations (Economic Counsellors) and national experts.
Staff Support	Division of Political Affairs, Economics Directorate; Executive Secretariat.

COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION AND CULTURAL RELATIONS (CICR)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Director of Information and Press.
Role	Advisory body to the North Atlantic Council on information and press.
Levels	Representatives from NATO delegations. Reinforced meetings with experts.
Staff Support	Office of Information and Press; Executive Secretariat.

COUNCIL OPERATIONS AND EXERCISES COMMITTEE (COEC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Director Crisis-Management and Operations Directorate, Defence Planning Division.
Role	Principal forum for crisis-management procedures, facilities, communications, NATO Situation Centre (SITCEN), and crisis-management exercises.
Levels	Political-military representatives of national delegations on crisis-management.
Staff Support	Division of Defence Planning and Operations (Council Operations); Secretariat.

NATO AIR-TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE (NATMC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Elected (Director Air Defence and Airspace Management, NATO International Staff).

Role	Senior advisory body on civil-military coordination of air traffic.
Levels	Senior civil and military air-traffic managers from national capitals.
Committees	Communications, Navigation, and Surveillance Group; Air-Traffic Management Group.
Staff Support	Defence Support Division (Air Defence and Air-space Directorate); Secretariat.

NATO PIPELINE COMMITTEE (NPC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Head of Logistics (IS Element).
Role	Senior advisory body on consumer logistics for military petroleum supplies.
Levels	Government experts on military petroleum matters.
Committees	Working Group on Special Tasks; Fuels and Lubricants Working Group; Petroleum Handling Equipment Working Group.
International Staff Support	Division Security Investment, Logistics, and Civil Emergency Planning (Logistics/IS Element); Executive Secretariat; NATO Military Authorities (SHAPE, SACLANT).

CENTRAL EUROPE PIPELINE MANAGEMENT ORGANISATION BOARD OF DIRECTORS (CEPMO/BOD)

Members	Seven members: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Netherlands, and United States.
Chairman	National representative.
Role	Senior directing body for the Central Europe Pipeline System (CEPS).
Levels	Representatives of participating countries plus representatives of the Central Europe Pipeline Management Agency (CEPMA).
International Staff Support	Division Security Investment, Logistics, and Civil Emergency (Logistics/IS Element); Executive Secretariat; NATO Military Authorities (CINC-NORTH, AFNORTH).

NATO SECURITY COMMITTEE (NSC)

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Director of the NATO Office of Security (NOS).
Role	Advisory body to the North Atlantic Council on NATO Security Policy.
Levels	National representatives and national delegation security officers.
Committees	Working Group on ADP Security.
Staff Support	NATO Office of Security.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Members	All NATO member-states.
Chairman	Annual rotating chairmanship among member-states.
Role	Advisory body of North Atlantic Council on matters of espionage and terrorist threats.
Levels	Heads of Security Services of member countries.
Staff Support	NATO Office of Security.

EURO-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP COUNCIL (EAPC)

Members	46 member-states (26 NATO Allies and 20 Partners).
Chairman	Secretary-General.
Role	The EAPC Basic Document (May 1997) created it as the framework for politico-security consultations and enhanced cooperation in the Partnership for Peace (PfP).
Levels	Ambassadorial (NATO Allies and Partners), Ministerial (Foreign and Defense Ministers), and Summit levels (Heads of State/Governments).
Committees	Subordinate committees of North Atlantic Council and Partners in EAPC/PfP.
Staff Support	NATO-EAPC Diplomatic Missions. International Staff and International Military Staff.

NATO-RUSSIA PERMANENT JOINT COUNCIL (PJC)

Members	All members of NATO plus Russia ("NATO + 1").
Chairman	Secretary-General, Representative of the Russian Federation and a Representative of a NATO member on a three-monthly rotational basis.

Role	NATO-Russia Founding Act (27 May 1997) created it as the Forum for cooperation.
Levels	Ambassadorial (NATO Allies plus Russia), Ministerial (Foreign and Defense Ministers), and Summit levels (Heads of State/Governments).
Committees	No formal substructure. Chiefs of Staff/Chiefs of Defense meet under the PJC twice a year. Military representatives meet monthly. PJC is supported by working groups.
Staff Support	Russian staff with NATO's International Staff and International Military Staff.

NATO-UKRAINE COMMISSION (NUC)

Members	All member countries of NATO and Ukraine.
Chairman	Secretary-General.
Role	North Atlantic Council meets as NATO-Ukraine Commission, twice a year.
Levels	Ambassadorial (NATO Allies plus Ukraine), Ministerial (Foreign and Defense Ministers), and Summit levels (Heads of State/Governments).
Committees	A number of senior NATO committees meet regularly with Ukraine, including the Military Committee in Permanent or Chiefs of Staff session. The NUC is also supported by expert working groups (i.e., Joint Working Group on Defense Reform).
Staff Support	Ukrainian staff with NATO's International Staff and International Military Staff.

MEDITERRANEAN COOPERATION GROUP (MCG)

Members	NATO members plus Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia.
Chairman	Assistant-Secretary-General for Political Affairs. Acting-Chairman: Deputy-Assistant Secretary-General and Director of Political Directorate.
Role	Consultative body on Mediterranean security issues.
Levels	Meetings at level of Political Counsellors with all Mediterranean Dialogue Partners.

Committees

Mediterranean Partners staffs, NATO's International Staff, International Military Staff.

Staff Support

NATO members plus Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia.

NATO-WESTERN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

“OUT-OF-AREA,” 2004–07¹

AFGHANISTAN NATO-ISAF (35 Members)*		IRAQ, 2003–current*
U.S.A.	17,000	U.S.A. 138/194,000
Other Coalition Forces	3,000	GREAT BRITAIN (withdrawn 2007) 8,330
U.S.-led Coalition Totals	20,000	ITALY (withdrawn 2006) 2,700
CANADA	1,860	POLAND (withdrawn 2006) 2,400
GERMANY	1,740	UKRAINE 1,700
FRANCE	530	NETHERLANDS 1,400
ITALY	490	SOUTH KOREA 465-to-3,000
GREAT BRITAIN	330	ROMANIA 700
Other 19 NATO Members	2,000	JAPAN 600
Non-U.S. NATO-ISAF Totals	6,500	AUSTRALIA 250
		U.S.-led Coalition Totals 156/180,215

BOSNIA NATO-SFOR, 1996–2004**

		KOSOVO NATO-KFOR, 1999–current**
ITALY	1,200	ITALY 2,600
Other NATO Members	5,800	Other NATO Members 17,400
U.S./NATO-SFOR Totals	7,000	U.S./NATO-KFOR Totals 20,000

Chart 6: *Corriere della Sera* (27 June 2004, Italy): p. 12. ** *Repubblica* (27 June 2004, Italy): p. 14.

Appendix IV: The North Atlantic Treaty

Washington, D.C., 4 April 1949

The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments. They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilisation of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area. They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security. They therefore agree to this North Atlantic Treaty:

ARTICLE I

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international dispute in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

ARTICLE II

The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon

which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

ARTICLE III

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

ARTICLE IV

The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened.

ARTICLE V

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

ARTICLE VI¹

For the purpose of Art. V an armed attack on one or more Parties is deemed to include an armed attack:

- on the territory of any of the Parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France,² on the territory and Islands under the jurisdiction of any of the Parties in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer;
- on the forces, vessels, or aircraft of any of the Parties, when in or over these territories or any other area in Europe in which occupation forces of any of the Parties were stationed on the date when the Treaty entered into force, or Mediterranean Sea, or North Atlantic north of the Tropic of Cancer.

ARTICLE VII

This Treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations under the Charter of the Parties which are members of the United Nations, or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE VIII

Each Party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the Parties or Third State is in conflict with the provisions of this Treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this Treaty.

ARTICLE IX

The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall be so organised as to be able to meet promptly

at any time. The Council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defence committee, which shall recommend measures for implementing Articles III and V.

ARTICLE X

The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European State in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty. Any State so invited may become a Party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America. The Government of the United States of America will inform each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.

ARTICLE XI

This Treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the United States of America, which will notify all the other signatories of each deposit. The Treaty shall enter into force between the States which have ratified it as soon as the ratifications of the majority of the signatories, including the ratifications of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, United Kingdom and United States, have been deposited and shall come into effect with respect to other States on the date of the deposit of their ratifications.³

ARTICLE XII

After the Treaty has been in force for ten years, or at any time thereafter, the Parties shall, if any of them so requests, consult together for the purpose of reviewing the Treaty, having regard for the factors then affecting peace and security in the North Atlantic area, including the development of universal as well as regional arrangements under the Charter

of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE XIII

After the Treaty has been in force for twenty years, any Party may cease to be a Party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the United States of America, which will inform the Governments of the other Parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation.

ARTICLE XIV

This Treaty, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies will be transmitted by that Government to the other signatories.

Footnotes:

1. The definition of territories to which Article V applies was revised by Article II in Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the accession of Greece and Turkey (22 October 1951).
2. On 16 January 1963 the North Atlantic Council noted that as the ex-Algerian Departments of France were concerned, the relevant clauses of this Treaty had become inapplicable as from 3 July 1962.
3. The Treaty came into force on 24 August 1949, after the deposition of all ratifications.

Bibliography

- I. Introduction
- II. General Works on NATO: Cold War to Post–Cold War Era
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- F. European Union (EU), ESDI/P and NATO
- G. League of Nations (LoN)
- H. Multinational Force Organization in Sinai (MFO)
- I. Organization of African Unity/African Union (OAU/AU)
 - 1. General Works on OAU/AU
 - 2. OAU/AU Regional Security and Peacekeeping Operations
- J. Organization of American States (OAS)
 - 1. General Works on OAS
 - 2. OAS Regional Security and Peacekeeping Operations
- K. United Nations (UN/ONU)
 - 1. General Works on the UN
 - 2. UN Peacekeeping Operations with or without NATO
- L. Warsaw Pact (WTO)
- M. Western European Union (WEU)
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I. INTRODUCTION

This selected bibliography on NATO and its related international security organizations is designed for both the general public and scholars. It is not a simple undertaking to decide which works to include. NATO itself underwent tremendous growth and transformations during 45 years of Cold War (1946–1990) and over 18 years of the post–Cold War period (1990–present). When researching this topic in the Pentagon library as a NATO Fellow in the mid-1980s, I discovered with dismay that articles and books in English reached more than 500! Nowadays, nobody without a security clearance can ever again smell the sweet, musty scent of government archives in the Pentagon, or maybe even at the State Department, while rampant art theft has closed the Library of Congress’s stalls to scholars, although its slow circulation is still up and running.

The choice of materials for this bibliography focuses on striking a difficult balance between NATO’s “glorious” Cold War past (40 percent) and its equally challenging post–Cold War present (60 percent). For easier access by the general public, analysts, diplomats, military and international bureaucrats, rather than only for scholars, I eliminated the traditional artificial division between primary sources, articles, and books. Instead, all materials here are grouped in alphabetical order within 20 referenced subcate-

gories for NATO, plus an additional 18 subcategories for all major international security organizations, with emphasis on more recent works (published in the past 20 years), which are easily available through university interlibrary loan. Most works are in English, with a smattering of titles in French and German. The abundance of Anglo-Saxon materials, compared to the equally abundant collective production of works on NATO in all Allied and Partner states, or the former Soviet Union/Russia, makes it impossible to collect foreign materials in any satisfactory way. Instead, the English-language works cover most security and NATO topics related to all Allies and Partners, with a few national references for key members (the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Russia) or specific functional-geographic areas (Mediterranean/Southern Flank, European security, Eastern Europe and Russia, NATO and EU enlargements, Central Asia, and peacekeeping).

The same criteria are applied for all major international security organizations covered, which are grouped along their basic structural outline, with only the main international organizations having a specific subcategory on peacekeeping where their cooperation with NATO is deemed decisive (the United Nations, European Union, Western European Union, Conference on/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Multinational Force Organization in Sinai, Western multilateral peacekeeping coalitions, the Commonwealth of Independent States) compared to weaker institutional ties (the former enemy Warsaw Pact; the hollow British Commonwealth as a failed post-imperial global counterweight to NATO; the hopelessly flawed Organization of African Unity/African Union, whose regional crises increasingly affect the UN and NATO peacekeeping through joint training and logistics; the Organization of American States as the regional U.S.-led alliance parallel to NATO). A few other international organizations are covered in a cursory fashion for completeness of reference (League of Nations compared to UN peacekeeping, Arab League versus Western multinational coalitions, Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

The only NATO archive is in Brussels at NATO Headquarters and is hardly accessible, although the NATO Library has plenty of materials. Also accessible is the U.S. Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. For security reasons, the Pentagon has not been accessible since 1989, and the State Department has only limited archival works available. The United States publishes (infrequently) the *Foreign Record of the United States (FRUS)*, available in all university libraries, which is the most exhaustive publication of diplomatic archives that have been cleared for security. All NATO Allies

and Partners have a single national archive available for limited consultation in their own Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but secret publications are not published for 25–30 years, which restricts more recent research. All founders of NATO have published their memoirs, and some of their papers are available for scholars only, not the general public. However, a noteworthy private collection is the Cold War Research Library in Washington, D.C., affiliated with George Washington University. Likewise, the key international security think tanks in each country have a sizable national and international collection on NATO, accessible for a membership fee to most researchers. Finally, the most current source of essays and materials on NATO is the organization itself, at its regularly updated website, www.nato.int.

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