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

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COMMENT OBTENIR D'AUTRES PUBLICATIONS DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE:
PART I : BOOKS
PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

327 /01147
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
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

* This list contains material received as of July 23rd, 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>
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
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 and invasion of Iraq be a 'Just War'?'
ID number: 80018457
Year: 2003
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

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
'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
Depuis deux ans, l'Alliance atlantique est à nouveau en proie aux interrogations. Alors que son cinquantennaire anniversaire, en 1999, devait consacrer sa refondation à l'ère de l'après-guerre froide, le conflit du Kosovo - malgré l'unanimité affichée sur le moment - aura marqué la fin d'un cycle. Car au-delà du bilan contrasté de l'opération, le Kosovo aura agi comme le révélateur de tendances de fond dans la relation transatlantique : d'un côté, une Amérique qui s'interroge sur le bien-fondé de son engagement actuel dans la sécurité de l'Europe; de l'autre, des Européens soucieux de reéquilibrer une relation restée trop longtemps inégale. Mais la crise aura également fait office de catalyseur de ces mêmes tendances. Une Amérique de plus en plus 'globale' dans ses priorités stratégiques mais aussi de plus en plus unilatérale dans ses politiques; une Union européenne concernée avant tout par la sécurité à sa propre périphérie et decidée à devenir un acteur stratégique à part entière: telle est aujourd'hui la situation de la relation transatlantique. D'ou les interrogations quant à l'avenir. Que signifie, pour l'Alliance, la divergence croissante entre les priorités stratégiques européennes et américaines? L'Amérique peut-elle accepter une défense européenne autonome par rapport aux États-Unis? Et comment repenser, dans ces conditions, le marchandage transatlantique et créer les conditions d'un partenariat stratégique euro-américain durable? Telles sont quelques-unes des questions auxquelles tente de répondre cet ouvrage, qui réunit quelques-uns des meilleurs experts américains et européens des relations transatlantiques.
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
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-NTO 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 europeenne 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:

ID number: 80017816
Year: 2001
Les relations transatlantiques un an après le 11 septembre 2001 -
Bruxelles : Bruylant.
163 p.; 23 cm.
(Bibliothèque 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 organisé les samedi 7 et dimanche 8 septembre
2002 au Palais d'Egmont (Bruxelles).
'Les débats ont porté sur les trois thèmes suivants : les
relations entre l'Europe et les Etats-Unis; la Convention
européenne; la situation économique et l'euro.'
ID number: 80018727
Year: 2003

355.4 /01358
The Transatlantic Link in Evolution : What Has Changed since 11 September
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
'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
dismantlement 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

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:

ID number: 80017661
Year: 2001

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:

ID number: 80017961
Year: 2001

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
The Transatlantic Security Agenda: A Conference Report and Analysis –
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

Reconcilable Differences: U.S.-French Relations in the New Era –
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-americaaine 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 marquees par la confrontation de ces deux modele. Or, comme le font ressortir les auteurs, les deux scenarios n'ont pas ete percus avec la meme nette 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 apercus 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 dirigants 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

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

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
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

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
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.'

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 DEFENCES--USA
Added entry(s):
1. Cato Institute (US)
Notes:
'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','
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.
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.'

327 /001110
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
Schröder 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 Schröder'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.'

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
isolationalism 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,
dexterity 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 legitimise 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 conqurir 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 desespoirs 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 groupées en Europe organisent a l'echelle globale une resistance a ce 'chaos imperial'.
ID number: 80018061
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.'
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 predecessors 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
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.

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

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
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:
'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 phénomène 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, condamnée d'avance par la geopolitique, mais du premier resultat concret d'un processus d'integration de la Russie dans la communautaire occidentale entame lors de l'effondrement de l'URSS, mis en sommeil pendant la 'paix froide' des années Eltsine et repris par Poutine des son election. Comment le president russe est-il parvenu a exerciser 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 apparaire 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.'

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:
'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

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

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:
'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
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

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
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
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:
'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
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
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
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
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:
'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
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 mépris. Elle l'est davantage encore depuis qu'elle est devenue, au XIXe siècle, une grande puissance, et surtout depuis qu'elle est, à la suite de l'affondrement des empires communistes, la seule superpuissance planétaire. Qu'est-ce qui, dans cet antiaméricanisme général, est fonde sur une connaissance des réalités, sur une analyse des faits, et qu'est-ce qui s'explique par les survivances d'idéologies fossiles, par un ressentiment irrationnel, générateur d'informations fausses et de phobies, imputables aux échecs des pays mêmes qui critiquent sans cesse les États-Unis en leur attribuant des défauts souvent imaginaires ? L'auteur avait déjà traité cette question dans un ouvrage paru en 1970. Mais depuis lors la situation a bien entendu évolué, du fait de l'émergence des États-Unis comme unique 'hyperpuissance', à la fois économique, stratégique et, jusqu'à un certain point, culturelle. L'animosité a l'égard de l'Amerique a décuplé. On l'attaque à la fois comme modèle de société et comme force prépondérante dans les relations internationales. Cette diabolisation a même poussé certains courants islamistes jusqu'à l'hyperterrorisme religieux qui a surgis en 2001. Mais bien d'autres pays, sans aller jusqu'à ces extrêmes, partagent les sentiments qui les inspirent. Il y a donc lieu d'actualiser la question de l'antiaméricanisme et de reexaminer ce phénomène politico-culturel à la lumière des transformations survenues depuis une trentaine d'années."

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:
'Mais pourquoi nous deteste-t-on ? Telle est la question, maintes fois reprise et analysée depuis, posée par une femme emergant du tourbillon de Ground Zero le 11 septembre 2001. À cette question les auteurs répondent magistralement en recensant les raisons principales du rejet, non du peuple américain, mais de l'entité Amérique. Car l'Amerique, seule 'hyperpuissance' au monde, est surtout la puissance 'definissante', imposant sa propre conception de ce qu'est l'être humain : démocratie, police, économie, liberté, droits de l'homme, multiculturalisme, fondamentalisme, terrorisme, mal. Ainsi la liberté est-elle d'abord comprise comme la liberté de circulation des marchandises, des capitaux et des produits culturels américains, et ce toujours à sens unique. L'Amerique définit le monde en fonction de son identité, de son histoire et de ses mythes — remarquablement évoquées dans cet ouvrage —, donc aussi en fonction de son intérêt personnel. Selon les auteurs, elle voit un peu le monde comme elle voyait les Indiens : des enfants à conduire à la civilisation.'

ID number: 80018413
Year: 2002
Le débat sur l'anti-américanisme en France vient d'être relancé avec en particulier la publication des ouvrages de Jean-François Revel et de Philippe Roger. On connaît moins en France le sentiment 'francophobe' qui prévaut dans des secteurs significatifs du monde politique américain. La 'francophobie', mot utilisé ici par mesure de facilité, mais qui décrit assez bien l'hostilité systématique à la France qui prévaut dans certains milieux de Washington, est en effet devenue un phénomène marquant. La France combine plusieurs caractéristiques difficiles à accepter pour beaucoup d'Américains politisés. Elle est une démocratie, mais elle prétend disposer d'un modèle distinct et à certains égards concurrent de celui des États-Unis. De même, la France est perçue comme l'une des rares puissances posant les questions sur la domination américaine du système international, d'où cette 'francophobie' existant à Washington. Il fallait donc décider et analyser l'effet qu'elle ne peut manquer d'exercer sur les relations franco-américaines et euro-américaines. Le Centre Français sur les États-Unis est convaincu de faire œuvre utile en publiant ce texte, et en faisant en sorte qu'il soit lu comme il le mérite, dans l'esprit constructif qui doit presider à l'analyse des phénomènes politiques d'une reelle importance pour les décideurs.'
reflu. 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 contrôler les acteurs économiques et stratégiques majeurs que sont l'Europe et la Russie, le Japon et la Chine, l'Amerique perdra cette dernière partie pour la maîtrise 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:
'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
- Disarming Iraq: The Case Against Saddam Hussein.  
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 año después del 11-s.  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, septiembre 2002, Special Issue.

- The Nuclear Crisis on the Korean Peninsula: Avoiding the Road to Perdition.  
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?  

- Abramowitz, Morton  
Bosworth, Stephen  
Adjusting to the New Asia.  
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.
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?

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.

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 Européens auront les Américains qu'ils meritent.

- 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

- Atal, Subodh

- Auge, Jean-Christophe
Pro-occidentalisme des gouvernements et opinions publiques au Moyen-Orient : une fracture consommée ?
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 à nier, il releve cependant parfois plus d'une orientation strategique relevant de choix plus ou moins contraints, que d'une preference revendiquée. 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 resonne bien souvent comme un amour decu.

- Awwad, Emad
Le 'nouvel' ordre mondial et le Proche-Orient.
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'épreuve, 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.
http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml

- Bacevich, Andrew
Steppes to Empire.
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.
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.

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.

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.

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.

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.
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.

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.

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.

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.
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.

The author assesses European concerns and expectations at the change of tenant in the White House.

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.

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.

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.
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.

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.

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.

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.
La amenaza terrorista y el nuevo entorno geopolítico demandan una estrategia que se anticipe a los posibles riesgos. Esa es la razón por la que hay que reaccionar al peligro que representa Irak. Un cambio de régimen facilitará la estabilidad política de la región.

La estrategia de seguridad nacional de Bush amplía la noción de legitima defensa, reconocida por la Carta de las Naciones Unidas, hasta los límites de un ataque preventivo. EE UU no puede estar por encima de la ley internacional, mientras esta exista.

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.
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.

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'.
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.

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.

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.
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 legistatif. 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 ?
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.
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.

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.

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

- Encel, Frederic
  Guez, Olivier
  Le couple Washington-Moscou et la crise irakienne.
  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.
  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.
  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.
  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.
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.

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.

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?

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'être. 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.
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.

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?

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?

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  

- Gedmin, Jeffrey  
Les Etats-Unis et l' Europe a la croisee des chemins.  
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 renegociation 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'indépendance ? La nouvelle administration americaine sera-t-elle gagnee par des poussées 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.  
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 ideas 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 ?  
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.
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.

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.

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.
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.

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.

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.

Les efforts de Bill Clinton pour trouver une solution au conflit israelo-palestinien se soldent finalement par l'échec de la réunion de Camp David, en juillet 2000, Israéliens et Palestiniens n'arrivant pas à s'entendre, notamment sur Jérusalem. L'Intifada Al-Aqsa, qui suit la visite d'Ariel Sharon sur les lieux saints musulmans et juifs (esplanade des Mosquées / mont du Temple), et la repression qui s'ensuit suscitent de nombreux appels à l'engagement américain de la part de la communauté internationale. Mais George W. Bush, échaudé par les devoirs de ses
predecesseurs, reste prudent a l'egard du conflit. Et il faut attendre le
11 septembre pour que l'Administration reaffirme sa presence dans la
region. Depuis lors, la politque 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 Israeliens 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.
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 decade 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 ?
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 stratégie incertaine : la politique des États-Unis dans le Caucase et en Asie centrale depuis 1991.
Le Caucase et l'Asie centrale ne font pas partie traditionnellement des intérêts vitaux des États-Unis. Mais depuis dix ans, les nouvelles réalités économiques et géopolitiques dans la région ont quelque peu modifié la donne : l'éclatement de l'ex-URSS, l'emergence d'une quinzaine d'États indépendants et la découverte de gisements considérables de pétrole en mer Caspienne ont poussé l'Administration Bush et surtout Clinton à mettre en œuvre une stratégie un tant soit peu élaborée. Cette stratégie, d'abord fondée sur les intérêts des compagnies pétrolières américaines, a découlé aussi de l'attitude des États-Unis vis-à-vis de l'Iran et de leur obsession de confiner l'arsenal nucléaire soviétique dans les frontières de la Russie. Aujourd'hui l'expérience acquise par Washington dans cette région complexe pourrait permettre à la nouvelle Administration américaine de déployer une politique plus équilibrée, moins dépendante du lobby pétrolier, et davantage tournée vers le développement économique régional.

- Hoffman, David
Beyond Public Diplomacy.
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.
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.
'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 he objective of force, there will be no opportunity to consider what could go wrong or how to handle the competing interests.'
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.

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.

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.

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.

The U.S., EU and Russia in the 21st Century.
- Isherwood, Michael W.
  US Strategic Options for Iraq: Easier Said than Done.
  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.
  http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml

- Janes, Jason
  Bush und die Europäer: ein schwieriges Kennenlernen.
  Die ersten hundert Tage der Amtszeit des neuen amerikanischen Präsidenten, George W. Bush, haben die Vorbehalte der Europäer 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 ESVF. 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.
  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 sophoning-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 Tbilisi 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.
  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.
  Dans cet essai, l'auteur explique pourquoi, a ses yeux, la vision politique des Européens découle de leur faiblesse, alors que celle des Américains découle de leur puissance et de leurs responsabilités mondiales.

- Kang, C. S. Eliot
  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 ?
  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 ?
  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.
  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.

- Kennedy, Craig
  Bouton, Marshall M.
  The Real Trans-Atlantic Gap.
  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.

- Khokhar, Camilla
  Wiberg-Jorgensen, Paul
  United States' Strategic Possibilities in the South Caucasus.
  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.
  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.
  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.
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 Europäer auf der Suche nach einem eigenen Weg : Interessenkollision mit den USA ?
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.
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.
http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml

- Kulagin, Vladimir
Russia and the United States : A New Relationship.
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.
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.

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.

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.

'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.

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
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 ?
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.

- Legvold, Robert
All the Way.
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.
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.
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.

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.

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.

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.
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 ...
  Les laborieuses negotiations 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 soucipient, 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 decourent 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.
  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
  Europeans and America : Size Matters.
  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.
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.
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.
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.
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.

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.

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.
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.
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.
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.
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?
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.

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.

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.

La polarisation dramatique entre le monde islamique et les Etats-Unis au lendemain de l'attaque du 11 septembre constitue désormais 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 américaine centrée 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.
Chris Patten exhorte les Etats-Unis a continuer dans la voie multilateraliste qu'ils ont suivie depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Il s'inquiète de ce que Washington puisse donner la priorité aux intérêts américains et soient pas vraiment intéressée par un ordre multilateral gouverné 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 Europe pensee 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.
In a geographic neighborhood of perennial tensions that have lasted over half a century, a major US ally, Turkey, seems always poised to cash in on emerging crises and to bully its neighbors.

- Peck, Edward
  Doing It All Wrong in the Middle East : Iraq.

- Perthes, Volker
  Postwar Scenarios in Iraq and Regional Re-ordering.
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 ?
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.
  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 ?
  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.
  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'executif americain? Reposant sur cette interrogation premiere, cette etude porte sur les composantes de l'image diffusee par l'administration Bush depuis l'automne 2000. Elle souligne les principaux enjeux securitaires autour desquels se sedimenter cette image (defense antimissile, capacites europeennes de defense et PECS, elargissement de l'OTAN) et permet de mettre en relief une Europe molle, large et subordonnee aux interess americains dans l'apres-guerre froide. La seconde partie de l'article tente de degager les facteurs structurels expliquant la nature de cette image comme la representaction de soi en tant que superpuissance (et la structure de role internationale), la perception du temps politique ainsi que la mise sur agenda et la persistance d'une polarite 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 ?

- Rigoulot, Pierre
  Coree 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-II's regime.

- Rochtus, 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 Schroder 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, Francois de
  Les relations entre l' Europe et les Etats-Unis.
- Roshandel, Jalil
  Chadha, Sharon
  US-Saudi Relations and the (Irrelevant) Court of Public Opinion.

- Roy, Denny
  Rising China and US Interests: Inevitable vs. Contingent Hazards.
  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.
  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
  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.
  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.
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 ?
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
Praventive Sicherheitspolitik gegenuber Nordkorea.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 3, Marz 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.
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?  
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  

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.  

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.  

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.
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.

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?

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.

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
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. À 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 apparue comme une priorité nationale, d'éradiquer le terrorisme ont propulsé les États-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 "multilateralisme 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 États-Unis pourraient y tenir, seuls ou de façon multilatérale.

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.
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.

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.

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'ammar 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.

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.
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.

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.

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.

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- 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 ?
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.

- William Wallace
Repairing European and Transatlantic Institutions.
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.

- Akio Watanabe
First Among Equals.
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.

- Werner Weidenfeld
Kuhles Kalkul : die neue Ara der transatlantischen Beziehungen.

- Joel S. Wit
North Korea : The Leader of the Pack.
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...

- Lanxin Xiang
Washington's Misguided China Policy.
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
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.

- Xinbo, Wu
  To Be an Enlightened Superpower.
  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
  MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 4, December 2002, p. 25-34.
  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.

- Yaphe, Judith S.
  Iraq : The Exception to the Rule.
  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.
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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