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## WHAT THE BENEFITS OF ENLARGING NATO AGAIN MIGHT BE

Joyce P. Kaufman

Ramet, Sabrina P., and Christine Ingebritsen, eds. *Coming in from the Cold War: Changes in U.S.-European Interactions since 1980*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002. 256pp. \$80  
Szayna, Thomas S. *NATO Enlargement 2000–2015: Determinants and Implications for Defense Planning and Shaping*. Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, 2001. 165pp. \$15  
Valasek, Tomas, and Theresa Hitchens, eds. *Growing Pains: The Debate on the Next Round of NATO Enlargement*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Defense Information, 2002. 126pp. (no price given)

Each book reviewed here offers a different perspective on the relationships between the United States and Europe, between the West and Russia, and among NATO allies. This topic has become especially important to students of international security in light of the issues surrounding the decision to go to war with Iraq and the divisions that this decision caused between the United States and its NATO allies in Europe. In spite of the different approaches taken by each book,

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certain common themes emerge. Where they vary is how each one makes its case and arrives at its conclusion. It is important to note that all three books were published prior to the war with Iraq, which could have changed some of the authors' points.

Sabrina Ramet and Christine Ingebritsen's work is by far the most academic of the three. Of the two edited volumes reviewed here, *Coming in from the Cold War* allows the reader to know it is the result of consultation and interaction between the authors, virtually all of whom are associated with an academic institution. As a result, it is more cohesive and broader than the other edited work.

Rather than focus on the issue of NATO enlargement and what that means for the alliance, *Coming in from the Cold War* offers a general introduction to and discussion of relations between the United States and Europe. The chapters range from Ramet's general

introduction that establishes the context, to such specifics as relations between the United States and Britain, France, and Germany. While discussion of this topic is expected in a volume such as this, the book also includes less-explored relationships, such as those between the United States and Poland, and the United States and Spain, both of which have emerged as important in light of issues surrounding the war with Iraq.

Of all the chapters, Christopher Coker's "NATO as a Postmodern Alliance" is especially prescient, particularly in his comment that "the most likely theater of peacekeeping in the future lies not in Europe itself but in its hinterland: in the Middle East. . . . These theaters are the origin of international crime." As the situations in both Iraq and Afghanistan continue to unfold, it will be interesting to see the ways in which the allies play a role, especially in the peacekeeping function that NATO has been moving toward.

The other two books offer insights of "practitioners," rather than academic perspectives. *Growing Pains* deals specifically with the debate surrounding the next round of NATO enlargement, with each chapter centering on a different aspect of the issue. Beyond the common theme, however, I found that there is little that ties it all together. It would have been helpful if the editors had given the reader an idea of when each chapter was written and if it was written specifically for this book or for a conference. Although the chapters are thematically related, I found them to be of uneven quality, more so than the Ramet-Ingebritsen book. For example, I found the chapter by Tomas Valasek well written and thoughtful (perhaps because I agree with him for the most part); however, I did not have the same reaction to some of the other chapters, which I found laden with sweeping generalizations that could not be substantiated and that undermined some of the important and interesting ideas. In short, this book offers the reader an introduction to many issues surrounding NATO enlargement, as seen through the eyes of a range of experts in the field, although not necessarily all academics. Given the caveats noted, anyone interested in this particular topic will find at least parts of the book to be of interest.

*NATO Enlargement 2000–2015* was written by Thomas Szayna and published by RAND specifically for decision makers. It "develops and applies an analytical framework to evaluate potential members' relative readiness for and likelihood of admission to NATO." While documenting approaches to enlargement, Szayna also notes, "The pace of enlargement would change . . . if the security environment deteriorated rapidly and a military threat arose. Under such circumstances military, rather than political, imperatives would become the important drivers of the process." This is an important point, not only after 9/11 but also because of the war in Iraq and the pressure it has placed on the alliance. Because of the book's publication date, it is unfortunate that the implications of the war,

especially in light of the above statement, could not be explored further. Szayna, however, does offer a number of guidelines to help us draw our own conclusions about NATO subsequent to recent events, such as Iraq. This is not an academic piece, nor does it purport to be. Nonetheless, this small book offers an interesting and well documented approach to understanding NATO enlargement and what the next round might mean for the alliance.

Despite the apparent differences between these books, they all arrive at some common conclusions, such as the importance of politics—both domestic and international—and how it influenced the first round of NATO enlargement and will no doubt affect the next round. They also suggest (either explicitly or implicitly) that only academics or researchers who study the topic have given much thought to questions about what an enlarged NATO will mean. John Newhouse raises the question in his essay in *Growing Pains*, asking “what the benefits of enlarging NATO again might be.” Another point made in all three books is that there is no single “European position”—or any single Europe, for that matter. The United States in particular must be reminded that Europe is made up of many different countries and cultures and that each looks differently at the broad questions regarding their relationship with the United States and with one another. Another common theme deals with the relationship between the countries of the West and Russia, especially under President Vladimir Putin. While Russia’s grudging acceptance of Round One of NATO enlargement has been well documented, its reaction to the next round and its relations with the United States are far less certain.

In the wake of the war with Iraq and the attendant issues surrounding the decision to go to war, I have found most interesting how many of the assumptions made by the United States about security and defense have changed since 9/11 and the subsequent war on terror. Each book reviewed here offers different ways to look at these important concepts as they pertain to relations between the United States and Europe.