



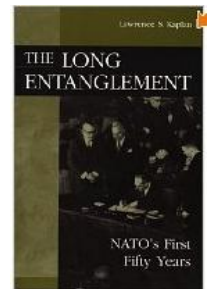
# SHAPE Reading List: NATO History and Issues



## General Histories

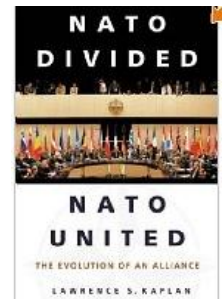
**Kaplan, Lawrence J.** *The Long Entanglement: NATO's First Fifty Years*. Praeger, 1999.

Taking his title from George Washington's warning against foreign "entanglements", Kaplan describes the "long entanglement" of the United States in NATO, giving an excellent overview of the Alliance's history in the process.



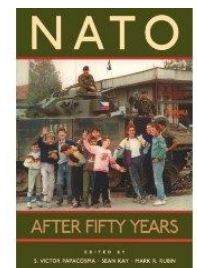
**Kaplan, Lawrence J.** *NATO Divided, NATO United: The Evolution of an Alliance*. Praeger, 2004.

Showing that differences of opinion within the Alliance are not unique to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Kaplan provides an overview of the Alliance's history that focuses on the divisions that have existed within NATO as well as the factors that have kept the Alliance together for six decades.



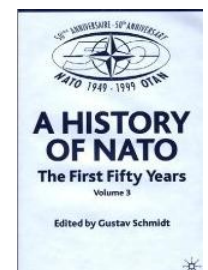
**Papacosma, S. Victor, Sean Kay, Mark R. Rubins (editors).** *NATO After Fifty Years*. SR Books, 2001.

This collection of essays by experts on NATO covers a wide range of aspects of the Alliance's first five decades, beginning with how the Alliance functioned during the Cold War and then showing how its responsibilities changed after the collapse of the Soviet Union.



**Schmidt, Gustav (editor).** *A History of NATO: The First Fifty Years*. 3 volumes, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

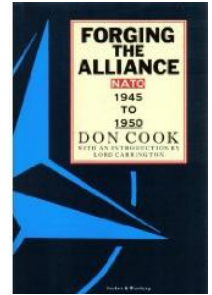
This massive 3-volume collection of essays by leading NATO scholars covers all aspects of the Alliance's first five decades of history. While perhaps not suitable as a first book on NATO's history due to its 1400+ pages of text, this collection is an excellent resource for those desiring greater details on specialised aspects of the Alliance.



## NATO's Founding and Early Years

**Cook, Don.** *Forging the Alliance: NATO, 1945-1950.* Secker & Warburg, 1989.

As a British journalist present during many of the events he describes, Cook provides an eyewitness view of the origins and initial years of the Alliance, carefully evaluating the role of the many key personalities involved.



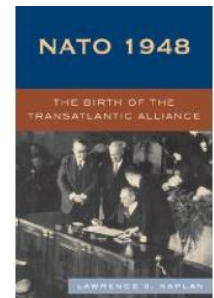
**Ismay, Hastings Lionel, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Ismay.** *NATO's First Five Years, 1949-1954.* North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1954.

Lord Ismay provides the ultimate insider's view of the establishment of NATO's political and military structures during the Alliance's first five years, because he was NATO's first Secretary General from 1952 until 1957.



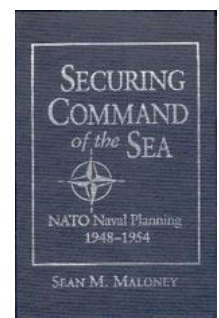
**Kaplan, Lawrence S.** *NATO 1948: The Birth of the Transatlantic Alliance.* Rowman & Littlefield, 2007

The Washington Treaty creating the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was signed in 1949, but the key discussions, negotiations and events that led to the creation of the Alliance occurred the previous year. Kaplan examines the vital year of 1948 in Europe and the United States, showing that the formation of NATO was never a sure thing.



**Maloney, Sean M.** *Securing Command of the Sea: NATO Naval Planning, 1948-1954.* U.S. Naval Institute Press, 1995.

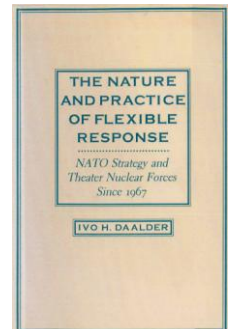
Canadian historian Maloney examines a less-well known area of NATO's early history: the development of naval plans and the difficulties involved in establishing the naval command structure for the Alliance, due to political sensitivities.



## NATO Strategy

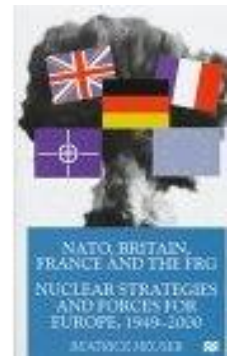
**Daalder, Ivo H.** *Nature and Practice of Flexible Response: NATO Strategy and Theater Nuclear Forces since 1967.* Columbia University Press, 1991.

Daalder describes NATO's debate over the strategic concept of flexible response that came into effect after 1967 and then examines how this debate affected the role of theater nuclear forces in NATO strategy.



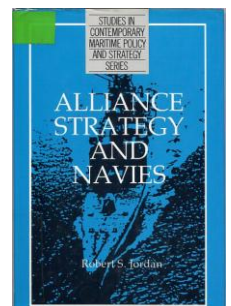
**Heuser, Beatrice.** *NATO, Britain, France, and the FRG: Nuclear Strategies and Forces for Europe, 1949-2000.* Palgrave Macmillan, 1997.

For most of the Cold War the use of nuclear weapons was a key element of NATO's deterrence. Heuser examines the evolution of NATO's strategy for the use of nuclear weapons and also shows the policies and strategies on this issue of the three leading European powers in NATO - the United Kingdom, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany - plus efforts to create a NATO nuclear force.



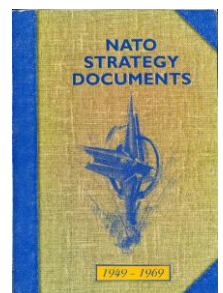
**Jordan, Robert S.** *Alliance Strategies and Navies: Evolution and Scope of NATO's Maritime Dimension.* Pinter Publishers, 1990.

Most books dealing with NATO strategy during the Cold War discuss either nuclear weapons or efforts to find a ground strategy to defeat a Soviet thrust into Western Europe. Professor Jordan's book fills a key gap by examining the key maritime dimension that has existed in NATO's strategic thinking ever since the beginning of the Alliance. He also analyses the political difficulties involved in the establishment of the naval command structure for NATO and shows how this structure looked in 1990, immediately after the end of the Cold War.



**Pedlow, Gregory W. (editor).** *NATO Strategy Documents, 1949-1969.* North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1997. [available online at <http://www.nato.int/archives/strategy.htm>]

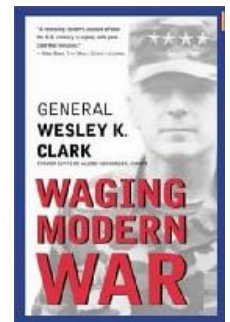
After the end of the Cold War and the adoption of a new, non-confrontational and unclassified Strategic Concept in 1991, NATO decided to release all of its older and previously classified strategy documents. This volume contains NATO's Strategic Concepts and military implementation documents from 1949 through the new doctrine of "flexible response" that replaced "massive retaliation" in 1968-69 and remained valid until 1991. The documents are accompanied by an essay analyzing "The Evolution of NATO Strategy, 1949-1969" by the SHAPE Historian, Dr. Gregory Pedlow.



## NATO and the Balkans: Peacekeeping and Conflicts

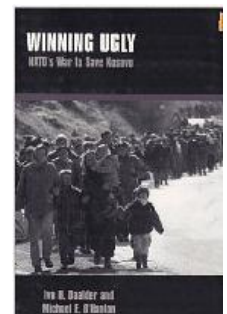
**Clark, Wesley K.** *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo and the Future of Combat.* Public Affairs, 2001.

SACEUR Clark describes his experiences commanding NATO's military efforts in the Balkans, first in Bosnia and then in the growing crisis and finally conflict in Kosovo. He shows the reasons behind the political and military decisions taken by the Alliance, and his personal diplomacy efforts prior to and during the war, and the sometimes difficult relations between the various commanders involved in NATO's military actions.



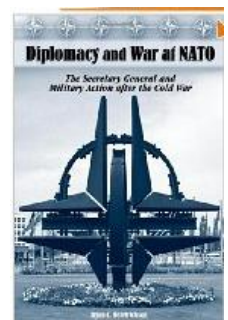
**Daalder, Ivo H. and Michael E. O'Hanlon,** *Winning Ugly: Nato's War to Save Kosovo.* Brookings Institution Press, 2001.

Drawing on extensive interviews with key officers and officials, the authors describe the reasons for NATO's air campaign against Serbia, evaluate the effectiveness of the military actions taken by the Alliance, and assess the consequences of the conflict for the region and for future crises in which the use of force is being considered as a means to stop mass killings and the forceful expulsion of entire populations.



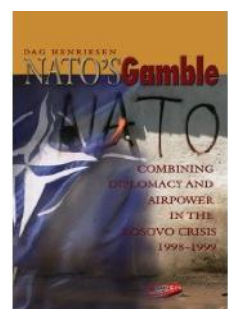
**Hendrickson, Ryan C.** *Diplomacy and War at NATO: The Secretary General and Military Action After the Cold War.* University of Missouri Press, 2006.

Professor Hendrickson examines the role of the first four post-Cold War NATO Secretary Generals in achieving diplomatic consensus to move the Alliance toward military action. He shows Manfred Woerner's difficulties in getting the Alliance to take its first combat actions in the Balkans; Willy Claes's shaping of Alliance policies regarding NATO's 1995 bombing campaign on the Bosnian Serbs; Javier Solana's key role in the Kosovo Conflict, and Lord Robertson's efforts to promote consensus on providing defensive military support to Turkey during the Second Gulf Conflict.



**Henriksen, Dag.** *NATO's Gamble: Combining Diplomacy and Airpower in the Kosovo Crisis, 1998-1999.* U.S. Naval Institute Press, 2007.

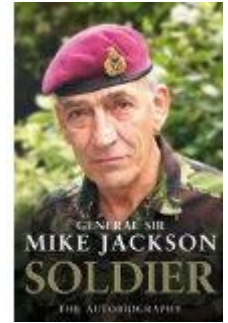
This book by a Norwegian Air Force officer examines the origins and content of NATO's strategic and conceptual thinking on how the use of force was to succeed politically in altering the behavior of Serbia with regard to Kosovo. The book also reveals that military officers planning the bombing campaign lacked strategic guidance and found themselves watching NATO's spokesman on CNN for guidance in what kinds of targets to choose.





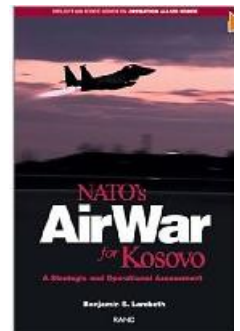
**Jackson, General Sir Mike.** *Soldier: The Autobiography.* Bantam Press, 2007.

Mike Jackson's highly readable autobiography covers his entire 45-year career, much of which was involved with NATO. Thus he provides very important insights into NATO's peacekeeping operation in Bosnia and its military and humanitarian operations in Kosovo (with the chapter on the Russians at Pristina Airfield in 1999 providing quite a different perspective from that given by General Clark in *Waging Modern War*). Jackson concludes with his efforts to reform the British Army as Chief of the General Staff.



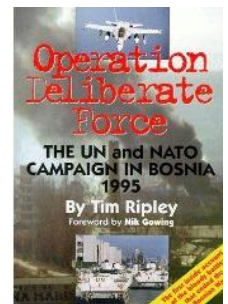
**Lambeth, Benjamin S.** *NATO's Air War for Kosovo: A Strategic and Operational Assessment* (RAND's Project Air Force Series on Operation Allied Force) RAND Corporation, 2001.

This RAND Corporation study provides an in-depth examination of the strengths and weaknesses of the NATO air campaign during the Kosovo Conflict. The book reviews the key events of the operation and the factors that finally led President Milosevic to yield to the International Community's demands and withdraw his troops from Kosovo.



**Ripley, Tim.** *Operation Deliberate Force: the UN and NATO Campaign in Bosnia 1995.* Lancaster University Press, 1999.

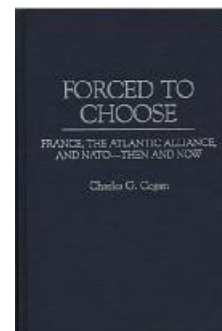
There are many books about NATO's 1999 air campaign during the Kosovo Conflict in 1999, but Tim Ripley has written the only study of the first such NATO air campaign, which was conducted against the Bosnian Serbs in 1995 to force them to comply with UN Security Council resolutions. This book provides an analysis of the military actions by NATO and the UN that resulted ultimately in the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords ending the civil war in Bosnia and leading to NATO's first peacekeeping operation.



## France and NATO

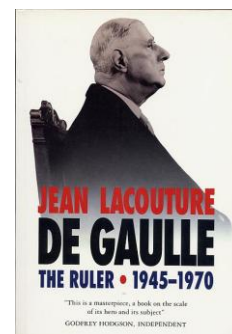
**Cogan, Charles G.** *Forced to Choose: France, the Atlantic Alliance, and NATO – Then and Now.* Praeger, 1997.

Cogan examines the France-NATO problem, going back to its origins in 1945-1952, when a weak France, obsessed by the threat of Germany and jealous of the ascendancy gained by the British during the war, sought security guarantees and assistance from the United States. However, in the process, France put itself in a position of dependence under the NATO integrated command to a degree that later governments of a resurgent France felt compelled to challenge.



**Lacouture, Jean.** *De Gaulle: The Ruler, 1945-1970.* Harper Collins, 1992. (English translation of *De Gaulle: Le Politique 1944-1959* and *De Gaulle: Le Souverain, 1960-1970*).

Lacouture provides a highly detailed examination of General de Gaulle's post-World War 2 career, during which he dominated French politics even when he was not head of state. A key section of the book for readers interested in NATO's history is Lacouture's description of the events that led to De Gaulle's decision to take France out of NATO's integrated military command structure – but not from the Alliance itself – in 1966, a decision that forced SHAPE to move from France to Belgium.



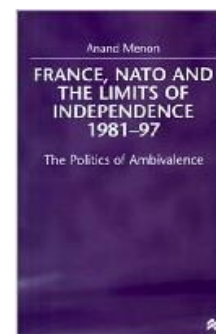
**Lellouche, Pierre.** *L'allié indocile : La France et l'OTAN, de la Guerre froide à l'Afghanistan.* Editions du Moment, 2009.

Lellouche, President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, has written the first book on the France's relationship with NATO to appear since French President Sarkozy announced the normalisation of his country's relations with NATO, including renewed participation in NATO's integrated military command structure. The book provides a survey of the often difficult relationship between France and NATO during the Cold War and afterward but stresses that France never ceased to operate and even fight together with its Allies in Bosnia, Kosovo and now Afghanistan.



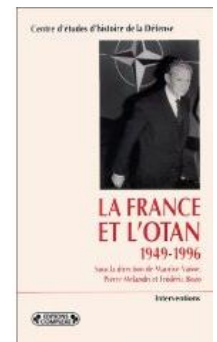
**Menon, Anand.** *France, NATO and the Limits of Independence, 1981-1997: The Politics of Ambivalence.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

Menon assesses France's policies towards NATO between 1981 and 1997 and argues that while France's arms-length relationship with NATO's integrated military structure may have served a purpose during the Cold War, it became increasingly outdated afterward. The failure to adopt more appropriate policies during this period was due to domestic pressures on French politicians.



**Vaïsse, Maurice, Pierre Mélandri and Frédéric Bozo (editors).** *La France et l'OTAN, 1949-1996.* Editions Complexe, 1997.

This book presents the papers given at an international conference on France's relationship with NATO throughout the Cold War and into the 1990s, sponsored by France's Ecole Militaire. All aspects of the relationship are covered by experts from both sides of the Atlantic.



## **NATO and Russia**

**Braun, Aurel.** *NATO-Russia Relations in the Twenty-First Century.* Routledge, 2008.

This new book provides an up-to-date look at the NATO-Russia relationship that includes the key events affecting this relationship in the post-Cold War era and Russia's attempt to reassert its influence on the countries surrounding it. Braun also assesses the prospects for the future development of the NATO-Russia relationship.



**Ponsard, Lionel.** *Russia, NATO and Cooperative Security: Bridging the Gap.* Routledge, 2006.

Ponsard examines the Russian perspective on their relationship with NATO, focusing on the Russian national identity, the role of the Orthodox Church, political culture, evolving Russian attitudes toward NATO, Russian reaction to NATO enlargement, and Russia's approach to collective security.



**Smith, Martin Abbott.** *Russia and NATO since 1991: From Cold War Through Cold Peace to Partnership?* Routledge, 2006.

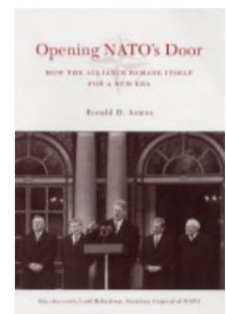
Smith looks at the development of relations between Russia and NATO since the break-up to the Soviet Union in 1991. He discusses the impact that the Kosovo crisis, the September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 terrorist attacks, the Iraq war and the creation of NATO-Russia Council have had on this complex relationship. Noting that Russia and NATO have, so far, developed a pragmatic partnership, he says that this may potentially develop into a more significant strategic partnership.



## NATO Expansion

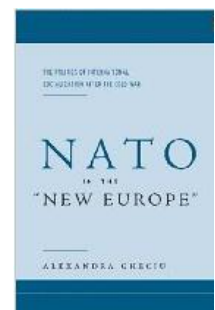
**Asmus, Ronald D.** *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era.* (Council of Foreign Relations) Columbia University Press, 2004.

As the leading U.S. State Department official on the issue of possible NATO enlargement during the 1990s, Asmus provides an insider's view on the debates within the U.S. government and the Alliance on a whole on whether or not the Alliance should expand to take in former Warsaw Pact members following the end of the Cold War.



**Gheciu, Alexandra.** *NATO in the New Europe: The Politics of International Socialization After the Cold War.* Stanford University Press, 2005.

Professor Gheciu examines the vital role played by NATO in encouraging the formation of democratic norms and institutions in the former Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe through tools like the Membership Action Plan. She also provides case studies of the Czech Republic and Romania in their path toward NATO membership.



## NATO and the European Union

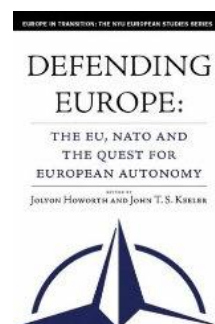
**Reichard, Martin.** *The EU-NATO Relationship: A Legal and Political Perspective.* Ashgate Publishing, 2006.

Austrian diplomat Reichard has served as the NATO desk officer in the Austrian Foreign Ministry and then in the Austrian Mission to NATO. In this very detailed study he examines all aspects of the NATO-EU relationship and concludes that the balance of European security is shifting from NATO to the European Union.



**Howorth, Jolyon, and John T. S. Keeler (editors).** *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

This collection of essays examines the NATO-EU relationship in the area of defence and security. After tracing the development of NATO's European Security and Defence Initiative (ESDI) and the EU's European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), the book examines the US-European capabilities gap and NATO enlargement before concluding with two essays on the importance of ESDP for NATO: one arguing that it is "misguided and dangerous"; the other claiming it is "necessary and beneficial".

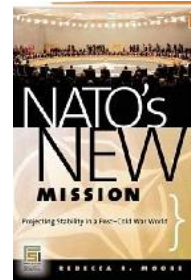




## Looking Ahead: NATO's Future

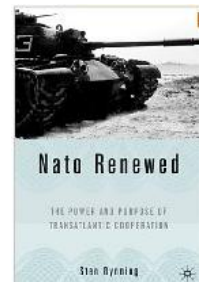
**Moore, Rebecca R.** *NATO's New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World.* Praeger, 2007.

Moore offers a detailed analysis of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's continuing relevance in the post-Cold War world. She describes the transformation of the alliance from one based on collective defence to one whose contemporary mission is to extend stability far beyond its geographical boundaries.



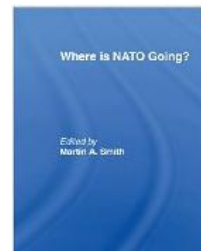
**Rynning, Sten.** *NATO Renewed: The Power and Purpose of Transatlantic Cooperation.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

This book examines the underlying purpose and political dynamics of the North Atlantic Alliance, rejecting the cries of “NATO is dead” and showing why the Alliance remains relevant today. Among the issues considered are the Gulf Conflict, Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan.



**Smith, Martin J.** *Where is Nato Going?* Routledge, 2007.

This collection of essays by international relations specialists focuses on current issues relevant to the Alliance, such as the prospects for NATO “going global,” NATO’s role in the US-led “war on terror” and the challenges posed by the transatlantic capabilities gap and the emergence of a military dimension to the European Union.



**Thies, Wallace J.** *Why NATO Endures.* Cambridge University Press, 2009.

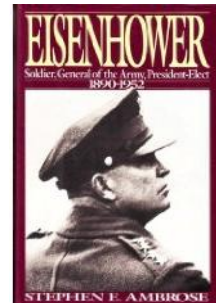
Despite more than five decades of predictions of the Alliance’s pending demise, NATO continues to be a major factor in international politics. Thies shows the hidden sources of strength that have contributed to the Alliance’s unprecedented longevity.



## Biographies and Personal Papers

**Ambrose, Stephen E.** *Eisenhower: Soldier, General of the Army, President-Elect, 1890-1952.* Simon & Schuster, 1983.

This is the first volume of the definitive two-volume biography of Eisenhower by one of editors of the Eisenhower Papers, and it covers his early life, his military career with special emphasis on his command of the Allied forces in Europe during World War 2, and finally his election as President of the United States in 1952. The chapter on his 16 months in 1951-52 as NATO's first Supreme Allied Commander Europe shows the impact that an inspirational leader can have on a headquarters, an Alliance, even a whole continent. Eisenhower gave the Europeans renewed hope and confidence and helped them to create an effective military structure for NATO.



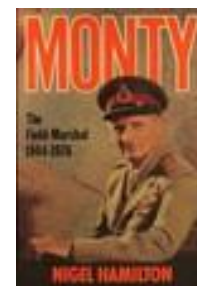
**Galambos, Louis (editor).** *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower, volumes 12 & 13, NATO and the Campaign of 1952.* The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

These two volumes of the Eisenhower Papers cover his period as NATO's first Supreme Allied Commander Europe and reveal the wide range of issues he faced in establishing a military command structure for NATO and building up the confidence of the Europeans. They also show the growing pressure on him to retire from the Army and run for President in 1952. Eisenhower told one of his friends in 1951 that "NATO needs an eloquent and inspired Moses as much as it needs planes, tanks, guns and ships," and the truly eloquent and persuasive letters and diary entries in these volumes show how Eisenhower restored hope in Europe and built support for the new Alliance in America.



**Hamilton, Nigel.** *Monty: The Field Marshal, 1944-1976.* Hamish Hamilton, 1986.

The third volume of Hamilton's trilogy on Field Marshal The Viscount Montgomery of Alamein covers the period from 1944 until his death in 1976, drawing extensively on his personal papers. Prior to his appointment as the first DSACEUR in 1951, Montgomery had served as the senior military officer of the Western Union Defence Organisation (WUDO), established by the Brussels Treaty in 1948, and before that as the top British officer in Europe during World War 2. This biography provides a very candid view of Montgomery's relations with the other senior Allied leaders during the war and afterward with his fellow European Commanders in the WUDO and then with the four SACEURs under whom he served at SHAPE from 1951-1958.



**Jordan, Robert S. (editor).** *Generals in International Politics: NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe.* University Press of Kentucky, 1987.

The office of SACEUR has received very little study by Cold War historians, which makes this collection of essays describing the role of the SACEUR during the Cold War and the problems faced by SACEURs Eisenhower through Haig a highly useful survey.

**Jordan, Robert S.** *Norstad: Cold War NATO Supreme Commander – Airman, Strategist, Diplomat.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

The first Air Force officer to become SACEUR and also the youngest individual to be appointed to this post, General Norstad was already very experienced with NATO when he became SACEUR in 1956, because he had previously been Commander-in-Chief of Allied Air Forces Central Europe and then Air Deputy to SACEUR. His tenure as SACEUR was marked by controversies over NATO strategy and efforts to create a NATO nuclear force that placed him in opposition to the policies of the new Kennedy administration in the United States, increased French dissatisfaction with NATO, and a very dangerous crisis with the Soviet Union over West Berlin. General Norstad retired as SACEUR at the end of 1962, shortly after the Cuban Missile Crisis.

