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US ATTITUDES TOWARDS EUROPE - A SHIFT OF PARADIGMS?

Timo BEHR

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Timo BEHR

He holds a BA in Political Science from the University of London and an MA in International Relations and International Economics from the Paul H. Nitze Schools of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in Washington DC. Previously he has worked as a Research Assistant in European Studies at the Johns Hopkins University and as an Assistant to the Counselor of Economic and Commercial Affairs at the German Embassy in Ankara. Most recently he has worked as a researcher at Notre Europe.

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FOREWORD

Partnership with the US has always been a central building block of the European project. That doesn't mean that the transatlantic relationship has always been an easy one : divergent sensitivities were very often apparent and even conflicts of interest could be seen from time to time. In the last few years, however, the main impression has been that a growing gap has developed in the field of foreign policy. Whether one refers to international environmental policy, to the role played by the UN, to the resort to coercion, or, more generally, to the rightful place of the legal norm in international relations, there is a growing contrast between American views, on the one hand, and, on the other, if one accepts looking beyond some manifest differences, unified perceptions, at the grass roots level, on the part of the Europeans.

For some, this is a welcome development, as they see it as a way of feeding anti-American feelings lingering under the surface. Others prefer not to recognise it, for they reject anything that can distance Europe from Washington as a matter of principle. Looking beyond these pre-ordained positions, we must, however, each and everyone of us, ask ourselves what lies beneath this change, a change made glaringly obvious by the Iraqi crisis.

The minutely researched paper Timo Behr dedicates to the developments of US foreign policy is therefore well timed. It must be commended for taking on some of the tenets of the conventional wisdom on the subject. It takes issue with the arguments favoured by many analysts, according to whom the decisive moment was when the Bush administration took office, by relevantly recalling that the US penchant for unilateralism has old end deep roots in history and that the traumatic impact of 9-11 was also felt in the ranks of the Democratic Party. Conversely, the author highlights in a relevant way that there is much more evidence of conflicts over values, opposing Europe and the US, at the official level than at the level of public opinion. It is not easy in such a context to ascertain whether the present trends will persist. Putting it in other, more practical, words: would another administration have behaved in a substantially different way ?

That is certainly a question that calls for clear thinking on the part of Europeans given the weight the US carries on the world stage. Europeans should also be looking for the best way to promote their common values vis-à-vis their unavoidable partner. In a more general way, at a time when the creation of a European minister for foreign relations is being contemplated, it may not be useless to recall that any foreign policy worthy of its name implies first and foremost a pooling of the analyses of the international situation provided by the different member states. That is an indispensable prerequisite for the patient work required to bring different national positions closer together. If Europe is really intent on becoming an actor in its own right on the world stage, it will have to come up with its answers to the queries put forward in this paper.

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INTRODUCTION

The end of the Cold War, it has often been said, has brought an era of flux to American foreign policy. Given the widespread feeling of vindication that dominated American foreign policy at the outset of the 1990s, as peaceful revolutions swept through eastern Europe and the Soviet Union dissolved into pieces, that seems highly surprising. The United States had just won a decisive victory and policy-makers looked towards a bright future for American values and ideas in shaping the contours of the emerging new world order. However, as the dust had settled over this new world order, America awoke to a changed world, in which more often than not, it found itself at a loss to determine its own purpose and direction. To be sure, bright new ideas about the shape of things to come were proliferating at an accelerating speed. Thus, Francis Fukuyama expounded the final triumph of liberal market capitalism and declared the 'End of History', while Samuel Huntington warned of a coming 'Clash of Civilizations'. At the same time Edward Luttwak offered an insight, which portrayed geoeconomics to hold the dominating role in the new era of foreign relations, while Henry Kissinger prophesized the ever-enduring primacy of geopolitics in international relations and the continuing validity of the balance-of-powers. Finally, yet a different group of foreign policy intellectuals, including Robert D. Kaplan and Paul Kennedy warned that the future would be ripe with new dangers and challenges, including demographic explosions, ethnic conflicts, environmental calamities and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. All of these theories to some point seemed valid and all seemed to make some sensible recommendations about the future content of foreign policy conduct.

Not surprisingly therefore disagreement about the shape of things to come also led to a whole array of foreign policy recommendations. There were the hard-headed realists that promoted continued US engagement with the world on the basis of its geostrategic interests. Liberal Internationalists on the other hand seemed to recommend that the US should only dispatch its military might in the service of higher principles and with the support of the international community in general and its European allies in particular. Others again disagreed, advocating that the US ought to use this unique 'unipolar moment' to radically expand American influence and values around the globe and ascertain the primacy of the US. Finally, there were those neo-isolationists that promoted an American retreat from the world in order to reform American society and fend off the corruptible influences of an American empire. Subject to these contradictory tendencies, it has been argued, US policy lacked direction. Moreover, having defined the very essence of its being in opposition to concurrent outside evils, the meaning of American identity itself seemed at stake, with some commentators beginning to openly question the validity the concept continued to possess.

Faced with so much confusion about the shape of the world, its own identity and its future role, a new US foreign policy consensus was slow to take place and only moved within reach, after the terrorist attacks of September 11th. Suddenly, there was a clear enemy that promised new purpose and direction and necessitated the reuniting of America, in order to once more defend itself and the international community against the challenges it posed. However, by adapting itself to the new challenges this enemy posed, American foreign policy suffered two early casualties: America's commitment to a multipolar world, and its staunch support for a united Europe. Although these changes remained largely oblique in the widespread solidarity and cooperation that followed the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, they became glaringly clear in the nexus of the Iraq war. Even more, they seemed to

raise the prospect of renewed intra-European disputes, with dire implications for the long-term prospects of a united European foreign and security policy. Yet, it has to be said that it remains widely disputed whether these changes really indicate a long-term shift in US foreign policy and if so, what lessons the EU would have to draw from them. By trying to investigate some of the domestic changes that have taken place inside the US since the end of the Cold War, this paper should be seen as an attempt to find some preliminary answers to these questions.

Assessing domestic public and elite opinion, the contention that this paper makes is that it would be wrong to regard current US foreign policy behavior simply as the result of flawed diplomacy or a defensive reaction to the terrorist attacks of September 11th. On the contrary, current US foreign policy behavior seems to display some tendencies that have for long been rooted in American perceptions of the world and its role in it and became emphasized due to the structural change of the international system since the end of the Cold War. In this respect, the terrorist attacks on the United States should rather be understood as a clarifying moment for US foreign policy that could possibly beget a new foreign policy consensus based on the strategies of preemption and democratic enlargement, already supported by a majority of the American policy-making elite. This emerging foreign policy consensus in the United States at the same time holds far-ranging implications for the European Union, opening new areas of possible future conflict and cooperation. Moreover, the likely shape of this new US foreign policy consensus also holds the promise of increased intra-European dispute, in case the EU makes no serious effort at reforming its methods and mechanisms of foreign policy-making.

In order to assess American attitudes towards Europe, *part I.* of this paper provides a brief historical outline of the basis of the US-European relationship during the times of the Cold War, before considering the different strategies taken by consecutive US administrations after the end of the Cold War, with special attention given to the foreign policy revolution of the Bush administration. Having done so, *part II.* then goes on to provide an overview of the foreign policy outlook of the American political elite as perceivable in the internal discussions of both the Democratic and Republican Party. Considering the foreign policy outlook held by the different party factions, the dominating views within both parties are then compared in search for a new cross-party consensus on foreign affairs. In order to supplement this analysis of elite opinion with a comparable one of public opinion, *part III.* of this paper will then go on to evaluate the way the American national identity has developed within a historical perspective, before outlining changes that the end of the Cold War have brought to American nationalism. This analysis is then complemented by an empirical evaluation of US public opinion drawn from some recent opinion polls on US foreign policy behavior. Having thus tried to evaluate the long-term developments of both public and elite opinion, *part IV.* aims to reconcile these two in order to explain recent foreign policy behavior. Contrasting the overall results with European views on foreign affairs, this section further aims to find an answer to the questions whether EU and US attitudes display long-term divergence and where future areas of conflict and cooperation are likely to be. The final part will conclude by providing a summary of the main findings of this survey, as well as some broad policy recommendations for the European Union.

I. THE POST-COLD WAR CONFUSION

The Cold War Alliance and the Community of Values

Although it has become a common diché to portray the Cold War Alliance between Europe and the US as more than just a normal bargain, but rather a community of values based on shared ideas about man and society[1], this assessment risks to overstate the historical commitment the US has harbored for the idea of European integration. Thus, in his study of eminent American post-World War II leaders[2], John Lee Harper unveils the often neglected extent of ambivalence the US used to entertain in regard to the future shape of the European continent. Skillfully derailing the myth of a post-war alliance of values, Harper points to the deep divisions plaguing the US policy-making elite at the time, with Franklin D. Roosevelt supporting the containment of Germany with the help of Russia, while George F. Kennan argued for the containment of Russia with the support of Germany. In the end a compromise was reached, attributed to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, that has shaped US-European relations through the entire Cold War period, based on 'a combination of restoring and controlling Europe'[3]. This compromise implied that while the US actively encouraged the restoration of Europe, it continued to express some hesitancy about the questions of its finality. This deeply embedded ambivalence can be discerned at almost every twist and turn of US-European relations since the end of the Second World War, arching from Nixon's 'Year of Europe' initiative, over exhaustive debates on burden-sharing to the new 'Transatlantic Declaration'.

More than just the mere successor of containment, European integration was portrayed as the viable solution to a fundamental problem of American politics: the danger, that a single European power could come to dominate the whole Eurasian landmass and thereby challenge the security of the United States. The twin-containment of European integration, and the knitting of a close transatlantic security partnership in the form of NATO was to irrevocably put a halt to this old concern of American foreign policy. Besides, European integration held more benefits for the US than solely that of containment. Building a huge unified market for US exports, satisfying the American craving to export its domestic model, reducing the American commitment abroad, and creating a more rational and efficient Europe, were all effects that contributed to America's long-lasting commitment to deeper European integration[4]. At the same time, it has to be noted that America never really regarded Europe as an independent 'third force' in international politics, and John F. Kennedy was the last American president to speak of Europe as a partner, to be dealt with 'on a basis of full

*I am indebted to Bertrand de Largentaye, Jean Nestor, Renaud Dehousse and Burkard Schmitt for their valuable comments regarding this survey.

[1] For an example of this point of view see: Stanley Sloan (2002), *NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community*

[2] John L. Harper (1996), *American Visions of Europe. Franklin D. Roosevelt, George F. Kennan, and Dean G. Acheson*

[3] Michaela Hönicke, 'Intentions and Ambivalences in US Policies towards Europe', in Reinhard C. Meier-Walser & Susanne Luther, eds. (2001), *Die euro-atlantische Beziehung im Spannungsfeld von Regionalisierung und Globalisierung*, München, 2001

[4] For a discussion of American interests in European integration, see Geir Lundestad's, *Empire by Integration*

equality'[5]. On the contrary, European integration was always preconditioned to proceed firmly within the confines of US leadership.

Although to some Europeans this reliance on American power seemed abhorring – one is forced to think of General de Gaulle – most seemed to believe in a genuine alliance of interest and values between Europe and the US and sought assurance in the conviction that they had some real influence on American decision-making. All the time, this broad support for European integration and the transatlantic alliance did not prevent several vigorous disputes from arising between the transatlantic partners. With the growing economic weight of Europe in international affairs and the progressive erosion of US leadership in many areas, these disputes usually took one of two forms. On the one hand quarrels broke out regularly in the field of economics, where European protectionism, competitiveness and the increasing American deficit led to the spilling of much bad blood. On the other hand, with America continuously extending its security obligations and Europe enjoying the fruits of its security, the issue of military 'burden-sharing' became a recurring topic on the transatlantic agenda.

However, with the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the transatlantic alliance was irrevocably stripped of the mutual enemy that for so long had imbued it with direction and purpose. Freed from the communist shackles, both the United States and Europe began to reconsider their view of the wider world and their future place in it and accordingly the importance that they bestowed on the transatlantic partnership. As the full consequences of these developments began to slowly dawn on the transatlantic partners, they independently revised some projects to guide their future conduct. Europe's response to the changed world was the Treaty of Maastricht and the inevitability of an ever closer union. Mindful not to reawaken the specters of great power rivalry, once more the European states set out on a twin strategy of deepening and enlarging that will continue to be the center of European attention for the years to come. The US for its part, however, struggled to find a clear purpose and place for its unmitigated might in the new post-Cold War world. Stumbling through the 'New World Order' of the first Bush administration to the policy of 'Democratic Enlargement' of the Clinton administration, it seems to have found its temporary raison d'être in the 'War against Terror' of the second Bush administration.

While the consecutive strategies that the US employed to rediscover its place in the world on the one hand seem to have little in common, it is possible to perceive a thin red line running from the first Bush administration to the second, based on the shared vision of America as the 'indispensable nation'[6] with a manifest destiny, the superiority of American design and interest and the obligation to export its values and ideas with Wilsonian zeal. While these ideas and principles can be found splattered all across American diplomatic history, the end of the Cold War arguably marked the first time that they were paired with unchallenged American military and economic primacy in the world. Thus, the common theme that runs through the different US approaches to the world, as David Calleo has pointed out, is the conclusion on the part of the American policy-making elite that 'the end of the bipolar world system naturally means the advent of a unipolar world system'[7]. It is with this in mind, that one has to reconsider the different strategies the US consecutively devised to deal with Europe and the wider world.

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[5] J. F. Kennedy, quoted in Philippart & Winnand (2001), Ever Closer Partnership. Policy-Making in US-EU Relations

[6] The expression was coined by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright

[7] David Calleo, 'Balancing America: Europe's International Duties', *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, No. 1, 2003

Post-Cold War Policy: Continuity and Change

At the end of the 1980s, the dusk of the Cold War heralded the dawn of a new era in US foreign relations marked by a cautious triumphalism, best captured in the work that came to epitomize the unfulfilled dreams of this era: Francis Fukuyama's 'End of History'. In the face of the ensuing events, the administration of George H. W. Bush had decided upon a strategy aimed at encouraging the beginning of a 'new world order' based on human rights, democratic values, free markets and the rule of law. Wilsonian in its intentions and idealist in the concepts it employed, this strategy aimed at the promotion of democracy and the spread of free-market values, in order to change the nature of interstate relations. However, beyond the rhetoric he employed, Bush for a large part remained consistent with the foreign policy principles previously devised by the Reagan administration. Thus, Bush, as Reagan, did not shy away from using force in defending vital US interests, when they were at stake. Accordingly, Bush ousted Panamanian President Manuel Noriega, when he saw US interests in Central America at stake. Similarly, he assembled the greatest international coalition of the post-World War II era and a UN mandate in order to defend US interests in the Middle East during the Gulf War. While this happened with the active support of the world community, it has however to be noted that in this case, the administration's desire to spread the 'new world order' stopped at the borders of Iraq.

At the same time, the rapid unraveling of the Cold War division in Europe and the reunification of Germany delivered the rationale for a new period of activism in the area of European integration, after a prolonged period of Eurosclerosis. The prospects of Economic and Monetary Union together with the decline in the importance of security organizations, such as NATO, forced the Bush administration to adopt a more conciliatory stance to the European Union. Fearing the possibility of a 'Fortress Europe' and viewing the EU as a vital guarantor for the future stability of Eastern Europe, Secretary of State James Baker called for a 'New Atlanticism'[8] in EU-US relations. Although the US was continuing to regard NATO as its most vital link to Europe, it sought for the first time a formalized relationship to the European Union. The basic rationale behind this new relationship was hardly a dogmatic commitment to deeper European integration, but above all the desire to gain a say in the European policy-making process, in order to avert possible damage to American interests[9].

Yet, some European states were fiercely opposed to granting the US anything but a special role in EU decision-making that would challenge European independence, and consequently fielded a strong opposition to any such mechanism. Not surprisingly therefore, the eventual outcome of the prolonged bargaining process between the US and Europe, the 'Declaration on US-EC Relations' in 1990, can be seen as ambiguous at best. Formalizing the biannual EU-US summits, it referred to some common goals and challenges and encouraged both sides to 'inform and consult each other on important matters of common interest'[10]. However, while it encouraged closer US-EU coordination, it preserved ample space for independent action on both sides. Although the actual formalization of the EU-US relationship was thus a factual discontinuity of Cold War policy, the US sustained its commitment to NATO as its primary link to Europe and remained ambivalent about attempts at European independence.

[8] James Baker, 'A New Europe, A New Atlanticism: Architecture for a New Era', Press Office of the Department of State, 12 December 1989

[9] For further discussion see, Philippart & Winnand, 'From Equal Partnership to the New Transatlantic Agenda' in Philippart & Winnand, *Ever Closer Partnership. Policy-Making in US-EU Relations*

[10] Declaration on US-EC Relations, 23 November, 1990

Carefully noting the mounting dissatisfaction with what was seen as drift in Bush's foreign policy agenda, the Clinton campaign approached the topic of foreign policy with specific caution. Thus, Clinton's initial foreign policy proposals were slim and mainly restricted to the commitment not to entangle the US in unnecessary foreign wars. In the desire to find a concept for his approach to foreign affairs, the Clinton administration engaged in a period of soul-searching, only after the elections, before it surfaced with the notion of 'democratic enlargement'. This notion, first extensively elaborated during a speech by National Security Adviser Anthony Lake at the Johns Hopkins University[11], committed the US to use the opportunity offered to it by the end of the Cold War, to expand the zone of liberal democracy and market capitalism around the world.

Contrary to much of the shrewdly realist foreign policy establishment of the US, Clinton was convinced that the character of a nation's foreign policy reflected its core values. Thus, his argument went, it was necessary to 'tear down the wall in our thinking between domestic and foreign policy'[12]. Democracies, it was argued once more, did not go to war with each other. But not only that, democracies also did not sponsor terrorist acts, were reliable trading partners, protect the global environment, abide by international law and are likely to pursue a policy friendly to the US[13]. According to the Clinton administration therefore, it was in the interest of the US to sponsor the spread of democracy abroad. However, while Clinton portrayed the US as possessing a special destiny in promoting democracy abroad, he did accept that this policy would not go as far as to encourage foreign crusades. Thus, there would be times, when 'security needs or economic interest' would dominate over 'commitments to democracy and human rights'[14]. Emphasizing the importance of economics and soft power, the administration conceded that in the last resort, the world was too dangerous to eschew the use of hard military power.

Struggling to find a new source and direction for US foreign policy in the aftermath of the Cold War, the Clinton administration thus can be portrayed as a hybrid. That is, it was 'neither rigidly Wilsonian, nor classically realist'[15]. As a matter of fact, the Clinton administration in its search for a new paradigm looked more towards the post-World War II leaders, the likes of Truman and Kennedy. These leaders, while pledging the promotion of democracy, simultaneously subscribed to a muscular, and at times ruthless approach to world affairs, with the single purpose of balancing the Soviet Union. As Clinton lacked a hostile 'other', his underlying rationale was the aggressive promotion of market capitalism. The goal of this strategy was to simultaneously ensure access to the new emerging markets for American enterprises and at the same time to use these markets as a vehicle for the promotion of democracy. As markets necessitated the rule of law and democracy in order to function properly, the argument went, once markets were established, there was no escaping their long term logic.

In all this, a considerable obstacle was the election in 1994 of a Republican Congress for the first time in decades. Public disappointment with Clinton's first two years in office, and the aggressive leadership of Newt Gingrich led to a Republican election victory that flooded the ranks of Congress with a mass of young and radical Republicans eager to battle with the

[11] Anthony Lake, 'From Containment to Enlargement', speech to the Johns Hopkins University, 21 September, 1993
[12] Bill Clinton, cited in Michael Cox, 'Wilsonianism Resurgent?', speech at ISA Conference, March 2000
[13] Ibid.
[14] Bill Clinton, 'Democracy in America', speech at the University of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1 October 1992
[15] Michael Cox, 'Wilsonianism Resurgent?'

administration over every single foreign policy issue. Moreover, these new Republican Congressmen largely had an isolationist view of world affairs, with two-thirds of them reportedly not possessing a passport, and a Majority Leader, Richard Amey (R-Tex), that proudly declared that he has no need to visit Europe because he has already been there once. Not surprisingly, this Congress cut the budget allocation of international affairs, tried to sanction foreign firms trading with Cuba, held UN dues hostage, dragged its feet on US commitments to the IMF and the Middle East peace process and much more[16]. Moreover, it remained strongly opposed to a 'Clinton Doctrine' that seemed to embroil the US in a rising amount of military interventions abroad.

In the meantime, several disputes between Europe and the US, in the areas of trade, NATO expansion, the Balkan conflict and the Mexican peso crisis had created the impression of increased transatlantic drift. In order to rebuild relations, Clinton used his first trip to Europe in 1994 to declare his support for European integration and expressed his hope that the EU would act as a 'strong and equal partner'[17]. At the same time, Clinton gave his consent to the revision of the largely ineffectual Transatlantic Declaration of 1990. The renewed desire to further deepen and formalize their relationship again sprang from different rationales on both sides. Thus, the EU looked forward to put a new emphasis on its relation to the US, in a world where Europe's strategic importance had been diminished and hoped to gain additional credibility as an international actor, while the US again tried to gain an early input in the EU policy-making process in order to shield itself from the increased risk of trade disputes. The mutual desire to deepen their relationship finally led to the passing of the 'New Transatlantic Agenda' and the 'Joint Action Plan'[18] on December 3rd, 1995, invoking a period of more structured dialogue between the two.

While these events promised closer cooperation between the transatlantic allies, other developments were less favorable. Thus, a deep political rift emerged first within Europe and then across the Atlantic on how to deal with the Civil War in former Yugoslavia. While the US initially withheld its support, and then undermined the European position by rejecting the Vance-Owen plan and supporting a policy of 'lift and strike', it later involved itself with great reluctance and only on its own conditions. Moreover, differences continued in several fields, starting with US policy towards Iraq, its rejection of the CTBT and landmines treaties, NATO enlargement and the formal status of Europe's Security and Defense Policy[19]. After suffering painful reversals in Bosnia and Somalia, the Clinton administration finally switched from its policy of multilateral engagement to the dictum of 'multilateral if we can, unilateral if we must'[20]. In the end therefore, minds were spilt on the real extent of Clinton's commitment to multilateral cooperation with Europe and the wider world and as Stephen Walt has pointed

[16] Stephen Walt, 'Two Cheers for Clinton's Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 2

[17] Bill Clinton's speech to the 'Future leaders of Europe', 9 January, 1994

[18] The New Transatlantic Declaration outlines four issue areas in which the two sides pledge further cooperation:

(I) promoting peace and stability and fostering democracy and development around the world
(II) responding to new global challenges
(III) contributing to the expansion of world trade and closer economic relations
(IV) building social and cultural bridges across the Atlantic

Based on the Agenda, the Joint Action Plan is a more comprehensive document which contains 150 longer-term specific objectives from which a number are selected for regular updating of the Agenda. For a detailed discussion of the NTA/JAP, see: Ann Mettler, 'From Junior Partner to Global Player'

[19] Although the US finally consented to give ESDP some space for independent action in the Berlin Plus Agreement, Secretary of State Albright cautioned that the EU would have to avoid the three 'Ds' of duplication, decoupling, and discrimination, when revising its security mechanisms.

[20] Michael Cox, 'Wilsonianism Resurgent?'

out, 'Clinton may cloak US policy in the rhetoric of 'world order' and general global interests, but its defining essence remains the unilateral exercise of sovereign power'[21].

The Bush Administration and September 11

In the view of Ivo Daalder and James M. Lindsey,[22] the Bush administration has triggered nothing less but a revolution in the foreign relations of the United States. According to them, he is the first post-World War II President to have moved away from a strategy of exerting power by working through alliances and international organizations. 'With terrorists, tyrants, and technologies of mass destruction posing a grave and growing danger, he believes that the best - if not the only way - to ensure America's security is to jettison the constraints imposed by friends, allies, and international institutions', implying that the 'United States will act as it sees fit to protect itself and its interest'[23]. This view of the US and its role in the world, while not as pronounced, seems to have already been present in Bush's approach to the world before the terrorist attacks of September 11th. While Bush had displayed little knowledge or interest in foreign affairs during his campaign, and blamed Clinton for overextending the US abroad, foreign affairs became a preoccupation, in some sense even a mission, for Bush in the aftermath of September 11th.

Bush's fragmentary knowledge of the world and his modest experience abroad[24] led him to hire a team of former Reagan officials, as tutors and advisers in foreign policy[25] during his Presidential campaign. The choice of these internationalist and mainly hard-line Republicans, opposed to the isolationism so predominant under the Gingrich leadership, already seemed to have been an early indication of his coming foreign policy style. However, similar to the two other American Presidents before him he seemed to advocate a halfway house between Wilsonianism and old-style realism. Campaigning, to 'turn this time of American influence into generations of democratic peace', he simultaneously cautioned prudence and the reliance on alliances in the pursuit of foreign affairs. Nevertheless, the number of cautious realists in Bush's team of advisers ran short and most of them supported a muscular US leadership in the world, based on 'demonstrating that your friends will be protected and taken care of, that your enemies will be punished, and that those who refuse to support you will live to regret having done so'[26].

However, the early months of the Bush administration for a large part resulted in a disappointment for many of the radical Republicans that pushed for an overhaul of US foreign policy. Bush was primarily focused on implementing his domestic agenda and displayed passivity in foreign relations. Thus, he did not make a head-start to launch National Missiles Defense, he accepted the Clinton administration's defense budget plans, extended normal trade relations to China and left US troops committed to Bosnia and Kosovo. At the same time the administration was busy disentangling the US from different commitments around the world that it considered as threatening to US interest. While this rejection of multilateral

[21] Stephen Walt, 'Two Cheers for Clinton's Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 2
[22] Daalder & Lindsey, 'The Bush Revolution: The Remaking of America's Foreign Policy'
[23] Ibid.
[24] Aside from frequent visits to Mexico, Bush's international travel had consisted of a six-week trip to China in 1975, a short visit to the Gambia in 1990, a trip to the Middle East in 1998, and a few trips to Europe in the 1990s with corporate executives (see: Daalder & Lindsey).
[25] These advisers included: Condoleezza Rice, Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Armitage, Robert Blackwill, Stephen J. Hadley, Richard Perle, Dov Zakheim and Robert Zoellick
[26] Paul Wolfowitz, 'Remembering the Future', *National Interest*, No. 59, Spring 2000

engagement was most obvious in the rejection of a string of international agreements, such as the Kyoto Protocol, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), the International Criminal Court, a new treaty on the trafficking of small arms, and others, this new policy also became obvious in the US retreat from two important regional conflicts: the Arab-Israeli conflict and North Korea[27].

The terrorist attacks of September 11th seemed at first to temporarily derail the administration's approach to the world and necessitate more international cooperation. Accordingly, the administration was quick to seek support from its allies. The UN passed a resolution unanimously condemning the perpetrators of the attacks and NATO for the first time in its history invoked Article V. This was in line with US demands that the gravity of the events did not leave room for neutrality and in the words of Bush necessitated every nation to make a choice, 'either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists'. As it turned out, Europe and most parts of the world opted for the US and offered troops, intelligence and other help to support the US in Afghanistan and its wider war on terrorism. While the administration's willingness to seek this support seemed to signify a shift of Bush's foreign policy, in reality, the events had reconfirmed a certain view of the world already formed by Bush and his advisers.

In their view, September 11th confirmed that the world remained a dangerous place and military strength the most important source of power. However, to liberate itself from these new dangers, the US would have to liberate the world, and divest it from its remaining dictators, so their argument went. George Bush willingly succumbed to their advice and seemed to discover in the challenges bestowed upon him a close to divine mission that would have to be fought with ultimate vigor and disregard for others. At the same time, the terrorist attacks by many in the administration were also taken as a reconfirmation of their intuition that cultural decay was plaguing American society and that 'weakness, vacillation, and unwillingness of the United States to stand with our friends' has been fuelling the terrorist attacks[28]. That the fundamental view that the administration harbored about the world was not changed but strengthened, again became obvious, when the US rejected most offers of support for the war in Afghanistan, in order to remain free to act. Ignoring most of these offers of military support, the US formed a coalition of the willing, including primarily Anglo-Saxon nations[29].

At the same time, while for many allies Afghanistan seemed to set the limit for the use of force in their fight against terrorism, Bush did not agree. In his State of the Union Address[30], Bush argued that the danger was ever present and that it was the connection of rogue states, terrorists and weapons of mass destruction that offered a grave challenge to the United States. Thus, Bush concluded, the US had to tackle the problem of failing states and as outlined in the address, especially of the rogue states of Iran, Iraq and North Korea. By endorsing the preemptive use of force in the administration's new 'National Security Strategy' as a cornerstone for the new US security doctrine[31], Bush irrevocably thrust the twin strategies of

[27] In the Middle East, the administration did not send help to facilitate an agreement at Taba and scrapped the position of a special Middle East envoy, while in North Korea, the administration rejected Clinton's program of food aid and Kim Dae Jung's 'Sunshine Policy'.
[28] Dick Cheney on NBC News, 'Meet the Press', March 16, 2003
[29] However, after the initial fighting and under specific conditions, the US accepted troops from some 25 states and in August 2003 NATO took over command of the ISAF peacekeeping force.
[30] George W Bush, 'State of the Union', delivered January 29th, 2002
[31] The White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002. Much of the content of this strategy is based on an earlier speech of Bush at West Point on June 1, 2002

deterrence and containment - for decades at the heart of a transatlantic foreign policy consensus - into the dustbin of history. While the endorsement of this new security strategy did not by itself imply the reckless use of force and the administration initially favored diplomatic measures to deal with Pyongyang and Tehran, the influence of some hard-line advisers, flawed intelligence and the felt need to devise a new strategy for the Middle East led to a strategy of preemptive war against Iraq.

At first, with an intensive internal discussion ensuing regarding the merits of such a war, the moderates in the Bush administration led by Collin Powell seemed to win out. Bush chose to involve the international community and secured a new UN resolution[32]. But at the same time, Bush challenged the UN and the world community that it would now have to act upon its own resolutions, in order to save itself from irrelevance. However, the passing of resolution 1441 marked the apex of American multilateral engagement. In the face of world-wide opposition to an attack on Iraq, the US let its plans for a final resolution to authorize the use of force pass, recruited a small coalition of states and went to war against Iraq on March 19, 2003. This decision drove a deep wedge between the transatlantic allies and the European Union. While the governments of the UK, Italy and Spain together with Poland and other eastern European states supported the American strategy, Germany, France, Belgium and the overwhelming majority of the European public remained adamantly opposed.

On the issue of European integration, the Bush administration has equally broken with established traditions. That is, temporarily at least, the Bush administration has disavowed the US commitment to an integrated Europe. This has most blatantly been portrayed by two open letters published by a number of European states, in support of the Bush administrations policy towards Iraq. The fact that the instigator of these letters was a Pentagon official and that some states, such as Germany, Belgium and France, were consciously left out and not even informed, seems to point out that parts of the Bush administration either silently consented to this action, or supported it, in order to exhilarate a split in the European position. Further evidence of a conscious reversal with regard to European integration can be found in the rhetorical division of Europe in an 'old' and a 'new' part, the desire of building 'coalitions of the willing' that sideline NATO, as well as the actual decision in the crisis surrounding NATO support for Turkey, to circumvent the valid opposition of an ally - France - by moving to a different decision-making forum inside the alliance[33]. While the US in the aftermath of the war against Iraq has sought to move back to a more normalized relationship with Europe, some things seem to have irrevocably changed.

Having thus briefly reconsidered the actual changes in policy behaviour and outlook of the successive post-Cold War administrations, it is possible to perceive patterns of both continuity and change in America's relationship to Europe and the wider world. Continuity can be perceived, *latu sensu* in its ambivalent relationship to the European Union and its adherence to America's special mission in the world that involves the enlargement of the community of democratic states and the spread of its values and ideas. Although the US has

[32] UN Security Council Resolution 1441 was passed on November 8, 2002.

[33] On the eve of the Iraq crisis, NATO allies were divided about the necessity of providing NATO assets for the defense of Turkey, with France, Germany and Belgium arguing that such a decision would bestow legitimacy on the invasion of Iraq that they were not willing to grant. Contrary to NATO customs, this internal argument was not reconciled through the normal process of backdoor negotiations, but leaked to the press, with the effect of outing the three countries as in violation of their treaty responsibilities. As the three countries still did not budge, provisions were made to transfer the decision from the North Atlantic Council to the Defense Planning Committee, a NATO body of which France is not a member. There Germany and Belgium yielded to the pressure and backed Operation Display Deterrence, to provide NATO assets for the defense of Turkey.

pursued consecutive treaties with the European Union, in order to formalize their relationship, and has encouraged the development of additional European military capabilities, its commitment to a strong and independent Europe seems to be at best ambivalent. While it regards a strong and united Europe to be in its interest, as long as it subjugates itself to its own leadership demands, it rejects any proposition that this strength might be deployed independently. While both Bush senior and Clinton have been careful to preserve a tentative equilibrium between these opposing demands, George W. Bush seems to have finally tilted it. In this regard, it is not only the new rhetoric employed by the Bush administration that is markedly different, but also the open preference displayed for dealing with single European states instead of the whole body of the European Union, in such different areas as, the ICC or military support for the war against Iraq.

At the same time, America continues to adhere, even more strongly than before, to its special mission in the world that instilled it with a unique burden to carry, but in the view of many, also imbued it with some special privileges. The adherence to the notion of America's manifest destiny has been commonplace in American politics for a very long time and is rooted in the image of America as a place markedly different from the rest of the world. However, for much of the 20th century, America's policy-makers have depicted ideals as flatly opposed to self-interest. A long tradition of US foreign policy thinkers from Morgenthau and Kennan to Kissinger have firmly rejected the idea that ideals have a role to play in foreign affairs and even warned of their dangerous implications. However, the end of the Cold War has witnessed a strong revival of the place of values in international affairs. Although Bush senior and Clinton articulated a foreign policy that while Wilsonian in rhetoric, was still mainly realist in conduct, this seemed to have changed with the new Bush administration. It seems that now 'ideals and self-interests are both generally considered necessary ingredients of the national interest'[34] and as it turns out, ideals might have even played the bigger part in deciding for a US led war against Iraq. In order to evaluate whether these perceivable changes are only the passing passion of a single administration, or embody a wider shift in US policy, a closer look at US public and elite opinion might be sensible.

[34] Gelb & Rosenthal, 'The Rise of Ethics in Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 3

II. PARTY POLITICS: TOWARDS A CROSS PARTY CONSENSUS?

The New Democrats

One of the defining characteristics of modern American party politics in the new millennium seems to be that both parties intermittently have become dominated by a single party faction. This is the more surprising, as a closer look at these factions reveals that they are actually stemming from similar roots and share some visions and goals for the future of American politics. In the case of the Democrats, the struggle for party leadership was a protracted one, delivering victory only at the beginning of the Clinton administration and encountering frequent challenges. Overall, the rise to power of the 'New Democrats' and their organization, the 'Democratic Leadership Council' (DLC), has been a slow process that has its roots in the party reforms of the 1960s and the gradually rising resistance to identity politics within the Democratic Party over the decades. As a matter of fact, the connection between the current changes the party is undergoing and the Democrats' experience during the 1960s and 70s remains a vital one and is necessary to understand in order to evaluate the rise of the New Democrats. These decisive changes that precipitated the Democratic demise for almost all of three decades have their origins in the Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson.

Johnson's presidency, beginning with the promise of the Great Society, ended in disaster, when the simultaneous expansion of the Vietnam conflict abroad and the civil rights conflict at home, wreaked havoc in American society and led to the electoral decline of the party. Even worse, the so-called McGovern-Fraser reforms conducted in 1972, opened the party to single-issue activist groups[35], which henceforward determined the fate and outlook of the party. As these groups took hold of the policy agenda within the party, the Democrats became preoccupied with social and civil rights issues, such as gay rights or environmental protection. Slowly taking over the core of the Democratic Party, these 'New Politics' gradually led to the estrangement of the centrist white-working class strongholds in the South and West. This move away from the center dragged the party down to a position where it became unelectable. Having suffered humiliating defeats with the candidacies of George McGovern and Walter Mondale, the Democratic Party was torn in different directions. While a prominent group of centrist intellectuals, the so-called neoconservatives[36], as a consequence of the Carter Presidency, left the party for good, a small coalition of neoliberals, neoconservatives and Southern Democrats[37] consolidated their positions in order to reform the party from within.

This small group first consolidated in 1985 after the defeat of Walter Mondale by Ronald Reagan and formed the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) in an effort to pull the Democrats back into the mainstream of American politics. At first, the primary target of the DLC under the leadership of Al From and Will Marshall and with Richard Gephard as its first

[35] Social and civil rights groups that promote a single issue, such as abortion, gay marriage, etc.

[36] As a matter of fact, the neoconservatives also rejected much of the underlying tendencies of the Democratic Party. Most notably, the continuing flirtation with the international left, the promotion of a policy of equality of results, the increasing cultural relativism and the promotion of a big and strong state, meddling in economic affairs.

[37] Prominent Southern Democrats, such as Al Gore, Chuck Robb and Sam Nunn.

chairman, was the undoing of the McGovern-Fraser reforms[38] that they saw as the root cause of the Democratic malaise. Moreover, they planned to bring back disgruntled voters by campaigning for some mainstream issues, such as a strong military, an interventionist foreign policy and the promotion of economic growth[39]. However, in the end, they grudgingly had to realize that any effort to unite the whole of the Democratic party behind a common party line proved to be impossible. And by the time of Michael Dukakis's defeat in 1988 the grip of New Politics on the Democratic Party seemed to have grown too strong for the DLC to loosen.

However, the New Democrats proved adaptable and realizing their mistakes, departed from their strategy of the 'big tent'[40] and began aggressively to build a strong national organization. Realizing their weakness on public philosophy they founded the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI) and decided to try and reform the Democratic party from a position of power. By using the PPI to mend a strong new public policy agenda, embodied in the 'New Orleans Declaration' and the 'New American Choice Resolution', the DLC would seek to distinguish their organization and message from the populist wing of the party. By embracing traditional values and parts of the conservative position on crime, welfare reform and the role of the state, the DLC began to look increasingly like moderate parts of the Republican establishment. In the field of foreign affairs the New Democrats were actively searching for a 'new paradigm' to interpret the post-Cold War world and to reconnect with the muscular foreign policy of the Truman and Kennedy era.

By focusing their attention on one candidate in the 1992 elections, behind which the DLC and its members would throw all their support, the DLC strategists, above all Al From and Will Marshall, hoped to be able to outbid the other factions of the Democratic Party and ensure the influence of New Democratic thinking on the electoral process. As it turned out, the DLC chose their candidate with much success: William Jefferson Clinton, the former governor of Arkansas turned out to be the perfect candidate and with the extensive network the DLC had built during the last years and its centrist policy agenda, he was able to reclaim Democratic strongholds in the South and West, which guaranteed him victory in the race for the White House. However, during the campaign, Clinton succumbed to the temptation of also incorporating some populist elements in his campaign and largely reverted to traditional liberal politics in his first two years in the White House. But problems in delivering his agenda, the mounting pressure of the DLC and the electoral success of the Republicans under Newt Gingrich in 1994[41], precipitated the return of Clinton to the New Democratic creed. The DLC regained its influence[42] and celebrated their move back to centre stage by adopting the 'New Progressive Declaration'. Increasingly Clinton moved to centrist topics in areas such as welfare reform and finally declared in his 1996 State of the Union Address that 'the era of big government is over'[43].

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[38] The DLC sought to alter the composition of the Democratic Convention delegation, by introducing more elected officials and party bureaucrats. Another step taken by the Southern Democrats was the introduction of a southern primary, the 'Super Tuesday', in an attempt to make the choice of presidential candidate more amenable to the influence of Southern white voters.

[39] Kenneth Baer (2000), *Reinventing Democrats. The Politics of Liberalism from Reagan to Clinton*

[40] The idea that party reform had to be embraced by all wings of the Democratic Party.

[41] Due to what the Republicans successfully portrayed as Clinton's liberal credentials, Republicans made huge gains amongst the most important electoral categories: Southern voters, middle-class, white males and independents, all categories formerly carried by Clinton in 1992.

[42] By now, the DLC has grown to be the largest intra-party group in the Democratic Party, claiming a network that includes 74 members in the House New Democrat Coalition and 20 members in the Senate New Democrat Coalition.

[43] Bill Clinton, 'State of the Union', delivered on January 23, 1996

At the same time the DLC began to focus on what it saw as a new electoral group that was emerging - the wired worker[44] - and became progressively more aligned to what effectively was the upper middle class. And although the traditional factionalism of the Democrats remained muted during most of the Clinton presidency, this new allegiance to the upper-middle class opened a gap through which the old left began to attack. The revival of the liberal faction of the Democratic Party, has been most eloquently expressed by Rue Teixeira[45] in his 'America's Forgotten Majority: Why the Working Class Still Matters'[46], which came to have a considerable influence on the Gore campaign. While Teixeira opposes a return to the interest group politics of the 1960s and 70s, he convincingly argues that low and middle income families are still by far the largest segment of the American population and pose a viable target group for the Democrats. As much of this segment of the population is primarily concerned with issues like pensions, medical costs and education these are the problems that Democrats should aim to address with the help of big government. Thus from this position, the progressive wing of the Democratic Party, to be found amongst the ranks of the 'Campaign for America's Future'[47] (CAF) and the 'Americans for Democratic Action' (ADA), and inside the pages of the 'American Prospect' and 'the Nation', reasserted its grip on the Democratic grass roots. Devising their own view on the future of US politics and the Democratic Party, largely opposed to the centrism and free market attitudes of the DLC, these progressives argue that the US is caught in an 'age of anxiety' that is determined by a rising inequality[48] which challenges the fabric of its society. In order to reverse these trends the progressives rely on a greater role for the state and adhere to the mainstream cultural values of middle class America.

In the end, the Presidential elections of 2000, for long expected to be a decisive victory for the New Democrats, came to be a display for the lasting influence of the progressive wing on party politics. Al Gore, long-time favorite of the DLC, in an effort to divest himself of the burden of the Clinton presidency, embraced parts of the progressive agenda and narrowly lost the elections. As after most lost elections the intra-party consensus that Clinton and the DLC had enforced for the term of two presidencies began to unravel and the different factions of the Democratic Party reemerged. The ensuing debate between the 'centrist' and the 'progressive' parts of the Democratic Party is now dominating the public face of the Democrats and has caused much bickering about the future course of the party, not least about its foreign policy direction[49]. This reemerging divide first became obvious in the diverging assessments of the campaign by the two different groups[50]. Thus, while the DLC saw the late turn of Gore towards a left populism and on the side of the working-class as fatal, the

[44] The part of the workforce that was seen to be progressively relying on the internet and other new technologies.
[45] Ruy Teixeira & John B. Judis (2002), *The Emerging Democratic Majority*. Rue Teixeira recently reaffirmed the validity of his research arguing that in the long-run the electoral categories that usually vote for the Democrats will grow further, see: Ruy Teixeira, 'Deciphering the Democrats' Debacle', *The Washington Monthly*, May 2003
[46] Ruy Teixeira & Joel Rogers (2001), *America's Forgotten Majority*
[47] The Campaign for America's future has been founded by more than 100 activists and intellectuals in 1996 and claims the support of more than 100 members of the House of Representatives.
[48] Theda Skocpol, 'Democrats at the Crossroads', *Mother Jones*, January/February 1997
[49] On Foreign policy Al From and Bruce Reed from the DLC argue that there is a split between the McGovern-Mondale wing of the Democratic Party, defined by weakness abroad and elitist interest-group liberalism at home and the long tradition spawning from Roosevelt, Truman and Kennedy to Clinton which advocates a strong defense and expanding opportunity at home. See: Al From & Bruce Reed, 'The Real Soul of the Democratic Party', *DLC Memo*, May 15, 2003
[50] For more detail, see the discussion about the campaign strategy of Al Gore between New Democrats and Progressives, Mark Penn, Will Marshall, Guy Molyneux, Robert Borosage, Stanley B. Greenberg, 'The Democrats' Next Step', *The American Prospect*, Vol. 12, Issue. 8, May 7, 2001

progressives argued that only the reaffirmation of working class principles got Gore where he was, while he lost due to the drag of the Clinton years. And while the initial source of intra-party dispute was mainly economics and the role of the state, foreign policy has become an ever more contentious issue.

The terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001, hit the Democrats like a bomb, effectively breaking what little unified opposition there was to the policies of the Bush administration. Consequently in the immediate aftermath of the attacks, the Democrats consented to a backseat in foreign policy-making, preferring a bipartisan approach to fighting terrorism and demonstrating national unity. Moreover, as always in the case of war, the White House inevitably moved to the center of attention, to the detriment of Congress. The front row taken by the President in the fight against terror, paired with the traditional perception of the Democrats as being weak on national security[51] and the macho straight talking of Bush, that vowed to relentlessly 'hunt those folks down'[52], spelled disaster for the Democrats in the 2002 midterm elections, where they were unable to make good on economic issues[53].

The combined effect of September 11th, the failed midterm elections and the changed international environment gathered strength for a change in foreign policy outlook inside the Democratic Party, long advocated by the DLC. Thus, the DLC for some time had acknowledged that the Democrats had to gather more strength on issues of defense[54] and disentangle themselves from their reputation of weakness based on the post-Vietnam years. This conviction rested on the belief that a new era in international affairs has arrived, which in the words of Will Marshall, prime strategist of the PPI, is based on the pillars of 'globalization, democracy, American pre-eminence, and collective problem-solving'. According to Marshall this new era necessitates a new American foreign policy strategy, he calls 'democratic realism', based on a mixture of 'moral values and security interests'. A strategy that is based on the 'bold exercise of American power' in order to defend America's national interest and 'affirm America's special mission as a beacon of individual liberty and democracy around the world'. This ought to be done not only in the selfish defense of the own national interests, but also to shape an 'international environment congenial to America's economic and security interest'[55].

Thus, in the view of the DLC, the Democrats should seek strength in the idea of a Democracy in arms, as advocated under Truman and Kennedy, to rediscover what they refer to as 'nationalist liberalism'. Here the fundamental point that the DLC makes is that the Democrats have to move away from the long cherished ideals of liberal internationalism, for which in the words of Charles Krauthammer 'the only justified [military] interventions are those that are morally pristine, namely, those that are uncorrupted by any suggestion of national interest'[56]. DLC pundits therefore argue that Democrats have to start accepting 'the critical importance of power, including military power, in promoting American security,

[51] According to Dana Allin, at least half of Americans interviewed during the election campaign in polls said that national security and terrorism were their main preoccupations, areas, in which the Republicans were leading the Democrats by 40 percentage points at the time.
[52] Statement by President Bush at Barksdale Airforce Base, September 11, 2001
[53] For a discussion of the impact of the elections, see: Dionne, E.J. Jr., et al., 'After the Mid-Terms: Congress, the President, and Policymaking in 2003', *Brookings Policy Brief*, No. 115
[54] With ca. 30 million voters participating in defense related work (industry, soldiers, retirees, etc), not counting their families, and many of those voters being placed in important swing states, the interest of the DLC to gather points on defense issues is easily understandable.
[55] Will Marshall, 'Democratic Realism: the Third Way', *Blueprint Magazine*, January 1, 2000
[56] Charles Krauthammer, 'Liberal Democrats' Perverse Foreign Policy', *Washington Post*, July 11, 2003

interest, and values'[57]. Admitting that this new strategy of nationalist liberalism might somehow shadow the turn made earlier in foreign policy by the neoconservatives[58], when they left the Democratic Party, its proponents argue that it would still differ from Bush's foreign policy on two accounts. Foremost, their policy would not be conservative. That is, there would be no connection between foreign policy and domestic interest that has tainted the image of the Bush administration abroad. Secondly, there would be complete reversal in rhetoric away from Republican bullying, back to treating allies as allies. What is striking here, is that these differences amount to little qualitative changes in the substance of Bush's foreign policy agenda. More specifically, they propose to spend more on defense[59], use force when it is in the interest of the US, even preemptively if necessary, but pair these whenever possible with the vision of a global society and increased foreign aid.

Although the supporters of this policy make a strong rhetorical commitment to America's allies, it is difficult to discern how they want to square this commitment with the policies they propose. Thus, pundits like Will Marshall already caution that ratifying international treaties such as the Kyoto protocol and the treaty on the international ban on land mines are not in America's interest and should thus not be adopted[60]. Similarly, the foreign policy vision of the New Democrats at times seem to lack coherence. Thus, while Marshall callously attacks the new US strategy of preemption as unilateralist and based on the 'right's old isolationist illusion in a new guise'[61], he advocates a muscular foreign policy that preserves itself the right to strike preemptively if necessary. How it will be possible to reconcile these two is hard to discern.

On the relationship to the European Union, the New Democrats have relatively little to say publicly at this stage. However, the bickering during the Iraq crisis did not pass without ado among their ranks. Thus, it seems that in general the DLC analysts agree with Robert Kagan's by now infamous account of US-EU relations that holds that Europe and America are primarily divided about the necessity and employability of power in international relations[62]. While they agree with the common assessment that in the light of these developments, the West seems to be drifting apart[63] and pour scorn on what they see as a new anti-Americanism in Europe, they foresee no greater consequences. Thus Marshall argues that in the end the West will survive with a powerful America at the center, mainly due to the inaptitude of the Europeans and others to take over the role that America plays in international affairs.

On the side of the progressive or liberal wing of the Democratic Party, the approach taken to foreign affairs remains much closer to that of the liberal internationalism that has traditionally been at the heart of the Democrats' approach to the world. Thus, both main

[57] Allin, Gordon & O'Hanlon, 'The Democratic Party and Foreign Policy', *World Policy Journal*, Spring 2003
[58] Ibid.
[59] Will Marshall, 'Closing the Defense Gap', *Blueprint Magazine*, March 25, 2002. These spending programs go so far that some Democratic candidates have criticized Bush's tax cuts for the reason that they would put the level of military spending at risk. Similarly they have also developed an argument for a limited missiles defense shield, see: Steven J. Nider, 'A Third Way on Missile Defense', *Blueprint Magazine*, September 10, 2001
[60] In 'Blast from the Past', Will Marshall warns of the results of a return to McGovernism, which he likens to the 'soft multilateralism of the activist left, which is leery on the use of military force and seeks international consensus', and promotes on the contrary a turn to 'the muscular internationalism of centrists who see American power as a liberalizing and progressive force in world affairs', see: Will Marshall, 'Blast from the Past', *Blueprint Magazine*, June 30, 2003
[61] Will Marshall, 'The Pitfalls of Preemption', *Blueprint Magazine*, December 2, 2002
[62] Will Marshall, 'Is the West Finished', *Blueprint Magazine*, April 15, 2003
[63] Peter Ross Range argues that in addition to the power gap the complete miscomprehension in Europe for the deep shift that has taken place in US policies after 9-11, contributes to the widening of this gap. See: Peter Ross Range, 'They Still Don't Get It', *Blueprint Magazine*, December 2, 2002

centers of progressive thought, the ADA and the CAF take similar approaches to the importance of traditional allies, international law and the use of force. The ADA for example, in one of its Declarations on 'Liberals and the Challenge to Terrorism', declares their support for the war on terror, but also ascertain their fundamental opposition to 'actions abridging civil rights and civil liberties'[64] carried out under the cloak of war. Moreover, they ascertain five fundamental principles for the war against terror, which are much in sync with European demands: actions should be multilateral and based on international law, the use of force should be a possibility of last resort, foreign aid should play a central role and the US should avoid throwing around its weight in the world[65]. Thus, they advocate to 'lead from behind' with a 'shrewd and subtle strategy of democratic enlargement and encouragement'[66] using long-term foreign aid projects to promote the spread of democracy. A similar line has also been taken by the CAF, arguing that 'the doctrine of preemptive war, the insistence on the US going alone (...) serves to isolate us not the terrorists'[67].

In order to speculate about which side the Democratic Party might embrace within the future, it might be worthwhile to review the broader appeal of these groups, as well as the progress of the Presidential candidates. Concerning the importance of the two factions, it seems obvious that the DLC probably is reflecting more honestly the majority of the Democratic Party's representatives[68], as it has a bigger membership and its policies have commanded a broad appeal during the Clinton era. While it is not surprising that the lost elections of 2000 and the confusion that beset the Democratic Party in the absence of a strong leadership and the dawn of the war on terror have caused a revival of the left, it is really doubtful, how lasting this might be. As consecutive Gallup polls have shown,[69] the American public has been more prawn to embrace conservative issues than a liberal agenda. Thus on social issues, 37 percent of Americans identify themselves as conservatives, 23 percent as liberals[70]. Similarly, on economic issues, it is 43 percent conservative and 15 percent liberal. Telling numbers. Simultaneously, other indicators, such as the dramatic drop in support for gay marriages[71], the continuing resilience of religious values and the overwhelming public support for the war with Iraq might indicate that some of the policies of the progressives might actually be out of sync with the public.

However, it is also worth paying some attention to the progress of the campaign of the presidential candidates. While it is still at a relatively early stage, the field slowly seems to be pulling apart and first predictions seem to be possible. The overwhelming theme in the campaign recently has been the 'stellar' rise of one candidate, Governor Howard Dean, and what many newspapers perceive as a general pull to the left. However, a closer look at these reports might warrant some caution regarding an early victory of the left. As a matter of fact in nation-wide polls, the candidates that are almost persistently in the lead are Joseph Lieberman, John Kerry and Dick Gephardt[72], two of them, Joe Lieberman and Dick Gephardt,

[64] Americans for Democratic Action, 'Liberals and the Challenge of Terrorism', September, 2001, available online at: http://www.adaction.org/Liberals%20and%20Terrorism.htm
[65] Ibid.
[66] Larry Diamond, 'Promoting 'Real' Democracy', *Blueprint Magazine*, January 1, 2000
[67] CAF, 'It is time to Take Back America', available online at: www.ourfuture.org
[68] With 74 members in its House New Democrat coalition and 20 members in its Senate New Democrat coalition, it is the largest group of Democrats in Congress.
[69] cited in Al From, 'National Purpose', *Blueprint Magazine*, June 30, 2003
[70] On social issues the dividing line between conservatives and liberals in the US is mostly defined by their support for issues, such as abortion, gay marriage, gun control, etc
[71] Gallup poll of July 30th, 2003
[72] See for example the FOX news poll of August 12-13, 2003, showing Lieberman in the lead with 18%, followed by Kerry with 13% and Gephardt with 12% and Howard Dean in fourth place with 11%

former chairmen of the DLC[73]. However, it is true that Howard Dean has progressed surprisingly, collecting lots of money and attracting enough votes to put him in the leading group together with the three aforementioned candidates and even near the top in the early primary of New Hampshire and the Iowa caucus[74]. However, so far there is not much indication that Howard Dean actually attracts more than the traditionally liberal voters of the Democratic Party that have been looking for a valve to relieve their anger about the Bush administration and what they perceive as the disorientation of the party elite. It should also be remembered that Lieberman, Kerry and Gephardt, all three ahead of Dean in national polls, appeal to similar electoral groups and thus have to share these voters, at least for now[75]. These three together with John Edwards have supported Bush onthe war against Iraq, although some of them have recently taken to criticize Bush's handling of the war. Nevertheless to see in this a leftward shift of the campaigns appears to be somehow exaggerated, as most of this criticism is focused on minute details of the war.

At the same time it should be noted that most of the three leading candidates have firmly embraced the message of the DLC on foreign policy. Thus, they all to some extent advocate further increases in defense spending, continue to support the war against terror, a muscular foreign policy, support a close relationship with Israel, waiver about some of the international agreements scrapped by Bush and commit themselves to working with America's allies more intensely[76]. While there is a variation between the stances, with Lieberman being notably more conservative than the other two, much of the substance remains the same. Then again, many of their positions would also be supported by Dean, who does not for example in principle eschew the use of force, as long as a US interest is at stake and depicts himself on most issues as a moderate.

The continuing argument between the left and the right wing of the Democratic party is of immense weight for the future policy of the party and of the whole nation. While it seems that this dialogue has dominated the Democratic party for a long time and has ultimately determined its policy decisions, it is most likely that it will continue along the same lines. Yet, a solid shift to one side of the two wings of the party could only be rooted in a substantial shift of America's social makeup. For now, the Democrats need to be able to win the support of both the liberal wing of the party, as well as the moderates of the center. Failure to attract the left-wing of the Democratic Party can as in the past lead to the candidacy of an independent to the left of the official party line and cost the candidate the necessary votes. Whether Howard Dean's 'left-wing insurgency' will have this effect, or the DLC will succeed to once more unite the party around its line, remains to be seen.

[73] Dick Gephardt was one of the founders and first chairmen of the DLC, while Lieberman served as chairman of the DLC from 1995-2000

[74] Traditionally very important primaries, as they are supposed to give the lead for the subsequent primaries.

[75] Taken together, these candidates according to the mentioned Fox news poll would command 43% of the vote, compared to Howard Dean's 11%.

[76] For a collection of the most important foreign policy speeches of some Democrat candidates, see Foreign Policy Special Report, 'If I were President…', available online at: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/issue_marapr_2003/democrats.html

The Republican Ascendancy

Like the Democrats, the Republican Party for most of the post-Cold War era has been equally plagued by an embryonic factionalism. This factionalism found in the Republican party however can be largely traced back to the fundamental paradox of the modern conservative doctrine. That is, the political and philosophical split between 'libertarians' and 'traditionalists'. As is well known, libertarians, drawing on the great tradition of western thinkers from Adam Smith to Friedrich von Hayek, regard the market as the perfect interlocutor of human conduct and celebrate human liberty as the highest value. More traditional conservative thinking, deriving from a line of thought that extends back to Edmund Burke, are however anxious about the 'moral excesses' of the modern world and drawn towards communitarian and religious thinking, emphasizing 'community over individualism, values over profits [and] self-discipline over consumerism'[77].

Thus, due to this deep schism in the ranks of the Republican Party, electoral success has traditionally been premised on the successful reconciliation of these two camps. During the Cold War their temporary union into what William Buckley Junior aptly called 'the Responsible Right', was perpetuated by their common opposition to the challenges of the communist threat abroad and left-wing managerialism at home. This electoral coalition, united by a rigorous anticommunist rhetoric, endured until the raucous years of the 1960s and 70s, that washed two new groups onto the shores of the Republican Party. Ironically, the events that triggered these developments did not take place inside the Republican Party, but were ordained by a fundamental shift in the policy outlook of the Democrats. However the changes that the inclusion of these two groups prompted were so fundamental that they irrevocably changed the face of the Republican Party.

During this period of radical change, Richard Nixon was the first to recognize how much the radicalization of the Democratic Party had alienated its original electoral base and quickly devised a strategy, in order to attract this large swath of social conservative, white middle class voters in the South and West of the United States. By winning on the back of these electoral groups, Nixon initiated a fundamental geographical realignment of American electoral politics that has been completed through the 1990s and brought a vociferous new group of southern populists into the ranks of the Republican Party. Many of these new recruits were acutely skeptical of the increasing managerialism of the federal government and deeply troubled by the cultural changes that they saw as a threat to their traditional Christian values. The second electoral group that switched sides during the Carter administration was a relatively small faction of intellectuals, often referred to as neoconservatives. Equally troubled by the radicalism on the Left, they did not share the social conservatism of some of the populists, but were nevertheless anxious about what they perceived as the drawbacks of modernity[78].

Having thus permeated the ranks of the Republican Party, these two groups quickly set upon the unraveling of the traditionally reactionary attitude of the so called 'Paleoconservatives'[79] and to some extent the anti-statism of the neoliberals. Especially the

[77] Elizabeth Arens, 'Republican Futures', *Policy Review*, No; 106

[78] Taking their cues from Leo Strauss, some neoconservatives believe that the modern condition has been responsible for the two world wars and that a reinvigoration of traditional American values is necessary. See: Ted McAllister (1995), *Revolt against Modernity. Leo Strauss, Eric Voeglin and the Search for a Postliberal Order*

[79] A different name for the 'traditional' conservatives

neoconservatives that founded a string of successful policy think-tanks in Washington DC, often times proved able to influence the policy direction of the Republican Party. Articulate and influential, these groups soon became the center of a new 'respectable right', and contributed towards a general shift of the entire political center further to the right. Reagan was the first to sustain a coalition among all of the four conservative groups in government, but in the end effectively undermined the traditional conservative right and destroyed the Paleoconservative wing of the party. However at the end of his Presidency the large electoral coalition that he had forged on the basis of a belligerent anti-communism unraveled in the face of the weak leadership of George H. W. Bush.

Disillusioned and divided over Bush's vision of a 'kinder, gentler America'[80] and his rhetoric of a 'new world order', the Republicans lacked a common enemy against which they could unite and were too weak to put up a serious challenge to a charismatic Bill Clinton, campaigning on a moderate platform. In the face of the deep frustration with the moderates of the Bush administration, the internal leadership of the part became dominated by shrewd southern and southwestern Republicans, the likes of Newt Gingrich and Trent Lott. Gingrich an ideologue with close connection to the right-wing of the Republican Party, opinioned 'that politics was war without blood' and frequently denounced liberals as 'the enemy of normal Americans'[81]. Campaigning for his 'Contract with America'[82], Gingrich revised an electoral strategy oriented towards the traditional values of the American middle class, a small and transparent government, increased military spending and a resurrected patriotism. Based on this platform, the Republicans rode to a spectacular victory in the 1994 midterm elections[83], bringing a new breed of young, dynamic and radical Republicans to the Congress.

However, the much acclaimed 'Republican revolution' turned out to be premature and collapsed again. The attempt to push through some radical social reforms backfired in the face of the increasing incidence of right-wing militancy at home[84] and the new more centrist policy line adopted by Clinton. During this period, Republican thinking on foreign policy was split into three camps: one of global primacy, advocating increased defense spending and military interventionism[85], one of traditional conservative realists, believing in the balance of power and disavowing the idea of progress in international affairs, and one that was dominated by right-wing nationalists and envisioned a smaller US role in the world[86]. While these different groupings were not necessarily mutually exclusive, they stood for the representation of different groups and thus were signifying certain tendencies in Republican foreign policy thinking that retain some validity up to today.

The 'isolationist' camp in the Republican party supports the idea that after the Cold War ended, it was time for the US to disengage from the world and heed Washington's old warning to avoid foreign alliances. Intellectually this tendency draws on the Paleoconservative

[80] Schaller & Rissing, *The Republican Ascendancy. American Politics 1968-2001*
[81] Ibid.
[82] Newt Gingrich, 'Contract with America', in Gregory Schneider (2003), *Conservatism in America*
[83] During this election, the Republicans gained 52 seats in the House and 9 in the Senate together with 11 governorships.
[84] During the mid-1990s, the US experienced its own form of homegrown terrorism, originating from the right of the political spectrum. Events such as the bombing of a federal government building in Oklahoma City and a shoot out between federal policy and a right-wing religious sect at Waco boded ill for the Republican right-wing that was portrayed as close to these groupings.
[85] The neoconservatives spearheaded by John McCain and their top thinkers, the likes of Kristol, Kagan, Krauthammer and others with some support from the southern conservatives.
[86] The isolationists found in a small minority rallied around Pat Buchanan and Jesse Helms.

tradition and has been informed by an historical assessment of America's situation to be found in works, such as Paul Kennedy's 'The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers'. Inside the Republican Party, the public face of this school has been Pat Buchanan[87], one of the first to advocate a return to an 'America First' foreign policy. He loathed America's ever extending commitment in the post-Cold War world and cautioned 'the steady expansion of global commitments, as relative national power declines, is a prescription for endless wars and eventual disaster'[88].

Buchanan strongly opposed the first Gulf War, arguing that it was not in the US interest and that the only people profiting would be the Jewish lobby and the oil industry. He decried an activist foreign policy, immigration and the global economy and perceived America engulfed by a culture war. However, it should be noted that he is sometimes too easily accused of isolationism. More than isolationist, his policy vision is rather to not become entangled in any foreign alliances in order to preserve America's freedom of action. Unnecessary commitments would only lead to weaken the US: as he expressed it, 'will we be forever ensnared in entangling alliances that will involve us and bleed us in every great new war on the Eurasian land mass until we are as diminished as the other powers of the twentieth century?'. Thus, he is not proposing conventional isolationism, but a return to 20th century US foreign policy, which, according to him was not isolationist: 'the message of Washington's Farewell Address was not to isolate America from Europe but keep it independent of Europe'[89].

The second camp of foreign policy thinking in the Republican Party, the 'neoconservatives', while much discussed and often quoted, is rather ambivalent and difficult to define. The original neoconservative school, as already mentioned, has its roots in the culture wars of the 1960s and the radicalization of the Democratic Party. Originally, they distinguished themselves specifically through the strength of their anti-Communist conviction, their opposition to modernity and their relentless promotion of American values around the world. However, switching to the Republicans during the Carter administration and occupying important government positions for the first time under Reagan, this school by the end of the Cold War had firmly moved into the mainstream of the Republican Party and lost much of its original vigor. The full degree of its new moderation became obvious during an extensive internal discussion amongst the founders of the movement at the end of the Cold War. While they still defended American exceptionalism and its special role in the world, they warned against the temptation to embark on crusades for freedom. Thus, for example, Robert W. Tucker advocated building 'a framework of stability and moderation within which democratic institutions may take root and grow' with the United States acting as 'a force for self-government simply by the virtue of our example'[90]. Similarly, Jeane Kirkpatrick asserted that 'there is no mystical American mission or purpose'[91] and that accordingly, the US should primarily tender to its own domestic concerns. However, as many 'old school' neoconservatives fell back to promoting moderation and gradualism while pursuing political change, a new generation of neoconservatives was readying itself to take over the lead of the movement.

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[87] see Pat Buchanan's book, 'A Republic, Not an Empire: Reclaiming America's Destiny'

[88] Buchanan, 'A Republic, Not an Empire', in Gregory L. Schneider, *Conservatism in America since 1930*

[89] Ibid.

[90] Robert W. Tucker, 'Exemplar or Crusader', in John Ehrman (1995), *The Rise of Neoconservatism. Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs 1945-1994*

[91] Jeane Kirkpatrick, 'A normal country in a normal Time', in John Ehrman (1995), *The Rise of Neoconservatism. Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs 1945-1994*

The first visible materialization of this movement was Charles Krauthammer and his theory of the 'unipolar moment'. Here Krauthammer argues that the old bipolar world order has given place to a new unipolar world, with America at its apex. In this changed world, the US should continue to act unilaterally, in order to defend its interests and the 'global order'. Moreover, in pursuit of the world's interest, America should act with disregard for Alliances and international law, as it is commanding its power 'benignly' and therefore does not need to entangle itself in international laws only designed by jealous countries to limit its freedom of action[92]. According to Krauthammer, it is necessary for the US to take such an approach, in order to defend the US from the threats emanating from a changed world, such as terrorism and aggressive nationalism. One early convert to this view was Elliott Abrams[93], who advocated an American role centered on using its preponderance of power to enforce international norms of conduct, much as the British had during the nineteenth century[94]. Thus, there was, and to some extent continues to be, a tension in the neoconservative movement regarding the merits of 'democratic crusades'. However, during the 1990s gradually a new generation of neoconservatives emerged that took an increased liking to a foreign policy á la Krauthammer.

Endorsed by think-tanks, such as the American Enterprise Institute and the Heritage Foundation, the Center for Security Policy and the Project for the New American Century and articulated in the pages of the Weekly Standard, the National Review, and the editorial pages of the Wall Street Journal, this new more radical form of necoconservatism increasingly won converts. Finding an early expression in the form of the 1992 Defense Planning Guidance[95], written by Paul Wolfowitz and Scooter Libby it was not yet able to command a broader support, but found a new expression in William Kristol's and Robert Kagan's article 'Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy' in the fall of 1996. There, Kristol and Kagan forcefully argue for the Republicans to turn away from Henry Kissinger's conservative realism in foreign affairs and turn to a new 'morality in foreign policy' rooted in the Reagan years. They argue that it is no longer possible to pursue the neoconservative agenda at home without having a coherent program for abroad, warning that 'for conservatives to preach the importance of upholding the core elements of the Western tradition at home, but to profess indifference to the fate of American principles abroad, is an inconsistency that cannot help but gnaw at the heart of conservatism'[96].

In an attempt to give this neo-Reaganite foreign policy a domestic dimension, Will Kristol and David Brooks resurrected the theme of 'national greatness', which combines their aggressive, interventionist foreign policy with the national institution building of Alexander Hamilton and Theodore Roosevelt and the moral suasion of Lincoln. Thus they argue that politicians ought to restore a sense of grand purpose to politics, by including great national projects, such as the Library of Congress, natural reserves and cultural monuments in their agendas. Accordingly, they not only reject the tradition of conservative realism, but also the long-established tradition of libertarianism in the Republican Party. With their fondness for the three 'Ms' of military strength, morality, and mastery, and their belief in an alliance of

[92] The original of Charles Krauthammer has been developed in his 1990/91 Foreign Policy article 'The Unipolar Moment' and most recently reaffirmed in his 'The Unipolar Moment Revisited', *The National Interest*, Winter 2002/03 and his regular comments in the editorial pages of the Washington Post.

[93] Elliott Abrams currently is Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Near East and North African Affairs of the National Security Council

[94] Elliott Abrams, 'Why America must Lead', in John Ehrman

[95] The 1992 DPG was scrapped, after parts of it leaked to the press and revealed a radical new doctrine, based on primacy and preemption.

[96] Kagan & Kristol, 'Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 4, July/August 1996

interest between the state of Israel and the United States, neoconservatives retain some of the air of old-fashioned liberals, would it not be for their rejection of international law and economic interdependence.

Finally, the third foreign policy camp amongst conservatives during these years, and probably at that point by far the largest, was the pragmatic realism the neoconservatives rebelled against. Realism has been brought to the United States by European émigrés the likes of Morgenthau and Carr and brought to perfection under the meticulous management of Henry Kissinger. Flowing from a tradition based on Machiavelli and Hobbes, the realist concept of international politics remains suspicious of the possibility of human progress, and perceives international politics as the simple struggle for power. While according to this creed careful balancing of states can yield periods of temporary stability, that is usually the best that can be hoped for. American realists are what Tucker calls 'exemplars', that is 'they are wary of the costs associated with a messianic foreign policy and skeptical about the U.S. ability to effect true political change in other countries'[97]. Thus, rather than going abroad in the search of monsters to destroy, realists stand for a cool-headed application of military power, when it is in the concrete interest of the United States.

While realists believe in the power of temporary alliances, they strongly reject the possibility of independent international institutions. To them, international institutions always enshrine the current status quo and thus cannot be seen as independent actors in the international arena. Accordingly, the notion that states should subject parts of their authority to international institutions is by and large alien to them. Realism in America after the Cold War cautioned that the break up of the bipolar system, regarded by most realists as the most stable form of international governance, could give rise to an increasingly less stable multipolar world order. This fear has been most forcefully enshrined in Mearsheimer's work[98], who argued that a possible result might be the rebirth of great power competition in Europe. Realists therefore largely supported a continuing presence of the US in Europe, and the expansion of NATO, in order to ensure some stability in the traditional zone of crisis in Eastern Europe. The continuing realist support for the European Union, although they perceive in it only the assertion of German and French domination in continental Europe, can be viewed in the same way. In the final analysis, comparing realism and neoconservatism, it seems possible to agree with Gideon Rose that 'American realists seek order and hope it will lead to justice; American neoconservatives seek justice and hope for order'[99].

Divisions among those different blocks caused some inconsistency in the Republican foreign policy agenda. Republicans rejected international cooperation as naive, blocked payment of UN dues and foreign aid commitments, the reduction of nuclear warheads and ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. They charged Clinton with selling nuclear secrets to the Chinese and engaging American forces in risky missions that were not in the national interest. However by far the most surprising act came with the Kosovo War, when House Republicans overwhelmingly voted against allowing American troops to participate in any NATO peacekeeping mission in Kosovo, and many Senate Republicans were even opposing NATO air strikes against Serb forces[100]. Dogmatic and sometimes irate foreign policy behavior under Clinton undermined the accusations of some Republicans that

[97] Robert W. Tucker in John Ehrman(1995), *The Rise of Neoconservatism. Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs 1945-1994*
[98] John Mearsheimer (2001), *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*
[99] Gideon Rose, 'Present Laughter or Utopian Bliss', *The National Interest*, No. 58, Winter 1999/2000
[100] Robert Kagan, 'Kosovo and the Echoes of Isolationism', *The New York Times*, March 24, 1999

Clinton himself was guilty of inconsistency in foreign policy and had no real agenda. Thus, the Republicans did not enjoy a great advantage on foreign policy issues, when they lined up for the 2000 elections.

Contrary to what intuition might lead one to think, Bush when taking over the party candidacy cast himself as a moderate. Campaigning on a platform of 'compassionate conservatism', in foreign policy matters, his outlook seemed to be more styled towards conservative realism. He cautioned moderation in foreign policy conduct and warned of an overextension of US military commitments, stating that, 'if we don't stop extending our troops all around the world in nation-building missions, then we're going to have a serious problem coming down the road'[101]. His appointment of Collin Powell as Sectretary of State and the publication of two articles by Condoleezza Rice and Robert Zoellick[102], widely perceived as being the fundamental statements on foreign policy in his campaign, seemed to reaffirm this view. However, he also remained close to controversial Republicans and the Christian Right. On a different level, while he had the full support of the libertarian, 'leave us alone' coalition he was not always consistent with his opposition to a small state. Thus, he said that 'too often, my party has confused the need for limited government with a disdain for government itself', or 'the invisible hand works many miracles, but it cannot touch the human heart'.

His strategy of compassionate conservatism resembled a mixture of civil-society theories and the Christian communitarianism of the early 1990s. It supposedly 'blends Hayek's economic ideas of belief in a small state and low taxes, with the social thinking of James Q. Wilson that moral values and personal responsibility are integral to a healthy society'. At the heart of this strategy was the reliance on faith-based community organizations to take over jobs performed by the welfare state. Bush had tried out some of these strategies as governor of Texas and did not revert to the libertarian agenda in the elections. However, compassionate conservative ideas diminished progressively in importance as the campaign wore on, and it is not clear whether Bush just used it in order to cast himself as more of a moderate with appeal to the center. For the time being, some of the White House strategies, such as the initiative for faith-based organizations and the AIDS-aid to Africa can be seen as a continuation of the compassionate conservatism initiative.

Nevertheless, as the lines began to harden, Bush reverted more to the above mentioned approach advocated by the neoconservative 'Weekly Standard' and its editor William Kristol of 'national greatness'[103]. This approach married an interventionist and coercive foreign policy, with a reliance on patriotism based on traditional American ideals. For Kristol, patriotism, rather than religion[104] would be trump to unite America. However, the national greatness approach was initially promulgated with much success by John McCain in the primaries. While despised by the Republican leadership, McCain drew a plethora of people into politics for the first time and especially struck a chord with the young[105]. Not surprisingly therefore, Bush warmed to much of McCain's rhetoric later on in the election campaign. A

[101] Bush cited in David Boaz, 'Bush's Third Way betrays true Conservatism', *The Australian*, January 31, 2003
[102] Robert Zoellick, 'Campaign 2000 – A Republican Foreign policy', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 1, January/February 2000; Condoleezza Rice, 'Campaign 2000 – Promoting the National Interest', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 1, January/February 2000
[103] Arens, 'Republican Future', *Policy Review*, No. 106
[104] Whereas compassionate conservatism sees religion as the means to unite America.
[105] Tod Lindberg, 'Bush's Achilles Heel. In Search of Greatness', *Blueprint Magazine*, May/June 2002

third approach promulgated during the 2000 campaign was that of the 'new investor class'[106], libertarian at root and styled towards the need of the people investing in the stock exchange.

Like Reagan, Bush tried to replicate an amalgam of these approaches, mixing the religious, the realists and the neoconservatives together with old styled social conservatives and libertarians. Trying to mesh all of these together, he emerged in his inaugural address with the slogans of 'civility, courage, compassion and character'[107]. Merging tax-cuts with protective tariffs, rampant nationalism in the international sphere with religious and moral language at home and finally portraying himself as the valiant defender of the American homeland allowed Bush to preserve a tenuous coalition of these different groups. Nevertheless, the biggest unifier of all was the theme of national greatness. Already during the campaign, national greatness offered much to its adherents. Satisfying above all neoconservative desires, it also promised pork for the business interests, military dominance for the realists and patriotism and traditional values to the Christian Right. The events of September 11th could only contribute to the value of 'national greatness' concept, crushing isolationism under its feet and taking the wind out of the sails of neoliberals opposed to government fine tuning of the economy. Ever since then, the differences between conservative camps have been more theoretical than actual.

The obvious questions that remain are whether national greatness (or neoconservatism) has become the aggregate expression of Republican foreign policy ambitions and what role Europe plays in the whole of this. On the former the indication is that the question can be answered in the affirmative. That is, September 11 has greatly contributed to spreading some of the fundamental tenets of neoconservatism. Thus, the ideas of foreign policy activism, the relevance of values and the unhampered freedom of action of the US have become accepted principles across the Republican creed. Nevertheless some difference remains between the proponents of national greatness and the school of traditional realism. While realists preach prudence and agree to the use of military force solely on the grounds that a vital national interest is at risk, neoconservatives have accepted that military force can be used in cases where only moral issues are at stake. However, this division seems to be a thin one, as it depends on a definition of national interest which excludes the defense of certain moral principles, something that does not seem to hold anymore in the current situation.

On the issue of European integration, party pundits have usually been less vociferous, until disagreement arose concerning the conduct of the war on terror. In the face of these events the voices that propose an approach of cherry-picking towards the European Union have certainly drowned the more friendly voices. Moreover, amongst a certain strata of the conservative establishment, it has become common place to advocate a closer relationship to what commonly has become regarded as the 'Anglosphere'[108] and certain other countries of the European Union, to replace that to the EU as a whole. Disregard for Europe in part seems to spring from the fact that some parts of the new Republican foreign policy agenda is diametrically opposed to what the European Union stands for. Thus, the approach to international affairs based on the reliance on negotiable international standards, the desire to

[106] Advocates of this approach can be found in the National Review, namely Richard Nadler and Ramesh Ponnuru and in the op-ed pages of the Wall Street Journal, Lawrence Kudlow and Paul Gigot

[107] George W. Bush, 'Inaugural Address', January 20, 2001

[108] The idea of an Anglosphere has been first articulated by James C. Bennet, who is also the founder of the Anglosphere Institute, chaired by Lady Thatcher. See: James C. Bennet, 'An Anglosphere Primer', Foreign Policy Institute, 2001

retain an independent voice and the endorsement of moral relativism all run counter to the fundamentals of the dominating Republican foreign policy consensus.

Towards a Cross-Party Consensus?

Comparing the internal discussions in both the Republican and Democratic Parties, it is possible to outline an interesting development that has proceeded somehow in parallel in both of them. That is, both parties have gradually given birth to a group of policy intellectuals that stand more or less unchallenged at the stern of each party's ship and determine the course of its foreign policy outlook. This is the more interesting because both of these groups slowly grew out of the opposition to the counterculture movement in the Democratic Party. While the dominance that they command over party politics and the origin of their ideas certainly remain subject to considerable discussion, what seems to be beyond doubt is the striking similarity of some of the ideas they articulate. What this points to, is the fact that there might well be a new cross-party foreign policy consensus arising out of the ashes of the post-Cold War era. Therefore, just as all Democratic and Republican governments during the times of the Cold War used to adhere to the twin strategies of containment and deterrence, a new twin strategy, for a new threat, consisting of the principles of preemption and democratic enlargement, might be slowly claiming its place in the foreign policy thinking of the two parties. While such a statement might seem contentious, the gradual evolution of the parties' foreign policy strategies largely seems to warrant it. Thus, a direct comparison between the fundamentals of the two strategies, reveals considerable overlap in the following areas:

- A broad consensus has been reached toward the general principle of foreign policy activism in contrast to the siren sounds of a new American isolationism that could occasionally be heard in the immediate post-Cold War era;
- An agreement exists concerning the primacy of military force in international affairs, eschewing a whole cluster of theories, proliferating during the 1990s, concerning the ineptness of military force in influencing international affairs and stressing the superiority of economics and diplomacy in an interdependent world;
- A commitment to the preservation of America's unchallenged leadership in the field of military affairs;
- The application of military force in a preemptive manner, in order to defend US interests, while still disputed by parts of the Democratic establishment, has slowly moved within the realm of the acceptable;
- The idea of America being in possession of a new manifest destiny and having to actively seek the promotion of its ideals and values has been reinvigorated from the perils of the Vietnam War;
- The frequent reference by both parties to the foreign policy agenda of Truman and Theodore Roosevelt and their commitment to embrace the style of foreign policy making of these two leaders.

However, on the decisive question of the utility of international law and permanent alliances, a certain distance remains between the two parties. Thus, while most Republicans dispute the usefulness of both, beyond the purpose of dispensing international approval to American plans of action, the Democrats remain at least rhetorically committed to them. Unsurprisingly, this remains the issue on which most of the parties' foreign policy disputes seem to be ignited. Nevertheless, this difference at times seems to be much narrower than has commonly been portrayed and it is disputable in how far it can coexist with a foreign policy

that equates America's national interests with those of the world. Thus, whether it concerns issues of international human rights, the future of global warming, or the war against Iraq, pundits within the Democratic Party seem to be willing to ignore at least from time to time their wider alliance commitments. More often than not they see these commitments as a hindrance to promote the interest of America and - by extension - the wider world. That a Democratic leadership, which agrees with most of the Republican foreign policy agenda, will be able to follow a foreign policy that is qualitatively different in substance from that of the Bush administration, therefore remains highly doubtful.

III. PUBLIC OPINION AND AMERICAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

American Exceptionalism and National Identity

As I have tried to show in the first two parts of this paper, while American foreign policy and elite opinion have been marked by a certain degree of continuity in the post-Cold war era, they have also experienced a considerable degree of change. Thus, the attacks of September 11th have arguably led to a perceivable shift in foreign policy behavior and an increasing convergence of elite opinion on the future role of the US in the world. However, these changes point towards a further possible development in US politics: a change in popular opinion, based on the intimate connection that unites US foreign policy with American nationalism. To assert the existence of such a connection demands however some more attention. Thus, while it has been commonly accepted that political elites have a wide ranging influence on the development of public opinion, the reverse process in many cases can be disputed, as the general public often holds little influence on the foreign policy decision-making process. However, it can be argued that in the case of the US, the connection between public opinion and foreign policy decisions is possibly closer than elsewhere. This close connection is generally attributed to the fact that America as a nation is exceptional in its character, defined by a unique American creed and the existence of a strong civil religion. As Arthur Schlesinger has pointed out, the 'American penchant for ascribing transcendent value to itself and for defining itself as exceptional reflects the confluence of intellectual and religious currents that were channeled through fortuitous historical circumstances and gained strength as the state became more powerful'[109]. If true, this posits that the perceivable changes in American foreign policy since the end of the Cold War should have been paralleled by a deeper transformation of the way America views itself as a nation, with the terrorist attacks providing 'a clarifying moment in the nation's collective consciousness'[110].

In order to evaluate the way US public opinion has evolved and whether it is congruous with elite opinion therefore demands an understanding of why Americans generally perceive the United States as qualitatively different, and to some extent better, than other countries. The idea of 'American exceptionalism', first coined by Alexis de Tocqueville[111], at the most general level, refers to the perception that the United States is different from other nation states, due to its exceptional history, social fabric and political institutions. At the same time America as an exceptional nation is often perceived as having a special role in the world, designed to spread these unique values for the benefit of all. This idea, of America as a unique place with a special destiny, has been customarily endorsed, adopted and reiterated in American history and, as Koh points out, 'flows through the rhetoric of nearly every American President, from Washington's Farewell Speech, to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, to Reagan's image of a shining city on the hill, to nearly every post-September 11 speech of George W. Bush'[112].

According to Seymour Martin Lipset, above all, the US has been exceptional in being the 'first new nation'. An erstwhile colony that through its own determination turned itself into a democracy. Moreover, in its struggle for independence this new nation did not define itself on

[109] Arthur Schlessinger cited in Paul McCartney, 'The Bush Doctrine and American Nationalism'
[110] Paul McCartney, 'The Bush Doctrine and American Nationalism'
[111] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*
[112] Harold Hongju Koh, 'On American Exceptionalism', *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 55

the bases of ethnical or ascriptive attributes, but of a unique American creed[113], based on an ideological construction of the American nation. Thus, as the distinguished American historian Richard Hofstadter described it, 'it has been our fate as a nation not to have ideologies, but to be one'[114]. The source of this American creed, that came to define what it meant to be American, is generally agreed to be the classical liberalism of the 18th and 19th centuries. According to Tocqueville, it is the essence of this doctrine that defines the American creed, namely the principles of liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism and laissez-faire. A definition that has been widely accepted by all following generations of American intellectuals. These new values in their earliest form asserted themselves automatically, at the time, in direct opposition to the parochial values of the old continent it battled with. Therefore, it emphasized the absence of feudal structures, monarchies and aristocracies and instilled Americans with the self-perception of a free and independent nation.

At the same time, this American creed, based on the underlying tenets of early liberalism, mingled with the values and beliefs of the Puritan settlers in defining the basic tenets of America's national identity. Thus, American religion itself had taken a unique form and has had a lasting impact on US policies. While American religious groups draw on the theological traditions of European Protestantism, the most common form of religious adherence in the US has been that of the sect. This adherence to sects is again markedly different to the well established and centralized European churches, with uniform and hierarchically determined customs of worship. In contrast to their dogmatic traditions, sectarianism in general is based on personal beliefs and interpretations of the Bible. Moreover, American sectarianism has stressed the perfectibility of human beings, giving rise to a moralistic people, distinguished from the moral relativism that can often be found in Catholic countries. This, it has been said, also had some influence on American views of war. Thus, in order for Americans to support a war, they have to endorse the war in moralistic terms, portraying the other side as being inherently evil. Americans therefore customarily argue that they go to war for higher moral reasons, as opposed to low materialistic desires. With the advent of the Enlightenment the belief in moral absolutes and in the American mission was transformed from its religious origin into a civil religion based on a belief in reason, progress and the superiority of science, asserting itself in the Declaration of Independence and its reference to the principles of 'natural rights'[115].

Together, the characteristics of the American creed and the moral values of its civil religion, transmitted by the puritan settlers, define the essence of American exceptionalism that has made America qualitatively different from other countries in a variety of ways. Above all, it has often been asserted that American exceptionalism has been responsible for the absence of working-class radicalism. Thus, from the very beginning, according to Lipset, the adherence to the American creed and the absence of feudalism have meant that the European social class structure did not replicate itself in the new world and that America has constituted itself as a mainly middle-class nation. This can also be perceived in the set up of the two main political parties. Although Republicans and Democrats, are often described as liberal or conservative, they are in practice both based on the early liberalism that has defined the American creed. Another effect that American exceptionalism has on American politics, is

[113] The idea of an American Creed has been first expressed by Gunnar Myrdal. While Myrdal originally identified constitutionalism, individualism, liberalism, democracy and egalitarianism as the bases of this creed, Martin Seymour Lipset also included populism (or democratic anti-elitism).
[114] Hostadter cited in Seymour Martin Lipset (1997), *American Exceptionalism: A double-edged Sword*
[115] Paul McCartney, 'The Bush Doctrine and American Nationalism'

that in the words of Seymour Martin Lipset, it behaves like a double-edged sword, as 'it fosters a high sense of personal responsibility, independent initiative, and voluntarism even as it encourages self-serving behavior, atomism, and a disregard for communal good'[116]. However, beyond these commonly acknowledged effects of American exceptionalism, it has also represented an enduring influence on US foreign policy and the way Americans perceive the role of their nation in the world. This influence can be traced through the different stages of development that American foreign policy has taken before.

The earliest references to exceptionalism, as pointed out, can be found in the writings of the Pilgrims and Puritans that had migrated to the United States, in order 'to found a New Zion that was free from corruption and oppression'[117]. In their view the new world was markedly different from an old world that was plagued by feudalism and corruption. However, not only did they posit to have founded a different society than existed elsewhere, but they also argued that their society should serve as a shining example to those left behind. This view of the world has been embodied in the words of Governor Winthrop, who celebrated the unique character of the United States as early as 1630, by asserting that: 'for we must consider that we shall be as a City upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us'[118]. This view of the US as an example to the rest of the world, and the implications that a passive promotion of its principles holds for its foreign policy, have to some extent endured until today and become part of a tradition of American foreign policy-making that has often been depicted as isolationist. However, while in the early period of American settlement exceptionalism, embodied in the 'city on the hill' interpretation, demanded the protection of America and the forging of conditions beneficial to its development, this soon changed.

The view of America as qualitatively different and an 'exemplar' got instilled with new optimism, after the successful revolution against Great Britain. While this was a revolt that was primarily conducted in order to attain greater freedom for themselves, it was a common belief amongst Americans that the victory of the colonists would be the dawn of a new era. The optimism of that era was well captured in Thomas Paine's proclamation that, 'we have it in our power to begin the world over again'[119]. This first triumph had a lasting impact on American identity and instilled the foremost exemplary character of American identity of the 'city on the hill' type with a new dynamism of a more expansionist quality. Believing in the rightfulness of their mission and instilled with the fundamental want and need to explore and conquer, the US expanded its influence over the continent. The right of the Union to expand, as John O'Sullivan pointed out in 1845, was 'the right of our manifest destiny to over spread and to possess the whole of the continent which providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federative development of self government entrusted to us'[120]. However, the idea of America's manifest destiny, just as its exemplar character, did not end at the shores of the Pacific. And the rhetoric of 'manifest destiny' has been repeatedly used by American Presidents to justify expansionism and activist promotion of American ideals.

Therefore, progressively, this new outward looking variance of American exceptionalism delivered the justification for America's global mission and the need to spread American

[116] Seymour Martin Lipset (1997), *American Exceptionalism: A double-edged Sword*
[117] Michael Adas, 'From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon: Integrating the Exceptionalist Narrative of the American Experience into World History'
[118] Winthrop cited in Michael Thomas, 'Who We Are: Constructivism and the Dual Personality of American Nationalism
[119] Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*, in Walter McDougall
[120] John O'Sullivan on the Democratic Review, cited by Paul McCartney

values. At the time, this tendency was given a face, by Monroe's assertion of an American sphere of influence in Latin America, followed by Theodore Roosevelt's building of the first American empire. Yet, the new America promising to take the world with steel and fire did not last very long and soon contracted. Ambitions of empire were brushed away by Wilson's plans for a world built on self-determination and justice, and adjudicated by the League of Nations. However, Wilsonianism itself can be depicted as nothing more than a form of the long established American exceptionalism of the settlers. Indicative of this is also the fierce and religious rhetoric employed by Wilson, leading the US into the First World War and back to a period of relative isolationism in the interwar period.

While the immediate post-Second World War era brought uncertainty to the shape American engagement with the world would take, the signs were set by the time Congress passed NSC 68 in 1950, calling for a huge increase in defense spending, in order to take on more responsibility around the world. America again became the beacon of the world, leading an international campaign against authoritarian Soviet Russia and again saw its 'manifest destiny' in the world fulfilled. However, at the same time exceptionalism was transformed by the emerging doctrine of realism in foreign policy conduct. Developed mostly by European émigrés to the US that thought little of civilisational missions and idealism in foreign policy, the realists were headed by Hans Morgenthau, for whom morality in foreign affairs was solely springing from the interest of the nation. Moreover, order in international affairs, while anyway a remote possibility, was dependent on a moral domestic order. That is a moral nationalism that would 'realize moral values within the limits of their power'. While realism thus was supposed to bring prudence to foreign policy conduct, America still depicted itself as possessing a special role, however limited and interwoven with the rest of the western world.

As McEvoy-Levy pointed out[121], the crystallizing belief in an alliance of interest and values with Western Europe at the same time led to the transformation of an American exceptionalism that initially defined itself in opposition to Europe, to one that included Europe within itself: the widely acclaimed transatlantic community of values. Part of this effect can be attributed to the fact that America saw Western Europe as slowly emulating the American experience. That is, it was open and receptive to American ideas and institutions and above all, American money. However, as noted above, European integration, while brought about with the active support of the Americans, bore some flowers, that were presenting themselves to America as not in line with its expression of American exceptionalism, such as its taste for economic managerialism and moral relativism. Moreover, as Europe matured, Europeans even began to express the belief in their own model as a good blueprint for the world, much to the annoyance of the Americans. With the end of the Cold War, and the common enemy gone, these differences only seemed to have become more exaggerated.

At the time of its expansion, American exceptionalism also underwent a dire challenge at home during the Vietnam War: the counterculture revolution. Young Americans themselves rejected the global melioralism that was, according to them, mingled with lower interests. At this point, Daniel Bell in his famous article pronounced the end of 'American exceptionalism', claiming that America as little as anybody else had been immune to Lord Acton's dictum of the corruptibility of power. In disarray, Carter emerged to give the US a new, more humble mission, which was based on multilateral engagement and humanitarian missions. However, Carter's vision remained a half-way house and only Reagan succeeded to resurrect the bright

[121] Siobhan McEvoy-Levy (2001), *American Exceptionalism and US Foreign Policy*

light of American exceptionalism with his rhetoric of the 'shining city on the hill' and a 'nation of destiny'.

Judging from this brief evaluation of tendencies in American foreign affairs, it is possible to assert that the character of American national identity has been intimately connected with the foreign policy of the country. American identity, embodied in the idea of American exceptionalism, has therefore repeatedly asserted a strong influence on foreign policy-making, and delivered it with a strong rhetoric it could employ towards diverging ends. Thus American exceptionalism in foreign affairs has displayed itself in two forms, that of Winthrop's 'city on the hill' and O'Sullivan's 'manifest destiny', or as McDougall called them: of exemplar and crusader. Preserving its underlying character, American national identity has therefore justified periods of relative isolation and relative expansion or as Paul McCartney has pointed out[122], 'the cumulative effect of the idea of American nationalism on US foreign policy has been to combine altruism and acquisitiveness'. Nevertheless, all the time, the ideas that underline American exceptionalism have remained the same. That of America as beacon of progress, contrasted with a world that remains mired in tyranny and corruption. According to this view, the spread of American values to other countries, at times by example, at times by active promotion, continues to be the mission of America.

Throughout its history, the US has found it possible to reconcile the principles of exemplar and crusader, because America has seen the spread of American interest and values as coterminous with the advancement of mankind's mission. The ideas that underlie these tendencies in US thought can therefore again be found in both Clinton's perception that by promoting US capitalism abroad, the progress of democracy would be furthered, or the neoconservative belief that in fulfilling its mission the US is exempt from the rules and regulations that bind other states, because it is a 'benign country'. To evaluate America's post-Cold War foreign policy, it is therefore important to determine in how far American national identity has leaned in one direction or the other.

US National Identity after the Cold War

The somehow sudden and unexpected end of the Cold War had a profound impact on the way Americans viewed their role in the world. After decades in which America defined its mission and direction vis-à-vis the ‘evil empire’, American national identity seemed to experience a period of prolonged vacuity. Having followed the call of its ‘manifest destiny’ for decades, what initially appeared as the triumph of American ideas and the ‘end of history’ seemed soon to hold little but confusion and cacophony for the US. Unable to adopt a mission appropriate to its might and ambitions, the US appeared at a loss and turned inward. American pundits, in order to find a point of reference, were quick to liken this period of confusion with two earlier experiences of the twentieth century[123], the interwar years and the immediate period after 1945, implying that there was no time for complacency, as new challenges would soon loom on the horizon. However, even America’s foreign policy elite, uniting in order to define American interest, was unable to find anything but a consensus[124]. Not surprisingly

[122] Paul McCartney 'The Bush Doctrine and American Nationalism'

[123] Commission on America’s National Interest (2000), 'America's National Interest'

[124] In 1994, the Council on Foreign Relations, America’s prime foreign policy foundation, united 100 intellectuals in order to investigate the essence of a new national interest after the Cold War. After a year of work, these intellectuals were unable to agree upon even the most basic fundamentals such a national interest would encompass. See: Council on Foreign Relations: Project on US National Interest after the Cold War.

therefore, after a brief spell of public unity during the Gulf War, the American public failed to find a purpose in the role the US played in places such as Bosnia or Haiti. Moreover, confusion about America's role in the world seemed to breed confusion about the essence of Americanism, expressed most appropriately in the words of Rabbit Armstrong, famous protagonist of John Updike's memorable novels: 'without the Cold War, what's the point of being an American?'.

Without a new foreign mission that could capture the imagination of Americans and with the essential parts of America's manifest destiny seemingly fulfilled, this question triggered some alarm bells among America's intellectual elite which saw the essence of the American project itself at risk. Uncomfortably reminded of the end of the Roman Empire many, especially amongst the conservative elites, looked with discomfort at what they saw as the possible disuniting of America[125]. Two discomforting trends that slowly began to tear apart the fabric of American national identity became discernable: multiculturalism and antigovernmentalism. With the threat of an all out war with the Soviet Union gone, the pinnacle of the US struggle against Communism, the central government, progressively lost support. This atmosphere left a fertile ground for the rise of identity politics and militant antigovernment groups. The situation was further exaggerated by the conscious support of multicultural policies by the Clinton administration, breaking the long established tradition amongst US leaders of doing everything to keep diversity under check, in order to guarantee the unity of the United States.

As was pointed out earlier, American identity was primarily defined by liberal political principles, not ethnicity. However, the early settlers of the North American continent were very similar to each other in terms of language and cultural background and while the majority of Anglo-Saxons seemed to be genuinely convinced that any European immigrant could be assimilated and become a full-fledged American, as is known, this did not apply to non-European immigrants (i.e. Chinese, Blacks, etc) for a long time. Thus, when successive waves of immigration from non-European countries mounted in the 18th century, the idea grew stronger that 'true Americanism required close conformity to the cultural majority in manners, language, and religion'[126]. Suddenly Americanism included a certain cultural element that had to be adopted in addition to the principles of its creed. This pressure to assimilate not only into the dominating national creed, but also to adopt certain cultural characteristics, was hidden by the rhetoric of the melting pot, in which according to Israel Zwangwill, 'all races are melting and reforming'[127]. After the Second World War, the first challenges to this way of acculturation came in the 1960s, beginning with the black power movement. Black power and other identity movements rejected the assimilationist melting pot as oppressive and aspired to a 'mosaic' of cultures. According to this logic, society consists of a patchwork of ethnic groups that should coexist in a harmonic equilibrium, where the government as an interlocutor ensures the equality of their status. However, this different conception of government was often seen by the overwhelming majority of white middle class Americans as threatening the fabric of US society, for so long embodied in the slogan of 'e pluribus unum'. While the renewal of Cold War tensions that the Reagan administration

[125] Examples of works that predict fragmentation and disunity are: Arthur Schlesinger Jr., *The Disuniting of America*; Peter Brimelow, *Alien Nation*; Robert Reich, *The Worth of Nations*; Gerturde Himmelfarb, *One Nation, Two Cultures*

[126] Jack Citrin, et al., 'Is American Nationalism Changing? Implications for Foreign Policy', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 1

[127] Zwangwill in Citrin et al., 'Is American Nationalism Changing? Implications for Foreign Policy', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 1

presided over quelled some of the early demands for ethnical representation, the end of the Cold War in a certain way led to the renewal of identity politics.

Together with the new embrace of diversity by the Clinton administration[128], there also seems to have increasingly been a drive away from assimilation toward the retaining of ethnical identity by some of the immigrant groups that came to the US. In the absence of a clearly articulated foreign policy strategy, these groups increasingly sought influence on the foreign policy process in order to help shape US policy towards their homelands. Thus diasporas recently had an impact on US policy towards 'Greece and Turkey, the Caucasus, the recognition of Macedonia, support for Croatia, sanctions against South Africa, aid for black Africa, intervention in Haiti, NATO expansion, sanctions against Cuba, the controversy in Northern Ireland, and the relations between Israel and its neighbors'[129]. Moreover, as Yossi Shain argues[130], in the case of Haiti and South Africa, the ethnic pressure groups can even seem to have had a decisive influence on the decision-making process. Thus, it is generally thought that in the case of Haiti, there was no agreement by the foreign policy elite on the appropriate course of action, while in the case of sanctions against South Africa Senate approval was given in the face of fierce resistance by officials in the Reagan administration. At the same time and on top of the growing assertiveness of identity groups has come the increased influence of commercial interest groups, aided by the Clinton administration's policy concerning the promotion of US business abroad. Ironically, as these trends have become obvious, some commentators were advocating to find a new competitor, against which America could define its national identity. Thus, Irving Kristol argued that 'with the end of the Cold War, what we really need is an obvious ideological and threatening enemy, one worthy of our mettle, one that can unite us in opposition. (…) Where are our aliens when we most need them?'[131].

One of the most fundamental developments that have impacted on US national identity after the Cold War has therefore been the loss of 'the Other'. That is, from its very beginning as a nation state, America was always able to define its characteristics against a certain evil and corrupt other. First there was Great Britain against which Americans' desire for freedom and self government had to assert itself. Subsequently, it was Europe at large, which America defined as the cradle of all evil, oppressive and authoritarian, compared to which the exceptional example of America as a free nation was able to shine even brighter. As Europe changed, the geographical entity as source of evil was replaced by the ideologies of Fascism and Communism and America started to define itself not only as the example, but the leader of the free world, first fighting and defeating Fascism and then taking on Communism. The continuous existence of a common enemy, against whose aggression America had to be on guard, therefore seems to have fostered a common identity. This common identity in the absence of an outside threat was changing in character during the 1990s, much to the despair of hawkish conservatives, who saw themselves confronted with tendencies similar to those encountered by their forefathers a generation earlier. As Huntington argued at the time, 'the replacement of particularism would require the American public to become committed to new national interests that would take priority over and lead to the subordination of commercial

[128] According to Huntington, Clinton's promotion of ethnic and racial identities meant that Americans were not subjected to the same assimilatory pressures of previous immigrants and ethnic identities as a result gained in relevance. See: Samuel Huntington, 'The Erosion of American National Interest', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 5
[129] Samuel Huntington, 'The Erosion of American National Interest', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 5
[130] Yossi Shain, 'Multicultural Foreign Policy', *Foreign Policy*, No. 100
[131] Irving Kristol, 'A Post-Wilsonian Foreign policy', *American Enterprise Institute on the Issue*, August 2, 1996

and ethnical concerns'[132]. As was the case, American leaders at the time failed to articulate such a new national interest.

It seems that much of these preconditions for a renewed and vigorous national identity have in the meantime come true. Thus ever since the events of September 11th, the US had a new and strong international concern that overrode the importance of any particularistic interests of ethnic or commercial groups, so at least goes the national rhetoric[133]. Previous trends of multiculturalism and antigovernmentalism seem to have been put aside at a time when the public supports a strong role for the government in the war against terror and patriotic temper and support for the original ideas of the American creed are enjoying full support. Although one might be skeptical that the genuine desire for diversity has been quelled, in the current atmosphere America has decided to stand as one and put its former disputes behind itself.

In this new atmosphere of the post-Cold War era, American identity can therefore be seen to have undergone several important developments. That is, as it has been argued, the foreign policy behavior of the US in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War has been erratic, partly due to the fact that for a democracy, where public opinion has a strong influence on policy decisions, any consistence in policy is difficult to achieve[134]. Furthermore, the US had to endure a period of confusion in which it had to determine for itself a new grand strategy in the new era, that was to take the place of the global struggle against the Soviet Union. In the absence of such a mission, it is possible to note that America has experienced a certain erosion of its national identity. As Calleo has pointed out 'the US as center of a unipolar world, can no longer find moral self-justification in being untainted by a corrupt world'[135]. It seems as if the sole remaining superpower therefore has awakened from a decade long slumber of multilateral engagement and taken up the shield and the sword that have served it well for so long in its role as a crusader state.

Empirical Evidence

It emerges from the above that the US national identity has experienced trends of both continuity and change since the end of the Cold War, already discernable in the actual policy behavior of the United States. Thus, while the loss of the Soviet Union as a defining other has sown confusion in the actual content of US foreign policy making, a strong belief in American exceptionalism and special mission has endured and continues to hold a decisive influence on US foreign policy behavior. However, in order to probe deeper into the recent changes of America's outlook on the world it seems to be necessary to complement the results of theoretical works on national identity and elite opinion with a thorough analysis of public policy perception, to be found in recent opinion polls on international affairs. Considering some of these opinion polls delivers the following results:

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[132] Samuel Huntington, 'The Erosion of American National Interest', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 5

[133] Some cynical voices might however argue that ethnical interests still influence US foreign policy making, evident in US policy towards Israel and Palestine, while commercial interest determines much of its foreign and defense decision making.

[134] Irving Kristol, 'A Post-Wilsonian Foreign Policy', *AEI On the Issue*, August, 2nd, 1996

[135] Calleo, David, 'Balancing America: Europe's International Duties', *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, No. 1, 2003

Attitudes towards Kin and Country[136]

During the 1980s, Americans' trust in the central government underwent several sea-changes. That is, while at the beginning of the 80s it was relatively low at 25%[137], under the nationalist rhetoric of the Reagan administration, it rose steadily until 1983 to 51%. Afterwards, the embroilment of the Reagan administration in the Iran-Contra affair led to a relative decline of trust in central government by 1986 (35%) that continued to deteriorate until its lowest point in 1992 (19%), except for a brief period of nationalistic stint during the Gulf War. For most of the 1990s trust in government declined, recovering only modestly by 1998 (33%) and surging after September 11th to a new height of 64%. At the same time patriotic beliefs did not really undergo the same development. Patriotism recovered from a relatively low level in 1987, where 43% of the public expressed the feeling of being very patriotic, to its height in 1991, with 65% saying that they classified themselves as very patriotic during the Gulf War. Dropping modestly during the Clinton years, by January 2001 a different poll[138] registered an increased 55% of Americans as being extremely proud and 32% as being very proud of the US. In the shadow of the 9-11 terrorist attacks and the war against Iraq these numbers rose steadily to a new record of 70% that were extremely proud of being an American and 20% stating that they were very proud, by June 2003.

On the role of religion in American public life, G.K. Chesteron's description of the US as 'a nation with the soul of a church' still seems to hold. Thus, poll numbers show that in 2002, 67% of Americans considered the US a Christian nation and a majority (44%) thought that religion should have a greater influence in public life, with only a minority (21%) being opposed. Moreover, a majority of Americans (54%)[139] finds it acceptable for the US government to promote religion. Measures of religiosity further increased in the aftermath of September 11th, but now have mostly returned to their previous levels[140]. The high measure of religiosity in the US further cohere with the findings of a Princeton Survey in 2002, in which 58% stated that they thought the strength of US society is based on religious faith. In a similar survey conducted by the Pew Center in 1999 75% of the American public stated that the international success of the US can be accounted for by God's will, demonstrating that American belief in a special God-ordained role in the world is alive and well.

Contrary to the suggestions of some commentators during the 1990s, a brief spell of isolationist attitudes did not last and the American public has repeatedly shown its commitment to an active US role in the world, with 83% in 2002 saying that strong US leadership in the world is either very, or somewhat desirable. While a majority of the public (66%) conceives the fact that the US is becoming a more dominant force in the world as a positive thing, 62% simultaneously displays a dislike for having to play the role of the world policeman too often. This continuing internationalism has also been paralleled by the perception that the relevance of international problems has grown for the US, as the public estimates that 41% of the most important US problems are now related to foreign affairs (see figure).

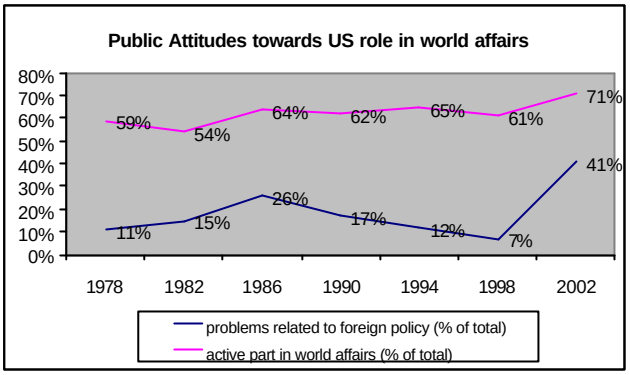
[136] If not otherwise indicated, the accumulated data has been taken from the Pew poll 'Views of a Changing World 2003', the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations poll 'Worldviews 2002' and the PIPA poll report 'Seeking a new Balance'

[137] All data taken from: Scott McLean, 'Land That I Love'

[138] Gallup Poll, 'Seven in 10 are Extremely Proud to Be Americans This Independence Day', July 3, 2003

[139] Public Perspective, 'God and Country', January/February 2003

[140] Scott McLean, 'Rally-'Round-Religion'



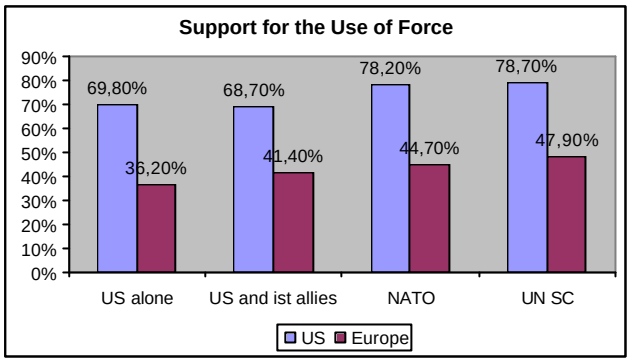
US Attitudes to Policy Issues

While the public therefore perceives a renewed necessity for the US to play an active and leading role in international affairs, contrary to what is often assumed, 76% of the public state that they would prefer the US to cooperate with others when trying to solve international problems. While the real extent of public support for multilateral engagement in the US is therefore often understated, a somehow contradictory development however shows that the share of Americans wanting the US to act alone in response to international crisis has risen from 21% in 1998 to 31% in 2002. At the same time, those that do not want the US to act alone has fallen from 72% in 1998 to 61% in 2002.

On the question of the use of military force, Americans today support a wide array of possible uses for the military, with 73% supporting the use of force to topple regimes that support terrorists threatening the US, and 66% favoring targeted assassinations of terrorist leaders. Majorities also approve the use of the American military for humanitarian missions, such as in the cases of genocide (77%). On the question of international approval of the use of force, 61% (down from 66% before the war) would like the US to secure UN approval before using force, while 35% (up from 29%) say that the US should not let itself be tied down by international organizations. These figures therefore show a slight change of tides since the beginning of the war against Iraq. Moreover, a recent survey[141] has shown that in order to prevent Iran or North Korea from acquiring nuclear weapons, a majority of Americans continues to support the use of force, under all circumstances (see figure). Accordingly, American taste for multilateralism seems to extend only to areas where no vital US interests can be seen at stake.

As a majority of Americans (68%) acknowledge that maintaining superior military power world wide for the US is very important, support for defense spending amongst the public remains high, deteriorating only slightly in the immediate post-Cold War era[142]. However, perceptions that military expenditure was too little already increased at the end of the 1990s before the events of September 11th, but declined again after Bush's increase in defense spending. At the eve of the Iraq war in February 2003 , 25% of Americans continued to think that defense spending levels were too low, with 34% thinking that US national defense is still not strong enough at the present[143].

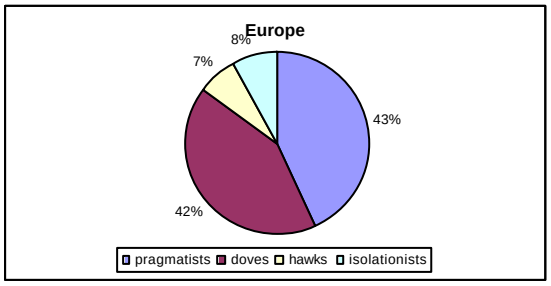
[141] German Marshall Fund of the United States, 'Transatlantic Trends 2003 – Topline Data', June 2003
[142] Public Perspective, 'America in the World', August/September 1997
[143] Gallup Poll, February 3-6, 2003

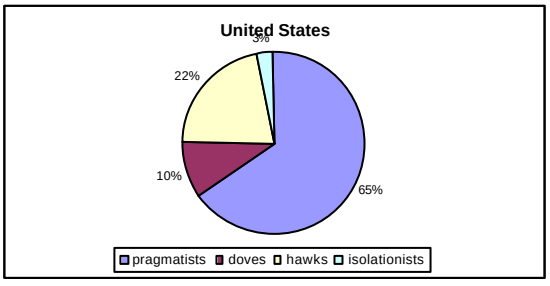


The promotion of democratic principles abroad is a goal that is widely supported by the American public, with 34% viewing it as a very important foreign policy goal and 49% viewing it as somewhat important. However, only 38% of the public agree with the notion that the US has the right and responsibility to overthrow dictatorships, with only 29% displaying support for the US to put more pressure on states in the Middle East to pursue democratic reforms, down from 40% in 2001. The method of promoting democratic principles abroad that has experienced the most support has therefore been that of foreign aid assistance.

Regardless of the general support the American public displays for multilateralism, Americans continue to support the US invasion of Iraq, with 57% still thinking that the war was worth fighting. Americans also remain committed to maintaining an effort to rebuild the country, with a clear majority (69%) in support of keeping US forces in Iraq[144]. However, at the same time, 76% of the public are very or somewhat concerned at the prospect of getting bogged down in a lengthy peacekeeping task in Iraq[145]. On the question of WMD, 67% of the public still think that Iraq actually possessed WMD, when the war started, although they remain uneven about the accuracy of US intelligence[146].

In order to summarize these findings and compare them with European attitudes on foreign policy issues, pundits of the German Marshall Fund have developed an interesting typology of foreign policy behaviors, that seems worthwhile reiterating, in order to gain a better understanding of US foreign policy attitudes. This typology distinguishes between groups of hawks, pragmatists, doves and isolationists in foreign policy behavior, that are characterized by specific foreign policy attitudes. While therefore multilateralism and the peaceful solution of conflicts remains overtly important for foreign policy doves, hawks do not care about making compromises with other nations, eschew international organizations and advocate the use of force in order to obtain justice. Pragmatists can be seen as sitting somewhere in the middle of these two, while isolationists simply reject involvement in foreign policy behavior. Using these classifications, a recent study of transatlantic attitudes





[144] ABC News Poll, August 20-24, 2003
[145] ABC News Poll, August 20-24, 2003
[146] Harris Poll, August 12-17, 2003

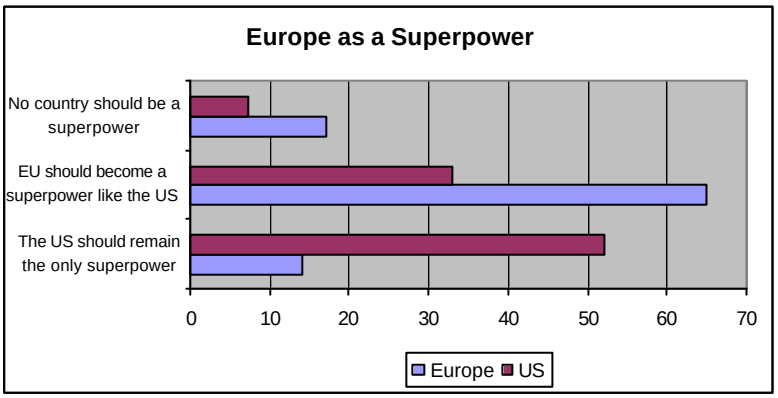
has determined that the US population overwhelmingly consists of pragmatists and hawks, while in Europe doves and pragmatists are equally numerous[147].

US Attitudes towards Europe and the UN

Regarding US attitudes towards the UN, it is striking that the public seems undecided, whether they want the US or the UN to take on the role of interim administrator in Iraq, with only 47% supporting the US and 50% supporting the UN. This is especially puzzling, as a Pew Poll conducted in May 2003 shows that 60% of the US public in general think that the UN has become less important now. Overall, however, US support for the UN has been declining relatively. Thus, while for most of the late 1990s more than 50% of the US public thought that the UN was doing a good job, this number deteriorated rapidly to 37% by March 2003[148].

The American public continues to display a strong support for European integration with a big majority (80%) in support of a greater European leadership role in the world and a majority (65%) even if that would imply that the US would sometimes have to compromise with the EU. However, asked whether they would support an EU that acts as if it was one country, only a slim majority (47%) thought that would be good, while almost the same amount (41%) rejected it. Similarly, the support for a joint EU military force is ambivalent with 50% in support and 45% opposed, declining even further in case it would be able to act

independently (44% to 51%). Moreover asked whether the EU should become a superpower like the US only 33% were in support, while 52% preferred the US to remain the only superpower.



Disregarding long term US confidence in European integration, overall support for continuing close ties with Europe has fallen from 62% before the war to 53% after the war. Here confidence in its relationship to Germany and France has especially declined, with in March 2003 only 27% of the US public viewing Germany as an ally, down from 44% in 2000, and only 20% viewing France as an ally, down from 50% in 2000[149]. The UK on the other hand retains a special relationship with the US, with 72% regarding it as a close ally. While NATO continues to play a special role for the American public, with 65% strongly in favor of retaining it, burden sharing continues to be a problem in transatlantic relations. Thus, 77% stand convinced that in security matters, the US is carrying more than its fair burden, while only 13% think that the EU is doing as much as it could.

[147] German Marshall Fund of the United States, 'Transatlantic Trends 2003'
[148] CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll, March 14-15, 2003
[149] CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll, March 14-15, 2003

In the face of a continuing low awareness about European unification, with a majority (65%) conceding that they heard very little or nothing about it and only some (35%) saying they heard some more about it, some misperceptions within the US about Europe do not come as a surprise. Thus, the US public generally overestimates the comparative size of the US economy, thinking that the US makes up 60% of combined EU-US GDP, while the real share is only 46%[150]. Likewise, the US public thinks that the US is providing 60% of combined EU-US development aid, while the real share is only 22% and similarly on other accounts exaggerates the comparative share the US takes on issues concerning UN dues or the amount of US troops in Bosnia. The US public also continues to express a strong belief in American superiority in different comparative measures such as labor standards and environmental protection. This again is reflected in the area of trade, where a majority (71%) thinks the US remains more open to EU goods than is the case in reverse

Having considered some of the recent polling data available, it is possible to draw some wider summary conclusions about the way US attitudes towards Europe and the wider world have evolved. Again there are certain tendencies that suggest a continuation of long held US attitudes, while there are others that suggest that there have been some changes in the public outlook. Thus, the American public has remained overwhelmingly internationalist and in support of an active US role in the post-Cold War world, as it has been for a long time. American's sense of patriotism has continued to be especially strong and religiosity remains fervent and is often seen by Americans as the source of their national strength. At the same time, the belief that America is exceptional continues to be strong and the majority continued to believe that the US had a special destiny in the world. While support for the central government in the 1990s has declined, eroded by the renewed spreading of identity politics, it returned again once it had become the focal point of America's struggle against a greater evil in the world. Americans also continue to support the wider policies of the administration with regard to Iraq and defense spending, but remain somewhat suspicious of unilateralist policies and prefer to have international support for the use of force. Nevertheless, the desire for international approval does not go as far as preventing the US from resorting to the use of force in order to defend what it sees as its legitimate security interests.

Moreover, the frequent disputes between the US and some European states seem to have taken their toll. With feelings towards Germany and France markedly declining, and a growing proportion of the public progressively displaying the willingness to act alone in order to counter international challenges, the American public seems to grow increasingly unsure whether multilateralism and alliances really are the appropriate answer to the challenges they are facing. Attitudes towards the European Union on the other hand continue to be ambivalent. While nominal support for European integration remains high, Americans in reality seem uncomfortable with the possibility that the EU might develop a military capability, or act independently. The reason for their continuing support might therefore be based on the American perception that the current level of European integration will actually remain unchanged for the foreseeable future. At the same time, knowledge of Europe and its policies continues to be fairly low and has fostered certain misconceptions about Europe's relative weight in the world. Overall, therefore, the American public seems to support an activist foreign policy, based on a continuing US leadership in the world. They are willing to use military force in order to defend American interests under certain circumstances, and when they see their security at stake, even support the unilateral use of force. Finally, their support for European integration remains all but dogmatic and seems to express a preference for the EU the way it is now, without too much scope for independent action.

[150] Measures taken in 1999.

IV. COMPETING VISIONS OF THE WORLD?

Reconciling Public and Elite Opinion

The relationship between American public opinion and foreign policy behavior has been a subject of intense discussion in American politics and has remained a contentious issue ever since the famous journalist Walter Lippmann first raised the topic in his work on 'Public Opinion' in the 1920s. The persisting fact that foreign policy remains of secondary concern to voters and accordingly never really became a decisive factor in presidential elections has meant that traditionally relatively little attention has been paid to public opinion on foreign policy issues. Thus, while from the 1950s to the 1980s international issues enjoyed an unusual prominence in US society, since the end of the Cold War interest and knowledge of foreign affairs has again declined and the impact of the public on foreign policy remains disputable. Still, some like Ole Holsti[151] have argued that in the post-Cold War era public opinion is likely to hold a bigger sway on the course of foreign policy decision-making. According to his argument, with the survival of the United States no longer at stake, the agencies of the federal government can no longer claim that secrecy in foreign policy is a necessity and that vital decisions have to be made by policy-makers because of the high issues at stake. Therefore, according to Holsti, foreign policy in the US would have the possibility of becoming progressively more similar to domestic policy, an area where public opinion in the US has a well established influence on the policy-making process.

However, the relationship between the foreign policy elite and public opinion in the 1990s remained confusing, to say the least. Thus, Kull & Destler[152] in a famous study have outlined what they portrayed as the central puzzle of US foreign policy making during this period. This puzzle at bottom consisted of three different phenomena. First, there was an overwhelming agreement among US policy makers that after the end of the Cold War, the US public had grown more isolationist and wanted the US to withdraw from the world. Secondly, it was possible to perceive a substantial real withdrawal of the US from the world, partly based on this perception. Finally, there was considerable evidence from opinion polls and surveys that in reality no such isolationist desire by the public did exist at that time. Consequently, the problem presents itself as to why the US foreign policy elite believed that the public remained isolationist. At the same time, it is equally puzzling why the public has voted for and maintained to support policy-makers that remained so out of touch with their foreign policy beliefs. The explanation given by Kull & Destler for the difference between the isolationism of Congress and the desire for engagement on the part of the public has been the simple fact that neither policy makers nor journalists had been giving much attention to the concerns of the public in matters of foreign policy at the time.

With the attacks of September 11th however, the relationship between public and elite perceptions of America's international role changed dramatically. Thus, both the American public and decision-makers now support an activist foreign policy. In the face of the ensuing terrorist threat, so it seems, American public opinion repeatedly has followed elite opinion on an array of different issues. While the public has initially demanded clear UN approval for the US war on Iraq, it nevertheless rallied behind the government even in the absence of UN approval. While the public was for long supportive of multilateral engagement with US allies

[151] Holsti, Ole R. (1996), *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*
[152] Kull & Destler (1999), *Misreading the Public*

and supported the UN, it disapproved of the behavior of the UN when it was in opposition to what it perceived to be US interests, and punished US allies - France and Germany - for their obstructionist position. While the public repeatedly showed a strong inclination towards a multilateral foreign policy, for the most time it has overwhelmingly supported Bush's unilateral foreign policy. However, simultaneously, the new position of the Bush administration was also aligned with some deeply entrenched tendencies persisting in public opinion. Thus, the desire for foreign policy activism and US leadership in world affairs, the perceived need to increase defense spending and the promotion of democratic practices abroad were all in line with the wishes of the wider public. Nevertheless, important differences remained between the public and parts of the assertive foreign policy elite. The most important difference here is over the significance of alliances and the use of military force in international affairs. While as I have pointed out above, there exists a tentative agreement on the preemptive use of military force amongst the policy-making elite, a comparable consensus can be discerned in public opinion only in specific cases. Similarly, the US public widely supports multilateral alliances and the use of diplomacy over unilateral military action, while the US foreign policy elite has increasingly had doubts over the usefulness of permanent alliances

In the face of the assembled evidence, it seems worthwhile to consider two important questions: how is it possible to reconcile the US's public dislike for unilateral action and its overwhelming support for the invasion of Iraq and how do these events reflect upon the future behavior of US public opinion in similar situations? In order to explain the perplexing difference between multilateral instincts and unilateral behavior, it is necessary to recall the nature of American society, and the hidden beliefs and values that drive and shape public opinion. Thus, employing the typology of foreign policy attitudes that has been developed by Ronald Asmus and others at the German Marshall Fund, it is possible to discern that in relation to other societies, America consists of a majority of pragmatists and hawks. As both foreign policy pragmatists and hawks generally are prepared to employ military force in international relations, even if they have to act alone, Americans' decision to deploy force at any one time can be seen to depend on the lead that is given by the foreign policy making elite. In contrast, Europe's public consists mainly of doves and pragmatists and an approval of the unilateral use of force is therefore much more difficult to obtain[153].

Concerning the relationship between elite and public opinion, Roberta Coles aptly pointed out that 'public discourse at time of war offers an occasional, but intensive, 'teachable moment' for US leaders to socialize the nation's members about the place of their nation in the world community, what values are American, and what ways of acting are esteemed'[154]. To newly inculcate the public with certain attitudes presumably is easier for US policy makers in a situation where circumstances dictate unity and that policy differences be left at the water's edge. Moreover, the general disinterest of the US public in foreign affairs means that Americans do care much less about the policy specifics involved, but want to preserve long-cherished ideas and values. This implies that 'if leaders pursue and articulate policies of international engagement that reflect those common values, they can have more confidence that the American public supports them'[155]. Thus, when Bush continuously asserted the uniqueness of American values in order to gather support for the war against Iraq , he seemed to have done just that. His assertion of US traditions of exceptionalism and manifest destiny and his translation of these tendencies into the framework of the war against terrorism seemed

[153] Ronald Asmus, 'Power, War and Public Opinion'
[154] Roberta Coles, 'War and the contest over national identity', *Sociological Review*, 2002
[155] Kull & Destler (1999), *Misreading the Public*

to have struck a chord with the public and remain evident in most of his speeches. One example is his speech to the nation immediately before the beginning of the war against the Taliban, where he stated:

> *'I applaud the American people for your courage in a time of trial. We're living through a unique moment in American history. This is a time of rediscovery of heroism and sacrifice and duty and patriotism. These are core values of our country and they're being renewed. (…) Our forefathers would know and recognize the spirit of unity and patriotism everywhere in our country. (…) And Americans are reaching out across the world to say: we wage war on the guilty not the innocent (…) Americans know we must act now. We must stop the evil ones, so our children and grandchildren can know peace and security and freedom in the greatest nation on the face of the earth'.*

However, while the policy of the current administration fell on fertile ground in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks, it remains contentious whether it would be able to do so again. Opinion poll data shows that the US public has not grown overwhelmingly more prawn to wage preemptive war in other parts of the world and supports a unilateral policy that tries to assert US hegemony. However, at the same time, it seems obvious that the wider US public had a negligible input in US foreign policy decisions for most of the time. Therefore, while special interests occasionally manage to influence US policy, as in the case of Haiti, or repeatedly in regard to US policy towards Israel, foreign policy makers in general seem to care less about the overall views of the public. In view of these developments, it is possible to conclude that while American elite opinion has changed its outlook towards the world and the status that it confers to alliances, the American public is supportive of some of these changes, while it is slow to follow on others. Nevertheless, as ever the public proves receptacle to assertions of US special missions in the world and continues to want their country to take on a leadership position. Reiterating these positions has frequently enabled foreign policy makers to align public opinion with their views.

Diverging Views of the World?

Having thus reviewed the developments of US attitudes towards the world and the European Union at different levels, the most important question still remains: have the United States and Europe developed different views of the world that will make it increasingly difficult for the two to cooperate in the future? And while this question has been looming large over the future of US-European relations for quite some time, September 11th and the war on terror has bestowed upon it a renewed importance that has resulted in a proliferation of theories trying to predict an answer. So far, it is possible to discern two broad approaches that aim at evaluating this question. Both of these approaches are rooted in different schools of international relations theory and in general have led to two different results, one predicting a long-term convergence of views and one predicting a long-term divergence.

The one approach that has recently come to considerable fame, as it seemed most in line with international developments, has been the systemic approach popularized by Robert Kagan and other neoconservative thinkers. From the systemic point of view, differences in relative power have become exaggerated after the end of the Cold War and have forced an inexorable divergence in values and threat perception on both sides of the Atlantic that will

lead to the eventual demise of the Atlantic alliance. According to Robert Kagan military superiority compels the US to act in a certain way, while military weakness has forced the Europeans to act in a different way that for most of the time is diametrically opposed. The European legacy of European integration, social democratic thought and centuries of war, according to Kagan, further emphasize European reliance on soft power. On the other hand the experience of the United States of being in the forefront of the fight against communism presumably has emphasized the US's continuing reliance on hard power. According to Kagan, these developments have meant that the United States and Europe no longer 'share a common view of the world, or even (...) occupy the same world'[156] and cooperation between the two has therefore become increasingly impossible.

On the other hand, a state-centered approach to US-European relations generally confirms a more optimistic evaluation of the situation. According to this approach, the current differences are solely due to domestic politics and failed diplomacy that, given a different constellation of world leaders and circumstances, could well have been prevented. Disregarding differences in the international distribution of power, this approach has aimed to evaluate public attitudes on both sides of the Atlantic, in order to determine whether they display converging or diverging tendencies. Especially important forays in this concern have been made by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations 'Worldview Survey' and the Pew Research Center's 'Global Attitudes Project'. Both undertaken in 2002, these two surveys have generally asserted that both Europeans and Americans continue to share similar values and have a common perception of threats in the world.

The relevant findings of the Worldviews Survey and the Global Attitude Project in overview:

- Americans and Europeans both show a continuing high support for multilateral rather than unilateral approaches to foreign policy making.
- International terrorism and the proliferation of WMD are seen as two of the greatest threats on both sides of the Atlantic.
- Both Europeans and Americans support the use of military force on a variety of issues, with Europeans in general more likely to support its use for humanitarian purposes, and Americans more likely to use it against terrorism.
- Europeans and Americans view each other in friendly terms, that compare with the way that Europeans view each other, or Americans for example their Canadian neighbors.
- Europeans and Americans both show strong nominal support for the United Nations and NATO and are in favor of extending the responsibilities of these organizations.
- Europeans and Americans both show strong nominal support for the European Union and are in favor of it taking over a greater weight in international affairs.
- Europeans and Americans continue to harbor minor differences, when it comes to the support they express for specific countries, or specific policies.

Evaluations of US and European domestic opinion therefore have shown that by and large public views on important topics remain strikingly similar. However, these polls in general mask the reality that public attitudes frequently have proven to be malleable. How

[156] Robert Kagan, 'Power and Weakness', *Policy Review*, No. 113, June 2002

otherwise are we able to explain that consecutive polls in 2002 showed a big support in the US for multilateral actions, support for the UN, a desire to act in concert with European partners, and a strong opposition to go to war with Iraq without a new UN resolution, if in the end the US public overwhelmingly supported the war against Iraq, without credible evidence of WMD, no new UN resolution and in the face of international opposition? The conclusion that suggests itself is that domestic attitudes do not have a decisive influence on the decision making process and are fickle. In this perspective, the fact that a majority of Americans once again support international institutions, the UN and strong alliances does not seem entirely reassuring if one has to predict whether the US public will actually stand by these principles in the future.

In order to elaborate this point, it is necessary to recall the underlying differences between attitudes and values. Attitudes, such as those expressed by the public in different opinion polls, are prawn to vary with time and circumstances and change to reflect the current social environment, economic status and important events. Values on the other hand, as Lipset reminds us, are 'culturally determined sentiments produced by institutions or major historical events, for example, a new settler society, a Bill of Rights, Protestant sectarianism, wars and the like. They result in deep beliefs, such as deference or antagonism to authority, individualism, group-centeredness, and egalitarianism or elitism, which form the organizing principles of societies'[157]. Values are therefore deeply entrenched dispositions that are not as easily changed as attitudes. When considering the here and now of US-European relations it might therefore be beneficial to look at the current attitudes the two sides express towards each other, while when trying to predict the future course of transatlantic relations, it seems more appropriate to compare the underlying values and the outlook harbored by foreign policy elites.

Therefore, regarding opinion polls the truth is that more often than not the public has proven susceptible to influence from the decision-making elite. This especially applies in the case of the US, where the level of public awareness on international issues anyhow remains comparatively low. In order to come to a conclusion on the future outlook of US-European relations that does not fall into the trap of public opinion polls, nor adopts the fatalism of a systemic approach, it therefore might be beneficial to try and integrate elite opinion with a comparison of the underlying foreign policy values that influence EU and US behavior. Thus, the differences that remain between the foreign policy elites of Europe and the United States, given that there continues to be a consensus on these matters, as has been pointed out in part II of this survey, are well known and hardly need evaluation. US foreign policy makers remain considerably more prawn towards using military force in order to defend US interests and harbor a lower esteem for permanent alliances, multilateral action and international institutions and treaties than the European foreign policy elite does[158]. In the case of the war against Iraq, evidently the US foreign policy elite has been able to impose its position on the US public, which consecutively displayed a great deal of support for this venture.

In terms of the underlying foreign policy values in Europe and the US, it seems necessary to heed Moravcsik's advice that, while it has become a cliché, it is 'nonetheless accurate to assert that the Western relationship rests on shared values: democracy, human rights, open

[157] Seymour Martin Lipset (1997), *American Exceptionalism: A double-edged Sword*

[158] However, at the same time it is worth noting that considerable differences of opinion continue to exist within the EU concerning the relations to the US, the use of force, etc. See: Anand Menon & Jonathan Lipkin, 'European Attitudes towards Transatlantic Relations 2002-2003', *Notre-Europe, Research and European Issues*, No. 26,

markets, and a measure of social justice'[159]. While these shared values seem to guarantee ample space for a continuing close relationship between Europe and the United States, it is necessary not to forget other deeply entrenched foreign policy values of the United States, which are in conflict with some of the values held across Europe. Thus, as argued before, America's belief in its manifest destiny and the values that go with it, evoke a commitment to moral absolutes and the universality of American values that remains directly opposed to Europe's moral relativism and strategies of constructive engagement[160]. A confrontation between these two is always then inevitable when American exceptionalism manifests itself in its crusading form, or when American belief in the universality of their values demands from Europeans that they compromise their own.

Given these developments, it seems that within the current situation, the US foreign policy elite in the face of a new external threat has largely succumbed to the side of American values that command foreign policy activism, unilateral behavior and the stringent use of force, in order to defend American interests and promote American values. While these developments do not always concur with the instincts of the American public, more often then not American public opinion is susceptible to the influence of US foreign policy makers and evidence has emerged that it might be swinging in line with the crusader spirits of American values. Accordingly, this atmosphere seems to be holding an increased potential for future transatlantic conflicts in the short term, while the long-term future of the transatlantic alliance remains mired with uncertainty. Trying to envisage the possible long-term effects of current developments, Kenneth Moss of the National Defense University argues that 'Americans lived 'in the shadow of the garrison state' during the Cold War, but in spite of the serious security threats of that era, it never became one'. Consequently, Moss holds that it is hard to imagine the US going over this security threshold in the current atmosphere. Thus, he believes that American desire for unimpeded action, grounded on 'the concepts of American exceptionalism, special mission, and the right of independent action' will eventually be limited by America's equally strong belief in a small state and strong national civil rights and liberties. The long-term future of the transatlantic alliance therefore undoubtedly depends on whether and when this development will eventually appear.

Possible Areas of Conflict and Cooperation

While it emerges from the above that the long-term outlook of the transatlantic alliance remains brighter than current disputes might lead one to believe, in the meantime the potential for renewed transatlantic conflicts remains high in certain areas. At the same time however the changed character of American politics and the transformed international environment have simultaneously opened up new unexpected areas of cooperation between Europe and the US. New conflicts will especially be emerging in areas where American desire for unrestrained action and its conviction of the universal applicability of its values will clash with European devotion to international laws and their belief in the relativity of values. Europe and the United States can therefore be expected to keep on cooperating in areas that remain congruent with the values and interests that they continue to share. Judging from this, new conflicts and new attempts at cooperation within the near future are most likely to be contained within the following areas:

[159] Andrew Moravcsik, 'Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 4

[160] The idea that instead of punishing 'rogue states' and countries that violate international agreements, the EU should use 'soft power' methods in order to persuade these states to reform, without foregoing the use of 'hard power' as a last resort and a stick in negotiations.

Areas of Conflict

- **Multipolarity vs. Unipolarity**: Americans and Europeans today stand increasingly divided on the fundamental organizing principle of the international system. Thus, Americans believe that the US is home to a civilization whose values have been proven to be universally applicable and are increasingly opposing the principle of a multipolar world order on the grounds that it is a recipe for conflict. Accordingly, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, at a recent conference of the International Institute for Security Studies, stated that 'multi-polarity never was a unifying idea, or vision', but that 'multi-polarity is a theory of rivalry; of competing interests - and at its worst - competing values'[161]. Hence the United States opposes the principles of a multipolar world and promises instead to create 'a balance of power that favors freedom', with the US at its apex. On the other hand, the European Union that has shed its taste for moral absolutes in the course of two world wars and itself is to a large part built on the acceptance of diversity and the relativity of different values, largely opposes these precepts. Therefore, on the basis of diverging moral visions of the world, it is possible to expect continuing conflicts between the two sides of the Atlantic about the future shape of the world.

- **The Use of Force**: America's inclination to use force in order to dismantle what it sees as potential obstacles to its security remains strong. Americans in general have developed an increasing pride in the superiority of their military and seem to have shed the casualty proneness they displayed for much of the post-Cold War era. Moreover they have grown convinced that their military has developed to such an extent that cooperation with other countries in military matters has become overtly complicated and could actually restrain American potential and endanger US troops. Accordingly, they do not feel a strong need or desire to compromise their foreign policy agenda just to gain relatively unimportant military support from their European partners, given the nominal support for peacekeeping missions. Thus, in the absence of a unified European position, the cherry-picking of military partners and the building of coalitions can be expected to continue and will be an ongoing source of transatlantic, as well as intra-European, disputes. While one may be prawn to think that the potential for conflict in this area has grown thin after the war against Iraq, with the war on terror far from being won, it would be overtly optimistic to exclude the potential for future military contingencies.

- **International Law and Institutions**: While the credibility and importance of international laws and institutions may have suffered at the time of the Iraq War, they now seem to enjoy a renewed prominence within America, which after all has the genuine desire to garner international support for its mission and acknowledges that the war on terror demands international cooperation in certain areas. However, America often approaches these institutions with the firm belief that its own interests are concurrent with the interests of mankind and demands fellowship and support from the world in order to defend it from another evil. While American reluctance to constrain its sovereignty and the extraterritorial application of its own laws go back to the 1950s[162], these features have experienced a renewed prominence in the current atmosphere. This view of things seems to have instilled the US with a certain take-it-or-leave-it attitude towards international agreements, where it remains reluctant to compromise on what it sees as its own and the world's best interest. Should the world however not agree with these interests, American

[161] Speech by Condoleezza Rice at the International Institute for Security Studies, June 26, 2003

[162] For example the assertion of long-arm US antitrust jurisdiction against British companies and application of the Trading with the Enemy Act to US subsidiaries.

public and elite opinion have shown themselves willing to continue to bypass the UN and other international organizations and search for international approval through other channels.

Areas of Cooperation

- **Humanitarian Intervention**: The new foreign policy activism that has taken hold of Washington and its willingness to intervene abroad not only in areas where it sees its vital interests at stake, but also in order to promote its values might have created a potential new area for foreign policy cooperation between Europe and the United States. Thus, for much of the 1990s, Europeans have been quick to complain about America's relative disinterest in international crises, where it saw no vital interest at stake, and about its resistance to deploy its overwhelming military power in humanitarian and peacekeeping missions ('superpowers don't do windows'). However, changed domestic circumstances and the new American priorities that the war against terror dictates could mean that America will increasingly participate in humanitarian assistance and peacekeeping missions in order to end conflicts in the Third World and especially North and Sub-Saharan Africa that otherwise could become the breeding ground for terrorists. US support for the peacekeeping mission in Liberia and its AIDS program can be seen as first steps in this direction. This development has a positive potential and, if met with support from Europe, could become a new area of cooperation.

- **Counterproliferation**: In the case of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, Europe on the other hand can be seen as having slowly approached a point of view similar to that of the US. This development is well discernable in underlying public attitudes, or the new EU security strategy[163], which singles out proliferation of WMD as one of the greatest threats the EU is facing at the moment. Thus, while for now there remains a deep division over how best to prevent proliferation of WMD, the topic remains of vital interest to both Europe and the United States and without their cooperation, preventing the proliferation of WMD will be difficult to achieve. For that reason, although it can be expected that the US and the EU will remain divided on the use of force to prevent WMD proliferation, it can be expected that their cooperation in other areas connected with WMD proliferation will continue.

- **International Trade**: Although recent years have brought renewed transatlantic disputes in the form of agricultural disagreements, steel wars and tax battles[164], and the mood on both sides of the Atlantic has been towards more state management of the economy, prospects nevertheless remain positive. Above all this is due to two reasons: First, if one distinguishes between disputes about money and disputes about ideology, it emerges that the latter concern a relatively small share of the disputes involved and only have a slight impact on trade relations[165]. Thus, disputes on the EU side are normally triggered by concerns over the environment and bio-safety, whereas on the US side they have their origin in diplomatic initiatives and the extraterritorial application of US law. While the volume of transatlantic trade affected in these areas remains small, they often receive

[163] European Council, *A Secure Europe in a Better World*, Thessaloniki, June 20, 2003

[164] Most importantly disputes arose over the 2002 US decisions to impose up to 30% tariffs on the import of steel, the continuing disagreement over the Foreign Sales Corporation Tax (now ETI) and an EU moratorium on the import of GMO organisms.

[165] According to Hufbauer & Neumann only around 5% of EU-US bilateral trade has been affected, taking all recent disputes together. See Hufbauer & Neumann, 'US-EU Trade and Investment: An American Perspective'

exaggerated media attention, due to the influence of interest groups. Secondly, in trade matters, the EU has for long spoken with one voice and on a par with the US and can therefore not be subjected to the cherry-picking that has characterized the US approach in security matters. EU-US cooperation on trade issues will therefore most likely continue with only limited spill-over from other areas. However, should a poisoned atmosphere between the two sides continue, it is unlikely that they will be able to increase cooperation, as some have argued they should[166] in order to become an effective steering committee on global economic issues.

Apart from these broader issue areas, there are several concrete problems looming large within the near future that are likely to further test transatlantic cooperation. Thus, while at the time of writing there is an ongoing disagreement about the role of the UN in the process of Iraqi reconstruction, and European support for US handling of the crisis, the possibly most testing problem within the near future is likely to be, as Steven Everts[167] from the CER has argued, how the two will react to reports that Iran might have accelerated its nuclear programme. The US, already agitated about Iran's role in Iraq and its support for Hizbollah, has pressed the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) recently to declare that Iran is violating its non-proliferation commitments. If the United States, as part of its strategy for the wider Middle East, decides to further increase pressure on Iran and on the EU to change its ongoing relation with Iran, that could pose another challenge to EU-US relations. American strategy, apart from a short spell during the war in Afghanistan, has been to isolate Iran and force a change in its government structure. The EU on the other hand has preferred a strategy of 'conditional engagement', offering rewards in form of a trade and co-operation agreement, in order to inspire changes in Iran. Iran, therefore, offers another clear case where the EU and US strategies could meet head on. Should warnings of Iranian nuclear proliferation prove to be substantiated (which will be difficult to assess given the absolute failure of these tests in the case of Iraq), the US, pointing towards the non-proliferation commitments made in the new European Security Strategy, will probably press the EU hard to take action[168]. A pro-active policy towards Iran which tries to fend off this eventuality is therefore absolutely necessary, not least to prove that European 'conditional engagement' presents a valid alternative to American 'preemption'. A wait-and-see approach by the EU could again at some point lead to a situation where the US decides to try and cherry-pick support for a tougher stance on Iran from some members states, while the others are left to pick up the pieces. That should by no means imply that the EU will have to follow the US on its policy on Iran, but on the contrary that it should try and devise its own strategy, how to deal with the problem. In conclusion therefore, with the US outlook on the world considerably changed since the end of the Cold War, conflicts between Europe and the US on certain questions will inevitably continue. However depending on the ability of the EU to devise common approaches in the areas of possible conflict, these conflicts will or will not translate into increased intra-European tensions.

[166] For example Fred Bergsten's call for a G-2 in 'The Transatlantic Century', Washington Post, April 25, 2002; or Jacques Delors calls for an Economic Security Council in 'Pour un Conseil de Sécurité économique mondial', *Nouvel Observateur*, September 17-23 1998

[167] Steven Everts, 'Iran will be the test for European foreign policy', *Financial Times*, June 1, 2003

[168] Some EU member states have already warned that if Iran does not sign up to an additional protocol of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and generally improve its conduct, they will stop negotiations toward a trade and co-operation agreement. See: BBC News, 'EU envoy warns Iran', August 30, 2003

V. CONCLUSION & POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the main findings of this survey it now seems possible to draw some tentative conclusions about the future outlook of US foreign policy and its implications for the European Union. As has been shown, it is possible to perceive a long-term convergence of views amongst the American foreign policy elite, since the end of the Cold War, with 9-11 and the war against terrorism as a clarifying moment. As a matter of fact, as an analysis of the American foreign policy elite has indicated, a tentative consensus, based on the strategies of preemption and democratic enlargement, already exists on both sides of the political divide[169]. Moreover, the gist of this strategy is also widely supported by the American public. That is, the US public more than ever is steaming with patriotism and convinced that the US, endowed with a special mission, should take an unchallenged leadership role in world affairs. While it remains skeptical about going it alone in foreign affairs and in general is in support of multilateral solutions, it seems easily swayed by an administration appealing to its values and traditions and generally supports unilateral solutions in cases where it sees US vital interests at stake (i.e. Iran and North Korea). In its relationship to Europe, the US continues to show some ambivalence, in that it is overwhelmingly in support of European integration, but stands opposed to greater European independence. Therefore, the unbending support for a united Europe, that dominated US foreign policy for most of the Cold War, has given place to a more selective engagement with the EU that does not shy away from meddling in intra-European affairs, or from cherry-picking coalition partners.

Another development that has been possible to perceive since the end of the Cold War, has been the rise of idealism in American foreign policy, to the detriment of the American traditions of realism and isolationism. Similar to other developments in foreign affairs, this new grip of ideas and ethics on US policy-making has been more of a gradual development that gained a renewed focus due to the events of September 11th. That means, it cannot be easily explained away by the malign influence that the so-called neoconservatives are currently thought to hold on US policy. To do so would be contradictory to much of the criticism that has often been leveled at the 'Mother Teresa foreign policy'[170] of the Clinton administration. Moreover, in reality, realism and idealism have always battled each other's influence on American foreign policy and, conversely, their grip on American identity. The real question is therefore not whether idealism has won a determining victory over realism as a principle of American foreign policy, but where exactly idealism and realism meet. And there it seems for the moment that realism enjoys considerably weaker cards than during the Cold War. American belief in the manifest destiny of their nation was, as has been shown, present ever since America turned into the 'first new nation'. Because the US at that time was held in check by strong foreign powers and its own domestic checks and balances, it was seen as foolish to try and change the world by anything other than example. However, this changed in the 19th century, when the US had grown stronger and what Fulbright called 'the morality of absolute self-assurance fired by the crusading spirit' took hold of US foreign policy. No longer was it seen as foolish to try and change the world, but rather it was seen as foolish, even immoral, to refrain from doing so.

[169] Even Howard Dean cannot be seen to really fall outside this consensus, as he has repeatedly stated that he does not reject the use of military force in principle, but only thought it inappropriate in the case of Iraq.
[170] Michael Mandelbaum, 'Foreign Policy as Social Work', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 1

At the beginning of the 21st century the crusading spirit that Fulbright described has been further embellished by the mere fact that the US remains the sole remaining superpower in the world. This drive towards activism in foreign affairs and towards the spread of its values, seems moreover to have been further exaggerated by the new challenge of international terrorism and the threat it poses to American security. Idealism, more than ever, therefore has come out on top in its continuous race with realism for predominance in American foreign affairs. Change in the short run remains unlikely, as the war against terror, especially if fought on the current strategy, is doomed to continue. The original constitutional balance devised by the Founding Fathers that set the two against each other has therefore in a sense become tilted and risks subjugating the US, at least in certain situations, to its crusading spirits[171]. Given this situation, Europe has urgently to review the role it is willing to take in regard to a changed America. For now however, minds in the European Union remain split. While some think that Europe under these changed circumstances should continue to show unrestrained loyalty and fellowship to what after all remains the 'indispensable nation', based on the continuing congruence of some values, others are urging the EU to remember its international duties, and balance what they see as dangerous American tendencies of expansionism.

Although the method of open discussion has progressively led to a convergence of intra-European views on the EU's relationship with the Balkans and the Middle East, a similar development concerning its relationship with the US still seems a far way off. Moreover, policy differences across the Atlantic traditionally elicited different reactions in EU capitals, and more often than not, have been the basis for intra-European disputes. The times when a united European position at any costs was important to the United States are long gone and in the absence of a joint EU backing for its plans, the US will time and again deflect to coalitions of the willing, cherry-picking some of the EU's member states and thereby undermining the possibility of a joint European position. The main loser of US-European tensions therefore remains the European Union. How then is the EU to react in the face of new US policy initiatives, that are likely to elicit different responses from both Europeanists and Atlanticists[172]? More often than not, it is likely that the relationship between Europe and the US will remain an asymmetric one, in which the United States as a unitary actor will be able to dictate the conditions of engagement to a European Union that has to consolidate its foreign policy through acrimonious compromise. While the scope for EU action therefore continues to be limited, it remains nevertheless vital for the EU to try and adapt its foreign policy behavior to the realities of a changed America. Although the main thrust of this paper has not been to make specific policy proposals to the European Union, but to evaluate changes in American foreign policy to Europe and the world, some possible areas of action seem to suggest themselves.

1. EU member states need to make increased efforts to consolidate their positions on common external problems.

Europeans have to acknowledge that every time they fail to find a common position with regard to an international problem that the US, compelled by its current ideological condition, feels responsible to act upon, the US will be forced to pick and choose amongst EU member

[171] Walter McDougall (1997), *Promised Land, Crusader State. The American Encounter with the World Since 1776*

[172] For a good definition of what these terms currently encompass, see: Menon, Anand & Jonathan Lipkin, 'European Attitudes towards Transatlantic Relations 2002-2003', *Notre-Europe*, Research and European Issues, No. 26, May, 2003

states in order not to forego any international support. EU member states therefore have to make an increased effort to come to a common threat perception, in order to determine on which problems there is a need for common action. While the new European Security Strategy of Javier Solana in this respect is a very good starting point, it does not prescribe a certain course of action and thus will not suffice to elicit unified European responses. Moreover, what above all is needed is a more pro-active European foreign policy that seeks to consolidate member state positions, in reaction to specific challenges facing the Union, instead of one that is passively awaiting the decisions of the US foreign policy establishment and then starts squabbling about the appropriate reaction. Luckily the EU draft Constitution has acknowledged this need for a more pro-active policy and has endowed the new EU Foreign Minister with the right of initiative in foreign policy making, something that the High Representative for CFSP currently lacks. However, even with the right of initiative the new EU Foreign Minister will not be able to achieve much, if member states do not begin to show more willingness to actually consolidate their positions inside the EU instead of taking independent action before a common European position can even be negotiated.

2. Europe and the US need to reassert their partnership on international trade and economics and find a modicum for closer cooperation on economic issues.

While disagreements between Europe and the United States in the fields of international trade and economics so far have been of a limited nature, the danger of a spill-over effect exists, should they continue to disagree on other issues. As a matter of fact, economic disagreements between the two have recently attracted disproportionate attention, and passions at times have been flying high[173]. Populist declarations such as the one by George Bush that the EU by enforcing its GMO moratorium is starving the developing world have been first signs of what might be coming, should the diverging worldviews of Europe and the US lead to a backlash in their trading relations. An open world economy and stable trade and monetary relations are of vital interest not only to Europe and the US, but also to the whole world, and should therefore be insulated from other possible conflicts. Moreover, it would be useful for both if they started to reinvigorate measures for greater joint leadership in economic relations and reconsider ideas such as the setting up of an informal G-2, or an Economic Security Council[174], with a view to jointly managing global economic problems. While these measures would go a long way towards tackling trade problems at the Doha Trade Round, or managing the currently fragile international financial architecture, they could also be a starting point for mending current divisions. Closer cooperation in these areas could also automatically provide a new impetus to civil society organizations, such as the 'Transatlantic Business Dialogue' (TABD) and encourage dialogue between environmental and consumer-protection initiatives and organizations.

3. Europe needs to make an increased effort to show the US the advantages of soft power and constructive engagement.

In order to prevent further transatlantic conflicts over the treatment of countries that have been classified as 'rogue states' by the US, and the emergence of further intra-European disagreements over the treatment of these states, the EU should agree on common strategies towards those countries that give primacy to the use of soft power mechanisms. To prevent

[173] According to Hufbauer & Neumann only around 5% of EU-US bilateral trade has been affected taking all recent disputes together. See Hufbauer & Neumann, 'US-EU Trade and Investment: An American Perspective'
[174] See footnotes 165 & 166.

being pushed further towards the US view on the use of hard power in international relations, Europe needs to make an attempt to show the usefulness of the methods of constructive engagement and conflict prevention in order to convince countries to cooperate on issues of WMD and terrorism. That does not imply that the EU should eschew the use of force, or give less importance to acquiring the necessary capabilities for its rapid reaction force. On the contrary, the EU needs these capabilities in order to play a more constructive role in international affairs and demonstrate its continuing usefulness to the US. However, it desperately needs to show that the threat of force is not under all circumstances the most effective method to fight terrorism and the spread of WMD or bring peace to the Middle East. A useful step towards a more coherent European position on these issues has been the statement by EU foreign ministers on WMD proliferation on June 16th, and the emphasis that Javier Solana has given to an effective combination of hard and soft power mechanisms in his draft for a European Security Strategy. The structural relations that the European Union has developed with other countries, such as its Association Agreements and especially the Mediterranean Partnership provide it with valuable tools to contribute to the long-term development of these countries. However, the EU strategy towards the Middle East more often than not remains half-hearted and a reinvigoration of the Barcelona Process, that includes concerns over terrorism and WMD, seems long overdue.

4. Build a new mission for NATO based on humanitarian and peacekeeping missions, rather than high-intensive fighting missions.

Recently, some voices have called for NATO to develop a new role in fighting terrorism and arming itself with the capability of fighting high-intensity wars at short notice[175]. However, on matters of the use of military force under the umbrella of the war against terror, or to prevent the spread of WMD, serious disagreement remains. That is, as long as the US and Europe continue to shelter different perceptions of how to deal with these problems, a refocusing of NATO might actually lead to more rather than less friction. A case in point is the planned NATO Rapid Response Force. Envisaged as a vehicle for the transformation of European military forces, this multilateral troop is supposed to bring together elite forces from Europe and America in order to fight in high-intensity conflicts at short notice. However, short of a common enemy and with different perceptions of how to proceed in the war against terror, it is difficult to imagine in what kind of conflicts this force could be deployed. Therefore, rather than trying to develop high-end military capabilities within NATO, the Alliance should try and find a new purpose for NATO by focusing on common interests and the new missions that NATO has succeeded in carving out for itself since the end of the Cold War. That is, NATO continues to hold relevance for its members by ensuring interoperability and providing a forum through which Europe and the US are able to discuss common security issues. Moreover, NATO seems to be the best focal point through which to engage in a dialogue with Russia's depleted armed forces and provide assistance for their modernization. In addition it should extend its efforts to help and foster stability in the Mediterranean, Eastern Europe and the Caucasus through the Partnership for Peace and its Mediterranean Programme. Finally rather than having NATO taking on new high-intensity conflicts which remain contentious, NATO could become more of a focus for joint humanitarian and peacekeeping missions in order to help and bring peace to regions which otherwise will be a potential breeding ground for terrorism. Working together on such missions would provide benefits for both Europe and the US. Thus, it would be beneficial for the US by providing it

[175] NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson has called for NATO to take a more prominent role in the war against terror, while the US has called for a new NATO Rapid Response Force in September 2002.

with additional manpower for these missions and allow it to profit from European experiences with peacekeeping missions, while it would also end European fears that they will increasingly be called upon to do the dirty work, after the US has done the high-intensity fighting.

5. Europe and the United States should rebuild their relationship on the basis of shared interests, and acknowledge that on some topics their worldviews will continue to differ.

Finally, it seems important that the EU should try and show to the US that permanent alliances and especially a partnership with Europe can be of advantage to the US and that a strong and united Europe will not be categorically opposed to US initiatives. However, in the past, it seems as if Europeans have been divided over how best to demonstrate this. Thus, Britain's Tony Blair has argued that the Europeans should be supportive of the US on security issues in general, to show that allies are useful and that multilateralism can serve US interests. On the other hand France, and to some extent Germany, seem recently determined to demonstrate to the US that its unilateralist behavior in Iraq and its disregard for Europe have led it into a quagmire and that it will have to suffer in order to understand how much it actually depends on a partnership with Europe. Again, due to the lack of a common position, both approaches have led to naught. Tony Blair, for all his popularity in the US, has not been able to influence the course of US politics, while the position of France and Germany has not elicited understanding, but only reinforced unilateralist tendencies and anti-European tempers. A successful European approach towards the US should therefore try and chart a pragmatic middle course between these two rigid positions that leaves itself some flexibility and above all is based on the sum of Europe's national interests. At a time when idealism has risen to a new prominence in international relations, Europe and the US should realize that while they still remain united on many things, there are certain issues on which their views divide. Infusing some much needed realism back into their relationship should help them to realize that above all it remains in their best interest to continue and look for common solutions to shared problems, instead of succumbing to the desire of punishing former allies and proving the other side wrong.

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