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*THEMATIC BIBLIOGRAPHIES*  
*No. 6/2003*

**US FOREIGN POLICY UNDER PRESIDENT  
BUSH**  
**LA POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE DES ÉTATS-  
UNIS SOUS LE PRÉSIDENT BUSH**

*Bibliographies Thématiques*  
*No. 6/2003*

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## **PART I : BOOKS**

### **PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES\***

327 /01147

The Influence of Faith : Religious Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy -  
Lanham, MD : Rowman & Littlefield.

x, 237 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0742507629

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MORAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS
2. RELIGION AND POLITICS--USA
3. LOBBYING--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Abrams, Elliott, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'Realists have long argued that the international system must be based on hard calculations of power and interest. But in recent years, religion's role on the international scene has grown. This book examines the American reaction to the persecution of Christians and Jews overseas, as well as the role of faith-based groups such as missionary and relief organizations in the formulation and implementation of US policy. The book considers these timely issues from diverse points of view, offering broad historical analysis as well as concrete examples taken from current affairs.'

ID number: 80018651

Year: 2001

327 /01123

Iraq at the Crossroads : State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

178 p.; 24 cm.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 354)

ISBN: 019852837X

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. IRAQ--SOCIAL CONDITIONS
5. IRAQ WAR, 2003
6. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Added entry(s):

1. Dodge, Toby, ed.
2. Simon, Steven, ed.
3. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'A US-led assault on Iraq will have unpredictable and possibly profound effects on Iraqi society. Moreover, those effects will vary with the objectives and strategy adopted by the US and its allies as well as by the pace and scope of the collapse of Iraqi resistance. Further, the reach of Washington's post-war objectives has not yet been settled. Given these multiple sources of uncertainty, understanding the relationship between Iraqi society and the Iraqi state after three decades of Ba'ath rule is all the more crucial to the success of post-war efforts to reconstruct the country and reconstitute its political

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\* This list contains material received as of July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2003 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 23 juillet 2003.

system. Yet that relationship is poorly understood in the West. The Iraq of today cannot easily be mapped on to a neat diagram of sect, tribe, or party. The rentier structure of the state economy, the regime's manipulation of group identity to control the population, the emergence of a shadow state that distributes public goods to advance regime interests, and pervasive violence have transformed Iraq's socio-political landscape into dangerous and unfamiliar ground for intervention. These essays delineate the options now being debated in Washington and provide up-to-date assessments of how Iraqi state and society will respond to the impact of war and the removal of a deeply-rooted authoritarian regime.'

ID number: 80018444

Year: 2003

327 /01117

War with Iraq : Costs, Consequences, and Alternatives - Cambridge, MA : American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

vii, 87 p.; 30 cm.

ISBN: 0877240361

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. WAR--ECONOMIC ASPECTS
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Added entry(s):

1. American Academy of Arts and Sciences (US)

Notes:

<[http://www.amacad.org/publications/monographs/War\\_with\\_Iraq.pdf](http://www.amacad.org/publications/monographs/War_with_Iraq.pdf)> accessed 11/12/02.

'The papers in this collection are an attempt to provide insight into the potential costs and consequences, over the long term, of going to war with Iraq.'

ID number: 80018366

Year: 2002

341.2 /00296

Would an Invasion of Iraq Be a 'Just War' ? - Washington : US Institute of Peace.

16 p.; 30 cm.

(Special Report)

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. JUST WAR DOCTRINE
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Added entry(s):

1. US Institute of Peace

Notes:

<<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr98.html>> accessed 07/02/03.

'To contribute to the public discussion of whether the United States and its allies should invade Iraq, the US Institute of Peace organized a symposium on December 17, 2002 to address the question 'Would an invasion of Iraq be a 'Just War' ?

ID number: 80018457

Year: 2003

327 /01063

The U.S. and South Asia : New Priorities, Familiar Interests - New York : Center for War, Peace and the News Media.

5 p.; 30 cm.

(Global Beat Issue Brief ; 62)

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--SOUTH ASIA
2. SOUTH ASIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. New York University. Center for War, Peace, and the News Media (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.nyu.edu/globalbeat/pubs/ib66.html>> accessed 31/10/01.

'The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon turned US South Asia policy temporarily upside down, bringing Pakistan to center stage and putting parts of the US-India agenda on hold. In the medium term - after the military operation most observers expect to take place in Afghanistan - the US agenda will become more complicated. Besides pursuing its long term geopolitical interests, the United States will be trying to promote stability in the countries at the epicenter of the terrorism campaign. It will also need to deal with the incompatible agendas of its coalition partners.'

ID number: 80017480

Year: 2001

327 /01090

A New Equation : U.S. Policy toward India and Pakistan after September 11 - Washington : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

41 p.; 30 cm.

(Working Papers ; 27)

Subject(s):

1. INDIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--INDIA
3. PAKISTAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--PAKISTAN

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/wp27.pdf>> accessed 03/07/02.

'For much of the past half century, US relations with India and Pakistan were perceived in the region and by Washington as part of the same equation. Improvements in US relations with one were generally perceived (and sometimes intended) to come at the expense of the other. Since last September's attacks, however, the United States has found itself in the unaccustomed position of having good relations with India and Pakistan at the same time. The Afghan crisis is testing whether Delhi and Islamabad can adjust to this reality. It is also a test for Washington and whether it can leverage its new position to address core concerns, including the dispute over Kashmir, Pakistan's crisis of governance, and the evolving nuclear and missile rivalry in the region.'

ID number: 80018010

Year: 2002

327 /01141

Transatlantic Dialogue In China : Final Report - Washington : Henry L. Stimson Center.

vii, 26 p.; 30 cm.

(Report ; 49)

Subject(s):

1. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
3. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA

Added entry(s):

1. Henry L. Stimson Center (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.stimson.org/tadc/pdf/finalreport.pdf>> accessed 21/05/03.

'China's rise will pose fundamental challenges to the United States and Europe, both separately and in their political relations with one another. Although US and European leaders for the foreseeable future will remain focused on more pressing near-term challenges than China, steps to enhance mutual understanding of American and European perspectives on China's future and international role can and should be taken now. This report makes the case for an intensified exchange between US and European China and transatlantic experts both in and outside of government.'

ID number: 80018628

Year: 2003

327 /01108

Drifting Apart ? European Views of the Atlantic Relationship - Helsinki : National Defence College.

42 p. : ill.; 25 cm.

(Series 2. Research Reports ; 17)

ISBN: 9512513781

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. EUROPE--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
4. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--EUROPE
5. NATO--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Ries, Tomas, ed.
2. Sipila, Joonas, ed.
3. National Defence College (FI)

Notes:

Contributions to the Seminar arranged by the Department of Strategic and Defence Studies, National Defence College of Finland in Helsinki on 13-14 June 2002.

ID number: 80018253

Year: 2002

495.2 /00148

Etats-Unis-Europe : reinventer l'Alliance - Paris : IFRI.

181 p.; 24 cm.

(Travaux et Recherches de l'IFRI)

ISBN: 2865921077

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. NATO

Added entry(s):

1. Beltran, Jacques, ed.
2. Bozo, Frederic, ed.
3. Institut Francais des Relations Internationales (FR)

Notes:

'Depuis deux ans, l'Alliance atlantique est a nouveau en proie aux interrogations. Alors que son cinquantieme anniversaire, en 1999, devait consacrer sa refondation a l'ere de l'apres-guerre froide, le conflit du Kosovo - malgre l'unanimisme affiche sur le moment - aura marque la fin d'un cycle. Car au-dela du bilan contraste de l'operation, le Kosovo aura agi comme le revelateur de tendances de fond dans la relation transatlantique : d'un cote, une Amerique qui s'interroge sur le bien-fonde de son engagement actuel dans la securite de l'Europe; de l'autre, des Europeens soucieux de reequilibrer une relation restee trop longtemps inegale. Mais la crise aura egalement fait office de catalyseur de ces memes tendances. Une Amerique de plus en plus 'globale' dans ses priorites strategiques mais aussi de plus en plus unilaterale dans ses politiques ; une Union europeenne concernee avant tout par la securite a sa propre peripherie et decidee a devenir un acteur strategique a part entiere : telle est aujourd'hui la situation de la relation transatlantique. D'ou les interrogations quant a l'avenir. Que signifie, pour l'Alliance, la divergence croissante entre les priorites strategiques europeennes et americaines ? L'Amerique peut-elle accepter une defense europeenne autonome a terme par rapport aux Etats-Unis ? Et comment repenser, dans ces conditions, le marchandage transatlantique et creer les conditions d'un partenariat strategique euro-americain durable ? Telles sont quelques-unes des questions auxquelles tente de repondre cet ouvrage, qui reunit quelques-uns des meilleurs experts americains et europeens des relations transatlantiques.'

ID number: 80017600

Year: 2001

448 /00029

The EU's Search for a Strategic Role : ESDP and Its Implications for Transatlantic Relations - Washington : Center for Transatlantic Relations.

xiii, 187 p.; 23 cm.

Subject(s):

1. EU--ESDP
2. EU--ESDP--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Brimmer, Esther, ed.
2. Johns Hopkins University. The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. Center for Transatlantic Relations (US)

Notes:

'The book considers both progress on ESDP and prospects for its future. Authors explore the strategic trends behind ESDP and the relationship between EU and NATO; identify possible implications of ESDP for global security architecture, especially in the area of peace operations; discuss European and American viewpoints with regard to the future of the

transatlantic partnership; and offer recommendations for addressing some of the challenges facing ESDP and the EU in its search for an expanded security role.'

ID number: 80018581

Year: 2002

441 /00104

Ever Closer Partnership : Policy-Making in US-EU Relations - Bruxelles :

P.I.E.-Peter Lang.

477 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 0820446661

Subject(s):

1. EU--USA
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Philippart, Eric, ed.
2. Winand, Pascaline, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'In 1990, the signature of the Transatlantic Declaration marked the formal recognition of the European Community as the third main element in the transatlantic institutional architecture, alongside NATO and bilateral relationships. Five years later, US-EU relations took another major step forward with the adoption of a 'New Transatlantic Agenda'. This volume puts this evolution into historical perspective by identifying the enduring features of the relationship. At the dawn of the Bush administration and in the wake of the Nice Treaty, it also makes a bold attempt at assessing the current state of US-EU relations, notably by taking stock of the changes introduced via the New Transatlantic Agenda. Aimed at practitioners and academics alike, and going well beyond a general overview of transatlantic relations, it first explores the evolution of structures and processes in US-EU relations while paying special attention to the policy-shaping and policy-making strategies of public and private actors. Focusing on the post-NATO record, it then endeavours to assess, explain and evaluate the policy outcomes of EU-US relations.'

ID number: 80018587

Year: 2001

327 /01077

A New Transatlantic Partnership : The European Union and the United States - Partners or Competitors ? = Vers un nouveau partenariat transatlantique : l'Union européenne et les Etats-Unis - partenaires ou concurrents ? - [s.l.] : [s.n.].

181 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. EU--USA
4. NATO--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Confederation Interalliee des Officiers de Reserve
2. Interallied Confederation of Reserve Officers

Notes:

Commission for Defense Attitudes and Security Issues. Seminar Report, Wesseling, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 11-14 February 2001 = Commission pour les questions de defense & de securite. Rapport du seminaire, Wesseling, Fondation Konrad Adenauer, 11-14 fevrier 2001.

ID number: 80017816

Year: 2001

327 /01153

Les relations transatlantiques un an apres le 11 septembre 2001 -  
Bruxelles : Bruylant.

163 p.; 23 cm.

(Bibliotheque de la Fondation Paul-Henri Spaak)

ISBN: 2802717057

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. CONVENTION ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPE
3. EU
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
5. EU--USA

Notes:

Actes du Colloque organise les samedi 7 et dimanche 8 septembre  
2002 au Palais d'Egmont (Bruxelles).

'Les debats ont porte sur les trois themes suivants : les  
relations entre l'Europe et les Etats-Unis; la Convention  
europeenne; la situation economique et l'euro.'

ID number: 80018727

Year: 2003

355.4 /01358

The Transatlantic Link in Evolution : What Has Changed since 11 September  
2001 ? - Kingston, CAN : Centre for International Relations.

65 p.; 23 cm.

(Martello Papers ; 25)

ISBN: 0889118949

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL
4. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
5. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Pentland, Charles C., ed.
2. Queen's University. Centre for International Relations (CA)

Notes:

Papers presented at the second Canada-Netherlands Seminar on  
Security held Feb. 28-Mar. 1, 2002.

'This volume includes three of the papers presented at the  
seminar. The first, by Professor Alfred van Staden, confronts  
the spectre haunting so many such meetings at that time - what  
difference might the events of the previous September make to  
the global and regional security environment ? The second  
paper, by Joel J. Sokolsky, explores the post-Cold War  
evolution of peacekeeping and its implications both for  
Canadian military practice and for the public myths about it.  
The third paper, by Robert McDougall takes an unsentimental  
look at the big picture of nonproliferation, arms control, and  
disarmament in the light of four sets of factors shaping their  
prospects : national security concerns, international  
institutions, scientific and technological advances, and the  
political-strategic environment.'

ID number: 80018496

Year: 2003

327 /01068

Transatlantic Relations and the Bush Administration = Les relations transatlantiques et l'administration Bush - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union.

x, 68, 75 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

(Transatlantic Series = Serie transatlantique)

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Lindley-French, Julian, ed.
2. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)
3. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale (FR)

Notes:

The 2001 Paris Transatlantic Conference = Conference transatlantique de Paris 2001.

ID number: 80017661

Year: 2001

327 /01088

US Strategies for Regional Security - Muscatine, IA : Stanley Foundation. 163 p. ; 28 cm.

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. USA--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Stanley Foundation (US)
2. Kraig, Michael
3. Henderson, James

Notes:

Report of the 42nd Strategy for Peace Conference convened at Airlie Conference Center, Warrenton, Virginia, October 25-27, 2001.

ID number: 80017961

Year: 2001

327 /01142

Wrong War, Wrong Place, Wrong Time : Why Military Action Should Not Be Used to Resolve the North Korean Nuclear Crisis - Washington : Cato Institute.

14 p. ; 30 cm.

(Cato Foreign Policy Briefing ; 76)

Author(s):

1. Bandow, Doug

Subject(s):

1. KOREA (NORTH)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--KOREA (NORTH)
3. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--KOREA (NORTH)

Added entry(s):

1. cato

Notes:

<<http://www.cato.org/pubs/fpbriefs/fpb76.pdf>> accessed 05/06/03.

'Ever since North Korea's dramatic revelation that it was producing materials that could be used to make nuclear weapons, the Bush administration has considered a range of policy options - including a military strike on North Korean nuclear facilities. But a military strike is the least desirable of a range of unpalatable policy choices. Rather than adopting the most dangerous course of action as a first resort, the United States should instead take the opportunity to reduce its threat profile in the region by focusing on multilateral diplomatic efforts that place primary responsibility for resolving the crisis on those regional actors most threatened by the North Korean nuclear program.'

ID number: 80018635

Year: 2003

355.4 /01314

The Transatlantic Security Agenda : A Conference Report and Analysis -  
Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

iv, 45 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584870761

Author(s):

1. Blank, Stephen J.

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
4. NATO--USA
5. NATO--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'This report presents a summary and analysis of the conference held on March 26-27, 2001 and cosponsored by the Strategic Studies Institute and Harvard University's Belfer Center for the Study of Science and International Affairs. Issues discussed at the conference included NATO and EU enlargement, these organizations' mutual relationship now that the EU is creating its own defense arm, the European Security and Defense program (ESDP), defense spending, as well as interoperability with Russia on a wide range of issues.'

ID number: 80017784

Year: 2001

327 /01130

Reconcilable Differences : U.S.-French Relations in the New Era -  
Washington : Brookings Institution Press.

x, 154 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0815712545

Author(s):

1. Brenner, Michael J.
2. Parmentier, Guillaume

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--FRANCE
2. FRANCE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Brookings Institution (US)

Notes:

Includes index.

'Le merite essentiel de ce livre bref et synthetique est de presenter la relation franco-americaine par une description concrete, centree sur la periode ecoulee depuis la crise finale du systeme communiste. Il s'agissait alors de definir la nouvelle organisation internationale, et, en particulier, la structure de la future Europe, son role dans le monde et ses relations avec les Etats-Unis. Le livre montre qu'a la difference d'autres acteurs, la France et les Etats-Unis ont concu chacun, a l'epoque, leur scenario prefere. Depuis 1991, les relations franco-americaines ont ete marquées par la confrontation de ces deux modeles. Or, comme le font ressortir les auteurs, les deux scenarios n'ont pas ete percus avec la meme nettete de part et d'autre de l'Atlantique. Si les Francais ont bien vu en quoi consistait le plan americain d'un ensemble euro-atlantique, il n'est pas sur que les Americains se soient reellement aperçus de l'existence d'un modele francais distinct. Le grand interet de ce livre est de montrer aux lecteurs americains que la specificite francaise n'est pas le resultat de l'ego des dirigeants ou de leur desir de s'opposer a tout prix aux Etats-Unis, mais qu'elle est reelle

et fondee. Et de suggerer que, pour les Etats-Unis, une 'politique sur mesure' a l'egard de la France, pourrait grandement renforcer l'efficacite de leur politique europeenne.'

ID number: 80018510

Year: 2002

327 /01070

The Geostrategic Triad : Living with China, Europe, and Russia - Washington : Center for Strategic and International Studies. xi, 75 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

(Significant Issues Series, 0736-7136 ; v. 23, no. 1)

ISBN: 089206384X

Author(s):

1. Brzezinski, Zbigniew K., 1928-

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA
2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
6. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
7. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

'Global stability in the early twenty-first century will be conditioned largely by how the United States handles its relations with China, Europe, and Russia - the 'geostrategic triad' - according to Zbigniew Brzezinski. Thus, the United States needs a well-defined strategy to manage the two 'Eurasian power triangles' : the United States, Japan, and China; and the United States, Europe, and Russia. With this work, Brzezinski offers a comprehensive geostrategic road map for such US engagement.'

ID number: 80017748

Year: 2001

623 /00945

Options for Dealing with North Korea - Washington : Cato Institute. 7 p. ; 30 cm.

(Cato Foreign Policy Briefing ; 73)

Author(s):

1. Carpenter, Ted Galen

Subject(s):

1. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--KOREA (NORTH)
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--KOREA (NORTH)
3. KOREA (NORTH)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Cato Institute (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.cato.org/pubs/fpbriefs/fpb73.pdf>> accessed 05/02/03.

'North Korea's recent actions in violation of the clear intent of the agreement it signed in 1994 to freeze its nuclear program have ignited a crisis in northeast Asia. Unfortunately, all of the frequently discussed options for dealing with the crisis have major drawbacks.'

ID number: 80018432

Year: 2003

327 /01033

A Transatlantic New Deal : What Europe Should Pay to Promote US  
Engagement - London : Foreign Policy Centre.

20 p.; 30 cm.

(Policy Brief ; 2)

Author(s):

1. Chalmers, Malcolm

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. USA--ARMED FORCES--DEFENSE SPENDING
4. EUROPE--ARMED FORCES--DEFENSE SPENDING

Added entry(s):

1. Foreign Policy Centre (GB)

Notes:

<<http://www.fpc.org.uk/reports/>> accessed 31/01/01.

'In this Policy Brief marking the inauguration of President Bush, Professor Chalmers argues that Europeans can best promote US international engagement by themselves meeting more of the costs of international security. The report examines claims of 'free-riding' by providing the facts across burden-sharing regimes - from the US's unparalleled military might to Europe's contributions to peacekeeping, development aid, multilateral institutions and tackling global warming. Chalmers argues that Europe should seek to reshape the transatlantic debate by focusing less on US shortcomings and more on meeting its own responsibilities. He sets out the constructive European agenda which - through concrete reform on European security, multilateral reform and development - could reshape the transatlantic debate and create a more effective division of international labour.'

ID number: 80016994

Year: 2001

327 /01149

Empires in Conflict : The Growing Rift Between Europe and the United  
States - London : Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies.

69 p.; 23 cm.

(Whitehall Paper Series ; 58)

ISBN: 085516171X

Author(s):

1. Coker, Christopher

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies (GB)

Notes:

'The diplomatic crisis at the United Nations over war in Iraq marked a watershed in international relations. But experts differ profoundly on its implications, with some heralding the rise of a new 'Anglosphere' and others forecasting the end of the Western Alliance. In this paper the author expertly dissects the notion that a new fault-line has developed between Europe and the United States which embraces Western security perceptions and values. His analysis reveals a transatlantic world deeply divided over the United Nations, the role of force and the future of the Western Alliance.'

ID number: 80018682

Year: 2003

327 /01102

A Special Relationship : Anglo-American Relations in the Cold War and After - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan.

vii, 258 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0333622499

Author(s):

1. Dumbrell, John

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--GREAT BRITAIN

2. GREAT BRITAIN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 228-250. Includes index.

'Conceived and born out of the wartime collaboration of allies and nurtured by shared interests and negotiated compromises in the Cold War, the notion of a special relationship between the United States and Britain has occupied a special place in the vocabulary of politicians and commentators for more than half a century. Unlike most accounts of the 'special relationship' this wide-ranging assessment of Anglo-American relations argues that, while shared interests have been of crucial importance, closeness has been sustained as much by shared culture. The book focuses particularly on the period since 1960, by which time the radical asymmetry of power between Britain and the United States had clearly emerged. Despite this, the author argues, the relationship has been marked by a considerable amount of mutuality rather than simply American dominance. While the relationship has always been more 'special' for Britain - the United States had and has 'special relationships' with many countries - and has been marked by tensions, for example over Vietnam and Ireland, it has been far deeper than most alliances for a very considerable period. The quality of personal relations between leaders has varied considerably. The book highlights the extent to which these personal relations have, however, rested on a basis of institutionalised diplomatic and military cooperation. Despite the much-vaunted closeness of Clinton and Blair at the dawn of the twenty first century, the author argues that the end of the Cold War, changes in culture and identity and the impact of closer European integration will make the Atlantic relationship less central than it was for the latter part of the twentieth century.'

ID number: 80018200

Year: 2001

623 /00904

The Rogue State Doctrine and National Missile Defense - Washington : Cato Institute.

13 p. ; 30 cm.

(Cato Foreign Policy Briefing ; 65)

Author(s):

1. Eland, Ivan

2. Lee, Daniel

Subject(s):

1. NMD--USA

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

3. BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSES--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Cato Institute (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.cato.org/pubs/fpbriefs/fpb65.pdf>> accessed 04/04/01.

'Recent positive trends undermine the claim that the ballistic missile threat from such states as North Korea, Iraq, and Iran justifies the immediate deployment of an NMD system. Although legitimate grounds may exist for the eventual deployment of a limited NMD system, the prevailing paradigm of post-Cold War American foreign policy, known as the 'rogue state doctrine',

should not be one of them.'  
ID number: 80017110  
Year: 2001

327 /01036

Unilateral America, Lightweight Europe ? : Managing Divergence in  
Transatlantic Foreign Policy - London : Centre for European Reform.  
21 p.; 30 cm.

(CER Working Paper)

Author(s):

1. Everts, Steven

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Reform (GB)

Notes:

<<http://www.cer.org.uk>>

'The sometimes anxious discussions about what a Bush administration means for Europe goes beyond a simple adjustment to a change of personnel in Washington. Whatever the validity of these concerns, it is worth exploring whether politicians on either side of the Atlantic are really guided by divergent priorities - and if so, how these differences can be overcome.'

ID number: 80017047

Year: 2001

327 /01116

Iraq : The Transatlantic Debate - Paris : European Union Institute for  
Security Studies.  
22 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 39)

Author(s):

1. Gordon, Philip H., 1962-

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. WMD--IRAQ
4. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
6. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
7. IRAQ WAR, 2003
8. IRAQ WAR, 2003--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'Most Americans see the regime of Saddam Hussein as a major threat to regional and international security that must be thwarted, even if that means threatening or even using military force. Europeans do not deny that the Iraqi regime is a threat, but they question whether that threat is so pressing that the international community should run the risk of invading an Arab country in the heart of the Middle East. It will not be easy to overcome these differences in perspective - which result from a range of deeply rooted historical, cultural, strategic and domestic political factors. But it should not be impossible either. This paper proposes a common US-European strategy : joining together to demand, under the threat of an invasion that would change the Baghdad regime, Iraq's full compliance with UN Security Council resolutions calling for an end of its weapons of mass destruction programmes. If Iraq failed to comply with a new UNSC resolution reiterating these demands and setting forth a new verification regime, the United States and Europe would together overthrow Saddam Hussein and undertake a major reconstruction and peacekeeping effort in Iraq. If, on

the other hand, Saddam did give up his weapons of mass destruction under the credible threat of military force, the United States would forgo plans for invading Iraq so long as Baghdad complied with existing and new UNSC resolutions.'

ID number: 80018365

Year: 2002

327 /01110

One Year After 9/11 : A Critical Appraisal of German-American Relations - Washington : American Institute for Contemporary German Studies.

13 p.; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Haftendorn, Helga

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--GERMANY

2. GERMANY--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

4. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Johns Hopkins University. American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.aicgs.org/publications/PDF/halftendorn.pdf>> accessed 13/11/02.

'After 9/11/02, nothing has been left the same. As seen from America, the world has changed, while viewed from Europe it is America that has been transformed. While signs of empathy abounded in Germany last September and Chancellor Gerhard Schroder promised 'unlimited support' to President George W. Bush, over the year this promise gave way to vocal criticism and suspicion. Today, after a bitter election campaign marked by Schroder's electoral tactic of opposing a US-led military action against Iraq and the Bush administration's angered response and cold-shouldered rebuke of the re-elected chancellor, there can be no doubt that we are facing an increasingly deeper transatlantic divide.'

ID number: 80018263

Year: 2002

327 /01099

The United States : The Empire of Force or the Force of Empire ? - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

49 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 54)

Author(s):

1. Hassner, Pierre

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'This paper has endeavoured to take a historical and sociological approach. It begins by retracing the course of American foreign policy and its contradictions, trying to go beyond the classical contrasting of idealism and realism, and of isolationism and internationalism, to consider rather the concepts of exceptionalism and unilateralism. It analyses the contradictions between American military tradition and the efforts by civilian strategists to take advantage of the possibilities offered by technology in order to influence the conduct of military operations in the direction of limitation, flexibility and control. To give an understanding of present-day American attitudes, it analyses in turn the role played by public opinion as it is perceived through the media and opinion polls, and that played by the military and the

political elites of successive governments. It transpires that public opinion is in fact less isolationist and reluctant to accept loss of American lives than has been thought, that those who are most unwilling to accept casualties are the military, who are at once more respected and more dissatisfied in America than elsewhere, and that between them and the politicians there has since Vietnam been a mutual mistrust that has sometimes led to inaction. However, the changes that have followed 11 September are what is most striking. All the divisions mentioned above seem for the moment to have been overcome. America has found a foreign policy that boils down to one mission : war on terrorism. Yet that raises as many problems as it solves when it comes to defining either war or terrorism. Its experience in Afghanistan and the Middle East should serve as a reminder to the United States of just how complex and ambiguous international realities are, and of the limitations of military power. There is certainly a worrying gap between an America that is fired with patriotic, martial fervour and a Europe that is more hesitant and less dynamic yet more aware of the pitfalls and dangers of military adventurism. None the less, dialogue between them, if they agree to listen to each other, could be fruitful.'

ID number: 80018198

Year: 2002

327 /01094

L'empire du chaos : les Republiques face a la domination americaine dans l'apres-guerre froide - Paris : La Decouverte.

189 p.; 22 cm.

(Cahiers libres)

ISBN: 2707137332

Author(s):

1. Joxe, Alain

Subject(s):

1. GEOPOLITICS

2. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

4. REPUBLICS

5. WORLD POLITICS

Notes:

'Cet essai pose le probleme de l'avenir de l'empire americain, a partir d'une question cle : le pouvoir des Etats-Unis est-il surtout economique ou, finalement, essentiellement militaire ? Pour y repondre, l'auteur revisite d'abord les fondements de l'Etat, de la Republique et de l'empire chez Machiavel, Hobbes et Clausewitz : c'est par la fonction de protection, y compris economique, que l'Etat legitimize le monopole de la force armee et eloigne 'la guerre de tous contre tous', cet etat de nature dont on emerge a la fin du Moyen Age. Or on parait aujourd'hui y retomber, sous la forme notamment d'une religiosite fanatique politisee par des clerges abusifs dans les trois religions du Livre. En analysant ensuite l'evolution de la doctrine strategique americaine depuis la guerre du Golfe, l'auteur eclaire les causes profondes des 'petites guerres' qui eclatent partout : les Etats-Unis, malgre leur pouvoir, ne se soucient ni de conquerir le monde pour y faire regner l'ordre et la paix, ni de prendre en charge la protection generale des citoyens. Ils cherchent seulement a reguler le desordre par des coalitions de circonstance, en dehors du droit international. Ils pratiquent la repression des symptomes de desesperoires ou la punition des crimes terroristes, sans s'attaquer aux causes creant partout des 'processus de paix en panne'. D'ou l'importance, pour l'auteur, que les Republiques groupees en Europe organisent a l'echelle globale une resistance a ce 'chaos imperial'.

ID number: 80018061

Year: 2002

327 /001133

Of Paradise and Power : America and Europe in the New World Order - New York : Knopf.

103 p.; 20 cm.

ISBN: 1400040930

Author(s):

1. Kagan, Robert

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS

4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

'European leaders, increasingly disturbed by US policy and actions abroad feel they are headed for what the New York Times describes as a 'moment of truth'. After years of mutual resentment and tensions, there is a sudden recognition that the real interests of America and its allies are diverging sharply and that the transatlantic relationship itself has changed, possibly irreversibly. Europe sees the United States as high-handed, unilateralist, and unnecessarily belligerent; the United States sees Europe as spent, unserious, and weak. The anger and mistrust on both sides are hardening into incomprehension. The author reaches incisively into this impasse to force both sides to see themselves through the eyes of the other. Tracing the widely differing histories of Europe and America since the end of World War II, he makes clear how for one the need to escape a bloody past has led to a new set of transnational beliefs about power and threat, while the other has perforce evolved into the guarantor of that 'post-modern paradise' by dint of its might and global reach. This remarkable analysis is being discussed from Washington to Paris and Tokyo.'

ID number: 80018532

Year: 2003

327 /01145

The War over Iraq : Saddam's Tyranny and America's Mission - San Francisco : Encounter Books.

x, 153 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 1893554694

Author(s):

1. Kaplan, Lawrence F., 1969-

2. Kristol, William

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

2. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

4. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS

5. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Notes:

Includes index.

'The authors take a hard look at Saddam Hussein. And they see the face of evil : someone who embraced a cruel blend of socialism, fascism and pan-Arab nationalism when young, and later became a coup plotter and a member of the Iraqi equivalent of Hitler's Brown Shirts. Once in power, Saddam methodically created a terror state where thousands of citizens have been made to disappear, and where the wives of government officials are raped by secret policemen to extort loyalty from the officials or their colleagues. Saddam's brutality has targeted Iraq's ethnic and religious minorities, particularly the Shiites and Kurds, whom he subdued with poison gas. The same genocidal

techniques he used against his own people also characterized Saddam's war on Iran, where he ordered artillery barrages of nerve gas and cyanide shells. But the authors argue that to understand the choice we face in dealing with Saddam, it is necessary to go beyond the details of his weapons of mass destruction, his violence against his own people and others, and his flouting of UN resolutions. They believe the choice is whether the twenty-first century will see a world of civilized norms that is congenial to America, or a world where dictators feel no constraints against developing terror weapons and no compunction about using them at home and abroad in support of terrorism. The authors analyze how the three post-Cold War presidencies have dealt with Saddam. President George W. Bush, the authors show, does not intend merely to contain or even disarm Iraq, as his precedssors did. Instead, he plans to liberate this benighted country and bring democracy to a land that for decades has known only dictatorship. The authors provide a definitive analysis of the Bush Doctrine and its shaping of a foreign policy that projects American influence on behalf of American interests and human freedom. They show that by enshrining in official policy the strategy of military preemption, regime change and a vision of American power that is fully engaged on behalf of American principles, the Bush administration plans not only to liberate Iraq but to set a new course for American policy in the twenty-first century. This book looks back at how a sadistic dictator was allowed to acquire so much power on the world stage. But it also offers a roadmap for a more hopeful future.'

ID number: 80018640

Year: 2003

327 /01079

Iraq : Compliance, Sanctions, and U.S. Policy - [s.l.] : Congressional Research Service.

15 p.; 30 cm.

(CRS Issue Brief for Congress)

Author(s):

1. Katzman, Kenneth

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
2. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS--IRAQ
4. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ
5. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Added entry(s):

1. Congressional Research Service (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.uspolicybe/Issues/Foreignpolicy/IB92117.pdf>> accessed 11/03/02.

'In recent years, the United States has been unable to maintain an international consensus for strict enforcement of all applicable UN Security Council resolutions on Iraq, but it has largely succeeded in preventing Iraq from reemerging as an immediate strategic threat to the region. There is US concern about the long-term threat posed by Iraq, and, in the wake of the September 11 attacks, the Bush Administration has said it will prevent Iraq from re-emerging as a significant threat to US security. The exact form of that Administration stance has not yet been announced, whether it be through international sanctions and diplomacy, military action, or covert action.'

ID number: 80017857

Year: 2002

327 /01071

Does America Need a Foreign Policy ? : Towards a Diplomacy for the 21st Century - New York : Simon and Schuster.

318 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0684855674

Author(s):

1. Kissinger, Henry Alfred, 1923-

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

Includes index.

'In this timely book, America's most famous diplomatist explains why America urgently needs a new and coherent foreign policy and what American foreign policy goals should be in the post-Cold War world of globalization. The author covers the wide range of problems facing the United States at the beginning of a new millennium and a new presidency, with particular attention to such hot spots as Russia, the new China, the globalized economy and the demand for humanitarian intervention. The author challenges Americans to understand that American foreign policy must be built upon America's permanent national interests, defining what these are, or should be, in the present and the foreseeable future. In this book, the author provides a crystalline assessment of how the United States' ascendancy as the world's dominant presence in the twentieth century may be effectively reconciled with the urgent need in the twenty-first century to achieve a bold new world order. By examining America's present and future relations with Russia, China, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Asia, in conjunction with emerging concerns such as globalization, nuclear weapons proliferation, free trade and the planet's eroding natural environment, the author lays out a compelling and comprehensively drawn vision for American policy in approaching decades.

ID number: 80017770

Year: 2001

327 /01150

The End of the American Era : U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century - New York : Knopf.

xviii, 391 p.; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0375412158

Author(s):

1. Kupchan, Charles A.

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 365-373. Includes index.

'The conclusion of the Cold War is commonly presumed to mark the ultimate triumph of liberal democracy and capitalism, bringing to a close the world's last great ideological divide. Privileged by its commanding economic and military strength, the United States is destined to preside over this new century, clearing the way for a durable era of great-power peace and prosperity. The author exposes the flaws in this conventional wisdom, revealing that the close of the Cold War heralded not America's final victory but the beginning of the demise of its global dominance. He contends that the next challenge to America is fast emerging. It comes not from the Islamic world or from and ascendant China, but from an integrating Europe, whose economy already rivals America's. As the European Union seeks influence commensurate with its economic status, it will inevitably rise as a counterweight to the United States. America and Europe are parting ways, the discord extending well beyond the realm of trade. Decades of strategic partnership are giving way to renewed geopolitical competition. The author

argues that the unraveling of American primacy will be expedited by growing opposition at home to the country's burdensome role as global guardian. Although temporarily reawakened by terrorism, America's appetite for international engagement is on the wane; the country's historic aversion toward foreign entanglements is making a comeback. Returning as well is America's fondness for unilateral action, alienating the partners with whom Washington will need to work to bring together an increasingly divided world. The impact of the digital age on US society also promises to have profound effects on American politics and on the scope and nature of the country's role in global politics. Far from watching the end of history, we will be witnesses to the end of the American era. By deftly mining the lessons of the past to cast light on our future, the author explains how the United States and the rest of the world should prepare for the more unpredictable and unstable global system that awaits.'

ID number: 80018708

Year: 2003

355.4 /01329

Terms of Engagement : The Paradox of American Power and the Transatlantic Dilemma post-11 September - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

84 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 52)

Author(s):

1. Lindley-French, Julian

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. EUROPE--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
5. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
6. USA--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'The world has never known a power such as the United States. Consequently, Europe cannot expect the United States to be anything other than unilateralist. America is simply too powerful. What matters, therefore, is the nature of American unilateralism. Unfortunately, the more powerful the United States becomes the more vulnerable it perceives itself to be. Consequently, 11 September has reinforced the trend towards narrow unilateralism and a narrow concept of engagement that is not only undermining transatlantic security relations but reinforcing a myth of American military exceptionalism the application of which is often as narrow as the policy that controls it. Contrasting American and European perceptions of power and vulnerability are reinforcing division in the transatlantic security relationship. Therefore, a new organising principle is needed to reflect a new transatlantic security reality in a new security environment in which flexibility and autonomy will be essential if American and European strengths are to be utilised to effect. The world needs American leadership, but leadership that is engaged, comprehensive and open. America also needs a strong Europe, not only to work alongside it in the struggle for security worldwide, but to act as the indispensable reality check on American leadership. If the EU is rightly to take on more of the responsibility for organising European security in its broadest sense, NATO must remain the forum for effective transatlantic military cooperation in the twenty-first century.'

ID number: 80017990

Year: 2002

327 /01134

L'incroyable alliance : la Russie : de la guerre froide aux portes de l'OTAN - Monaco : Ed. du Rocher.

335 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 226804291X

Author(s):

1. Lorrain, Pierre

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 298-307. Includes index.

'L'un des resultats les plus spectaculaires des attentats du 11 septembre 2001 est d'avoir rendu possible un rapprochement sans precedent entre Moscou et Washington, entre Vladimir Poutine et George W. Bush. Mais cette 'incroyable alliance' est-elle une retombee annexe de la lutte anti-terroriste, ou un phenomene plus profond ne d'une convergence d'interets entre les deux adversaires de la guerre froide ? Pierre Lorrain montre ici qu'il ne s'agit pas que d'une simple entente de circonstance, condamnee d'avance par la geopolitique, mais du premier resultat concret d'un processus d'integration de la Russie dans la communaute occidentale entame lors de l'effondrement de l'URSS, mis en sommeil pendant la 'paix froide' des annees Eltsine et repris par Poutine des son election. Comment le president russe est-il parvenu a exorciser les vieux demons anti-occidentaux qui hantaient son pays pour le faire passer de la guerre froide aux portes de l'OTAN ? De quelle maniere s'est-il servi des evenements du 11 septembre pour apparaitre aux yeux des Americains comme un partenaire sur et un allie incontournable ? Quels sont les enjeux internationaux et interieurs qui ont legitime son action ? Mais aussi quelles forces, quelles idees et quelles embuches peuvent encore contrecarrer sa politique et faire echouer la nouvelle alliance ? Telles sont les questions auxquelles le present ouvrage apporte quelques elements de reponse.'

ID number: 80018548

Year: 2002

323 /00757

Iraq : 'The Day After' - Moscow : Carnegie Moscow Center.

5 p.; 30 cm

(Briefing Papers ; vol. 4, issue 9, September 2002)

Author(s):

1. Malashenko, Alexei

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

3. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS

4. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Moscow Center (SU)

Notes:

<<http://pubs.carnegie.ru/english/briefings/2002/issue02-09.asp>>  
accessed 29/10/02.

'The Saddam Hussein regime is hanging by a thread. True, it has been in such a state for almost a year. This fall, President Bush told the world how he was going to cut the thread. Predictions about when and how Saddam will fall are the favorite subject of both political analysts and politicians. They give little thought, however, to what might happen to Iraq itself and how 'Desert Storm II' might affect Iraq's neighbors

as well as some other nations that are not exactly its neighbors. Meanwhile, considering such possibilities could be quite exciting ...'.

ID number: 80018264

Year: 2002

327 /01113

Dragon on Terrorism : Assessing China's Tactical Gains and Strategic Losses Post-September 11 - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

v, 63 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871032

Author(s):

1. Malik, Mohan

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

3. CHINA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CHINA

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'The US relationship with China and the global war on terrorism are the two most significant strategic challenges faced by the Bush administration. Both are vital and complex; the way the administration manages them will shape American security for many years. While there is a growing literature on both key strategic issues, little analysis has been done on the intersection of the two. The author fills this gap as he assesses how the war on terrorism has affected China. He concludes that the war on terrorism radically altered the Asian strategic environment in ways that negated China's foreign policy gains of the last decade and undermined its image as Asia's only great power. Dr. Malik then offers a range of recommendations for a more stable relationship with China.'

ID number: 80018293

Year: 2002

327 /01098

U.S. Policy Toward the Former Yugoslavia - Washington : Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

23 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Paper ; 69)

Author(s):

1. Meyer, Steven E.

Subject(s):

1. BALKAN PENINSULA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

2. YUGOSLAV WAR, 1991-1995--USA

3. KOSOVO (SERBIA)--HISTORY--CIVIL WAR, 1998-1999--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (US)

Notes:

<<http://wwics.si.edu/ees/papers/2002/mey69.pdf>> accessed 20/09/02.

'For the United States, the period since 1990 has been a time of confusion, conflicting signals, arrogance, misunderstanding, anomie, and ultimately, failure as successive administrations tried to figure out what American policy toward the Balkans should be. As the author tries to clear away the underbrush of this period, four distinct periods in US policy toward Yugoslavia can be discerned. Hopefully, understanding these periods will help point the way to a more creative, positive, and successful US policy toward the former Yugoslavia.'

ID number: 80018185

Year: 2002

327 /01089

The Paradox of American Power : Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

xviii, 222 p.; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0195150880

Author(s):

1. Nye, Joseph S.

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

Includes index.

'What role should America play in the world ? What key challenges face us in the 21st century, and how should we define our national interests ? Not since Rome has any nation had so much economic, cultural and military power, but that power does not allow us to solve global problems like terrorism, environmental degradation, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction without involving other nations. In this book the author focuses on the rise of these and other new challenges and explains clearly why America must adopt a more cooperative engagement with the rest of the world.'

ID number: 80017962

Year: 2002

327 /01121

Iraq : A European Point of View - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

30 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 40)

Author(s):

1. Ortega, Martin

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
4. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
5. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST
6. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
7. IRAQ WAR, 2003
8. IRAQ WAR, 2003--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'In the last few months, European governments have responded in different ways to the American desire to exercise 'pre-emptive action' against the Iraqi threat and to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime. However, the Europeans share a sceptical attitude towards the initiative, since they perceive that a military solution might have unexpected negative consequences. Therefore, most Europeans believe that coercive action should not be taken hastily and that diplomatic means, especially through UNSC-sponsored inspections and destruction of Iraqi WMD, should be exhausted first. This paper suggests that Europeans are sceptical because they think that the United States underestimates the difficulties of post-Saddam state-building in what is a delicate regional environment. Also, Europeans fear that occupation of Iraq might lead to an escalation of terrorist activities in the West. Some voices in the US have indicated that creating a democratic Iraq would be the first step in the establishment of a new regional order in the Middle East, while Europeans are unconvinced about the possibility of 'importing' democracy into the region overnight by the use of force. Any stable 'new' regional order, the Europeans contend, should include a lasting and equitable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Finally, most Europeans believe that the international administration of

postwar Iraq would have to deal not only with state-building but also with resources management. It remains to be seen whether this aspect of foreign administration would be accepted by the Iraqi population. In addition, lower oil prices would foster increased global oil consumption in the long term and, consequently, a worsening of the global environment, which is against the declared European policy of determined action against global warming.'

ID number: 80018420

Year: 2002

355.4 /01336

The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance : Why It Matters and How to Strengthen It - Westport, CT : Praeger.

xvi, 106 p.; 24 cm.

(The Washington Papers, 0278-937X ; 181)

ISBN: 0275978052

Author(s):

1. Osius, Ted

Subject(s):

1. JAPAN--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--JAPAN
3. JAPAN--MILITARY POLICY
4. USA--MILITARY POLICY
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--JAPAN
6. JAPAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 93-98. Includes index.

'The US-Japan security relationship proved to be a very valuable asset in the international effort to deal with formidable challenges related to the East-West contest for power and moral competition. A real test for the US-Japan alliance is how it can function as the foundation for a regional security mechanism in an age of deepening interdependence between the United States, Japan, and Asia. What happened during the past decade or so in Japan's security policy, including adoption of the new Guidelines for US-Japan Defense Cooperation and enactment of a peacekeeping law, helped Japan adjust to a new role in the post-September 11 era of international security.'

ID number: 80018155

Year: 2002

321 /00655

Promoting Democracy in the Middle East : The Problem of US Credibility - Washington : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

15 p.; 30 cm.

(Working Papers ; 35)

Author(s):

1. Ottaway, Marina

Subject(s):

1. DEMOCRACY--MIDDLE EAST
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST
3. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/wp35.pdf>> accessed 16/04/03.

'After decades of giving relatively little attention to the possibility and problems of democracy in the Middle East, the US foreign policy community has in the past year elevated the issue to a position of central importance. This paper highlights a problem of fundamental importance - the lack of credibility that the United States has in the Arab world when

it presents itself as a pro-democratic actor. If left unaddressed, this credibility gap will undermine even the most well-intentioned efforts by the United States to promote positive political change in the region. While recognizing that there are no instant solutions to this problem, the paper identifies ways the United States can begin to alleviate the gap and in so doing pave the way for a genuine, lasting democratic engagement with the Middle East.'

ID number: 80018538

Year: 2003

327 /01074

The Anti-Terrorism Coalition : Don't Pay an Excessive Price - Washington : Cato Institute.

7 p.; 30 cm.

(Cato Foreign Policy Briefing ; 68)

Author(s):

1. Pena, Charles V.

Subject(s):

1. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Cato Institute (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.cato.org/pubs/fpbriefs/fpb68.pdf>> accessed 04/02/02.

'To prosecute the war on terrorism, President Bush has assembled a diverse coalition of countries for political, diplomatic, and military support. Some of those countries are long-standing friends and allies of the United States. Others have new or changing relationships with the United States. Although there may be a price for their support, America should not pay an excessive price - one that could be detrimental to longer-term US national security interests. And though it may be necessary to provide a certain amount of immediate aid (directly or indirectly) as a quid pro quo for the support of other nations in the US war on terrorism, the United States needs to avoid longer-term entanglements, open-ended commitments, and the potential for an extreme anti-American backlash. If the United States has the same kind of tunnel vision about terrorism that it had about the fight against communism during the Cold War, it could be blindsided by disastrous unintended consequences. In its zeal to go after the terrorists responsible for the attacks of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the US government must understand that alliances of convenience (especially with countries of which it was legitimately critical before September 11) may be necessary, but they come with the potential for great risk. Ultimately - and paradoxically - the United States could end up doing more to breed terrorism than to prevent it.'

ID number: 80017798

Year: 2001

323 /00765

Terrorism and US Foreign Policy - Washington : Brookings Institution Press.

xii, 272 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0815700040

Author(s):

1. Pillar, Paul R.

Subject(s):

1. TERRORISM

2. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY--USA

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

Includes index.

'In a recent poll conducted by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, respondents were asked what they considered the most critical threats to US vital interests. International terrorism was cited as the most pressing danger to America's security. Americans take the threat of terrorism very seriously. But is the US government's approach to combating terrorism the right one? In this important and provocative new book, Paul R. Pillar argues that, while the US government has done well in its efforts at preventing terrorist attacks and bringing terrorists to justice, too little thought has been given to the integration of counterterrorism into a broader US foreign policy. Pillar reminds us that the vast majority of terrorist attacks and activities occur overseas and that counterterrorism should be at the forefront of the policy making process. Pillar emphasizes that combating terrorism may be better served by 'more finesse and, if not less fight, then fighting in a carefully calculated and selective way'. To do this, he argues, it is essential, that the US cooperate more fully with other governments in fighting terrorism, evaluate terrorist threats individually, and abandon counterterrorism measures that do not produce positive results.'

ID number: 80018080

Year: 2001

327 /01135

The Threatening Storm : The Case for Invading Iraq - New York : Random House.

xxx, 494 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0375509283

Author(s):

1. Pollack, Kenneth M.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. WMD--IRAQ
5. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Notes:

Includes index.

'The author examines the state of Iraq today - its economy, its armed forces, its political system, the status of its weapons of mass destruction as best we understand them, and Saddam's terrifying security apparatus. Pollack also analyzes the last twenty years of relations between the United States and Iraq to explain how the two countries reached the present crisis. He then assesses the full range of US policy options toward Iraq. Finally, he explores the promise and hazard of rebuilding Iraq after Saddam.'

ID number: 80018552

Year: 2002

327 /01138

A Problem from Hell : America and the Age of Genocide - New York : Basic Books.

xxi, 610 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0465061508

Author(s):

1. Power, Samantha

Subject(s):

1. GENOCIDE
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)--USA

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 575-587. Includes index.

'This book is a path-breaking interrogation of the last century of

American history. The author poses a question that haunts our nation's past : Why do American leaders who vow 'never again' repeatedly fail to marshal the will and the might to stop genocide ? She provides the answer in the form of the suspenseful story of courageous individuals who risked their careers and lives in an effort to get the United States to act. Drawing upon exclusive interviews with Washington's top policymakers, access to thousands of pages of newly declassified documents, and her own reporting from the modern killing fields, Power shows how those who urged US action were thwarted again and again by ignorance, indifference, and, above all, a failure of imagination. This book combines spellbinding history and seasoned political analysis to do more than merely tell the story of US inaction. Power shows how decent Americans inside and outside government looked away from mass murder by convincing themselves that refugees were lying, that intervention would be futile, or that contemporary genocides did not measure up to the crime they said they would 'never again' permit. By allowing readers to hear directly from American decision-makers and dissenters, as well as from the victims of genocide, Power reveals just what was known and what might have been done while millions perished.'

ID number: 80018604

Year: 2002

441 /00099

Stars and Strife : The Coming Conflicts between the USA and the European Union - Houndmills, UK : Palgrave.

vii, 193 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 0333918401

Author(s):

1. Redwood, John

Subject(s):

1. EU--USA

2. EU--GREAT BRITAIN

3. GREAT BRITAIN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--GREAT BRITAIN

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 188-189. Includes index.

'This book looks ahead to the coming conflicts between the USA and emerging United States of Europe. Should Britain become the fifteenth state of Euroland or the fifty-first state of America ? The author sets out four possible futures, concluding that joining the European political project would be bad for the UK and for the cause of free trade and democracy around the world. He explains why the USA has need of the special relationship with Britain, and how the English-speaking world offers the best approach to peace and prosperity in a dot.com world.'

ID number: 80018205

Year: 2001

308 /00136

L'obsession anti-americaine : son fonctionnement, ses causes, ses consequences - Paris : Plon.

299 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 2259194494

Author(s):

1. Revel, Jean-Francois

Subject(s):

1. ANTI-AMERICANISM

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

3. WORLD POLITICS

Notes:

'L'Amerique a toujours ete consideree, par tous les pays du monde et plus specialement par les pays europeens, a la fois avec

envie et mepris. Elle l'est davantage encore depuis qu'elle est devenue, au XXe siecle, une grande puissance, et surtout depuis qu'elle est, a la suite de l'effondrement des empires communistes, la seule superpuissance planetaire. Qu'est-ce qui, dans cet antiamericanisme general, est fonde sur une connaissance des realites, sur une analyse des faits, et qu'est-ce qui s'explique par les survivances d'ideologies fossiles, par un ressentiment irrationnel, generateur d'informations fausses et de phobies, imputables aux echecs des pays memes qui critiquent sans cesse les Etats-Unis en leur attribuant des defauts souvent imaginaires ? L'auteur avait deja traite cette question dans un ouvrage paru en 1970. Mais depuis lors la situation a bien entendu evolue, du fait de l'emergence des Etats-Unis comme unique 'hyperpuissance', a la fois economique, strategique et, jusqu'a un certain point, culturelle. L'animosite a l'egard de l'Amerique a decuple. On l'attaque a la fois comme modele de societe et comme force preponderante dans les relations internationales. Cette diabolisation a meme pousse certains courants islamistes jusqu'a l'hyperterrorisme religieux qui a surgi en 2001. Mais bien d'autres pays, sans aller jusqu'a ces extremes, partagent les sentiments qui les inspirent. Il y a donc lieu d'actualiser la question de l'antiamericanisme et de reexaminer ce phenomene politico-culturel a la lumiere des transformations survenues depuis une trentaine d'annees.'

ID number: 80018403

Year: 2002

308 /00137

Pourquoi le monde deteste-t-il l'Amerique ? - Paris : Fayard.

283 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 2213614016

Author(s):

1. Sardar, Ziauddin
2. Davies, Merryl Wyn

Subject(s):

1. ANTI-AMERICANISM
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. WORLD POLITICS

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 279-284.

'Mais pourquoi nous deteste-t-on ? Telle est la question, maintes fois reprise et analysee depuis, posee par une femme emergeant du tourbillon de Ground Zero le 11 septembre 2001. A cette question les auteurs repondent magistralement en recensant les raisons principales du rejet, non du peuple americain, mais de l'entite Amerique. Car l'Amerique, seule 'hyperpuissance' au monde, est surtout la puissance 'definissante', imposant sa propre conception de ce qu'est l'etre humain : democratie, police, economie, liberte, droits de l'homme, multiculturalisme, fondamentalisme, terrorisme, mal. Ainsi la liberte est-elle d'abord comprise comme la liberte de circulation des marchandises, des capitaux et des produits culturels americains, et ce toujours a sens unique. L'Amerique definit le monde en fonction de son identite, de son histoire et de ses mythes - remarquablement evoques dans cet ouvrage -, donc aussi en fonction de son interet personnel. Selon les auteurs, elle voit un peu le monde comme elle voyait les Indiens : des enfants a conduire a la civilisation.'

ID number: 80018413

Year: 2002

327 /01136

La France vue par les Etats-Unis : reflexions sur la francophobie a Washington - Paris : IFRI.

116 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 2865921409

Author(s):

1. Serfaty, Simon

Subject(s):

1. FRANCE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--FRANCE
3. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Centre Francais sur les Etats-Unis (FR)
2. Institut Francais des Relations Internationales (FR)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 111-116.

'Le debat sur l'anti-americanisme en France vient d'etre relance avec en particulier la publications des ouvrages de Jean-Francois Revel et de Philippe Roger. On connait moins en France le sentiment 'francophobe' qui prevaut dans des secteurs significatifs du monde politique americain. La 'francophobie', mot utilise ici par mesure de facilite, mais qui decrit assez bien l'hostilite systematique a la France qui prevaut dans certains milieux de Washington, est en effet devenue un phenomene marquant. La France combine plusieurs caracteristiques difficiles a accepter pour beaucoup d'Américains politises. Elle est une democratie, mais elle pretend disposer d'un modele distinct et a certains egards concurrent de celui des Etats-Unis. De meme, la France est percue comme l'une des rares puissances posant les questions sur la domination americaine du systeme international, d'ou cette 'francophobie' existant a Washington. Il fallait donc decrire et analyser l'effet qu'elle ne peut manquer d'exercer sur les relations franco-americaines et euro-americaines. Le Centre Francais sur les Etats-Unis est convaincu de faire oeuvre utile en publiant ce texte, et en faisant en sorte qu'il soit lu comme il le merite, dans l'esprit constructif qui doit presider a l'analyse des phenomenes politiques d'une reelle importance pour les decideurs.'

ID number: 80018549

Year: 2002

327 /01143

Apres l'empire : essai sur la decomposition du systeme americain - Paris : Gallimard.

233 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 2070767108

Author(s):

1. Todd, Emmanuel

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

'Il n'y aura pas d'empire americain. Le monde est trop vaste, trop divers, trop dynamique pour accepter la predominance d'une seule puissance. L'examen des forces demographiques et culturelles, industrielles et monetaires, ideologiques et militaires qui transforment la planete ne confirme pas la vision aujourd'hui banale d'une Amerique invulnerable. L'auteur trace ici le tableau plus realiste d'une tres grande nation dont la puissance a ete incontestable, mais dont le declin relatif parait irreversible. Les Etats-Unis etaient indispensables a l'equilibre du monde; ils ne peuvent aujourd'hui maintenir leur niveau de vie sans les subsides du monde. L'Amerique, par son activisme militaire de theatre dirige contre des Etats insignifiants, tente de masquer son

reflux. La lutte contre le terrorisme, l'Irak et l'axe du mal' ne sont plus que des pretextes. Parce qu'elle n'a plus la force de controler les acteurs economiques et strategiques majeurs que sont l'Europe et la Russie, le Japon et la Chine, l'Amerique perdra cette derniere partie pour la maitrise du monde. Elle redeviendra une grande puissance parmi d'autres.'

ID number: 80018636

Year: 2002

327 /01137

Axis of Anarchy : Britain, America and The New World Order after Iraq -  
London : Foreign Policy Centre.

20 p.; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Tyrie, Andrew

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003

2. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

4. GREAT BRITAIN--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Foreign Policy Centre (GB)

2. Bow Group (GB)

Notes:

<<http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/80.pdf>> accessed 28/04/03.

'Will a war in Iraq lead to a new world order, or provoke anarchy ? This question has dominated political discourse and fractured traditional alliances. The author's thoughtful, searching and powerful essay on the tone of western foreign policy and the post-11 September re-ordering of the world makes an important contribution to these debates. The conservative position he stakes out - arguing that both the Blair and Bush doctrines of foreign policy are potentially destabilising in the longer term whatever the outcome of a possible conflict in Iraq - is a powerful one.'

ID number: 80018564

Year: 2003

## **PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES**

### **DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES\*\***

- Disarming Iraq : The Case Against Saddam Hussein.  
CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST, December 2002, p. 289-320.  
The Bush Administration and its supporters argue that a campaign to oust Saddam Hussein may be the only way to compel Iraq's compliance with UN resolutions, eliminate its weapons of mass destruction, and prevent its support of international terrorism. They point out that Saddam has defied at least 16 Security Council resolutions since 1990, making it clear that he will never accept weapons inspections. Not to use force, they contend, would pose the greater risk, by allowing Saddam to acquire nuclear weapons that will give him control over much of the region and make it even more dangerous for America to protect our interests there. Those opposed to the resolution maintain that the President has not made a convincing case for military action, and that an unprovoked US invasion of Iraq could precipitate serious turmoil in the Middle East and hinder the broader war on terrorism and diplomatic efforts needed to address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. They warn that war with Iraq could also lead to numerous US casualties and a long-term presence in that country.
  
- Europa y EE UU un ano despues del 11-s.  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, septiembre 2002, Special Issue.
  
- The Nuclear Crisis on the Korean Peninsula : Avoiding the Road to Perdition.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 663, April 2003, p. 152-169.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
Confrontational United States policies toward North Korea, adopted unilaterally, would not only exacerbate the nuclear crisis but also undermine United States relations with Northeast Asia as a whole. The United States would end up with the worst of both worlds : a nuclear-capable North Korea and severely strained relations with key powers important to United States interests globally as well as regionally. Conversely, by pursuing constructive engagement in concert with its friends and allies in the region, the United States would maximize the pressure on North Korea for an acceptable nuclear settlement and promote the long-term United States objective of liberalizing the North Korean system.
  
- Russia and the West in Central Asia and the Caucasus : Cooperation or Rivalry ?  
CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 1, 2003, p. 65-124 (several articles).
  
- Abramowitz, Morton  
Bosworth, Stephen  
Adjusting to the New Asia.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 4, July - August 2003, p. 119-131.  
Transpacific relations are now shifting as dramatically as transatlantic ones. As Japan slips in power and relevance, China grows ever stronger, and since September 11, Washington has become willing to let Beijing play a larger regional role. Meanwhile, tensions in Korea could still provoke a war - or help reshape the continent.

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\*\* This list contains material received as of July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2003 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 23 juillet 2003.

- Ahmed, Samina  
The United States and Terrorism in Southwest Asia : September 11 and Beyond.  
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 26, no. 3, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 79-93.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>
  
- Ahn, Soong-Bum  
China as Number One.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 647, September 2001, p. 250-256.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
The inferred assumption in most American scenarios is one in which a dominant China is a threat to its neighbors and the US. Yet what if China acts as a benevolent hegemon, or at least a benign one ?
  
- Ahrari, Ehsan  
'Rogue' States and NMD/TMD : Policies in Search of a Rationale ?  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 12, no. 2, Spring 2001, p. 83-100.
  
- Ahrari, M. Ehsan  
Iran, China, and Russia : the Emerging Anti-US Nexus ?  
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 32, no. 4, December 2001, p. 453-466.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The post-Cold War world has been in existence for more than a decade; however, Iran, the People's Republic of China (PRC), and Russia still find the situation unsettling. Some of the reasons underlying their dissatisfaction are region-specific. But the most significant and unifying variable is that all three of them resent the dominant status of the United States in the realms of politics, economics, and military power at the global level. They perceive US dominance in their respective regions as constraining and even deleterious to their own strategic ambitions. In contrast to the Cold War years, the current balance-of-power-related tug-and-pull among nations is neither based on ideology nor led by two superpowers. But, as in the Cold War years, the international struggle of this century will be driven by a desire to seek military and economic dominance within and across various regions. In this on-going struggle, Iran, China, and Russia are striving to improve their status by using the nexus that is evolving between them.
  
- Ajami, Fouad  
Iraq and the Arabs' Future.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 1, January - February 2003, p. 2-18.  
The driving motivation behind a new US endeavor in Iraq should be modernizing the Arab world. Most Arabs will see such an expedition as an imperial reach into their world. But in this case a reforming foreign power's guidelines offer a better way than the region's age-old prohibitions, defects, and phobias. No apologies ought to be made for America's 'unilateralism'.
  
- Andoni, Lamis  
Deeds Speak Louder than Words.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 85-100.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Employing Madison Avenue spin doctors cannot ease resentment toward US policies and actions. US policy in the Arab and Muslim world has been an utter failure. Public diplomacy cannot change this perception; only changing policies can.

- Andreani, Jacques  
Les Europeens auront les Americains qu' ils meritent.  
COMMENTAIRE, no. 94, ete 2001, p. 295-302.
  
- Asmus, Ronald D.  
Pollack, Kenneth M.  
The New Transatlantic Project.  
POLICY REVIEW, no. 115, October - November, 11 p., accessed 08/11/02.  
[http://www.policyreview.org/OCT02/asmus\\_print.html](http://www.policyreview.org/OCT02/asmus_print.html)
  
- Atal, Subodh  
Central Asian Geopolitics and US Policy in the Region : The Post-11  
September Era.  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 14, no. 2, Spring 2003, p. 95-109.
  
- Auge, Jean-Christophe  
Pro-occidentalisme des gouvernements et opinions publiques au  
Moyen-Orient : une fracture consommee ?  
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 49, printemps 2003, p. 79-90.  
Au regard du contexte regional et international, c'est bien l'image d'une  
fracture, si ce n'est celle d'un divorce, qui semble plus que jamais  
caracteriser les rapports entre gouvernements et opinions publiques au  
Moyen-Orient. Si le pro-occidentalisme de nombreux gouvernements arabes  
semble difficile a nier, il releve cependant parfois plus d'une  
orientation strategique relevant de choix plus ou moins contraints, que  
d'une preference revendiquee. Quant aux opinions publiques, il est  
evident que, avec la 'question irakienne', le drame palestinien constitue  
l'autre grand moteur de l'amertume des opinions arabes et  
moyen-orientales a l'encontre des Etats-Unis. Neanmoins, elles semblent  
frappees d'une certaine 'schizophrenie', qui resonance bien souvent comme  
un amour decu.
  
- Awwad, Emad  
Le 'nouvel' ordre mondial et le Proche-Orient.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59e annee, no. 5, mai 2003, p. 105-116.  
Le present article a ete redige avant le debut de l'offensive americaine  
en Irak, ainsi que le discours prononce par le president americain, le 14  
mars dernier, sur la question palestinienne. Toutefois, ni l'un ni  
l'autre n'affectent le contenu. L'objet de l'article est de demontrer la  
relation existant entre l'ordre mondial et cette region, largement  
sensible et explosive. Au moment ou l'ancien systeme, avec ses  
instruments, est mis a l'epreuve, un autre semblerait se manifester.  
L'auteur s'interroge sur le role de cette region dans le processus en  
cours. Va-t-elle servir de catalyseur a l'emergence definitive d'un  
'ordre' ou d'un 'desordre' mondial ?
  
- Babich, N.  
President Putin at the Texan Ranch.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 48, no. 1, 2002, p. 1-8.  
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
  
- Bacevich, Andrew  
Steppes to Empire.  
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 68, Summer 2002, p. 39-53.  
America's post-9/11 tryst with the authoritarian regimes of Central Asia  
should not be transformed into a longer-term 'marriage of convenience'.  
It would end badly.

- Bachman, David  
The United States and China : Rhetoric and Reality.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 647, September 2001, p. 257-262.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
To some extent, the rhetoric of the Bush administration is simply part of the 'positioning' process as one party replaces the other in the presidency.
  
- Bahgat, Gawdat  
Iran, the United States, and the War on Terrorism.  
STUDIES IN CONFLICT AND TERRORISM, vol. 26, no. 2, March - April 2003, p. 93-104.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
For more than two decades the United States has considered Iran the world's leading country in sponsoring international terrorism. Shortly after the September 11 attacks the two nations worked together to defeat Al Qaeda and the Taliban. By late 2001, however, the old mistrust and suspicion had resurfaced. This article examines the brief period of cooperation between Washington and Tehran in the war on terrorism. The different sections analyze the failed attempt to smuggle Iranian weapons to the Palestinian Authority (the so-called Karine-A affair), the designation of Iran as part of global axis of evil, the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002. Despite strong disagreement on how to define and fight terrorism, the study argues, Iranian and American interests are not mutually exclusive. There are certain areas where the two sides can work together.
  
- Bahgat, Gawdat  
The Iraqi Quagmire : What is Next ?  
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 23, no. 2, August 2002, p. 135-148.  
Since the 11 September terrorist attacks President Bush has repeatedly and strongly confirmed his determination to 'deal with' the Iraqi threat. Specifically, any US military action to topple Saddam Hussein will have to address two significant challenges - the threats of Baghdad's weapons of mass destruction and the potential for regime change. This study examines these two issues. It argues that more than a decade after the Gulf War, the United States has yet to articulate a cohesive strategy to neutralise the Iraqi threat.
  
- Bahgat, Gawdat  
The United States, Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction.  
DEFENSE & SECURITY ANALYSIS, vol. 19, no. 1, March 2003, p. 5-14.  
<http://www.ingentaselect.com>  
This study examines the international efforts, led by the United States, to rid Iraq of WMD since the end of the Gulf War in 1991. The following section discusses Washington's assessment of Baghdad's chemical, biological and nuclear capabilities in the early 2000s. Finally, the article analyzes the impediments that should be taken into consideration in deciding any US military action against Iraq. The main argument is that despite continuing and mounting distrust in Hussein's regime, the United States has not developed a clear strategy to oust the Iraqi leader and replace him with a friendlier regime. More than a decade after the Gulf War, the Iraqi quagmire seems as messy as it has always been.
  
- Bajpai, Kanti  
Add Five 'E's to Make a Partnership.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 83-94.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Unlike other countries, India is receptive to a deeper relationship with the sole superpower. Building a stronger architecture for partnership around these five 'E's will help build a force for stability in world politics.

- Bali, Asli  
Washington-Bagdad : le dessous des cartes.  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 91, printemps 2001, p. 161-174.  
One of the first challenges the new American administration faces is establishing an Iraq policy. Based on the first few months of Bush Jr.'s presidency, the new White House program seems to call on three strategies : retightened sanctions, the maintenance of aerial exclusion zones (including possible changes to these zones), and an enhanced support of Iraqi opposition groups. The primary goal of the new Iraqi policy is still to be decided : whether to contain Baghdad's chances of causing harm (preferred by Secretary of State Colin Powell), or to work on overturning Saddam Hussein (the hard line embodied by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld). What is certain is that President Bush should, above all, seek to establish a consensus regarding his policy. Because the flaws in the current system of sanctions show that the US is becoming increasingly isolated in its crusade against Iraq.
  
- Bandow, Doug  
Ending the Anachronistic Korean Commitment.  
PARAMETERS, vol. 33, no. 2, Summer 2003, p. 78-88.  
<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters>  
The author argues for the termination of America's 'most consistently dangerous commitment since the end of World War II', the US alliance with the Republic of Korea (ROK). His examination of the evolving geopolitical environment on the Korean peninsula offers an explanation as to why many (both in the ROK and the United States) are calling for American troops to go home. Bandow makes an excellent case that the American commitment to the ROK has little to do with vital US interests, but rather is a reflection of a lingering Cold War strategy.
  
- Bardos, Gordon N.  
Balkan blowback ? Osama bin Laden and Southeastern Europe.  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 44-53.  
The 11 September 2001 attacks on New York's World Trade Center and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., should force us to reexamine US policy in the Balkans, for two reasons. First, important elements of Osama bin Laden's organization, al Qaeda, as well as other Islamic extremist organizations have been operating in the region for the better part of a decade. Consequently, any comprehensive policy to combat international terrorism must involve southeastern Europe. Second, a thorough examination of bin Laden's alliances in the Balkans also reveal a disturbing pattern - ironically, for much of the past decade, bin Laden and the United States have often found themselves supporting the same factions in the Balkan conflicts.
  
- Bearden, Milton  
Afghanistan, Graveyard of Empires.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 6, November - December 2001, p. 17-30.  
The first engagement in the new war on terrorism - with Osama bin Ladin in Afghanistan - poses severe challenges for the United States. Rooting out bin Ladin's network will require military success in a country that the Soviet Union could not conquer in ten years of trying, as well as support from unstable surrounding nations. Washington may be tempted to try to oust the Taliban regime, but doing so could rekindle Afghanistan's brutal civil war. The United States must proceed with caution - or end up on the ash heap of Afghan history.

- Benchenane, Mustapha  
Etats Unis et Irak.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59eme annee, no. 3, mars 2003, p. 15-23.  
Après avoir démontré les 'preuves' américaines et britanniques, rien ne saurait justifier une intervention militaire contre l'Irak. Rappelant que l'abstention d'un seul des cinq membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité, et non un veto, suffit à empêcher l'adoption d'une résolution du recours à la force, la légitimation de l'ONU apparaît difficile. C'est donc bien au mépris du droit international que se met en place la politique de puissance américaine, en fonction de ses propres intérêts.
  
- Bertram, Christoph  
Starting Over Again.  
NATO REVIEW, vol. 49, Spring 2001, p. 12-14.  
<http://www.nato.int/docu/review.htm>  
The author assesses European concerns and expectations at the change of tenant in the White House.
  
- Betts, Richard K.  
The Lesser Evil.  
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 64, Summer 2001, p. 53, 13 p.  
The article suggests a strategy for the United States in withdrawing its military intervention in the Balkan region. It stresses the importance of forging a connection between sovereign self-government and interstate stability in the Balkans. It suggests potential solutions in settling the sectarian and ethnic conflicts in the Balkans and surveys the impact of the US operations in the Balkans on US relations with China.
  
- Biddle, Stephen  
Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 2, March - April 2003, p. 31-46.  
The stunning success of the combination of special operations forces, precision weapons, and indigenous allies in Afghanistan has led some to laud the 'Afghan model' as the future of warfare. Others dismiss it as an anomalous product of local circumstances. But neither position is wholly correct. On closer inspection, the conduct of the war was not as revolutionary as people think.
  
- Bill, James A.  
Chavez, Rebecca Bill  
The Politics of Incoherence : The United States and the Middle East.  
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 56, no. 4, Autumn 2002, p. 562-575.  
The world today is caught in the midst of fundamental incoherence. Old systems tear and unravel while new systems have not yet formed to take their places. The challenge of incoherence is especially acute in the Middle East where gaps, divisions, and inequities prevail. United States foreign policy has not yet succeeded in addressing the issue of revolutionary change. This article lists seven specific policy recommendations that are designed to assist American policy makers meet this challenge.
  
- Blank, Stephen  
The Conditions for US-Russian Partnership.  
ORBIS, vol. 46, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 661-678.  
US-Russian relations today owe much to personal chemistry between Bush and Putin and are a function of initiatives on Putin's part that have yet to be institutionalized. In view of persistent skepticism about Putin's pro-West/pro-US policies among Russian political and military elites, an end to American-Russian enmity after 85-plus years depends, in the final analysis, on Russia's market reforms and the success of its democratization process.

- Bleier, Ronald  
Invading Iraq : The Road to Perpetual War.  
MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 4, December 2002, p. 35-42.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>
  
- Blinken, Antony J.  
The False Crisis Over the Atlantic.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 3, May - June 2001, p. 35-42.  
European elites lambaste the US for bad behavior at home and hegemonic hubris abroad. These Europeans see an ominous transatlantic 'values gap' emerging over the death penalty, guns, 'Frankenfoods', and unchecked capitalism. And Washington's unilateralist obstinance on issues such as missile defense, land mines, and global warming only makes matters worse. But a closer look shows that Europe and the US are in fact converging culturally, economically, and even strategically. This phony crisis in relations only makes it more difficult to tap the full potential of the transatlantic partnership.
  
- Bobin, Frederic  
Les meilleurs ennemis du monde.  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 93, automne 2001, p. 339-353.  
The joy expressed by some Chinese, especially on the Internet, following the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11 underscores the nationalist shift in public opinion in the People's Republic. The dissipation of the Soviet threat and the remarkable Chinese economic boom during the 1990s sealed the fate of the strategic rapprochement between China and the U.S. orchestrated by Nixon and Kissinger. Moreover, Beijing's ambitions in Asia have come up against Washington's influence in the region, illustrated by various flare-ups since 1996. But the Sino-American equation is complex and is anchored in very close economic and trade relations. They are strategic rivals and yet there is a strong interweaving of economic interests, resulting in a situation that contrasts starkly with that of the cold war. In fact, China depends on the United States in terms of exports, investments, and technology transfers, a situation which should - at least in the short term - compel it to preserve its relationship with the U.S., allowing time for it to restore enough strength to re-establish its economic independence.
  
- Boniface, Pascal  
The Specter of Unilateralism.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 155-162.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The French are not anti-American, as Paris does not seek to compete with Washington as equals. Yet many Europeans deplore what the United States sometimes does with its supremacy. France simply insists that Washington heed the opinions, and existence, of other nations.
  
- Booker, Salih  
Bush's Global Agenda : Bad News for Africa.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 646, May 2001, p. 195-200.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
Today's global issues, from HIV/AIDS to global warming, and from trade policies to the failure of international peacekeeping, have their most immediate and devastating consequences in Africa... These vital challenges must be addressed in Africa, in solidarity with Africans, if they are not to overwhelm the world.

- Bremer, L. Paul  
 Por que Irak ? Por que ahora ?  
 POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 90, noviembre - diciembre 2002, p. 67-75.  
 La amenaza terrorista y el nuevo entorno geopolitico demandan una estrategia que se anticipe a los posibles riesgos. Esa es la razon por la que hay que reaccionar al peligro que representa Irak. Un cambio de regimen facilitara la estabilidad politica de la region.
  
- Bremmer, Ian  
 Zaslavsky, Alexander  
 Bush and Putin's Tentative Embrace.  
 WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 18, no. 4, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 11-17.
  
- Bronson, Rachel  
 Beyond Containment in the Persian Gulf.  
 ORBIS, vol. 45, no. 2, Spring 2001, p. 193-209.
  
- Bronson, Rachel  
 More Than Targets or Markets : Recasting America's Relationships with its Arab Partners.  
 MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 4, December 2002, p. 52-60.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>
  
- Brotons, Antonio Remiro  
 Bush y los Estados hampones.  
 POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 90, noviembre - diciembre 2002, p. 91-98.  
 La estrategia de seguridad nacional de Bush amplia la nocion de legitima defensa, reconocida por la Carta de las Naciones Unidas, hasta los limites de un ataque preventivo. EE UU no puede estar por encima de la ley internacional, mientras esta exista.
  
- Brumberg, Daniel  
 Dilemmas of Western Policies toward Iran.  
 INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 3, July - September 2002, p. 69-81.  
 The author focuses on US policy towards Iran and its impact on the struggle between hardliners and reformists in Tehran. The fact that this struggle involves not only domestic matters but also foreign policy considerably complicates the definition of an effective common Western approach. In fact, while the US seems to move from the assumption that any form of cooperative relations with the Iranian regime is precluded as long as the current leadership remains in power, Europe's greatest concern is to avoid initiatives that can weaken the reformists internally. Brumberg notes, however, that the US's tough policy has not actually reinforced the hardliners, as shown by the dynamics of the internal political debate after Bush' 'axis of evil' speech. In any case, according to Brumberg, the key elements of Iran's policy towards the US and Israel are unlikely to change in the near future since they enjoy a very large consensus both within the establishment and in the population.
  
- Calabrese, John  
 The United States, Great Britain, and the Middle East : How Special the Relationship ?  
 MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 12, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 57-84.

- Campbell, Kurt M.  
Reiss, Mitchell B.  
Korean Changes, Asian Challenges and the US Role.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 1, Spring 2001, p. 53-69.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The George W. Bush administration faces difficult challenges in Asia associated with the rise of China and the potential for instability in Indonesia. Yet perhaps the most pressing early decisions facing the new administration concern the Korean Peninsula. This Korean challenge is a somewhat incongruous one. Major strategic issues in Asia are usually associated with negative developments, such as instability across the Taiwan Strait. The June 2000 North-South Korean summit, however, has presented the US with the opposite dilemma. Enhanced stability on the Korean peninsula raises the prospect of an overall improvement in the strategic situation in North-East Asia. But these developments also carry uncertain implications for the US and its influence in Asia.
  
- Campins, Miguel  
El 11-S : juicio a EE UU.  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 89, septiembre - octubre 2002, p. 85-98.  
Que futuro se perfila para las relaciones EE UU-Europa despues de la 'guerra al terrorismo' ? Los europeos no pueden permanecer a la espera de las decisiones de Washington. No se trata de ahondar en las diferencias transatlanticas, sino considerar los propios intereses y defenderlos.
  
- Cannistraro, Vincent M.  
Iraq, Terrorism and the New Pax Americana.  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 1-8.
  
- Carothers, Thomas  
Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 1, January - February 2003, p. 84-97.  
During the war on terrorism, George W. Bush has shown a split personality on the promotion of democracy abroad. Bush the realist seeks warm ties with dictators who may help in the fight against al Qaeda, while Bush the neo-Reaganite proclaims that democracy is the only true solution to terror. How the administration resolves this tension will define the future of US foreign policy.
  
- Cha, Victor D.  
Hawk Engagement and Preventive Defense on the Korean Peninsula.  
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 27, no. 1, Summer 2002, p. 40-79.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The author explains why President George W. Bush should continue US engagement with North Korea, contrary to the opinion of hardliners in his administration who contend that engagement is a failed - and potentially dangerous - policy. The author agrees with skeptics in the Bush administration who argue that the Clinton administration's engagement of North Korea did not fundamentally alter the regime's malevolent intentions. Indeed, despite a variety of economic and political incentives from Washington, Seoul, and Tokyo, Pyongyang has neither dismantled its weapons of mass destruction program nor discontinued work on developing ballistic missiles. The author disagrees with the skeptics, however, that North Korea sees engagement as a sign of US weakness. He proposes a policy of 'containment-plus-engagement' that would use a combination of carrots and sticks to 'prevent the crystallization of conditions under which the North Korean regime could calculate aggression as a 'rational' course of action even if a North Korean victory was impossible'.

- Cha, Victor D.  
Korea's Place in the Axis.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 3, May - June 2002, p. 79-92.  
President Bush's condemnation of North Korea as part of the 'axis of evil' caused confusion worldwide, as allies and enemies alike tried to discern his administration's constantly shifting policy toward Pyongyang. But there is method to the madness. Look closely, and a consistent strategy emerges : 'hawk engagement'. Although Bush's team may use tactics seemingly similar to those of Clinton's, the administration wants to engage Kim Jong II for very different reasons : to set him up for a fall.
  
- Clement, Rolf  
Amerikas Ziele im Nahen Osten.  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 4, April 2003, S. 50-51.
  
- Cohen-Tanugi, Laurent  
L' Europe et l' Amerique : entre Brzezinski et Schroder.  
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 24, no. 95, automne 2001, p. 609-612.
  
- Colton, Timothy J.  
MacFaul, Michael  
America's Real Russian Allies.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 6, November - December 2001, p. 46-58.  
September's attacks initiated a new era of world politics. As Washington scrambles to build its antiterror coalition, it may be tempted to overlook the antidemocratic excesses of its partners. But this would be a mistake, especially when it comes to Russia. Fortunately, recent poll data reveal an unlikely American ally: the Russian masses, who have grown fiercely democratic and will resist any slide toward autocracy.
  
- Cooper, Mary H.  
Future of NATO : Is the Alliance Still Viable ?  
CQ RESEARCHER, vol. 13, no. 8, 28 February 2003, p. 177-200.  
President Bush's Iraq policy has exacerbated longstanding tensions between the United States and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), established after World War II to counter the Soviet Union. The administration's go-it-alone stance in foreign policy has prompted France and Germany to lead efforts to thwart Bush's plans to attack Iraq. Some experts say the rift is proof that the alliance has outlived its mandate, while NATO supporters say it remains a vital bulwark against terrorism and other threats to democracy. Meanwhile, some critics are asking whether America's allies should speed up weapons modernization to better collaborate with the Pentagon's technologically sophisticated equipment. Others say NATO is fast evolving into little more than a political forum.
  
- Cordesman, Anthony H.  
The US Military and the Evolving Challenges in the Middle East.  
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 55, no. 3, Summer 2002, p. 72-112.  
<http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm>  
The 11 September 2001 attacks and the Afghan war that followed did not change fundamental American interests in the Middle East or the basic strategic rationale behind the American military presence in the region. They did, however, add new dimensions, underscore the depth of the stakes involved, and reveal vulnerabilities and shortcomings that the US military must address as it comes to grips with the security problems of the Middle East.

- Cornell, Svante  
 America in Eurasia : One Year After.  
 CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 657, October 2002, p. 330-336.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
 American engagement with the countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia needs to be clear and predictable. The United States has the potential to play an important stabilizing role in the region, but as long as uncertainty surrounds its commitment, America's role may instead be destabilizing if other powers try to test its determination to remain engaged.
  
- Courmont, Barthelemy  
 Le Congres et son poids dans la formulation de la politique etrangere americaine.  
 REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 42, ete 2001, p. 87-97.  
 Peu connu et mal compris, le Congres americain est pourtant l'un des acteurs cles des relations internationales. Au cours de ces dernieres annees, force est de constater qu'il a pris de plus en plus de poids dans la formulation de la politique etrangere de Washington. Certains y verront le signe d'une entree dans une ere nouvelle, dominee par le pouvoir legislatif. Pourtant, les prerogatives des parlementaires ont ete clairement definies par les Peres fondateurs a la fin du XVIIIe siecle, et explicitement decrites dans la Constitution. Ainsi, dans un environnement marque par la disparition d'une menace globale, nous sommes en droit de nous demander si cette montee en puissance marque la rupture avec une ere de la presidence ou, au contraire, s'il s'agit d'un juste retour des choses mettant fin a une parenthese de l'histoire des Etats-Unis, pendant laquelle pour des raisons evidentes de securite, des pouvoirs exceptionnels avaient ete accordes au chef de l'executif.
  
- Cumings, Bruce  
 North Korea : The Sequel.  
 CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 663, April 2003, p. 147-151.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
 The current crisis with North Korea has the same solution as the original in 1994 : get North Korea's nuclear program mothballed and its medium- and long-range missiles decommissioned by buying them out at a set price. That price is American recognition of North Korea, written promises not to target the North with nuclear weapons, and indirect compensation in the form of aid and investment.
  
- Daadler, Ivo H.  
 Are the United States and Europe Heading for Divorce ?  
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 77, no. 3, July 2001, p. 553-567.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
 If current headlines are to be believed, the US and Europe are not just drifting apart. The question is, how serious is the rift ? There are major differences between them - including differing regional priorities, diverging issue agendas and fundamentally different approaches to meeting the challenges of the post-Cold War period. These differences suggest that the US-European relationship will continue to drift. Although continued drift has its costs (notably in the missed opportunities for cooperation on a host of international issues), the US and Europe should recognize that this change in the terms and nature of their relationship is made possible by the very success of their fifty years of partnership, which has produced a Europe that today is more peaceful, democratic, and united than at any time in history.

- Daalder, Ivo H.  
Goldgeier, James M.  
Putting Europe First.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 1, Spring 2001, p. 71-91.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
For more than 50 years, the US has pursued a policy toward Europe that aimed at strengthening the democratic core : first in the West and, once the Berlin Wall came down, in the East. The immediate challenge for the Bush administration is to ensure that the process started at the end of the Cold War will be brought to fruition, so that a peaceful, undivided and democratic Europe, stretching from the Atlantic to beyond the Urals, will finally have been created. That implies clear policy choices : Washington should fully support the development of a strong Europe; NATO enlargement must continue; Russia cannot be left to its own devices, but must be encouraged into a cooperative partnership; and some American troops will have to remain in the Balkans for quite some time. In effect, this requires a continuation of the Clinton administration's strategy of putting Europe - and not NATO or Russia - first.
  
- Danchev, Alex  
Greeks and Romans : Anglo-American Relations After 9/11.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 148, no. 2, April 2003, p. 16-19.
  
- Deans, Phil  
Bush's China Policy : Understanding the First Hundred Days.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 3, June 2001, p. 77-81.
  
- Deliagin, Mikhail  
American 'New Pragmatism' as Applied to Russia.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 3, 2001, p. 78-88.  
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
  
- Dodge, Toby  
Iraq and the 'Bush Doctrine' : Storming the Desert.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 4, April 2002, p. 4-6.  
Despite the increase in United States casualties in the renewed campaign against Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, Washington appears determined to tackle the problem of Iraq and its possession of weapons of mass destruction. It is now not a question of whether military action is to be taken against Baghdad in the next stage of its 'war' against terrorism, but when and how.
  
- Doran, Michael Scott  
Palestine, Iraq, and American Strategy.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 1, January - February 2003, p. 19-33.  
Many critics argue that the Bush administration should put off a showdown with Saddam Hussein and focus instead on achieving a breakthrough in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But they fail to understand that although Palestine is central to the symbolism of Arab politics, it is actually marginal to its substance. Now, as in 1991, if a road to a calmer situation in Palestine does in fact exist, it runs through Baghdad.

- Duke, Simon

Haar, Roberta

Groeien de transatlantische partners uit elkaar ?

INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 10, oktober 2001, p. 488-492.

The authors of this article discuss the state of transatlantic relations in the Summer of 2001. The differences over global warming, Missile Defense, arms control and, somewhat less specifically, differing 'values' have painted a picture of strain, or even crisis, in transatlantic relations. This article argues that in order to understand the current debate it is necessary to take a long-term perspective. Many of the differences are not new, their roots can be found beyond the last decade. Secondly, the authors defend the view that the charges of American unilateralism are only partially justified. Creeping unilateralism has been a feature of American foreign policy since the end of the Cold War as successive administrations have struggled to define America's role in the post Cold War international system. During this period the United States have vacillated between firmly multilateral and profoundly unilateral stances. The authors conclude by suggesting that the emerging realities of the post Cold War world will require adjustments and vision on the part of both the European leaders and those in the United States and, as a part of this, a redefinition of transatlantic relations.

- Dunn, David Hastings

Myths, Motivations and 'Misunderestimations' : The Bush Administration and Iraq.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 2, March 2003, p. 279-297.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

This article explores the myths and motivations behind US foreign policy towards Iraq in America's 'war on terrorism'. It argues that the foreign policy of the Bush administration is widely misunderstood and that much of the debate about Iraq policy that has taken place has been conducted at an unhelpful level of analysis. It addresses arguments that the Bush administration is motivated by oil, revenge or hubris as well as the more mainstream arguments that an attack on Iraq would provoke instability through the entire Middle East, as well as encouraging further acts of and support for murderous terrorism; that there is no urgency to act against Iraq as containment and deterrence remain adequate means to manage this threat; and that Iraq should be a lower priority than dealing with North Korea. It does this by analysing the development of American foreign policy thinking on the war on terrorism, what motivates it, and why it rejects the arguments of its critics. The article explains the intellectual process by which the US decided upon this course of action and how Europe's failure to understand this process added to its incomprehension of American policy. It does not argue that European's opposition would have been swept aside had they better understood the Bush administration, the central disagreement about the necessity and prudence of military action versus containment remains, but that such an understanding would have allowed for a better and more focused level of debate than the one which has got us to this point. Nor does it argue that the Bush administration approach is necessarily persuasive or justified, merely that its case is reasoned and explicable in terms of America's foreign policy traditions.

- Dunne, Michael

The United States, the United Nations and Iraq : 'Multilateralism of a Kind'.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 2, March 2003, p. 257-277.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

Much is made of the need for any second war against Iraq (following Desert Storm of 1991) to be sanctioned by a resolution of the UN Security Council, approved necessarily by all five Permanent Members. Yet only two of the five, the USA and the UK, show any enthusiasm for renewed war in the Persian Gulf; and British policy is undeniably following rather than leading American actions on the diplomatic and military fronts. What are the sources of this American policy ? Some critics say oil; the latest arguments of proponents invoke humanitarian concerns; somewhere between the two are those who desire 'regime change' to create the economic and political conditions in which so-called western political, economic and social values can flourish. To understand the present crisis and its likely evolution this article examines American relations with Iraq in particular, the Persian Gulf more generally and the Middle East as a region since the Second World War. A study of these international relations combined with a critical approach to the history of American actions and attitudes towards the United Nations shows that the United States continues to pursue a diplomacy blending, as occasion suits, the traditional binaries of multilateralism and unilateralism - yet in the new world-wide 'war on terrorism'. The question remains whether the chosen means of fighting this war will inevitably lead to a pyrrhic victory for the United States and its ad hoc allies in the looming confrontation with Iraq.

- Encel, Frederic

Les enseignements de la guerre Etats-Unis-Al Quaida (1ere partie).

DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 3, mars 2002, p. 39-48.

Les attentats du 11 septembre 2001 ont donne lieu a une vaste offensive americaine contre le terrorisme islamiste a travers le monde. La premiere phase de cette lutte fut victorieusement menee en Afghanistan, dont le regime barbare taliban abritait Al Quaida. Tandis que le reseau d'Oussama ben Laden entretient des objectifs de nature apocalyptique lies a la soumission de l'Occident judeo-chretien par l'islam, les Etats-Unis d'Amerique entendent conserver leur suprematie d'hyperpuissance. Au service de ces objectifs diametralement opposes, les deux camps menent ainsi, respectivement, une strategie de destabilisation des Etats musulmans allies de Washington, et le maintien au pouvoir de ces memes regimes (Pakistan, Arabie saoudite ...). Comme apres la guerre du Golfe de 1991, on assiste a une redistribution des donnees geostrategiques du Proche a l'Extreme-Orient. Au-dela de l'analyse objective de cette nouvelle guerre, les democraties occidentales - la France en particulier - doivent s'impliquer directement; a travers New York, c'est en effet l'ensemble du monde libre dont les fondements philosophiques ont ete frappes par une nouvelle forme de totalitarisme belliqueux. Le terrorisme islamique, comme tous les autres, doit etre impitoyablement combattu.

- Encel, Frederic

Les enseignements de la guerre Etats-Unis-Al Quaida (2eme partie).

DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 4, avril 2002, p. 102-113.

Les attentats du 11 septembre 2001 ont donne lieu a une vaste offensive americaine contre le terrorisme islamiste a travers le monde. La premiere phase de cette lutte fut victorieusement menee en Afghanistan, dont le regime barbare taliban abritait Al Quaida. Tandis que le reseau d'Oussama ben Laden entretient des objectifs de nature apocalyptique lies a la soumission de l'Occident judeo-chretien par l'islam, les Etats-Unis d'Amerique entendent conserver leur suprematie d'hyperpuissance. Au service de ces objectifs diametralement opposes, les deux camps menent ainsi, respectivement, une strategie de destabilisation des Etats musulmans allies de Washington, et le maintien au pouvoir de ces memes regimes (Pakistan, Arabie saoudite ...). Comme apres la guerre du Golfe de 1991, on assiste a une redistribution des donnees geostrategiques du

Proche a l'Extreme-Orient. Au-dela de l'analyse objective de cette nouvelle guerre, les democraties occidentales - la France en particulier - doivent s'impliquer directement; a travers New York, c'est en effet l'ensemble du monde libre dont les fondements philosophiques ont ete frappes par une nouvelle forme de totalitarisme belliqueux. Le terrorisme islamique, comme tous les autres, doit etre impitoyablement combattu.

- Encel, Frederic  
Guez, Olivier

Le couple Washington-Moscou et la crise irakienne.

POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 99, printemps 2003, p. 171-183.

Despite reservations from within political and military ranks, right from the start of his rule Vladimir Putin has decided that Russia must side with the rich, 'civilized' countries of the West. His immediate and unambiguous reaction to September 11 has enabled him to overcome almost all the obstacles on his path. And yet Russia has not been able to support US policy on 'rogue states', due to its numerous economic and commercial interests in Iraq. In aligning itself with Washington, Russia has risked being seen as a mid-ranking power. But once the Iraq crisis is over, the fight against terrorism should be the cornerstone of the new US-Russian partnership for years to come. This will, no doubt, be an unfortunate development for the Chechens ...

- Erikson, Daniel P.

The New Cuba Divide.

NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 67, Spring 2002, p. 65-71.

An unexpected alliance of farmers, northern liberals and western conservatives is emerging to challenge the US political status quo on Cuba.

- Everts, Steven

Mission Impossible ? Managing the Growing Divide between Europe and the US.

INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 3, July - September 2002, p. 31-41.

The author points out that in the post-Cold War order, transatlantic disagreements regard, in the first instance, the role of international regimes and the legal instruments on which they are based. While the EU gives high priority to the establishment of robust international normative systems and enforcement mechanisms, Washington has become increasingly reluctant to accept constraints on its freedom of action. The author also notes that differences stem not only from the shifting nature of US foreign policy but also from the EU's structural weaknesses. A more effective European performance would help to fill the gaps left by US strategy. Moreover, a stronger EU would give Europeans more influence in Washington and help address various global problems that have fallen off the transatlantic agenda. The author suggests some concrete steps the EU should take to strengthen its capabilities and give greater coherence to its various external actions.

- Everts, Steven

A Question of Norms : Transatlantic Divergences in Foreign Policy.

INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 2, April - June 2001, p. 39-50.

The author starts out from an assessment of the changing US foreign policy priorities under President Bush to look into the main sources of friction - old and new - between Americans and Europeans. He emphasises, in particular, the disruptive potential of the widening normative gap concerning the promotion of and support for multilateral cooperation frameworks and global regimes that separates the two sides of the Atlantic. The conclusions offer a set of policy suggestions for greater transatlantic convergence on the major problems of global governance.

- Everts, Steven  
De regering-Bush : wat betekent het voor Europa ?  
VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 30, nr. 1, 2001, p. 5-9.
  
- Eyal, Jonathan  
Battle of the Atlantic.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 3, March 2003, p. 6-8.  
Regardless of how the Iraq episode ultimately concludes, one thing is certain : both Europe and the United States will try to paper over their bitter dispute. The US needs Europe, especially in its quest to maintain a new Middle East stability, while Europeans have little to gain from prolonging the spat. France has accomplished what it always wanted - raising serious questions about the very survival of NATO. And the Germans, who have achieved a similar result by accident rather than design, will do their best to restore their link with Washington.
  
- Fairbanks, Charles  
Being There.  
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 68, Summer 2002, p. 39-53.  
America has a unique opportunity to consolidate its position in an area of vital strategic importance. Despite a few tricky problems, we dare not miss it.
  
- Fisk, Daniel W.  
Cuba : The End of an Era.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 93-107.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The embargo, at least as we have known it, is going to end regardless of Castro or anything he does. But what's next ? How will the new congressional and public consensus on Cuba propel US policy, and who should take the lead ?
  
- Foch, Rene  
Comment vivre avec les Etats-Unis ?  
COMMENTAIRE, no. 93, printemps 2001, p. 21-25.
  
- Fontaine, Andre  
La longue histoire des malentendus transatlantiques.  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 99, printemps 2003, p. 113-127.  
It's no exaggeration to say that the Iraq crisis has severely strained the Atlantic Alliance. But this is by no means the first crisis NATO has faced in its long history. Nor is it the first time that France and the United States have clashed. The Nassau accords of 1962, the Yom Kippur war of 1973 and the French withdrawal from NATO's integrated military structure in 1966 were all occasions for disagreement and dispute between the two countries. And yet never over the past 20 years has the confrontation been so serious. It is certainly true that with the collapse of communism, NATO lost a part of its raison d'etre. Nonetheless, it will have to somehow pick up the pieces if it wishes to maintain any sort of credibility among its member states. Reconstruction of Iraq or renewed peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians could provide the occasion for this.

- Friedberg, Aaron L.  
11 September and the Future of Sino-American Relations.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 33-49.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
While there is certainly reason to hope that the events of 11 September will lead to an improvement in Sino-American relations, there are at least three substantial reasons to doubt that, in the end, relations will really improve. On closer inspection, the war on terrorism provides at best a very limited basis for US-PRC cooperation. Moreover, despite some superficial improvements in the diplomatic climate, none of the persistent, underlying sources of contention between the two powers has been significantly altered or alleviated by the current crisis. Finally, and most importantly, in ways that could not initially have been foreseen, the events of recent months may actually end up intensifying the ongoing Sino-American strategic rivalry. The forces impelling the United States and the PRC toward continuing suspicion and competition are powerful and deeply rooted in their very different domestic political regimes and in their positions in the international system. These competitive tendencies will not be easily offset or overcome, even by acts that all Americans and most Chinese acknowledge as crimes against humanity.
  
- Ganguly, Sumit  
India and Pakistan in the Shadow of Afghanistan.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 654, April 2002, p. 147-152.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
Two questions about the long-term future of American South Asia policy linger. Will the United States avoid the error of abandoning Afghanistan after its goal of ridding the region of Al Qaeda is met ? And will it remain engaged sufficiently with Pakistan to help restructure that country's domestic institutions and its external priorities ?
  
- Ganguly, Sumit  
Putting South Asia Back Together Again.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 650, December 2001, p. 410-414.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
  
- Ganguly, Sumit  
The Start of a Beautiful Friendship ? The United States and India.  
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 20, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 25-30.
  
- Garton Ash, Timothy  
L'antieuropeanisme en Amerique.  
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 26, no. 101, printemps 2003, p. 17-24.
  
- Garver, John W.  
Sino-American Relations in 2001 : The Difficult Accommodation of Two Great Powers.  
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 57, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 283-310.  
The events of 2001 provide the basis for a fascinating case study of the dynamics of contemporary Sino-American relations. On the one hand, deep conflicts of interest and domestic politics generated sharp conflict and pushed the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the United States apart. On the other hand, countervailing imperatives that required cooperation compelled leaders of both countries to keep conflict within manageable limits and sustain a cooperative relationship.

- Gause, F. Gregory  
Be Careful What You Wish For : The Future of US-Saudi Relations.  
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 19, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 37-50.
  
- Gedmin, Jeffrey  
Les Etats-Unis et l' Europe a la croisee des chemins.  
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 42, ete 2001, p. 67-72.  
Au sortir de la guerre froide, de nombreuses interrogations se sont fait jour dans le domaine des relations transatlantiques. Apres avoir beneficie de la protection des Etats-Unis durant presque cinquante ans, les sujets de divergence se sont multiplies dans de nombreux secteurs (economique, commercial, militaire). Ainsi, une decennie apres la chute du mur de Berlin, qu'en est-il de cette relation et vers quoi se dirige-t-elle ? Si les dix dernieres annees ont ete celles de la reorientation des relations Europe-Etats-Unis, il se pourrait bien que la prochaine decade soit celle d'une renegotiation des rapports de force et des responsabilites entre ces deux acteurs. A l'heure actuelle, bien des questions demeurent sans reponse. Les Europeens s'orientent-ils vers davantage d'independance ? La nouvelle administration americaine sera-t-elle gagnee par des poussees isolationistes ?
  
- George, Alan  
Feeling Vulnerable.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 6, June 2003, p. 9-10.  
The demise of Saddam Hussein has propelled Syria into a role it neither expected nor wanted. It is now the last bastion of secular Arab nationalism in the region and as such a thorn in the west's side. How far it will go in resisting the United States's dominating impulses in the Middle East will be a key question in coming months.
  
- Geremek, Bronislaw  
Nous, vous et eux.  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 99, printemps 2003, p. 271-280.  
The war in Iraq has wrought a profound schism within the West. Donald Rumsfeld has chastised 'old Europe' and praised the attitude of the former Soviet bloc countries which have come out in clear support of the United States - which in turn earned a severe reproach from Jacques Chirac. While the expansion of the European Union towards the east seems threatened by rising tensions, the Pole Bronislaw Geremek uses his indisputable moral authority to call on 'us' (Eastern Europe), 'you' (Western Europe) and 'them' (the United States) to keep our cool. This former adviser to Lech Walesa and minister of foreign affairs points the way forward while disposing of a number of idees recues. If Eastern Europe turns towards the United States, Europe must no see this as an act of disloyalty but, on the contrary, as a means of uniting the West around the values of liberty and democracy.
  
- Gershman, John  
Is Southeast Asia the Second Front ?  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 4, July - August 2002, p. 60-74.  
With US troops on the ground in the Philippines and closer military ties developing to other countries in the region, Washington is taking the war on terror to Southeast Asia. But a military approach to the region's problems would be a deadly mistake : it could weaken local democracies and turn neutral forces into new enemies.

- Gnesotto, Nicole  
Demilitarization in Europe, Depoliticization in the US.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 3, 2002, p. 25-28.  
The US now spends \$1 billion a day on defense, 2-1/2 times EU members' combined military outlays. Europe should budget much more for defense, for its own good reasons. Tending the European garden and leaving world policing to the only superpower is no option. But Europe should persuade the US that world security requires economic development too.
  
- Gnesotto, Nicole  
La longue marche vers le partenariat.  
COMMENTAIRE, no. 94, ete 2001, p. 303-309.
  
- Gnesotto, Nicole  
Reacting to America.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 4, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 99-106.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
One year after 11 September, two things are certain : America's relations with the rest of the world are undergoing fundamental changes; and America is so powerful that those changes are affecting the international system much more drastically than the terrorist attacks themselves. The Europeans in particular have reacted as much to American reactions to terrorism as they have to the terrorist threat itself. This puts the European Union in a difficult position; it must proceed with the daunting project of enlargement, based on the logic of peacetime prosperity and integration, in a new international context of crisis and renewed attention to national sovereignty. A conservative attachment to an unchanged NATO is not the answer, for NATO itself must adapt to a United States that is becoming more unilateralist, more militarist and less interested in its European alliance.
  
- Godement, Francois  
Après le 11 septembre : la riposte et sa cible.  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 4, octobre - decembre 2001, p. 801-809.  
En decidant une action militaire en Afghanistan en replique aux attentats du 11 septembre, les Etats-Unis ont place l'Asie centrale au coeur du conflit ouvert par les attaques terroristes sur New York et Washington. Cette action minimale comporte evidemment des risques: risque d'enfermement dans le piege afghan; risque de destabilisation du Pakistan, qui sert a la fois de point d'appui discret a l'intervention americaine et de base arriere taliban; risque d'echec, enfin, a neutraliser Ben Laden, son organisation et ses affides. Or les Etats-Unis ne peuvent se permettre d'echouer, car c'est leur propre capacite de dissuader une agression qui est aujourd'hui mise a l'epreuve. Washington va donc se trouver devant des choix importants, auxquels les Europeens devront s'associer, et dont dependra dans une large mesure les equilibres regionaux au Moyen-Orient, en Asie centrale et en Asie du Sud.
  
- Goldgeier, James  
MacFaul, Michael  
George W. Bush and Russia.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 657, October 2002, p. 313-324.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
Why the major reversal in Bush's thinking on Russia ? Most have attributed this amazing transformation to September 11... But September 11 is only part of the story.

- Goldstein, Steven M.  
Schraver, Randall  
An Uncertain Relationship : The US, Taiwan and the Taiwan Relations Act.  
CHINA QUARTERLY, no. 165, March 2001, p. 147-172.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>
  
- Gordon, Philip H.  
Bridging the Atlantic Divide.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 1, January - February 2003, p. 70-83.  
During the war on terrorism, George W. Bush has shown a split personality on the promotion of democracy abroad. Bush the realist seeks warm ties with dictators who may help in the fight against al Qaeda, while Bush the neo-Reaganite proclaims that democracy is the only true solution to terror. How the administration resolves this tension will define the future of US foreign policy.
  
- Gordon, Philip H.  
Bush's Middle East Vision.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 45, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 155-166.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
At the heart of the Bush administration's approach to the Middle East is the determination to use America's friends in the region, opposing its enemies and seeking to promote democracy and freedom. This means using force to overthrow the dictatorship in Iraq, promoting gradual political reform among the moderate Arab regimes and standing by Israel until the Palestinians understand that they will get nowhere with violence. Whether or not one thinks that it makes any sense - and there are plenty of reasons to believe that Bush's assumptions are misguided and that the approach will fail - it is important to understand and take seriously the new thinking in Washington.
  
- Gordon, Philip  
O'Hanlon, Michael  
Les défis de l' après-Saddam.  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 96, etc 2002, p. 89-100.  
Over the past few months, a possible U.S military intervention in Iraq to overthrow Saddam has taken shape. In Washington, the question is no longer whether the U.S should act, but when and how. Before committing itself, however, the United States must realize that this exercise will be anything but easy. Apart from the logistical and strategic problems, the Americans will have to prepare the diplomatic terrain very carefully. If the U.S wishes to count on the goodwill of Arab countries, it will have to ensure that the intervention will not cause a public outcry that would threaten the stability of these nations. To do this, it will have to prove its goodwill to the Arab world by bringing peace between Israel and the Palestinians. The second priority is to convince its European allies and countries neighbouring Iraq that military action is necessary. Once Saddam is out of the equation, the toughest job is still to come : ensure that Iraq is never again allowed to destabilize the Middle East.
  
- Green, Jerrold D.  
La politique americaine et le conflit israelo-palestinien.  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 3, juillet - septembre 2002, p. 617-628.  
Les efforts de Bill Clinton pour trouver une solution au conflit israelo-palestinien se soldent finalement par l'echec de la reunion de Camp David, en juillet 2000, Israeliens et Palestiniens n'arrivant pas a s'entendre, notamment sur Jerusalem. L'Intifada Al-Aqsa, qui suit la visite d'Ariel Sharon sur les lieux saints musulmans et juifs (esplanade des Mosques / mont du Temple), et la repression qui s'ensuit suscitent de nombreux appels a l'engagement americain de la part de la communaute internationale. Mais George W. Bush, echaude par les deboires de ses

predecesseurs, reste prudent a l'egard du conflit. Et il faut attendre le 11 septembre pour que l'Administration americaine reaffirme sa presence dans la region. Depuis lors, la politique americaine reste difficile a suivre. Entre le soutien a l'option repressive de Sharon, qui domine malgre tout la periode, et l'appui aux regimes arabes 'moderes', dont Bush a besoin pour diverses raisons, les Etats-Unis semblent quelque peu naviguer a vue. Et seule la volonte des Israelienis et des Palestiniens de trouver une issue au conflit permettra a la region de sortir de l'impasse.

- Haass, Richard

El vinculo transatlantico en un nuevo entorno de seguridad.

POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 89, septiembre - octubre 2002, p. 39-47.

Estados Unidos y Europa viven una fase de ajuste en sus relaciones. El final de la guerra fria y la emergencia de nuevas prioridades exteriores requieren una revision del vinculo transatlantico. En la ultima decada no solo se han acumulado numerosas diferencias, sino que para EE UU los europeos han dejado de ser relevantes en esta nueva era de las relaciones internacionales.

- Halloran, Richard

Taiwan.

PARAMETERS, vol. 33, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 22-34.

<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters>

The article describes why the confrontation across the Taiwan Strait holds the greatest potential for war between the United States and China. The author presents subtle evidence to support his contention that the dispute over Taiwan is as dynamic and volatile as ever. He makes a convincing case for why China sees bringing Taiwan into the PRC as a crucial step in maintaining its influence over East Asia and in driving the United States from the Western Pacific.

- Ham, Peter Van

Veiligheid en cultuur, of waarom de NAVO teloorgaat.

INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 10, oktober 2001, p. 480-487.

In this article, the author argues that Europe and the United States are drifting apart, not only because the geostrategic glue of the Cold War has lost its grip, but also because the so-called transatlantic 'community of values' is wearing thin. Europe and the United States have different ideas of both domestic and global order and justice. Taking concepts such as culture and values as some of NATO's new pillars (viz. the Kosovo intervention), therefore comes at a serious risk. Now that the European Union is developing its own autonomous defence structures, NATO's raison d'etre will disappear. Without a common threat and with diverging notions of what 'the West' should stand for, it is clear that NATO won't last.

- Hawthorne, Amy

Can the United States Promote Democracy in the Middle East ?

CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 660, January 2003, p. 21-26.

<http://www.currenthistory.com>

In the aftermath of September 11, the United States has no alternative other than to begin to shift its role in the Arab world from an enabler of authoritarian rule to a supporter of gradual, but genuine, democratic change.

- Hill, Fiona  
 Une strategie incertaine : la politique des Etats-Unis dans le Caucase et en Asie centrale depuis 1991.  
 POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 1, janvier - mars 2001, p. 95-108.  
 Le Caucase et l'Asie centrale ne font pas partie traditionnellement des interets vitaux des Etats-Unis. Mais depuis dix ans, les nouvelles realites economiques et geopolitiques dans la region ont quelque peu modifie la donne : l'eclatement de l'ex-URSS, l'emergence d'une quinzaine d'etats independants et la decouverte de gisements considerables de petrole en mer Caspienne ont pousse l'Administration Bush et surtout Clinton a mettre en oeuvre une strategie un tant soit peu elaboree. Cette strategie, d'abord fondee sur les interets des compagnies petrolieres americaines, a decoule aussi de l'attitude des Etats-Unis vis-a-vis de l'Iran et de leur obsession de confiner l'arsenal nucleaire sovietique dans les frontieres de la Russie. Aujourd'hui l'experience acquise par Washington dans cette region complexe pourrait permettre a la nouvelle Administration americaine de deployer une politique plus equilibree, moins dependante du lobby petrolier, et davantage tournee vers le developpement economique regional.
  
- Hoffman, David  
 Beyond Public Diplomacy.  
 FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 2, March - April 2002, p. 83-95.  
 The United States has put legions of spokespersons on the airwaves at home and abroad in a campaign to 'win the hearts and minds' of the Muslim world. So far, however, the world's superpower is losing the propaganda war to a terrorist in hiding. This is not surprising, given the virulent anti-Western messages that repressive Middle Eastern regimes spread through state-run media. Washington should focus instead on bringing freedom of the press to those countries where oppression breeds terrorism.
  
- Hollis, Rosemary  
 Getting Out of the Iraq Trap.  
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 1, January 2003, p. 23-35.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
 The Iraq crisis has been variously defined as a problem of local leadership, regional security, culture clash, arms control, neo-imperialism, transatlantic relations and international legitimacy. The competing definitions reflect the worldviews of different actors with a stake in the outcome of the crisis. Each perspective has validity for its proponent and none of them can be expected to triumph to the exclusion of the others. Consequently, it is argued here, whatever the goals of UN and/or military intervention in Iraq, at the receiving end, the experience will be at odds with what is meant or sought by such intervention. A way to understand the problem and thence to address it is ventured which combines local, regional and international perspectives and calls for a multitiered, multilateral approach to rethinking Iraq and the region. The intention is to take on 'the hawks' who claim that the United States can deliver democracy to client states, challenge their logic and propose an alternative vision that would require all parties, international and local, to take shared responsibility not only for Iraq but for Palestine too.
  
- Hollis, Rosemary  
 Iraq : Regime Change, Regional Change.  
 WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 10, October 2002, p. 4-6.  
 'Despite Iraq's sudden invitation to renew UN weapons inspections, American hardliners will keep up the pressure for war. Regime change might be achieved under cover of disarming Baghdad. But without a serious debate on the objective of force, there will be no opportunity to consider what could go wrong or how to handle the competing interests.'

- Hollis, Rosemary  
No Going Back.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 6, June 2003, p. 4-6.

The United States does have a counter-terrorism strategy, and regime change in Iraq was integral to it. So the problem is not, as US Senator Bob Graham claimed in May, that Washington has been deflected from fighting terrorism by its Iraq adventure. The problem is that the logic of the US strategy is based on an ahistorical and selective reading of the Middle East. Worst still, the Americans have been found wanting in the execution of their own game plan.

- Hollis, Rosemary  
Opening Options.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 3, March 2003, p. 9-11.  
Among the various arguments for and against war on Iraq, four require reconciliation if the UN and international legitimacy are to be preserved and a better future delivered for Iraqis. These arguments are represented by the French and British governments and two schools of thought within the US administration : the traditional 'realists' including Secretary of State Colin Powell, and the ideologues, or neo-conservatives, championed by Richard Pearle, head of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board.

- Howle, Roy C.  
An Evitable War : Engaged Containment and the US-China Balance.  
PARAMETERS, vol. 31, no. 3, Autumn 2001, p. 92-104.  
<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/parameters>  
The author looks at the specific aspects of America's relationship with China to determine where America should focus their strategic efforts. The author highlights the problems, centering on the United States' inability to define and communicate their vital interests in the rapidly changing strategic environment. The author concludes that the only way the United States can 'win' in this relationship is to maintain a military and political deterrent capable of influencing China's policies in the region.

- Hubel, Helmut  
Kaim, Markus  
Wenig neue Akzente : die zuruckhaltende Nahost-Politik von Bush Jr.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 8, August 2001, S. 39-46.  
Die jetzige amerikanische Regierung pflegt in der Nahost-Frage einen eher zuruckhaltenden Stil. Neben dem Nahost-Konflikt verfolgt sie Themen wie Energieversorgung, Verbreitung von Massenvernichtungswaffen und internationaler Terrorismus in der Region mit grosser Besorgnis.

- Indyk, Martin  
Back to the Bazaar.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 1, January - February 2002, p. 75-88.  
The United States has an opportunity to set new terms for its alliances in the Middle East. The bargain struck with Egypt and Saudi Arabia after the Gulf War seemed successful for a decade, but now the United States is facing the consequences : Washington backed Cairo's and Riyadh's authoritarian regimes, and they begat al Qaeda. The Bush administration should heed the lesson.

- Inozemtsev, V.  
The U.S., EU and Russia in the 21st Century.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 48, no. 6, 2002, p. 126-138.  
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>

- Isherwood, Michael W.  
 US Strategic Options for Iraq : Easier Said than Done.  
 WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 145-159.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
 A US Air Force lieutenant colonel examines the tools and means required to fulfill the objectives of three options for US policy toward Iraq. The conclusion ? The US lacks the means to confront Iraq more forcibly and simultaneously battle terrorism worldwide.
  
- Iurin, A.  
 Russia and US : Partners, No Matter What.  
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 49, no. 2, 2003, p. 40-46.  
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
  
- Janes, Jason  
 Bush und die Europaer : ein schwieriges Kennenlernen.  
 INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 6, Juni 2001, S. 10-18.  
 Die ersten hundert Tage der Amtszeit des neuen amerikanischen Präsidenten, George W. Bush, haben die Vorbehalte der Europaer gegen ihn eher noch verstärkt. Doch die Amerikaner neigen zu einem 'Together, where we can, alone, when we must'. Dies zeigt sich bei Fragen wie der geplanten Raketenabwehr, dem Kyoto-Protokoll und der ESVP. Deshalb müssen die Verantwortlichen auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks daran arbeiten, für aller tragbare Kompromisse zu finden.
  
- Jego, Marie  
 La Georgie entre Washington et le chaos.  
 POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 95, printemps 2002, p. 339-353.  
 For the first time in 82 years, Georgia is preparing to welcome Western troops on its soil. The move represents a historical turning point for this fragile Caucasian republic of just 4.4 million inhabitants, which has looked to the West since independence in 1991 in a bid to escape from Moscow's stranglehold. The country is located on the route of the future Baku-Ceyhan oil pipeline, valued by Washington as a Russia/Iran bypass option. Georgia's economy has been devastated by political instability, clan infighting, and siphoning-off of public funds. The central government controls barely one-third of the country, while porous borders allow smuggling and drug trafficking to flourish. Partnership with the US undoubtedly represents the light at the end of the seemingly endless tunnel of post-Soviet nationhood. However, Moscow and Tblisi also need to get over their antagonism and finally build new relations around economic development goals.
  
- Joffe, Josef  
 Who's Afraid of Mr. Big ?  
 NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 64, Summer 2001, p. 43, 10 p.  
 The article discusses the efforts of Europe to balance the power of the United States. It gives details on the psychological balancing of European governments against the US; efforts of European governments to balance the US political and economic power; and the power gap between US and Europe.
  
- Kagan, Robert  
 Power and Weakness.  
 POLICY REVIEW, no. 113, June - July 2002, 19 p., accessed 04/09/02.  
<http://www.policyreview.org/JUN02/kagan> print.html  
 Europe, because of its unique historical experience of the past half-century - culminating in the past decade with the creation of the European Union - has developed a set of ideals and principles regarding the utility and morality of power different from the ideals and principles of Americans, who have not shared that experience. If the strategic chasm between the United States and Europe appears greater than

ever today, and grows still wider at a worrying pace, it is because these material and ideological differences reinforce one another. The divisive trend they together produce may be impossible to reverse.

- Kagan, Robert  
Puissance et faiblesse.  
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 25, no. 99, automne 2002, p. 517-535.  
Dans cet essai, l'auteur explique pourquoi, a ses yeux, la vision politique des Europeens decoule de leur faiblesse, alors que celle des Americains decoule de leur puissance et de leurs responsabilites mondiales.
  
- Kang, C. S. Eliot  
North Korea and the US Grand Security Strategy.  
COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 20, no. 1, January - March 2001, p. 25-43.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Despite North Korea's atrocious human rights record and the transparent effort to blackmail the US and its allies with its nuclear and long-range ballistic missile capabilities, Washington has treated Pyongyang with a remarkable degree of forbearance. In fact, rather than imposing on North Korea even a modest level of economic sanctions, let alone responding militarily to provocations, the US has promoted economic and diplomatic engagement with Pyongyang. This essay analyzes how the US has handled North Korea in the post-Cold War security environment and important structural factors that constrain Washington's policy toward Pyongyang despite the primacy of American power in the international system.
  
- Katz, Mark N.  
What Do We Do If the Saudi Monarchy Falls ?  
COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 22, no. 1, 2003, p. 45-58.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Although by no means a certainty, the growing internal problems inside the Kingdom as well as the increased strains in Saudi-American relations since September 11 both indicate that the downfall of the monarchy may be more likely now than in the past. How could America respond to such an eventuality ? The impact of this 'worst case' scenario would be so enormous that some thought clearly needs to be given to what US foreign policy options might be even if the probability of its occurrence is seen as low. If the probability of this scenario is seen as high, then this task is even more urgent. This paper argues that while responding to the downfall of the Saudi monarchy will not be easy, there are some strategies that the United States can adopt to contain the threat that it will pose.
  
- Kemp, Geoffrey  
Iran : Can the US Do a Deal ?  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 109-124.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
A rapprochement is in the long-term interests of Washington and Tehran, but reestablishing diplomatic relations in the coming months is unthinkable, at least in Iran. The new US administration is also unlikely to change its policy until two conditions are met.
  
- Kemp, Geoffrey  
U.S. Relations in the Greater Middle East.  
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 55, no. 3, Summer 2002, p. 61-71.  
<http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm>  
The terrorist attacks on New York and the Pentagon have produced dramatic changes in American relationships with many of the nations of the 'Greater Middle East', often for the better. However, threats and uncertainties have been intensified, and the US need for regional support as it pursues its war against terrorism has become more compelling than

ever.

- Kennedy, Andrew  
Nuclear Diplomacy in the Axis of Evil : The Challenge of North Korea.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 148, no. 3, June 2003, p. 66-70.
  
- Kennedy, Craig  
Bouton, Marshall M.  
The Real Trans-Atlantic Gap.  
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 133, November - December 2002, p. 66-74.  
A trans-Atlantic survey of public opinion reveals that Americans and Europeans see eye to eye on more issues than one would expect from reading the New York Times or Le Monde. But it also highlights dangerous divisions on key issues like defense spending and the Middle East.
  
- Khalifa-zadeh, Makhir  
Security Problems in Asia and Certain Aspects of US Foreign Policy.  
CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 4, 2002, p. 45-49.
  
- Khokhar, Camilla  
Wiberg-Jorgensen, Paul  
United States' Strategic Possibilities in the South Caucasus.  
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 10, no. 3, Autumn 2001, p. 76-83.  
South Caucasus is an area where the United States can obtain a wide number of strategic advantages if a coherent policy towards South Caucasus and the Caucasian Region is developed. This article seeks to throw light on some of the most important objectives the United States can obtain in the region, and explain how the policy of multiple outlets is a cornerstone in American policy for South Caucasus. Furthermore the authors look at the problems of the current policy, especially those concerning the Baku-Ceyhan pipeline.
  
- Kim, Seung-Hwan  
Anti-Americanism in Korea.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 1, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 109-122.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Anti-Americanism is growing at a startling rate in South Korea. Unless Washington and Seoul work together to counter this trend, popular Korean attitudes could jeopardize the future of the US-Korean alliance.
  
- Kincade, William H.  
Troubled Triangle : Russia, Ukraine and the United States.  
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 24, no. 1, March 2001, p. 104-142.  
A potentially productive triangular arrangement among Russia, Ukraine, and the US emerged in 1994 from efforts to constrain nuclear weapons diffusion. By 2001, this promising initiative was nearly moribund, owing to the inability or unwillingness of the parties to fulfill the commitments of subsequent agreements. The domestic and external causes of this failure are many and clear. Yet the advantages to each of reengaging in a trilateral relationship are also plain. This means fulfilling their unfinished agenda by learning from past mistakes, adopting realistic premises and goals, and pursuing 'bottom up' as well as 'top down' strategies.

- Klare, Michael T.  
For Oil and Empire ? Rethinking War with Iraq.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 662, March 2003, p. 129-135.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
The author examines the motives behind America's decision to make Iraq a central objective in the war on terrorism. If concerns about weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and the export of democracy do not explain the administration's determination to oust Saddam Hussein, what does ? The answer can be found in the pursuit of oil and the preservation of America's status as the paramount world power.
  
- Klose, Hans-Ulrich  
Die Europaer auf der Suche nach einem eigenen Weg : Interessenkollision mit den USA ?  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 50. Jg., Nr. 9, September 2001, S. 7-11.  
The subject-matter comprises three questions : what role do we want Europe to play ? How is the future role of the USA to be rated ? How are the relations between Europe and the USA going to develop ? A fourth question, namely that of the future role of Germany, should be added here. In a political union which doesn't know hegemony but is designed for distribution of power, each of the countries can materialize its own specific interests only conjointly with its partners, but not against them. Germans are therefore well advised to stick to the cooperative style of our foreign and EU policy and to counteract the current trend of a reciprocally blocking policy of interests by setting a good example. This is all the more important as the EU is presently faced with particular challenges.
  
- Kornegay, Francis  
Landsberg, Chris  
MacDonald, Steve  
Participate in the African Renaissance.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 105-112.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
A global demographic shift toward an Afro-Asian world is underway. Ideally, the United States would broaden its contacts beyond bilateral relations to subregional organizations and take Africa seriously; otherwise, a south-south hemispheric alignment may emerge.
  
- Kortunov, S.  
A Chance to Open a New Page.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 48, no. 3, 2002, p. 23-39.  
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
  
- Kulagin, Vladimir  
Russia and the United States : A New Relationship.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 6, 2001, p. 1-9.  
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
  
- Kurth, James  
The Next NATO : Building an American Commonwealth of Nations.  
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 65, Fall 2001, p. 5, 12 p.  
The US refusal to consider NATO membership for Russia is not based upon a Russian military threat to NATO's prospective new members. In the minds of the US foreign policy leadership, NATO enlargement is not really about the expansion of a military alliance but about something else. Its real purpose is to consolidate Europe into a coherent and integral part of the American vision and version of world order; it is to make of Europe a solid base and loyal partner in the worldwide struggle now developing over the grand American project of globalization. But because NATO nevertheless remains a military alliance, its enlargement will have serious military and strategic consequences.

- Kwa, Chong Guan  
Tan, See Seng  
The Keystone of World Order.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 95-103.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Traditional US allies, including Singapore, have long perceived the United States as the region's great stabilizer and honest broker. As the keystone of regional and world order, however, Washington must have an appreciation for moderation and restraint.
  
- Lambert, Richard  
Misunderstanding Each Other.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 2, March - April 2003, p. 62-74.  
Anti-americanism has long been a feature of the European news media, but recently the hostility has been matched on the other side of the Atlantic. Skewed media representation has widened the transatlantic rift. It is now up to the Europeans to project a better image of themselves and thereby help to restore the balance.
  
- Laney, James T.  
Shaplen, Jason T.  
How to Deal with North Korea.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 2, March - April 2003, p. 16-30.  
Pyongyang's belligerent behavior should not obscure other dramatic, conciliatory steps North Korea has taken in recent years - steps suggesting that, even now, a solution lies within reach. The trick is to craft a plan that does not reward the North for its misdeeds. In such a plan, all major outside powers should guarantee the security of the entire Korean Peninsula first. This will remove Pyongyang's excuse for nuclear proliferation - and break the deadlock on the world's last Cold War frontier.
  
- Langenheim, William S.  
Give Peace a Chance : First, Try Coercive Diplomacy.  
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 55, no. 4, Autumn 2002, p. 49-71.  
<http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm>  
'Coercive diplomacy' - a range of nonmilitary options for increasing the pressure on a recalcitrant state, with credible force in the wings - is at this juncture a better option for the United States than a focus on unilateral intervention to topple the Iraqi regime. It may achieve the same ends, and even if it does not, the substantial attempt should elicit allied and regional support for whatever steps then become necessary.
  
- Larrabee, F. Stephen  
US Middle East Policy after 9/11 : Implications for Transatlantic Relations.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 3, July - September 2002, p. 43-56.  
The article discusses the impact that the events of 11 September has had on US policy in the Middle East, changing its attitude towards a number of important areas : the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkey. The author critically notes that the war on terrorism has become the organising principle of US foreign policy and, in particular, that the US administration tends to see the various problems of the Middle East through the prism of terrorism, a view that obscures their deeper roots. This attitude, the author underlines, represents a relevant source of divergence from the Europeans who instead consider the Palestinian issue a high priority. He also gives a critical evaluation of the US declared objective of regime change in Iraq, emphasizing the formidable difficulties of any plan aimed at its democratic reconstruction after a major conflict. However, the author argues that, as a result of the recent evolution of the Middle East area, its problems are likely to intrude on the NATO agenda and that greater

efforts will be required to reach a common transatlantic stance. Hence he concludes with a set of suggestions on how to achieve this goal, notably by reinforcing the NATO's Mediterranean Initiative which can, in his view, provide the basis for a comprehensive Western policy of security cooperation in the area.

- Larres, Klaus

Mutual Incomprehension : US-German Value Gaps beyond Iraq.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 2, Spring 2003, p. 23-42.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>

Differences over Iraq policy have revealed deep US-German value gaps over multilateralism, nationalism, and the role of force in international relations. Cooperation in four areas of mutual importance can help compensate for them.

- Laurenti, Jeffrey

Iraqi Threats : What Common Cause Across the Atlantic ?  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 3, July - September 2002, p. 57-67.

The case of Iraq is analysed against the background of European criticism of the US doctrine of preventive war. The author notes that there is a fundamental divergence in this regard since conflict prevention is still thought of in Europe in terms of preventive diplomacy rather than preventive military action. The author also examines the three major schools of thought in Washington concerning the action to be taken towards Baghdad and the policy options that the Europeans should consider in responding to US insistence on the need for military action. He underlines that the military option against Iraq emerged in the US as a result of the international community's waning determination to compel Iraq to disarm and the prospect that fraying UN sanctions would soon collapse altogether. This implies that if Europe insists on multilateralism it must then ensure that this approach is effective rather than just lamenting US unilateralism. European cohesiveness and unity of purpose is essential, according to Laurenti, for achieving a commonly shared Western approach towards an issue that is of central strategic importance.

- Lawson, Michael

The Problems that Drive Russia : American Perspectives on Major Issues  
Confronting U.S.-Russian Foreign Policy.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 5, October 2001, p. 32-38.

- Legvold, Robert

All the Way.  
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 70, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 21-31.  
Vladimir Putin's vision of Russia's place in the new world order offers a prospect of genuine Russian-American alliance. George W. Bush should pursue it.

- Leibstone, Marvin

America Takes on Iraq.  
MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 26, no. 9, 2002, p. 8-14.  
The US President and Secretary of State have, in the months since 9/11 2001 until late August 2002, used up nearly all of their diplomatic coinage hoping to prevent the need of US 'unilateral' military power being applied to unseat Iraq's tyrannical, unstable and nuclear weapon-seeking boss.

- Levesque, Jacques  
Les relations russo-americaines.  
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 24, no. 96, hiver 2001 - 2002, p. 791-794.
  
- Leyton-Brown, David  
Despite the Constant Quandary of Interdependence.  
POLITICS AND THE TIMES, no. 3, 2002, p. 50-60.  
Canada's relationship with the United States is unquestionably the most important issue on its foreign policy agenda, and among the most important on its overall political agenda. The shadow of that relationship was one of the determining conditions that led to Canadian confederation 125 years ago, and ever since Canadians have been pulled and pushed between closer attraction to the United States and a desire to assert greater distinctiveness and independence. Throughout that time, the United States has been Canada's closest friend, in a functional as well as geographical sense. A fuller understanding of the politics of this pre-eminent relationship requires an appreciation of the major underlying factors which establish the characteristics of the relationship, the origins of inevitable problems on the bilateral agenda which necessitate ongoing management of the quandary of interdependence, the broad alternative approaches possible for Canadian policy in the relationship, and the consistent categories of issues to be managed.
  
- Logan, Charles J.  
Options for Enlarging Iran.  
STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 29, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 33-40.  
The Bush administration has an historic opportunity to pursue a policy of engagement with the government of Iran. The dual containment policy of the Clinton administration may have been appropriate in the aftermath of the Gulf War, but moderating forces in Iran have gained a tenuous foothold on power which needs to be promoted. Engagement offers no easy answers, but will enhance the ability of the US to promote moderation in Iran and shape the developing landscape of Gulf relations.
  
- Luong, Pauline Jones  
Weinthal, Erika  
New Friends, New Fears in Central Asia.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 2, March - April 2002, p. 61-70.  
To wage its war in Afghanistan, the Bush administration needed Uzbekistan's help - and promised a lot to get it. But Washington must not let this short-term marriage of convenience give Uzbekistan long-term regional hegemony. The Uzbek regime's authoritarianism fosters Islamic extremism, which in turn exacerbates tensions among Central Asia's unstable governments. Only a multilateral approach can handle the region's many problems.
  
- MacFaul, Michael  
Realistic Engagement : A New Approach to American-Russian Relations.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 648, October 2001, p. 313-321.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
Russian and American leaders have to define a United States-Russian relationship that neither rekindles cold war rivalry nor refuels illusions about alliances and special relationships. More distance than a decade ago might be healthy for the bilateral relationship. Too much distance will be dangerous.

- Mack, David L.  
Avoiding Grave Harm.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 1, January 2002, p. 13-15.  
At issue now is the likely development of US policy toward Iraq. Will we take reckless measures? Or by failure to act forcefully as well as prudently, will we be reckless by omission? The Middle East can greatly benefit from the re-entry of Iraq into the international community under a new leadership. The United States should take the lead in making this happen.
  
- Marchat, Philippe  
De l' Irak ...  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59e annee, no. 1, janvier 2003, p. 98-112.  
Les laborieuses negociations menees depuis plusieurs mois sur l'Irak, l'un des pays de 'l'axe du mal' pour le president Bush, ont abouti, fin novembre 2002, a l'acceptation par Saddam Hussein de la resolution 1441 du Conseil de securite qui permet le retour des inspecteurs de l'ONU. Ce qui ne signifie pas forcement que 'la guerre de l'Irak n'aura pas lieu'. Apres avoir engage et perdu deux guerres, contre l'Iran, puis le Koweit, Saddam Hussein entretient depuis deux decennies des relations tendues avec l'occident et l'ONU qui le soupconnet, depuis le terme qu'il a mis en 1988 aux controles effectues, de continuer a s'equiper en armes non conventionnelles. Leur elimination, comme celle de l'equipe dirigeante, ainsi que l'eventuelle substitution de l'Irak a l'Arabie Saoudite comme leur premier fournisseur de petrole, sont pour les Etats-Unis autant de raisons d'une intervention, dont certains experts estiment pouvoir definir le schema general. Tel n'est pas le cas, en revanche, pour ce que sera 'l'apres-Saddam', en raison des multiples inconnues qui decoulent d'une situation politique interieure tres complexe, et de la diversite des eventuelles reactions de plusieurs Etats arabes et musulmans.
  
- Mathews, Jessica T.  
Estranged Partners.  
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 127, November - December 2001, p. 48-53.  
Despite trans-Atlantic proclamations of solidarity in the aftermath of September 11, the United States and Europe are parting ways on issues from global warming and biotechnology to peacekeeping and national missile defense. Failure to resolve these disagreements will not only hamper global progress but also impede America's ability to pursue its most pressing national interests.
  
- Mayne, Richard  
Europe and America : Size Matters.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 5, May 2003, p. 19-20.  
Europeans often deplore the 'democratic deficit' in the European Union. This is only half the problem. The other half is the 'efficiency deficit'. Both have been exposed by the Iraq crisis.
  
- Maynes, Charles William  
America Discovers Central Asia.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 2, March - April 2003, p. 120-132.  
The September 11 terrorist attacks and their aftermath have spurred a renewed US interest in Central Asia. Despite official rhetoric, America is likely to remain militarily engaged there for some time. To manage this relationship effectively, Washington needs a better grasp on the realities of this complex and troubled region.

- Mearsheimer, John J.  
Walt, Stephen M.  
An Unnecessary War.  
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 134, January - February 2003, p. 50-59.  
In the full-court press for war with Iraq, the Bush administration deems Saddam Hussein reckless, ruthless, and not fully rational. Such a man, when mixed with nuclear weapons, is too unpredictable to be prevented from threatening the United States, the hawks say. But scrutiny of his past dealings with the world shows that Saddam, though cruel and calculating, is eminently deterrable.
  
- Merlini, Cesare  
US Hegemony and the Roman Analogy : A European View.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 3, July - September 2002, p. 19-30.  
The author discusses the question of whether or not US foreign policy corresponds to a hypothetical imperial role and examines the possible impact of newly emerging imperial ambitions in the US on its relations with the rest of the world and particularly Europe. Drawing a comparison between the transformation of ancient Rome from republic to empire and the current situation in the US, he observes that, while there seems to be a demand for the US to build a sort of imperial order, several factors make this prospect unrealistic. The predominance of the major powers is increasingly challenged by other groups of nations and new types of non-state actors. Moreover, the transnational dimension of such spheres as finance, trade, migration and communications has grown in importance to the point that their management and regulation require the extensive involvement of a variety of institutional actors. In addition, these are fields in which the US does not enjoy a clear superiority. Finally, the US's unrivalled military power can serve to impose peace, but a set of rules and institutions are needed to maintain it. The author concludes by underlining that the Europeans should concentrate on building new capabilities as a key prerequisite for revitalising the partnership with the US and putting it on more solid foundations.
  
- Miles, James  
Waiting Out North Korea.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 2, Summer 2002, p. 37-50.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The controversy generated by President George W. Bush's reference to North Korea as part of an 'axis of evil' highlighted the chasm between American and South Korean perceptions of engagement with Pyongyang. Bush's visit to the South the following month, during which he denied the United States had any plans to attack the North, helped to calm the furore. But lessons need to be drawn from the episode in order to maintain the cohesion of the US-South Korean alliance and the effective coordination of diplomatic approaches to the North. While Bush's choice of words may have been imprudent, it is important to focus on the nature of South Korean engagement with the North and whether it is arousing unrealistic expectations of systemic change in Pyongyang. Engagement on many levels with the North is becoming an increasingly urgent task, but North-South summitry should be downplayed as an immediate goal. A 'passionless' form of engagement should be pursued that fully recognises the difficulty, if not impossibility, of changing the way the North Korean leader Kim Jong II runs the country.

- Moens, Alexander  
Canada en zijn zoektocht naar een politieke identiteit : een  
Veiligheids- en Defensie Akkoord voor Noord-Amerika ?  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 57, nr. 4, april 2003, p. 195-199.  
The author deals with Canadian security and foreign policy and the crisis  
into which it has been plunged after 'September 11'. The emphasis on  
'homeland defence' on the North-American continent following the  
terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, as well as the growing  
integration of their economies, have resulted in ever closer security and  
economic relations between Canada and the United States. These  
developments have dumped Canada, traditionally a state with more European  
than American characteristics, into an identity crisis. Under fierce  
pressure from the Bush government to cooperate more closely with  
Washington in security areas, Canada's search for a political identity  
has been made much more difficult. Since current developments have made  
it highly unlikely that this pressure can be resisted, Canada has to  
divert its attention to its social and cultural policies in order to  
maintain some sort of separate political identity.
  
- Mohan, C. Raja  
A Paradigm Shift toward South Asia ?  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 1, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 141-155.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
South Asia is at the cusp of a historic transformation. If the Bush  
administration can sustain the level of involvement it has demonstrated  
since September 11, the prospect of reordering both the subcontinent's  
interstate relations and its intrastate dynamics is real.
  
- Moisi, Dominique  
Europe-Etats-Unis : vers un vrai decouplage ?  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 2, avril - juin 2001, p. 253-258.
  
- Monshipouri, Mahmood  
The Paradoxes of US Policy in the Middle East.  
MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 3, September 2002, p. 65-84.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>
  
- Montassier, Gerard  
Europe et Etats-Unis : la necessaire convergence.  
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 24, no. 95, automne 2001, p. 616-622.
  
- Moravcsik, Andrew  
Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 4, July - August 2003, p. 74-89.  
How can the United States and Europe mend the Western alliance after the  
split over Iraq ? Some Europeans now favor engaging America head on, by  
building an independent military. But the best answer lies in  
complementarity, not competition. The two sides should focus on common  
goals, with each doing what it does best.
  
- Morrison, J. Stephen  
Somalia's and Sudan's Race to the Fore in Africa.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 191-205.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
US calculations regarding Africa have shifted dramatically. The Horn is  
only the initial priority zone of action in battling global terrorism in  
Africa. Elsewhere on the continent, a significant amount of other  
unfinished business also awaits Washington's attention.

- Moss, Kenneth B.  
Beyond NATO : The U.S.-European Relationship.  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 49-61.  
It is time for the United States to look beyond the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in its search for a framework for US-European relations. The NATO alliance still has a part in transatlantic relations, but that role will diminish in the future. Furthermore, attempts to retain NATO as the keystone of the relationship will complicate relations more than sustain them.
  
- Nau, Henry R.  
Unilateralism, NATO and Iraq : Alliance at Risk.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 5, May 2002, p. 17-18.  
Washington is vilified for acting alone on a range of issues. Europe is being asked to do more on defence. This peevish debate risks weakening NATO just at the moment it should be agreeing to create a stronger alliance to fight terrorism.
  
- Nelson, Daniel N.  
Four Confusions, Four Misunderstandings : Ghosts of America's Balkan Policy.  
SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY AFFAIRS, vol. 2, no. 2, Fall 2001, p. 97-110.  
Intellectual foundations lie beyond immediate interests for an understanding of conflicts in zones where peoples and borders intermingle. America, where identities tend to be diffused a generation or two after immigration, copes poorly with narrow national definitions and struggles to find simple rules by which to grasp an otherwise highly complex milieu of the Balkans. As a consequence, US Balkan policy has been based on confusions and misunderstandings that must be, first, recognized and acknowledged before Americans can fashion strategically sensible policies. This essay offers a short 'net assessment' of the region circa 2001, and then discusses the roots of Western policy encounters with Southeastern Europe.
  
- Norton, Augustus Richard  
America in the Middle East : Statesmanship versus Politics.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 660, January 2003, p. 3-6.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
No matter who rules in Baghdad, George Bush will have to decide between the role of statesman and politician in Arab-Israeli peacemaking.
  
- Norton, Augustus Richard  
America's Approach to the Middle East : Legacies, Questions, and Possibilities.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 651, January 2002, p. 3-7.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
Will America now define national security as it did half a century ago to see the betterment of others' conditions as key to ensuring its own safety and well-being? Or will it be satisfied merely to aggressively police the frontiers of hostility at home and abroad to reduce the likelihood of a new terrorist-inflicted disaster?

- Nossel, Suzanne  
Retail Diplomacy : The Edifying Story of UN Dues Reform.  
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 66, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 94-105.  
<http://search.epnet.com>  
In a world of competing power centers, the United States cannot rely on a strategy of curbing international organizations at its pleasure. Rather, we must learn how to translate our global military and economic clout into effective and specific diplomatic influence. American strength lies ultimately not in the ability to steamroll the world community, but in the power to turn delegations around one-by-one through persuasion and bilateral leverage. Put another way, we need to focus more on the art of retail diplomacy as a tool for multilateral advocacy. A noteworthy recent example of successful retail diplomacy was the campaign to negotiate a reduction of America's UN dues. Like many examples of the art, this effort was not particularly glamorous. But it worked, and it bears many lessons in diplomatic skill and stamina that American statesmen will need to learn in the months and years ahead.
  
- Nuti, Leopoldo  
The Role of the US in Italy's Foreign Policy.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 38, no. 1, January - March 2003, p. 91-101.  
The author emphasises the elements of continuity in US-Italy relations. He argues that the extraordinary importance that the US has taken on in Italy's international relations predates the Cold War and has remained unaltered after the end of it. He also underlines that Italian leaders have continuously found in their support for US foreign policy initiatives a major source of political legitimisation both at home and abroad. In particular, Berlusconi's choice of an atlanticist orientation also has to be attributed to his ideological affinity with the Bush administration as well as to his desire to give Italy greater freedom of action on the international scene.
  
- Ojeda, Jaime  
La doctrina Bush : guerra preventiva, dominacion mundial.  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 90, noviembre - diciembre 2002, p. 7-16.  
A mediados de septiembre, Estados Unidos adopto su nueva estrategia de seguridad nacional, que rompe con los principios de contencion y disuasion establecidos hace mas de cincuenta anos.
  
- Ounaies, Abderraouf  
Dangereuse expansion du non-droit.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59e annee, no. 5, mai 2003, p. 117-125.  
Le coup de force du 16 mars, qui a vu les Etats-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne s'octroyer le droit de faire la guerre, appelle trois questions : (1) s'agit-il d'une decision de principe, ou d'une application deliberee au Proche-Orient du 'deux poids, deux mesures' deja denonce pour Israel et la Palestine ? (2) l'unilateralisme americain est-il vraiment nouveau, est-il la consequence du 11 septembre ? (3) est-il impossible de lutter contre ? Le barrage diplomatique et la reponse de Paris, Moscou et Pekin montrent que non. Les peuples arabes doivent se ressaisir et assurer leur part de cette lutte de civilisation aux normes des temps nouveaux.
  
- Ounaies, Abderraouf  
Le monde islamique et les Etats-Unis.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 1, janvier 2002, p. 9-18.  
La polarisation dramatique entre le monde islamique et les Etats-Unis au lendemain de l'attaque du 11 septembre constitue desormais un axe de la scene internationale. La these des Etats-Unis qui reduit l'attaque au seul phenomene du terrorisme et qui fait croire que l'Amerique est visee pour sa liberte, sa democratie et sa civilisation n'est pas satisfaisante. Les rapports des Etats-Unis avec le monde islamique sont

mines par une crise interne de la classe politique americaine centree sur la question palestinienne et qui la met en contradiction avec sa propre culture et avec le consensus mondial.

- Patten, Chris  
Perle, Richard  
Les relations entre l' Europe et les Etats-Unis.  
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 26, no. 101, printemps 2003, p. 5-16.  
Chris Patten exhorte les Etats-Unis a continuer dans la voie multilateraliste qu'ils ont suivie depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Il s'inquiete de ce que Washington puisse donner la priorite aux interets americains et soient pas vraiment interesse par un ordre multilateral gouverne par le droit. Richard Perle repond que les Europeens ne semblent pas avoir compris l'effet qu'ont produit sur les Americains les attaques terroristes du 11 septembre. Il insiste sur le fait que, lorsque c'est possible, les Etats-Unis prefereront agir avec leurs partenaires et allies mais, aussi, qu'ils redoutent la conception d'une Europeensee simplement comme un 'contre-pouvoir' des Etats-Unis. Chris Patten conclut, en avertissant les Etats-Unis, qu'en agissant unilateralement ils provoqueront un fort ressentiment dans le monde. Mais il reste a apporter au monde un leadership benefique.
  
- Payne, Donald M.  
Security in the Eastern Mediterranean : Bargaining with Law Breakers.  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 14, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 25-31.  
In a geographic neighborhood of perennial tensions that have lasted over half a century, a major US ally, Turkey, seems always poised to seize every opportunity to cash in on emerging crises and to bully its neighbors.
  
- Peck, Edward  
Doing It All Wrong in the Middle East : Iraq.  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 12, no. 4, Fall 2001, p. 13-26.
  
- Perthes, Volker  
Postwar Scenarios in Iraq and Regional Re-ordering.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 4, October - December 2002, p. 21-26.  
The author examines the war scenarios in Iraq and their possible short- and long-term implications for the regional context. He argues that, while the US-led military action will probably meet with weak Iraqi resistance, it is likely to become an additional factor of regional instability and, in particular, cause a further intensification of the already intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The author notes that following the occupation of Iraqi territory, the US will face formidable challenges such as humanitarian assistance, management of refugees flows and internal policing, for which it seems ill-prepared. Recalling the past record of conflict in the Middle East, he underlines that the US's ability to influence the main regional actors and enforce a postwar regional order has serious limits. Hence, the Bush administration's expectation that an Iraqi defeat will generate a positive 'domino effect' in the region seems to be overly optimistic.
  
- Pollack, Kenneth M.  
Next Stop Baghdad ?  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 2, March - April 2002, p. 32-47.  
What should the United States do about Iraq ? Hawks are wrong to think the problem is desperately urgent or connected to terrorism, but right to see the prospect of a nuclear-armed Saddam Hussein as so worrisome that it requires drastic action. Doves are right about Iraq's not being a good candidate for an Afghan-style war, but wrong to think that inspections and deterrence alone can contain Saddam. The United States has no choice

left but to invade Iraq itself and eliminate the current regime.

- Pothof, Willem

De bescherming van de Amerikaanse mondiale machtpositie : het geval van de Golfoorlog.

INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 1, januari 2001, p. 35-39.

The author goes back to the Gulf Crisis of 1990-1991 and explains why the military solution of this conflict was driven by global power aspirations of the US. Top issues in international relations are nowadays more and more defined by power structures on the world political level. The author sketches the American position of power in the context of the basic security and economic transitions in the international environment at the end of the Cold War. Some of those fundamental changes posed a threat to the US as a superpower and resulted in a declining global position of the US. Economic competitors and regional expanding powers had become the new threats in the period after the Cold War. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was indeed a sign to the one and only remaining superpower that a war was needed to protect its global interests. The war against Iraq had more than one useful outcome, but - at least in the perception of American policymakers - it was unavoidable because of the danger of damage to the American global position of power. Even the protection of oil supplies was not the mainspring of American policy during the Gulf Crisis. The article concludes that global power relations rule the world.

- Primakov, Ye.

Is the Russia-U.S. Rapprochement Here to Stay ?

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 48, no. 6, 2002, p. 86-99.

<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>

- Qadhafi, Saif Aleslam Al

Libyan-American Relations.

MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 10, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 35-44.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

- Rabil, Robert

The Ineffective Role of the US-Israeli-Syrian Relationship.

MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 55, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 415-438.

Using as its starting point the Gulf War (1990-91), this article examines the US-Israeli-Syrian triangular relationship to see what pattern or patterns emerge and what changes these patterns have produced in American foreign policy towards the Middle East.

- Rachman, Gideon

Is the Anglo-American Relationship Still Special ?

WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 2, Spring 2001, p. 7-20.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

Will the United Kingdom's membership in the European Union ultimately imperil its special relationship with the US ?

- Ramel, Frederic

David, Charles-Philippe

L' image de l'Europe selon l' administration Bush : de l' ambivalence a la rigidite.

ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 33, no. 1, mars 2002, p. 31-55.

Depuis la politique du Secretaire d'Etat Dulles, les differentes administrations americaines ont developpe dans la guerre froide une certaine image de l'Europe fondee sur la peur de l'expansion communiste. Il s'agissait alors d'aider et de promouvoir une Europe telle que les Etats-Unis la concevaient, c'est-a-dire un rempart face a l'ennemi sovietique. Or, avec la disparition de celui-ci, n'assisterait-on pas a la construction d'une nouvelle image de l'Europe par les dirigeants de

l'exécutif américain? Reposant sur cette interrogation première, cette étude porte sur les composantes de l'image diffusée par l'administration Bush depuis l'automne 2000. Elle souligne les principaux enjeux sécuritaires autour desquels se sédimente cette image (défense antimissile, capacités européennes de défense et PECSO, élargissement de l'OTAN) et permet de mettre en relief une Europe molle, large et subordonnée aux intérêts américains dans l'après-guerre froide. La seconde partie de l'article tente de dégager les facteurs structurels expliquant la nature de cette image comme la représentation de soi en tant que superpuissance (et la structure de rôle internationale), la perception du temps politique ainsi que la mise sur agenda et la persistance d'une polarité entre les deux continents.

- Rhodes, Matthew  
Whose Trojan Horses ?  
PERSPECTIVES, no. 18, Summer 2002, p. 66-70.
  
- Rifkind, Malcolm  
Where is the Axis of Freedom ?  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 3, June 2002, p. 15-19.
  
- Rigoulot, Pierre  
Corée du Nord : la prochaine cible ?  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 99, printemps 2003, p. 201-216.  
Do the U.S.'s conflicts with Iraq and North Korea really amount to the same thing ? In his famous 'axis of evil' speech, George W. Bush put the two countries in the same bag, and it's true that these rogue states have many points in common. And yet one major difference is that the US cannot go to war with North Korea, as it has done with Iraq. Pyongyang's ballistic weapons, which may include nuclear warheads, mean that military intervention is not an option, North Korea even scored a few diplomatic points last fall by justifying its decision to develop nuclear weapons as a reaction to a supposed American threat. But in the long term, the world's last Stalinist regime knows that it will have to either disarm or disappear. Washington is determined to end nuclear proliferation, and to this end has received support - to varying degrees - from all the regional powers : Japan, Russia, South Korea and even China. Once Iraq has been dealt with, the U.S. will probably next turn to Kim Jong-Il's regime.
  
- Rohtus, Dirk  
Duits-Amerikaanse betrekkingen : 'Heimweh' naar Camp David ?  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 56, nr. 11, november 2002, p. 545-548.  
The author presents an analysis of the new orientations in German foreign policy, in particular concerning involvement in foreign interventions, peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations e.t.q. The German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder departs in several ways from his predecessors. In 1999 he surpassed a threshold by sending German troops to Kosovo, two years later he risked the future of his coalition by wanting to participate in the 'war on terrorism' in Afghanistan. Both times he earned the admiration of the USA. But he put the same good German-American relations at stake during his election campaign in the Summer of 2002, when he refused to participate in an eventual United States-led action against Iraq. His unilateralism has estranged Germany from the USA, but - what is still worse - also from his European partners whom a common European position would suit much more.
  
- Rose, François de  
Les relations entre l' Europe et les Etats-Unis.  
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 24, no. 96, hiver 2001 - 2002, p. 785-789.

- Roshandel, Jalil  
Chadha, Sharon  
US-Saudi Relations and the (Irrelevant) Court of Public Opinion.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 6, December 2002, p. 58-62.
  
- Roy, Denny  
Rising China and US Interests : Inevitable vs. Contingent Hazards.  
ORBIS, vol. 47, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 125-137.  
The author looks at US-Chinese issues through the lens of the most important element in that relationship : that in relative terms, China is a rising challenger offset by the United States, an established superpower in that region and arguably a status quo power. His survey of inevitable and contingent hazards in this relationship serves as a valuable reminder that to minimize US-China differences in such a dynamic situation is as unhelpful as confrontation. Here, almost uniquely these days, the United States faces a proportional decline in economic, military, and philosophical influence.
  
- Rubin, Barry  
The Real Roots of Arab Anti-Americanism.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 6, November - December 2002, p. 58-72.  
Despite what many argue, Arab and Muslim rage at the United States has had very little to do with actual US policies - policies that have been remarkably pro-Arab over the past 50 years. Promoting anti-Americanism is simply the best way Muslim leaders have found to distract their publics from the real problem : internal mismanagement. New US policies or a PR campaign will not change matters.
  
- Rubin, Barry  
What Is Right Is in US Interests.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 127-134.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
From an Israeli perspective, the United States should properly pursue its own interests. The basic problem is not some US mistaken policy; it has done quite well. Regional extremism and ambitions mean no perfect options or easy solutions exist.
  
- Russell, Richard L.  
War and the Iraq Dilemma : Facing Harsh Realities.  
PARAMETERS, vol. 32, no. 3, Autumn 2002, p. 46-61.  
<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/parameters>  
The author warns that the events of 11 September 2001 should serve as a wake-up call for America with regard to others who would follow al Qaeda's lead. His investigation into those who could (or would) harm America with weapons of mass destruction leads to President Bush's 'axis of evil', and specifically to Iraq. Russell advocates waging a war against Iraq 'on its own merits', however, not simply as part of a war against terror. He sees such a war as a continuation of business unfinished in the Gulf War. The author presents the reader with a campaign plan to destroy Saddam's regime while still maintaining a balance of power in the region. Russell concludes by asserting Machiavelli's dictum - a nation is safer if it is more feared than loved - in determining that now is the time for war against Iraq, regardless of world opinion.

- Sariolghalam, Mahmood  
Justice for All.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 113-125.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Iranians, like most Middle Easterners, have an obsession with justice. Realpolitik is a much weaker political ideology than egalitarianism. A psychologically and culturally tailored approach will prove to be fundamental to the future role of the United States in the region.
  
- Schaffer, Teresita C.  
Building a New Partnership with India.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 31-44.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
US attention toward New Delhi, before and after September 11, is increasing at the same time as four major transformations change India. The future of the relationship is not an alliance, but a selective partnership based on specific, common goals.
  
- Schaffer, Teresita C.  
US Influence on Pakistan : Can Partners Have Divergent Priorities ?  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 1, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 169-183.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
For more than fifty years, the United States and Pakistan have had overlapping interests but different priorities, resulting in a pattern of disillusionment. To avoid repeating history, Washington should depersonalize its policy and reconsider its priorities.
  
- Schilling, Walter  
Präventive Sicherheitspolitik gegenüber Nordkorea.  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 3, März 2003, S. 42-44.  
When President George W. Bush in his 29 January 2002 state of the union address placed North Korea, aside from Iraq and Iran, in the 'axis of evil', it caused incredulous astonishment and open annoyance with some representatives of European governments who never grew tired of tutoring the Americans especially in foreign policy and security policy issues and also on other occasions. The avowal of the North Korean government in October 2002 to have nonetheless secretly developed nuclear weapons contrary to the Agreed Framework concluded with the USA on 21 October 1994 should therefore not be underestimated with regard to the soundness and validity of important positions of American politics.
  
- Serfaty, Simon  
Lasting Liaison.  
NATO REVIEW, vol. 49, Spring 2001, p. 6-8.  
<http://www.nato.int/docu/review.htm>  
The author places the transatlantic relationship in its historical context.
  
- Shambaugh, David  
Facing Reality in China Policy.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 1, January - February 2001, p. 50-64.  
China may be the most important country in America's future. Its power is undoubtedly on the rise, and Washington must give it due regard. US-China relations have recently made great progress, particularly on trade-related issues. But the relationship is fraught with tensions that could explode into conflict at any time. The next administration needs to get china policy right, before disaster strikes.

- Shambaugh, David  
Sino-American Relations since September 11 : Can the New Stability Last ?  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 656, September 2002, p. 243-249.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
A year after the devastating terrorist attacks on the United States, Sino-American relations are their most stable since they began their decade-long deterioration and constant fluctuation following the events of June 1989. The prospects for continued stability are positive as long as neither nation infringes on the core security interests of the other. Some would dispute this assessment, including many analysts in China, since they see limited benefits from post-September 11 Sino-American cooperation and continuing underlying tensions and frictions in the relationship. Yet, the roller coaster of relations during the 1990s - when security tensions were frequent and disputes over human rights and trade were constant - is absent today.
  
- Shelley, Louise  
Transnational Crime : The Case of Russian Organized Crime and the Role of International Cooperation in Law Enforcement.  
DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 10, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 49-67.  
The Russian-American foreign policy dialogue is still very much focused on nuclear and military questions, but since the latter half of the 1990s, the crime issue has become increasingly important. The Russian-American law enforcement relationship is much more complicated than it appears at first glance. It is not simply an American reaction to the globalization of Russian organized crime. It involves a paradigm shift in the conduct of foreign policy requiring attention to new issues that diplomats have not been trained to address. Their focus is still on traditional security issues. Furthermore, combating transnational crime requires much more informal cooperation than the bilateral relationships of the cold war era. This different approach is very difficult for many traditional diplomats to accept.
  
- Sigov, Jury  
Friends and Foes.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 57, no. 4, April 2001, p. 8-9.  
Suspicion and misunderstanding characterise relations between the new boys in the White House and the Kremlin. Washington's priorities are elsewhere, whereas Moscow is still trying to come to terms with its new status. There will be no bear-hugs between pragmatic partners for now.
  
- Simon, Steven  
Washington et le monde arabe.  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 94, hiver 2001 - 2002, p. 175-198.  
Despite the incomprehension it has provoked among Arab countries, the United States' policy in the Middle East is a strongly consistent one. Washington's interest in the region only began to develop in the 1940s, and is dominated by two issues : ensuring the security of oil supplies from the Gulf in general and Saudi Arabia in particular; and the protection of Israel. American priorities are rational and its support for Israel in no way hinders the U.S. from working towards a settlement of the Israel-Palestinian conflict today just as it has done in the past. Arab leaders find Israel and America useful scapegoats, channeling the anger of a people deprived of democracy and prosperity. And yet whatever the Arab media and public opinion might think, the U.S.'s support for Israel is not unconditional. Washington has no anti-Arab policy. The combination of rapid population growth and sluggish economies in the Arab world hardly inspires optimism, however. Huge efforts will be required to ensure that the U.S. and the Arab world do not drift even further apart, triggering a period of serious instability in the region. The Arab states must implement deep political and economic reforms, while the U.S. will have to agree to provide massive support for the development of these countries. Both the task and the stakes are huge.

- Singer, P. W.  
America and the Islamic World.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 658, November 2002, p. 355-364.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com>  
The underlying lesson of September 11 is that the United States can no longer defer the hard decisions. The overwhelming tragedy of the attacks has provided a mandate to change business as usual in American foreign policy and work on constructing a positive and enduring relationship between the United States and the Islamic world.
  
- Slater, Jerome  
Ideology vs. the National Interest : Bush, Sharon, and US Policy in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.  
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 12, no. 1, Autumn 2003, p. 164-206.  
The makers of foreign and defense policy in the Bush administration see themselves as 'realists' - that is, tough-minded pragmatists devoted to the national interest as the touchstone of American foreign policy. The author argues, however, that Bush's insistence on allying the United States with the government of Ariel Sharon in Israel is a function both of naive misconceptions about Sharon's policies in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and, more fundamentally, of ideological fixations that are counter to the national interest. The alliance has allowed Israel to maintain and even expand its occupation of the Palestinians, but since the Palestinians have continued to resist, the most likely consequences of this alliance will be not only escalating warfare between the Israelis and the Palestinians, but also increasing risks to the overall American national interest : the continuing conflict threatens to undermine stability elsewhere in the Middle East, increase hatred of America in the Arab and Muslim world and, indeed, engender the spread of anti-Americanism everywhere, even in Western Europe. Should this occur, the global war on terrorism will be undermined, and, in the worst but by no means implausible case, enraged Palestinian or other Arab terrorists may attack both Israel and the United States with weapons of mass destruction.
  
- Sloan, Stanley R.  
Transatlantic Alliance : Dissipated or Deepened ?  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 1, 2002, p. 95-100.  
Europe and America will either hang together or they will hang separately. Despite much negative speculation, 9/11 did not demonstrate NATO's growing irrelevance. But it did suggest that a conscious effort to deepen the alliance must now be made to avoid 'dissipation' by default. Following in the footsteps of the Marshall Plan and early European integration, we should now form a new overarching Atlantic Community covering all aspects of the transatlantic relationship.
  
- Smith, Hazel  
Gobbledygook.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 2, February 2003, p. 15-16.  
America's North Korea policy has been a resounding failure. It has lost friends and alienated allies. The people of North Korea continue to go hungry. It's time to talk, but this requires clear goals and a proper strategy - regime change should be off the agenda for now.
  
- Sofinskii, Nikolai  
Russia and the U.S. after Ljubljana.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 4, 2001, p. 8-12.  
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>

- St John, Ronald Bruce  
New Era in American-Libyan Relations.  
MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 3, September 2002, p. 85-93.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>
  
- Stachura, Jadwiga  
The Dynamic of Transatlantic Relations.  
POLISH QUARTERLY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 10, no. 1, Winter 2001,  
p. 32-52.
  
- Stein, Kenneth W.  
La doctrine Bush au Moyen-Orient : continuité politique et engagement  
sélectif.  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e année, no. 1, janvier - mars 2002, p. 149-171.  
A son arrivée au pouvoir, l'Administration Bush ne se situait pas dans la  
continuité des efforts menés par Bill Clinton en matière de règlement des  
conflits au Moyen-Orient : la priorité accordée à la politique intérieure  
laissait ainsi percevoir un certain attentisme sur ce point. A la veille  
du 11 septembre 2001, la doctrine de politique étrangère dite de l'  
'engagement sélectif', reposant principalement sur la seule défense de  
l'intérêt national, des intérêts économiques et des libertés  
démocratiques, semblait perdurer malgré la valse des Administrations,  
question israélo-palestinienne mise à part. Mais les facettes de  
l'histoire et la nécessité, soudainement apparues comme une priorité  
nationale, d'éradiquer le terrorisme ont propulsé les Etats-Unis sur le  
devant de la scène internationale, impliquant leur intervention militaire  
en Afghanistan et mobilisant l'ensemble de la communauté internationale  
en une coalition qui donne à leur politique un air de 'multilatéralisme à  
la carte'. Au-delà de ce premier objectif, cette intervention semble  
remettre au goût du jour la question du rétablissement de la paix au  
Moyen-Orient et rouvrir d'anciennes perspectives quant au rôle décisif que  
les Etats-Unis pourraient y tenir, seuls ou de façon multilatérale.
  
- Stent, Angela  
Shevtsova, Lilia  
America, Russia and Europe : A Realignment ?  
SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 4, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 121-134.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The aftermath of 11 September has seen the beginnings of a transatlantic  
realignment. US-Russian relations are increasingly dynamic and  
US-European relations are increasingly strained. America and Russia have  
formed an unprecedented partnership. Their shared interest in combating  
global terrorism, and Putin's own pragmatic and more realistic foreign  
policy, have opened up new avenues for US-Russian cooperation. At a time  
when the United States and its traditional European allies are more and  
more divided over a range of economic and political issues - including  
complaints about American unilateralism and the conduct of the war on  
terrorism - America and Russia are increasingly in agreement. The  
US-Russian partnership has the potential to develop into a broader-based  
alliance that could ultimately have a positive impact both on Russia's  
domestic evolution and on European security.
  
- Sturmer, Michael  
Balance from Beyond the Sea.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 145-153.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The United States has been present since the creation of modern Europe.  
The key question, from this German perspective, remains, will the United  
States continue to be both the balancer from beyond the sea and the  
strategic lender of last resort?

- Taheri, Amir  
Afghanistan : gagner la guerre, perdre la paix ?  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 97, automne 2002, p. 189-196.

The United States won the war in Afghanistan, but are they now losing the peace ? The US military intervention was initially supposed to be short. But troops are still in the field, and their continued presence is raising concerns among other powers. Washington is suspected of seeking to make Afghanistan into a cornerstone of its diplomacy in Central Asia. The Americans are also thought to be intending to use the country to deliver oil from Kazakhstan and other neighboring states. This strategy is risky since it would require the emergence of conditions that will prove very difficult - and perhaps impossible - to achieve. It supposes a strong central power in Kabul, whereas this power is traditionally weak in a bitterly divided country. Only a federal solution combined with the withdrawal of US troops will avoid yet another bloody civil war.

- Taheri, Amir  
Avis de tempete sur le Golfe.  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 93, automne 2001, p. 257-271.  
It is now ten years since the Gulf War and the subsequent establishment of a shaky 'Pax Americana' in the region. And yet in the wake of the attacks of September 11, the fate of the six states in the Gulf Cooperation Council appears more fragile than ever. The United States has not succeeded in kick-starting the political reform and economic modernization process, which is the only hope the region has of ever being able to ensure its own defense. Despite some progress towards democracy, especially in Qatar and Bahrain, the most obvious danger lies in the inability of the ruling families to broaden their base and introduce a system allowing widespread participation. All of the region's leaders are now old and there is a serious risk of succession problems in the very near future. The lack of any real opposition to counter the establishment does not make things easier. Coupled with the presence of the American 'bogeyman', this can only exacerbate the rise in Islamic fundamentalism and reduce the chances of a moderate center movement emerging.

- Takeyh, Ray  
The Rogue Who Came in From the Cold.  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 3, May - June 2001, p. 62-72.  
The recent trial of two Libyans for the 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, raises a vexing problem for US policymakers : what should Washington do when American containment policy starts to pay off and a 'rogue' state starts to reform ? After years of international isolation, Colonel Mu'ammarr Qaddafi is ending his belligerence and starting to meet many of the demands placed on him by Washington and its allies. Now President Bush must figure out how to keep the pressure on while recognizing Libya's progress and helping reintegrate it into the world community.

- Takeyh, Ray  
Gvosdev, Nikolas K.  
Democratic Impulses versus Imperial Interests : America's New Mid-East Conundrum.  
ORBIS, vol. 47, no. 3, Summer 2003, p. 415-431.  
The authors look at the prospects for the 'democratic thesis' and Pax Americana in the Middle East. They are skeptical whether democratic regimes in the region can also be 'friendly' regimes by American standards.

- Thiele, Ralph  
Transatlantische Beziehungen auf dem Prüfstand.  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 50. Jg., Nr. 8, August 2001, S. 15-18.  
At present, it once again seems as if Europe and the USA are setting out for different directions when looking at their respective decisions on and priorities in foreign and security policy. Since the end of the Cold War, the mutual relations live more off the capital accumulated in terms of confidence and common interests formed in the past decades, than off the new common successes and achievements. The transatlantic relations are no longer as good as they used to be. As a result of the drastic changes in the security situation, Europe is rolling up its sleeves to create its own profile in foreign and security policy. For some, this development is cause for concern. The challenges of a coalescent world require multinational answers and strong partners. A stronger partner than the USA is not in sight, however, neither from a German nor from a European point of view. Both answers can thus be justified.
  
- Trenin, Dmitri  
Less Is More.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 135-144.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
What is most troubling for the Kremlin is not the tough tone Washington has taken, but the symbolic and real downgrading of Russia's importance. Overall, what Russia want is treatment as a coequal and less, not more, from the United States.
  
- Utkin, A.  
America : Imperial Ambitions Rekindled.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 48, no. 5, 2002, p. 43-54.  
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>
  
- Vaisse, Justin  
Etats-Unis : le regain francophobe.  
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 97, automne 2002, p. 97-114.  
The US is experiencing one of the most violent waves of anti-French sentiment in their history. The primary reason for this is the perception that the French are largely anti-Semitic, a view arising from the wave of attacks against Jewish targets during the first months of 2002. Anti-French feelings also have historical roots. There are in fact four 'schools' : the US State Department and the US diplomatic community; liberals; conservatives and neo-conservatives; and part of the American Jewish community. France is perceived as not sufficiently 'cooperative' in international affairs, as well as 'anti-free market', 'dirigiste', elitist and nostalgic for its glory days of the past. Much time and efforts will be needed to restore this transatlantic relationship.
  
- Veliotes, Nicholas A.  
The Bush 'Vision' for Palestine : Realistic or Apocalyptic ?  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 11-20.
  
- Vinatier, Laurent  
Russes et Americains au Sud-Caucase.  
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 1024, avril 2002, p. 44-50.  
Le Sud-Caucase a longtemps ete la chasse gardee des Russes, soucieux de leurs interets economiques et de leur securite. Les Etats-Unis n'etaient jusque la partie prenante que dans le domaine du petrole et du gaz ou pour tenter de trouver une solution au probleme du Haut-Karabakh. Mais en raison des tensions qui persistent dans cette region, les Etats-Unis y concurrencent la Russie depuis la fin des annees 1990 et plus encore depuis le 11 septembre 2001, au nom de la lutte anti-terroriste. Mais faute de pouvoir contrecarrer les Americains et empecher ces pays de se rapprocher des Occidentaux, les Russes font du suivisme et se montrent

plutot conciliants.

- Vogelaar, Marc

Na Irak : Noord-Korea ?

INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 57, nr. 5, mei 2003, p. 246-252.

The author examines two possible scenarios for handling the present nuclear crisis on the Korean Peninsula once the war against Iraq is over. The first is that the DPRK (North Korea) is attacked by a coalition of willing nations to disarm the regime before the country becomes a nuclear power. The other scenario is that the current crisis is defused through negotiations. The author believes that the second option is preferable and that there is still time to explore whether, and if so what, carrots might induce Pyongyang to adopt a more moderate stance with regard to its obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), while maintaining the option of disarmament through force as a stick. The international response to the crisis should depend on what the goals of the DPRK really are. If it appears that its sole objective is to obtain more aid and normalise its relations with the United States, the author argues that providing such assistance and offering normal relations are preferable to a second Korean war, which might turn into a nuclear conflict if China and Russia side with the DPRK (as they did in 1950). He adds, however, that such concessions would come at a stiff price for Pyongyang, i.e. stopping its nuclear programme, allowing IAEA inspections, which would also permit KEDO's light-water reactor project to be completed by the end of the decade, reducing its conventional armed forces which pose a threat to the Republic of Korea, stopping the testing and exporting of ballistic missiles, and respecting human rights. The author dismisses the current debate on whether or not a renewed US-DPRK dialogue should be 'embedded' in a multilateral framework as a secondary issue but hopes that China, Russia and the EU will be ready to provide their good offices where needed. If negotiations prove unsuccessful, only the UN Security Council can authorise the legitimate use of force to prevent the DPRK from obtaining nuclear weapons, or to disarm it if it already has them.

- Voigt, Karsten D.

EU-US : Putting Transatlantic Relations to the Test ?

INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 3, 2002, p. 40-46.

The 5 % of the daily trillion-dollar transatlantic trade that gets the negative headlines shouldn't make us forget the extraordinary 95 % that keeps us all living better on both sides of the ocean. Nor should the 5 % of 'unilateralism' deflect us from the 95 % of foreign policy that is multilateral. More light and less heat is needed.

- Wall, David

Not Winning Friends.

WORLD TODAY, vol. 57, no. 6, June 2001, p. 4-6.

Chinese nationalists are especially angry over the bitter standoff between Beijing and Washington. World leaders need to tune in to the Chinese psyche if greater long term damage is to be avoided.

- Wallace, William

Europe : The Necessary Partner.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 3, May - June 2001, p. 16-34.

In many areas, transatlantic cooperation is stronger than ever before. Yet the common perception is of an increasingly fraught relationship, as evidenced by the well-known disputes over beef, bananas, and burden sharing. Assumptions are diverging over security risks and cultural values. Each side criticizes the other's unwieldy policymaking process without admitting its own shortcomings, while leaders pander to domestic interests and prejudices without educating voters on international issues. Europe nonetheless remains indispensable to a multilateral US foreign policy. The Bush Administration must acknowledge the European Union as a true partner, in political and military matters as well as in

economics. America cannot expect its allies to share the burdens of global leadership without allowing them their say in the issues at stake.

- Wallace, William  
Repairing European and Transatlantic Institutions.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 5, May 2003, p. 16-18.  
The conventional wisdom at the end of the Cold War on both sides of the Atlantic was that interdependence had grown so close that Europe and the US had no alternative to partnership. Integration was thought to have taken west European states well past any breakdown in relations among member governments. War in Iraq is testing these assumptions. Britain and France have taken sharply opposing positions within the European Union; competing declarations have lined up other states in one camp or the other. Washington has divided its European allies into supporters and opponents, crudely labelled 'old' and 'new' Europe. Its conservative think tanks have hailed this 'success', and declared that it is in America's strategic interest to keep Europe weak and subservient.
  
- Watanabe, Akio  
First Among Equals.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 73-81.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Japan shares a wide range of values and interests with the United States. For the ideal world order, a continued working partnership and a solid base of public support in the United States and Japan must remain.
  
- Weidenfeld, Werner  
Kuhles Kalkul : die neue Ara der transatlantischen Beziehungen.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 6, Juni 2001, S. 1-9.  
Die Integration Europas wirft viele Probleme auf : Europa befreit sich aus amerikanischer Bevormundung, ohne weltpolitisch laufen gelernt zu haben. Es muss ein eigenständiges Handlungsformat entwickeln, ohne ein strategisches Konzept zu besitzen. Es kann nicht mehr im amerikanischen Windschatten treiben, doch ohne amerikanische Vorgaben seinen Kurs nicht halten. Für die Vereinigten Staaten gibt es interessenpolitisch mittelfristig aber nur eine Macht in Augenhöhe : China.
  
- Wit, Joel S.  
North Korea : The Leader of the Pack.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 77-92.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Pyongyang has seemed interested in engagement, but US strategy toward North Korea has been politically controversial. Barring the unforeseen, a two-year window of opportunity exists to pursue real change. Then it really gets complicated...
  
- Xiang, Lanxin  
Washington's Misguided China Policy.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 3, Autumn 2001, p. 7-23.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
A central premise of the Bush foreign-policy team is that China is trying to challenge the status quo. China is seen as a rising power with a grudge against the international system. In short, we are said to be entering the twenty-first century equivalent of the early twentieth century, when a democratic England struggled with a rising, authoritarian Germany. But this analogy - of a 'Wilhelmine China' - is flawed, for it is hardly obvious, in the year 2001, just who is defending the status quo. At the very moment of China's decision to integrate fully into the international system, the US seems to have started the process of changing the rules. Just as China aspires to become a 'normal state' for the first time in its history, the criterion for 'normal' is changing. As China goes multilateral in its foreign relations, America turns

unilateral.

- Xinbo, Wu  
To Be an Enlightened Superpower.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 63-71.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
That the United States will continue to play a leading role in the world is a given. The question is not whether but how it should play this role. Here is a Chinese perspective on how the United States can act as an enlightened superpower.
  
- Yaphe, Judith  
Reinventing Iraq : The Regional Impact of US Military Action.  
MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 4, December 2002, p. 25-34.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
As the United States prepares for a military confrontation with Iraq, several key questions emerge regarding how we build support for that effort and sustain it through the difficult period after Saddam and his regime are 'changed'.
  
- Yaphe, Judith S.  
Iraq : The Exception to the Rule.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 125-137.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Iraq may be a unique case. No president can afford to advocate a major change in Iraq policy. Washington needs policies now for the time when change comes to Iraq, for it will come unannounced and undeterred by outside events.
  
- Yost, David S.  
Transatlantic Relations and Peace in Europe.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 2, April 2002, p. 277-300.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
As a starting point, this article critically examines a recent novel that explores what might happen in Europe without NATO and US security commitments. It then reviews various theories regarding the origins of peace among the member states of the European Union. It points out that, thanks in large part to the Atlantic alliance and US security policies, the European integration movement has advanced under comparatively propitious international circumstances. The EU's ability to deal with major external security challenges and maintain its political cohesion without US military support is therefore debatable. Notwithstanding the EU's achievements and other peace-promoting-developments in Europe, the challenges and uncertainties that would face Europe without NATO argue that the alliance remains an essential underpinning of political order in Europe. Indeed, NATO continues to serve as an indispensable basis for pursuing constructive policies throughout the Euro-Atlantic region, notably in relations with Russia and Ukraine. Moreover, the alliance can serve as a key element in the campaigns against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. To revitalize the alliance, however, it is imperative that the Europeans improve their military capabilities and acquire the means necessary for a more balanced transatlantic partnership in maintaining international security. In this way the European allies can maintain their influence and ensure that NATO and European political-military contributions remain highly valued by the United States.

- Zlobin, Nikolai V.

The United States, Russia, and the New Challenges.

DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 11, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 44-50.

Today, the main challenge in Russian-American relations is the absence of an understanding of their foundations. Neither side truly comprehends the basis of their relations and their political philosophy. We need an intellectual breakthrough, a completely new understanding of Russian-American relations. One cannot form relations between the United States and Russia as an heir of the Soviet Union. Not improvement of old relations, but the formation of fundamentally new ones, should be the goal of the political elites of both countries.

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